

**THE OPPORTUNIST STANDS OF THE CHINESE
LEADERSHIP TOWARDS KHRUSHCHEVITE
REVISIONISM DURING THE YEARS
1960-1964**

At the beginning of the 60's, while waging a stern and relentless struggle against modern revisionism, selflessly exposing itself to the heat of its fire and its all-round pressure, the PLA also watched with concern and combated the opportunist, eclectic and contradictory stands and narrow nationalist interests of the Chinese leadership in regard to the Khrushchevite revisionists.

These stands had become apparent after the 20th Congress of the CPSU, when the Chinese leadership publicly supported Khrushchev in the campaign to denigrate Stalin, and moreover threw mud at Stalin's work by declaring that «the Chinese communists have long and bitter experience of some of Stalin's mistakes» («Debat sur la ligne générale du Mouvement Communiste International» p. 132, Pékin 1965), when it unreservedly supported the condemnation of the «anti-party» group of Molotov, when it called the Yugoslav revisionists «good Marxists», and was the first and only party leadership to invite them to its congress, the 8th, at which it put forward wrong anti-Marxist, revisionist theses, etc.

However, during and after the 60's these stands

became even more pronounced. We shall dwell briefly on some of these stands in the years 1960-1964.

1. **The stand of the CP of China** at the Bucharest and Moscow Meetings of the year 1960, was characterized by cowardice and marked vacillations; it did not reply to the Khrushchevite attack in the same tone but conducted a passive struggle; it denied the accusations but did not attack. At this meeting the Chinese delegation applied the tactic of «withdrawing the charges».

This tactic was especially apparent at the sessions of the commission of 26 parties to draft and edit the joint declaration. Despite the fact that the struggle between the two opposing lines in the ranks of the communist and workers' movement had become inevitable, the Chinese delegate insisted: «We must not start the polemics» (From the minutes of the meeting of the delegation of the PLA with the Chinese delegation, Moscow, October 1, 1960, CPA), «let them take the first step and we shall reply to them.»

Analysing these stands attentively, Comrade Enver Hoxha came to the conclusion that «**the Chinese are not for taking the issue through to the end**» and he put forward the immediate task of waging a persistent fight against the revisionist theses.

The stands of the Chinese were in the interests of the Khrushchevite revisionists, because, after the first unexpected setback in Bucharest, they wanted to gain time, to pull themselves together and consolidate their positions. But the militant stand of the PLA ruined their plans. At the Moscow Meeting modern revisionism was dealt a shattering blow. Nevertheless, the Chinese delegation displayed opportunist attitudes towards the mistaken assessments which remained in the Declaration, such as the assessment of the 20th Congress of the CPSU, about which the Chinese «argued» that «if we do not accept this we will come out before all the others as those responsible for the split,»* or towards the pacifist

* Hysni Kapo, Selected Works, vol. 2, p. 645, Alb. ed.

theses on the colonial system, about which the Chinese advised «we should not speak at all,» under the pretext that «we should not put ourselves in opposition to some parties of the newly liberated countries». (From the minutes of the meeting of the delegation of the PLA with the Chinese delegation, Moscow, October 1, 1960, CPA).

2. The Meeting of 81 parties in Moscow marked the final break between the Marxist-Leninists and the Khrushchevite revisionists. After this the international communist and workers' movement **entered a new stage in which the struggle to destroy Soviet revisionism and the open polemics with it became historically necessary duties.**

At the 22nd Congress of the CPSU, Khrushchev attacked the Party of Labour of Albania publicly and very viciously. The opportunist stand of the Chinese leadership also emerged there **openly and publicly**. Zhou Enlai, the head of the Chinese delegation, did not reply to the attack with attack but contented himself with one criticism, describing as incorrect **only** the public display of the contradictions between the two parties, and from the rostrum of that congress he called for stopping the polemics!

The tendency to hush things up, the «advice» and calls for stopping the open polemics, constitute the main characteristic of the Chinese stands at this stage. It was becoming clear that the Chinese leadership did not favour a resolute and principled struggle against the Khrushchevite revisionists. It justified this with its alleged aim of «avoiding a breach of unity» and not allowing Khrushchev to go over to the imperialists and «capitulate to them, because the Soviet peoples are involved»! In reply to the opportunist Chinese stand, the PLA launched the revolutionary slogan: «In no way should the polemics cease. Fire to the end against the Soviet revisionists!»

3. After the Chinese leadership failed in its open attempt to stop the polemics, its demands for reconciliation with the Khrushchevites became very insistent,

especially during 1963. Although the time called for finding the most effective methods of stern struggle against revisionism, Mao Zedong and company plunged deeper and deeper into the opportunist quagmire. **Their stands assumed an accentuated eclectic character and were expressed in out-and-out conciliatory and demagogic slogans.**

Behind such slogans as «we must take the initiative,» «keep the banner of unity in our hands», etc the Chinese leadership, behind the back of the PLA and without consulting it, went so far as to propose to the chiefs of the Kremlin a meeting «to iron out the differences»! Juggling with the Maoist philosophy, such as «We have two hands to deal with a man who has made mistakes, one to fight him, the other to unite with him» (Mao Zedong, Selected Works, vol.5, p. 515, Engl. ed., Beijing 1977), the Chinese leadership went even further down its opportunist road. It launched the slogan of the creation of «an anti-imperialist front including the revisionists». This was the direction in which the CP of China was heading. «To form an 'anti-imperialist front with the modern revisionists'», wrote Comrade Enver Hoxha at that time, «means that the Marxist-Leninists must turn into Don Quixotes and wage a 'stern struggle against windmills'... a 'struggle' against imperialism which has no Marxist-Leninist flavour either politically or ideologically.»*

4. Manoeuvres to divert attention from the struggle against modern revisionism and political short-sightedness constitute another characteristic of the Chinese stands of that period.

In the summer of 1964, at the moment when the communists and the revolutionaries should have been concentrating the fire of their heavy artillery on the great betrayal by the Khrushchevite revisionists, Mao Zedong suddenly raised territorial claims against the Soviet Union, thus openly displaying his great-state

* Enver Hoxha, «Reflections on China», vol. 1, p. 132, Alb. ed.

chauvinism. Moreover, with this action China, which posed as a socialist country, incited war in Europe, neutralized the ideological struggle against the Khrushchevite betrayal, and unjustly attacked Stalin.

5. Pragmatism runs right through the stands of the Chinese leadership: everything had to be subordinated to its policy, though this might be in opposition to Marxism-Leninism and to the detriment of socialism. This became manifest especially after the downfall of Khrushchev. While Moscow advertised this as a measure proceeding from «strict adherence to Leninist principles», Beijing described it as a «radical change in the policy of the Soviet leadership». In fact it was more a tactic of the revisionists to avoid being totally discredited. The Chinese leadership attempted to exploit the fall of Khrushchev for its own ends. Deluding himself that the new chiefs in Moscow would become his vassals, Mao Zedong not only hailed their advent to power, but hastened to send Zhou Enlai as the «victor» to talk with them «about the struggle against the common enemy — imperialism».

Impelled by their petty-bourgeois megalomania and their spirit of great-state and great-party chauvinism, the Chinese leadership tried to impose this stand on our Party, too, since this was allegedly a «favourable occasion to extend the hand of friendship» to the Soviets! The PLA not only did not go to «Canossa», but in a comradely way, it advised the Chinese leaders not to take such a mistaken step and called on them to continue the principled struggle «until revisionism is finally buried as an ideology». (Letter of the CC of the PLA addressed to the CC of the CP of China, November 5, 1964, CPA.) Nevertheless, Zhou Enlai went to Moscow where he suffered utter defeat.

In the conditions of that time, Mao Zedong's China could not come out openly with its objectives, because it was impeded by a number of factors.

First, it had put on the cloak of a «socialist» country. The Chinese leadership needed time to make the change.

It had to work on the ordinary people in order to weaken and eliminate their support for socialism.

Second, as a result of Mao Zedong's long-nurtured opportunist vacillations, the internal situation in China had still not been stabilized. As is known, during and after the 60's there were many upheavals in China. The traditional struggle for power among the different clans had become more acute. Thus, the Chinese leadership had to involve itself more with the in-fighting in its ranks than with the concrete implementation of its strategic plan.

Third, with the closed-door policy it followed, it had still not managed to break through the diplomatic encirclement. The capitalist states had isolated it and this isolation continued until they were convinced that China was not «communist» and «red», as it claimed to be.

Fourth, the Chinese leadership had not created its political and economic reserve, had not yet penetrated into the Asian, African and Latin-American countries. Without such a reserve, it could not strengthen itself. Taking the share «due to it» in this field was the main objective of the Chinese «theory» of «three worlds», which was to be noisily publicized in later years.

Fifth, it had not yet created and consolidated its alliance with the USA. The exacerbation of its relations with the Soviet Union, or the break with it, under these conditions, would have resulted in China's being deprived of the aid of which it was in great need. This accounts for the Chinese tactics of «sitting on the fence» in the relations with the Soviet revisionists.

At that time, the PLA had not yet reached the conclusion that these stands were the result of the general line of the CP of China, therefore, in a comradely way, through party channels, and when necessary, even in the press, but without mentioning names, it criticized these mistakes and drew the attention of the Chinese leadership to them.

Later, however, when the Chinese leaders came

out openly with their policy of rapprochement and collaboration with imperialism, the PLA became fully convinced that even in their former stands they had not proceeded from the revolutionary objective of defending Marxism-Leninism and world communism, but from their narrow nationalist, chauvinistic and hegemony-seeking interests. It was not long after this that the PLA unmasked and sternly combated this other variant of revisionism, just as it did the Soviet variant.

COMPLETE INTEGRATION OF THE SOVIET ECONOMY INTO THE WORLD CAPITALIST ECONOMY

The Khrushchevites have established extensive links of all-round integration with the world capitalist economy. They include reciprocal movements of commodity-capital, money-capital and productive capital. In this two-way process, «while American, German, Japanese and other capital has penetrated deeply into the Soviet Union, Soviet capital is being exported to other countries and, in various forms, in merging with the local capital».* Here we dwell on analysing these two aspects of the process of the complete integration of the Soviet Union into the world capitalist economy.

1 — The deep and massive penetration of Western finance capital, in the form of credits, capital investments and technology, into the economy of the Soviet Union and its Comecon dominions.

This process, with all its negative consequences, is the materialization of the capitalist degeneration of the socio-economic order in the Soviet Union, of the flirtation of the Khrushchevites with imperialism, of the so-called policy of détente and Khrushchevite peaceful co-existence with imperialism, serving the implementation of a counter-revolutionary joint strategy. This policy and the processes of bourgeois-revisionist integration are founded on a definite economic base and, both the alliances and rivalries of the superpowers reflect their common and opposing material interests in the economic and

* Enver Hoxha, «Imperialism and the Revolution», Tirana 1978, p. 107, Alb. ed.

territorial re-devision of the world between them. Comrade Enver Hoxha points out, «the capitalist interests of the two sides are so great that in particular situations they override all their frictions, rivalries and clashes.»*

On the economic plane, these capitalist interests aimed at maximum profit express, on the one hand, the economic needs of the capitalist West to lighten the burden of the crisis by unloading its consequences on the markets and peoples of the revisionist East. On the other hand, these interests are expressions of the economic needs of the Soviet Union in order to build up and modernize its economic-military potential as a superpower without loss of time, by taking advantage of the more advanced equipment and technology and the available financial and material means of the monopolies and the older imperialist states.

The Soviet revisionists present their undisguised integration with world capitalism as a «creative application» of the Leninist teachings about relations between states with different social systems. Marxism-Leninism does not rule out foreign economic relations nor does it advocate autarcy and self-isolation. However, it is against the application of capitalist principles and methods in these relations and, moreover, cannot be reconciled with the integration of a country, which poses as socialist, into the world capitalist economy.

The integration of the Comecon member countries into the world capitalist economy includes the whole system of economic relations between private and state monopolies of the capitalist West and the state monopolies of the revisionist countries, from simple purchase-and-sale operations to the setting up of joint enterprises in the spheres of production, services and circulation. The Soviet revisionist press admits that half of the 800 biggest multi-national monopolies of the West have regular relations with the countries of the so-called so-

* Enver Hoxha, «Eurocommunism Is Anti-communism», Tirana 1980, p. 59, Alb. ed.

cialist family (Myezhdunarodnaya Zhiznj, No. 9, 1979, p. 33). The developed capitalist countries control 30 per cent of the foreign trade of the Soviet Union which in the past five years, has incurred a deficit in trade with them in excess of 10 billion rubles.

The strengthening of the links of the Soviet economy with the West is accompanied with an ever greater extension of non-mercantile relations, aimed at getting credits and technology from the West in return for raw materials and finished products. These relations, ranging from the so-called compensatory agreements and productive cooperation to the setting up of capitalist-revisionist joint enterprises, result in the merging of the cycles of the reproduction of the capital of both sides in a single complex movement, important elements of which already cannot function independently. These new links which assumed large-scale development especially in the 70's, completed the integration of the economy of the Soviet Union and its satellites into the world capitalist system. The Soviet press admits that there are now 400 East-West joint enterprises and that more than 1,300 «compensatory agreements» are in operation in Europe alone, («Myezhdunarodnaya Zhiznj, No. 4, 1979, p. 12).

At the beginning of 1979, more than 600 major economic complexes of the gas, chemical, petro-chemical, coal, iron, paper and cellulose, ferrous and non-ferrous metallurgical industries in the Soviet Union were working to provide the West with «compensation», amounting to 30 to 60 per cent of their annual production, in return for technology and credits received. Such agreements, involving colossal amounts of reciprocal supplies, will be in force until the end of the century (Myezhdunarodnaya Zhiznj, No. 7, 1979, p. 15).

As a result, the revisionist Comecon member countries are in debt to Western imperialism to the tune of 75 billion dollars, and the Soviet Union, owing 19 billion dollars, is one of the biggest debtors.

2. The expansion of the Soviet imperialist bourgeoisie in the world capitalist economy and the merging

of its capital with international finance capital.

The Khrushchevites became partners of the Western financial oligarchy in the exploitation of the peoples of the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe, because in this way they were able to pursue their ambitions to compete with imperialism in the exploitation of all the peoples of the world.

This aggressive expansionist activity has made the Soviet Union one of the neo-colonialist superpowers of our time, has resulted in the flow of capital from the Soviet monopoly state, into the channels of international finance capital, its integration into the movement of the latter, the creation of separate and joint organisms of expansion towards the developing countries and the merging of Soviet capital with the capital of the comprador bourgeoisie of the countries which have fallen under the influence of Moscow.

As early as the mid-fifties the Khrushchevites began to apply their enslaving «program of economic aid» to the former colonial countries, the strategic objective of which was to free the new states from their «ties of exploitation by the Western metropolises» and place them in the orbit of the new Soviet metropolis which was rising. Brezhnev and his associates carried this program of neo-colonialist «aid» even further, adapting it better to the needs and productive capacities of the «socialist community» and the deficits and surpluses of the economy of the Soviet Union.

In this context the problems of the «internationalization of Soviet economy», the development and encouragement of the process of the integration of the undeveloped countries into the «socialist community» and opposition to the monopoly positions of the Western imperialist powers in those countries from the positions of a new superpower, became ever more pressing in the aggressive economic foreign policy of the Soviet Union. In this policy the stress is quite openly placed on the need for «perfecting organisms and practices to ensure raw materials in short supply and hard currency from

the developing countries», for «the powerful stimulus which these countries give the development of the Soviet economy», and «strengthening of the potential» of Soviet social-imperialism, which is extending the sphere of its claims to «legitimate» and «vital» imperialist interests further and further beyond its own national borders and those of Eastern Europe.

The fundamental concept of this revisionist policy is the thesis of a «single, inter-dependent world economy», in which, allegedly as a consequence of the scientific and technical revolution, the «global problems» which affect «vital interests» of every state, have become particularly acute and can be solved only in the context of a new system of «tri-partite relations»: of the Soviet Union, the West and the «third world». In essence, these «global problems» which are linked with the «objective need» of the undeveloped countries for the «assistance» of industrialized countries, are nothing but the global interests of world imperialism in its drive for new markets and spheres of investment, to plunder the natural assets of other countries, to maintain the neo-colonialist laws in world trade, etc in which Soviet social-imperialism is demanding its share as a super-power. The Soviet propaganda admits this when it points out that in finding a solution to these «global problems» no country, including the Soviet Union, can remain «non-aligned».

Day by day Comecon is being manipulated by Moscow for the needs of the integration and «internationalization» of the Soviet economy. The Soviet press writes that the division of labour within Comecon «is being carried out in the context of plans for a division of labour on a world scale. . . That is why the links between Comecon and the 'third world' assume great importance in an international economy in which the big economic unions play a role of first-rate importance.» (Vneshnyaya Targovlya, No. 10, 1978 and Voprosy Ekonomiki, No. 9, 1977.) In the enslaving agreements which the Soviet Union has concluded so far with 64 undeveloped coun-

tries, there are stringent stipulations about the burden of material and financial obligations the other members of Comecon have to shoulder in order to implement the expansionist plans of the Kremlin, in conformity with the narrow specialization of each of them according to the «socialist division of labour» within Comecon.

However, Soviet social-imperialism is more and more carrying out its expansion in the undeveloped countries outside the framework and structures of Comecon. This is clearly apparent from the increasing number of joint ventures of the Soviet and Western monopoly enterprises in the world economy. As the 1978 agreement concluded between the Soviet Union and German imperialism proves, the setting up of joint companies in third countries is one of the principal clauses of the agreements on inter-state cooperation between Moscow and the Western countries. At the beginning of 1977, Soviet state monopolies were participating in 84 international monopolies or partnerships with the West, 15 of which were operating in the undeveloped countries.

The picture of the complete integration of the Soviet Union into the world capitalist system is made more complete if account is taken of the presence and activity of the financial, economic and technical-administrative organisms of Soviet state monopoly capitalism in all the business centres of world imperialism, in all the key points of the web of the neo-colonialist spider which sucks the blood of the peoples, in the money-markets and stock-exchanges of New York, London, Paris, Frankfurt, Vienna, Zurich, Singapore, Johannesburg, Brazilia, in the dollar and Eurocurrency markets, etc. To this picture should be added the inter-state agreements and the «gentlemen's agreements» between the financial oligarchies of East and West on the basis of personal union. Suffice it to mention the links between Brezhnev and Hammer (chief of the Occidental Petroleum Corporation) which are only a small part of the vast system of connections which the Khrushchevites have built up on the Khrushchev-Agnelli model.

Genc Xhuvani
Lulëzim Hana

COMECON — AN INSTRUMENT OF SOVIET SOCIAL-IMPERIALISM FOR THE EXPLOITATION AND DOMINATION OF THE MEMBER COUNTRIES

The transformation of the Soviet Union into an imperialist power, and the implementation by it of an aggressive, expansionist, hegemonic and predatory policy towards the other peoples, inevitably brought changes in the nature and aims of the Council of Mutual Economic Aid (Comecon). Exposing the capitalist nature and the exploiting, predatory character of the Soviet Union in Comecon, Comrade Enver Hoxha has said: «Comecon has been transformed into a revisionist organization for the cooperation of the industry and many other branches of the economy of its member countries. This organization is ruled by the Soviet revisionists, who, by means of it, aim to exploit and control the economies of the other member countries in their own hegemonic interests, to force them to develop in the direction they want, to tie up their economies in such a way that, together with this false socialist cooperation, they dominate these states politically too.»*

This is the concrete implementation of Brezhnev's fascist theory of «limited sovereignty» in the economic field too. The Moscow revisionists try to camouflage this

* Enver Hoxha, «Reports and Speeches 1967-1968», p. 240, Alb. ed.

exploiting practice with their unscrupulous demagoguery about the «struggle against autarchy» and make a big noise about the alleged necessity of «economic integration», specialization, cooperation, etc the basis of which is the subordination of national interests to «internationalist» interests, ie the interests of the Soviet Union.

«Co-ordination» of economic policy through all the phases of the cycle of reproduction has been made the central point of the neo-colonialist program, described as a «complex program of socialist integration» of the Comecon member countries. In the framework of Comecon the Soviet revisionists have created supra-state organs such as the executive council and various commissions and committees for the coordination of activities in the main economic and financial fields, which operate according to the interests of the Soviet Union. In order to justify their open violation of the sovereignty of other countries, they clamour about the so-called «international socialist property», which they present as the highest form of socialist property, taking no account at all of the national and state distinctions created during a long historical process.

Lenin pointed out that, «National and state distinctions exist among peoples and countries — and these will continue to exist for a very long time to come, even after the dictatorship of the proletariat has been established on a world-wide scale.»* Therefore, the theorizings of the Soviet revisionists about their alleged socialist integration, or the internationalization of socialist property, are in flagrant opposition to the teachings of the classics of Marxism-Leninism.

In practice, the typically neo-colonialist policy of the Soviet revisionists has led, step by step, to changes in the structure of the economies of the Comecon member countries in the direction of increasing their dependence on the social-imperialist Soviet Union. Under the pretext of «eliminating parallelisms», «utilizing only rich resour-

* V. I. Lenin, Collected Works, vol. 31, p. 91, Alb. ed.

ces», etc the Soviet revisionists have deprived the vassal countries of the possibility of producing many products and have created a situation in which they are dependent on the Soviet Union, not only for raw materials, but also for semi-processed and finished products, equipment and technology. As a result, the economies of the other Comecon member countries have developed one-sidedly. For example, through «reconstructions», such big trusts as SKODA, CKD, TESLA, etc of Czechoslovakia, renowned for the production of heavy machinery, automobiles, electric equipment, etc have been forced to work mainly to meet the demands of the market of the Russian metropolis. Likewise, allegedly in the context of «specialization», Hungary has been compelled to gear its «Red Star» plant in Budapest mainly to the production of tractor brakes, although it had long been producing complete tractors. Now the needs of Hungarian agriculture for tractors are fulfilled with imports from the Soviet Union. It is understandable that such restrictions imposed on the structure of the economies of the Comecon countries can only result in slowing down the all-round development of these countries and creating many difficulties and anomalies for them.

The aim of the Soviet revisionists to impose a course of onesided development on the Comecon countries, is also apparent from their efforts to hinder the full-cycle development of the new branches which these countries are allowed to establish. A typical instance of this is the prohibition of the development of the aluminium industry in Hungary, although it is rich in bauxite. Under the plans of «cooperation and specialization» which the Soviet revisionists have imposed on Comecon, this industry must be developed in the Soviet Union which secures the raw materials from Hungary, while the latter must meet its needs for aluminium products by importing them from the Soviet Union! This year, 330,000 tons of bauxite (1.5 times more than 6 years ago) will be transported thousands of kilometres to the smelting plants in the Soviet Union. In the same way, Poland's metal-

lurgical plants are completely dependent on raw materials and energy imported from the Russian metropolis. It is estimated that this revisionist country does not cover even half the cycle of production in this branch from its internal resources. On the other hand, under Comecon agreements Poland is obliged to deliver the overwhelming bulk of what it produces from Soviet raw materials or in the plants constructed on Soviet credits, to the Soviet Union. (Apart from other things, Poland has delivered to the Soviet Union tens of complete plants for the production of sulphuric acid, over 110,000 rail wagons etc, etc.) A typical example of complete dependence on Soviet social-imperialism and integration into the Soviet capitalist economy is Bulgaria, whose industry has been set up, either on the basis of Soviet raw materials, or as part of the industry of the Russian metropolis, to which it is obliged to send a considerable proportion of its products for finishing. As a result of this dependence, Bulgaria is indebted to the Soviet Union to the tune of 2 billion rubles!

According to the so-called complex program of economic integration, nearly all the Comecon member countries will jointly finance the construction of various projects in the Soviet Union. During the current five-year plan, for example, according to figures published by the Soviet revisionists themselves, on the basis of «coordination» within Comecon, or bilateral agreements, more than 1,000 complete sets of equipment for industrial projects, including equipment for six urea plants with an annual capacity of 6 million tons, and 21 sulphuric acid plants with a total capacity of 10 million tons a year, 46 plants for the food processing industry, etc, etc, will be delivered to the Soviet Union. According to Comecon decisions, these plants and combines become the property of the country in which they are built, hence the immense benefits to the Soviet social-imperialists from such exploiting relations with the other revisionist countries dependent on them are very clear.

The investments or credits from the Soviet revisio-

nists within the framework of the Comecon, for the other countries of this capitalist grouping, also mainly serve their onesided development, are intended to achieve the best possible adaptation of the economies of the vassal countries to the Soviet economy. These credits are accorded by the International Bank of Investments, through which, amongst other things, the Soviet revisionists deepen the economic dependence of the vassal countries and their enslavement by the Russian metropolis.

The new Soviet bourgeoisie also exploits the Comecon member countries and makes colossal profits from non-equivalent exchanges, by exercising its dictate over prices, etc. For example, the prices at which the Soviet revisionists sell iron ore to the revisionist countries of Eastern Europe are 10-15 per cent higher than world market prices, those for Soviet machinery are 1.4 to 2.1 times higher, etc. However, the machinery imported from the German Democratic Republic is priced by the Soviet revisionists 25-30 per cent below world market prices. This non-equivalent exchange is even more apparent in the agricultural products which the Russian metropolis imports from its Comecon vassals. As a result of this unscrupulous robbery, during the 8th Five-year Plan alone, the Soviet bourgeoisie secured a supplementary profit of 3 billion 500 million rubles.

Whereas in the past the Soviet revisionists clamoured that within an organization such as Comecon, which represents «the model of equal internationalist relations among socialist countries», the price fluctuations on the capitalist market must not influence the price policy, as soon as the effect of the energy crisis became apparent on this market, they dropped this thesis and went over to concrete actions. Thus, beginning from January 1975, the Soviet Union raised the price of oil to the Comecon member countries although it was always higher than the price at which the Soviet revisionists sold oil to the capitalist countries, and despite the fact that the revisionist countries of Comecon have invested their own capital for the development of the oil and gas industry

in the Soviet Union. Moreover, the Soviet revisionists began to reduce the quantities of oil delivered to those countries, with the aim of increasing the amount sold on the capitalist markets for convertible currency. According to figures published by the revisionists themselves, the Soviet Union's oil deliveries to the Comecon member countries in 1980, were 5 million tons less than in 1979.

Such a predatory practice has grave consequences for the economies and finances of the member countries of the Comecon. Solely because of the rise in the price of Soviet oil in 1975, which of course, was not accompanied by increased prices for the commodities the Soviet revisionists buy from the other revisionist countries, the Comecon member countries had to pay the social-imperialist Soviet Union an additional one billion rubles.

The neo-colonialist policy of the new Tzars of the Kremlin is the cause of ever more open contradictions in the ranks of this capitalist grouping. Faced with this savage plunder and unable to maintain some sort of internal balance to stop the outburst of the anger of their working masses against this double capitalist plunder and exploitation, the cliques of the revisionist countries are forced, from time to time, to express their discontent, their disapproval, or even open opposition to their Moscow patrons. Time after time Soviet magazines such as «Voprosy Filosofii», «Voprosy Ekonomiki», «Mezhdunarodnaja Zhiznj», «Ekonomicheskaja Gazeta», etc have pointed out: «there are acknowledged difficulties... in the process of economic integration and cooperation», «the process of economic integration in the framework of Comecon is linked with a series of objective difficulties», or even more openly, that «a certain discrepancy of interests», as well as «objective contradictions», etc exist among the Comecon member countries.

**SOVIET-AMERICAN RIVALRY AND COLLABORATION
— THE GREATEST DANGER TO PEACE AND
SECURITY OF THE PEOPLES**

One of the main factors aggravating the international situation today is the rivalry and collaboration between the two biggest imperialist powers of our time — the United States of America and the Soviet Union. The present international situation is complicated and fraught with insecurity, political and military tensions, armed intervention and conflicts, because of the deepening of all aspects of the general crisis of capitalism and the exacerbation of contradictions between the imperialist powers, in the first place, between the United States and the Soviet Union. In these conditions, when these two superpowers are being hit by the crisis, the revolutionary and liberation struggles of the peoples and the efforts of newly independent countries to strengthen their national independence and sovereignty, when their alliances and political-military groupings are being eroded by many contradictions and differences and shaken to their very foundations, their hegemony is becoming weaker and weaker and their spheres of neo-colonialist domination are constantly shrinking. This, undoubtedly, further exacerbates the contradictions, the rivalry and the squabbling between them over spheres of influence and the efforts of each of them to weaken the other's positions and strengthen its own. The Soviet Union misses no opportunity to fill the eventual vacuum, temporary

breaches created in the spheres of the hegemony and influence of the United States of America, as a result of the revolutions and peoples' liberation struggles.

To this end, it is striving to exploit the liberation movements or efforts of these countries for independence, national sovereignty and democratic transformations, in order to put them under its control, as it did in Angola; it is trying to extend its influence by supporting regimes with progressive and socialist labels, or by stirring up disturbances in a country through pro-Soviet forces and then intervening militarily to place that country under its control, as it did in Afghanistan.

However, this does not mean in the least that the United States is constantly on the retreat, abandoning important strategic positions under the pressure of Soviet expansion, as the Chinese revisionists and others claim. On the one hand, the United States is endeavouring to repair the breaches, to regain its lost positions and capture new ones, while on the other hand, it is employing all ways and means to curb the expansion of the Soviet Union and undermine its positions wherever they are weak and unstable.

It is these irreconcilable imperialist interests and contradictions, this fierce struggle for spheres of influence, this unprecedented contest to extend their hegemony and domination over the whole world, which bring the superpowers into confrontation and collision with each other. They have made their military, political and diplomatic interference, economic, ideological and cultural aggression one of the means most frequently employed, not only to extend their expansion and hegemony, but also to re-establish the «balance of power» between them, when it is upset or to prevent its being upset in those zones about which they have already reached agreement.

In Europe, through mutual concessions and compensations, they have tried to preserve a so-called «territorial status quo», the unalterability of the borders between European countries, or more precisely, of the borders

of their spheres of influence on this continent, through the use of force. However, this agreement on the status quo in Europe, like any other imperialist agreement, is only temporary and by no means puts an end to their rivalry. At present the United States and the NATO bloc are striving to weaken the positions of the Soviet Union within its bloc, by encouraging the processes of pro-Western liberalization and a gradual, evolutionary «down-grading» of its hegemony, as they are doing in Poland and elsewhere. For its part, along with the military measures it is taking to strengthen its domination over its own satellites, the Soviet Union misses no opportunity to weaken the hegemony of the United States in NATO, by stirring up contradictions and disagreements with its allies over a number of questions — ranging from economic, financial and political issues up to that of the stationing of US medium-range nuclear rockets, etc. In the context of their rivalry for domination in Europe, both superpowers are stepping up their military and political pressure there. This struggle to weaken each other's hegemonic positions in their alliances, political, economic and military blocs and groupings, this constant military and political confrontation, is accompanied with the build-up of their troops and new armaments, with the stepping up of military manoeuvres and all-round preparations for war. It is steadily raising the tension and insecurity in Europe, adding to the threats to the freedom and independence of the European peoples and increasing the danger of war on this continent.

Since 1975, the two superpowers have been engaged in particularly fierce rivalry for domination and hegemony, for a redivision of their spheres of influence in the so-called «third world», especially in Africa. On that continent the two superpowers are locked in a relentless struggle for hegemony. They hatch up intrigues and create very grave situations for the peoples and countries of Africa, situations which they then exploit in order to intervene and establish their influence in this

or that country. The present objective of the Soviet Union in Africa is to restrict the domination of the USA there, to take from it important positions and bases in those countries where there is an upsurge in the resistance to American neo-colonialist economic, political and cultural domination.

In the Middle East, the two superpowers are locked in one of the fiercest struggles ever waged for domination in that region, in order to gain control of the oil resources and the routes over which the oil is transported. This is most obvious today in the many political and diplomatic machinations and pressures resorted to by the USA in order to regain the neo-colonialist positions it has lost in Iran, and by the Soviet Union in order to increase its influence and gain positions in that country. The Soviet attack in Afghanistan is synchronized and coordinated with the events in Iran. Likewise, the conflict which broke out recently between Iraq and Iran is the result of the fierce rivalry, plots and intrigues of the two superpowers vying for spheres of influence in the Middle East. The grave situation created in that region shows clearly that the two superpowers are still far from the establishment of a «balance of power and interests» in the Middle East, therefore, the struggle between them for hegemony will be ever fiercer and may even lead to a more wide-spread war.

These recent facts are further proof of the correctness of the thesis of the 7th Congress of the Party of Labour of Albania, that «... both when the superpowers work together and when they quarrel, it is others who pay the bill. The collusion and rivalry between the superpowers are the two sides of a contradictory reality, important expressions of the same imperialist strategy to rob the peoples of their freedom and to dominate the world.»*

Today, the rivalry and contest for hegemony between

* Enver Hoxha, Report to the 7th Congress of the PLA, pp. 185-186, Alb. ed.

the Soviet Union and the United States have obviously taken priority over their collaboration and are becoming ever more implacable and aggressive also, due to the emergence of new aspirants to expansion and hegemony. In his book «Imperialism and the Revolution» Comrade Enver Hoxha says, «now in addition to the Soviet-American rivalry for world domination, there are the expansionist claims of Chinese social-imperialism, the predatory ambitions of Japanese militarism, the strivings of West-German imperialism for vital space, the fierce competition of the European Common Market, which has turned its eyes towards the old colonies.»*

There is no doubt that, in their struggle for world domination, the Soviet Union and the United States will try, on the one hand, to exclude the new imperialist aspirants to a redivision of the world from the contest, while endeavouring, on the other hand, to use them against each other. This is what the United States is currently doing with China and Japan with which it is setting up a militarist type axis, to be used as a barrier to restrain and weaken the expansion of the Soviet Union in Asia and Oceania.

This position of the superpowers, which is expressed in their efforts to predominate over all the other imperialist aspirants to a redivision of the world and also to predominate over each other, sets the one against the other and also imposes on them the need to collaborate and reach accord in certain fields, when this is in confirmity with their interests and strategic aims. Therefore, no matter how circumscribed the sphere of collaboration between them, the two superpowers will strive to find «new forms of collaboration in divergence». Such is the attempt to maintain a «balance of military power», especially to prevent one from achieving superiority over the other in the field of strategic weapons. The keeping open of this channel for collaboration, the

* Enver Hoxha, «Imperialism and the Revolution», p. 20, Alb. ed.

SALT talks, imposes on them the need to seek ways and possibilities to hold a dialogue and reach agreement on other problems, too.

In the present world situation, when the crisis of imperialism is becoming ever more profound, making all its contradictions more acute, the rivalry over spheres of influence and the fierce contest for hegemony between the two superpowers continually gives rise to local frictions and armed conflicts which are fraught with the danger of gradually turning into a general war. «When the superpowers fail to achieve their predatory interests through economic, ideological and diplomatic means, when the contradictions become exacerbated to the most acute level, when the agreements and «reforms» prove unable to resolve these contradictions then the war between them begins. Therefore, the peoples, whose blood will be shed in this war, must strive with might and main not to be caught unawares, to sabotage the predatory inter-imperialist war so that it does not assume world-wide proportions, and if they are unable to achieve this, to turn it into a liberation war and win.»*

This is a great Leninist teaching which shows the only way to oppose imperialist alliances, blocs and axes and the wars which they prepare, in order to make their counter-revolutionary, warmongering aims and strategy unrealisable, to avert the dangers which are threatening mankind, including the outbreak of a new world war.

* Enver Hoxha, «Imperialism and the Revolution», p. 50, Alb. ed,

**THE WARSAW TREATY — THE MAIN INSTRUMENT
OF THE SOVIET POLICY OF DOMINATION
AND AGGRESSION**

The Warsaw Treaty plays a prime role in the implementation of the foreign policy of the Soviet Union, just as NATO serves the implementation of the strategy of American imperialism. The historical facts and the practical political and military activity of the military pacts of the two imperialist superpowers have fully confirmed the correctness of the analysis and assessment of the Party of Labour of Albania that «NATO and the Warsaw Treaty, together with the bourgeois and revisionist armies of the member countries, provide the main protection for the capitalist and revisionist systems and the greatest armed force to attack the revolution and socialism and the freedom and independence of the peoples... NATO and the Warsaw Treaty have been and still are instruments for the preparation and unleashing of war.»*

As is known, the Warsaw Treaty was concluded in May 1955. At that time it was considered necessary for the socialist camp and especially for its European member countries, to conclude a joint defence treaty to face the real threat posed by the aggressive NATO bloc, headed by American imperialism.

The correct stands which the Party of Labour of

* Enver Hoxha, Report to the 7th Congress of the PLA, Tirana 1976, pp. 169-170, Alb. ed.

Albania and the Albanian Government have maintained towards the Khrushchevite betrayal are known world wide. The well-founded doubts of our Party about the real aims of the Soviets in the Warsaw Treaty were confirmed within a relatively short time. While all the other member countries of the Warsaw Treaty followed the revisionist road of Khrushchev and fell into the trap he set, our country did not fall prey to the Khrushchevites. On the contrary, at the right time and place, it continually exposed the anti-Marxist, counter-revolutionary activity of the Soviet leadership until it freed itself from all the obligations it had undertaken when it signed the Warsaw Treaty, which never fulfilled the mission for which it was created.

The counter-revolutionary transformation of the Soviet Union into an imperialist superpower could not but be followed by a radical change in the character of the Warsaw Treaty, and as our Party has pointed out, the causes of this change «... must be conceived as being primarily of an ideological character and not merely of a procedural or organizational character. The source of the degeneration of the Warsaw Treaty is the 20th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union.»*

As a result of the policy pursued by the Soviet Union in the Warsaw Treaty, it assumed new features and functions, quite the opposite of those it had when it was formed. Its defensive function completely changed in content: today it defends the interests of Soviet domination in Eastern Europe, in the countries which are members of the Treaty. This was fully confirmed in Czechoslovakia in August 1968. However, for a long time, the Warsaw Treaty has had another function, that of supporting the Soviet policy of open aggression and

* Mehmet Shehu, Report to the 5th Plenum of the CC of the PLA, September 5, 1968, PLA, Principal Documents, vol. 5, p. 433, Alb. ed.

invasion of other countries in Europe and elsewhere. It is a fact that all the allies of the Soviet Union in the Treaty supported the open fascist occupation of Afghanistan just as they have supported the Soviet policy in the Middle East and the Gulf Area, in Africa, Asia, etc. In all its political and military activity, the Warsaw Treaty implements the global strategy of Soviet social-imperialism and its aim is to fight the revolution and socialism, to undermine and sabotage them by every means, to put down the revolution with fire and sword. The Soviet press itself openly admits the role of this Treaty in the service of the foreign imperialist policy of the Soviet Union: «The Warsaw Treaty Organization is the main centre for the coordination of the activity of fraternal countries in the field of foreign policy... In essence, we can speak today of a common strategy of the socialist community in foreign policy.» (The History of the International Relations and Foreign Policy of the USSR (1968-1978). Russian edition, Moscow, 1979, p.21.)

The Soviet iron fist rules in the Warsaw Treaty today. Moving swiftly, the Kremlin consolidated its dominant positions in this alliance, step by step. In his book «The Khrushchevites», Comrade Enver Hoxha writes, «The Soviet Khrushchevites replaced Marxist-Leninist trust and friendship with the domination of the great 'socialist' state, in order to create the 'socialist family' the 'socialist community', in which Brezhnev and the Soviet marshals rule today with the iron fist, by threatening any 'wayward son' of the family with the bludgeon of the Warsaw Treaty.»*

The Warsaw Treaty is at the disposal of Moscow at all times. The Soviet generals, who occupy all the positions of command are omnipotent there. The entire system of the organization of this alliance serves the interests of the Soviet Union. The military integration which the Soviet social-imperialists long ago imposed

* Enver Hoxha, «The Khrushchevites», pp. 217-218, Alb. ed.

in the relations with their partners, together with the economic integration in Comecon, has turned these countries into political, economic and military appendages to the Soviet empire. Through the unification of armaments, the Soviet Union has also made its allies completely dependent on it for the supply of arms and military equipment. These relations of dictate and submission are covered with the cloak of the «standardization of armaments», «cooperation», «specialization», etc.

On the other hand the Soviet Union keeps large contingents of Soviet troops, which in fact are occupation forces, in the territories of the member countries of the Treaty, ready for action whenever the Kremlin needs them. This is a long-standing reality and a fresh example was when they were put on a state of alert during the recent events in Poland. The many military exercises of the Warsaw Treaty also serve the interests of the Soviet policy, because by this means, Soviet social-imperialism blackmails the peoples of the countries in which they take place and those of the neighbouring countries, keeps the vassal cliques under subjection and fear so that they remain under Soviet tutelage, and shifts its troops from one place to another, sometimes to make it appear that it is «reducing» the number of troops in a certain country and sometimes to exert pressure on NATO and the United States. But above all, through military exercises, the Soviet Union keeps the aggressive Warsaw Treaty, which it has effectively turned into an important appendage to its own aggressive army, ready for war.

As is known, the foreign policy of the Soviet Union is aimed at the extension of its hegemony and domination through the world. This finds expression in the different kinds of political and military pressures exerted on other countries, and in the intensive military preparations, not only to launch aggressions and occupy individual countries, but also to carry out largescale attacks covering whole regions and several states simultaneously, when the moment and the circumstances seem appro-

priate. From this angle the Warsaw Treaty plays a major role. It is an important instrument in the hands of the Soviet social-imperialists in their rivalry with American imperialism and NATO. While in the political field the Warsaw Treaty serves to impose and protect the domination of the Soviet Union in the vassal states of Eastern Europe and to ensure their approval of and support for the imperialist foreign policy of the Soviet Union, in the military field this Treaty serves to put this policy into practice.

The Warsaw Treaty is not only the guardian of Soviet interests in the countries which are being squeezed and impoverished by Moscow, but is also a threat to the freedom and independence of the other countries of Europe and to the regions around it. The Soviet Union clamours about «European security» at a time when it has occupied Afghanistan, it swears it is for «disarmament», «peace» and «reduction of tension» while simultaneously making intensive war preparations. On the other hand, it uses the Warsaw Treaty as a means of blackmail and threats. The Soviet Union has set up a whole of military bases and built high-ways and oil supply pipelines in its satellite countries. Besides this, time after time, the Soviet chiefs of the Warsaw Treaty have reorganized the structures of its commands and altered the direction of their activity in accordance with the aggressive strategy and policy of the Kremlin. Operating at present, along with the others, is the Soviet Command of the southern flank, which directs its activity towards the Balkans and the western seas around it. While continuously increasing its own war budget, which according to the news agencies amounts to about 160 billion dollars, the Soviet Union is also encouraging its vassals to increase their military expenditure. In this way, the Warsaw Treaty is rushing ahead with aggressive military preparations.

In those conditions, the fraudulent nature of the notorious talks on «the reduction of troops and armaments in Europe» that the Soviet social-imperialists, in the

context of the Warsaw Treaty, have been conducting for nearly a decade with the American imperialists and their NATO allies is quite obvious. The purpose of such demagogical talks is to cover up the reality of the armaments race and rivalry between the two super-powers and their preparations for a new world war.

The strategy of Soviet social-imperialism has nothing in common with socialism and Leninism and any description such as «internationalist», «peaceful» and «defensive» that the Soviet propaganda applies to the Warsaw Treaty is false. The Warsaw Treaty is the twin sister of NATO, and the foreign policy of the Soviet Union, as the Party of Labour of Albania has made clear, is a policy of violence, oppression and imperialist aggression.

On this question, the stand of the Chinese revisionists should be noted. Claiming that Soviet social-imperialism is the only enemy of the peoples, the Chinese revisionists present only the Warsaw Treaty as dangerous, while they defend NATO.

On the other hand, in regard to the peoples of those countries who are suffering under the double oppression of the local and Soviet bourgeoisie, China is silent and takes no account of them at all, in this way telling them to keep their mouths shut, to submit and become cannon-fodder for the blood-thirsty clique of the Kremlin.

Consistent in their Marxist-Leninist stand, the Party of Labour of Albania and the Albanian people, will continue to fight against the hegemonic and expansionist imperialist policy of the Soviet Union and its instrument of war, the Warsaw Treaty, with the same determination and force as they fight American imperialism, NATO and all world reaction. This is the only correct, revolutionary road, which guarantees freedom and independence, defends the Homeland and ensures the construction of socialism; it is the internationalist road which supports and defends the revolutionary struggle of the proletariat and the oppressed peoples for national and social liberation.

**THE SHARPENING OF CONTRADICTIONS BETWEEN
THE SOVIET UNION AND CHINA — THE RESULT OF
THEIR IMPERIALIST POLICY**

Between the Soviet Union and China, today an extensive complex confrontation which includes almost every field has developed. Their great-power ambitions led these two countries to frictions, contradictions and conflicts, which grew greater, deeper and more acute during the 60's and 70's until they reached the point of armed clashes.

After they usurped state power and put the Soviet Union on the road of capitalist development, the Khrushchevites set themselves the objective of building the Russian revisionist empire. Whereas the Maoists, stuffed with the sentiments of old Chinese nationalism and chauvinism, came out with plans for the transformation of their country into a new imperialist superpower, with ambitions to hegemony and domination, along with the United States of America and the Soviet Union.

There is practically no field of international relations today in which the disagreements and contradictions between Soviet social-imperialism and Chinese social-imperialism are not manifested in harsh forms. The disagreements and contradictions between these two new imperialisms are, first of all, over the place and role of each of them in the world and over the spheres of influence which they claim and strive to secure.

The Soviet Union, as an established superpower, with

greater economic and military potential, with the military and economic blocs it manipulates, such as the Warsaw Treaty and Comecon, with vassal parties in the East and West in the service of its policy, and with a wide sphere of influence and domination, such as the so-called socialist community, wants to make the law and to be the undisputed ruler of many parts of the world, not only today, but also in the future.

Although for the time being China is still far from the objectives it has set itself and in a state of chaos, with its pretensions of becoming a superpower, with its expansionist and warmongering policy and its aggressive imperialist alliances with the United States of America and Japan, it cannot but be regarded by the Soviet social-imperialists as a danger which threatens to restrict the area of their domination, especially on the continent of Asia. Therefore, having greater economic and military potential and a relatively more consolidated position than China, which is in the process of becoming a superpower, the Soviet Union is doing everything possible to further its plans for the isolation and subjugation of China. It is keeping up the pressure and threats by stationing large, heavily armed forces on its long common border with China, as well as by means of other countries which are its allies.

For its part, China also keeps millions of soldiers on the border with the Soviet Union and spends a considerable part of its fund for the aims of its chauvinist policy. The Chinese revisionists' ambitions and efforts for expansion and domination are known and date back to early times.

Despite these ambitious aims, however, China's strength is still insufficient for it to seriously challenge either of the imperialist superpowers, though towards small peoples it adopts the brutal and arrogant stand of a big power. In these circumstances the Chinese revisionists, basing themselves on the intensive exploitation of the colossal population of China, are bent on turning their country, within the shortest possible time — by the year

2000 at the latest — into an imperialist superpower, with a powerful war industry and a large army, equipped with the most sophisticated weapons. Meanwhile, they have orientated their foreign policy towards alliances with American imperialism and the other imperialist powers, from which they hope to get the assistance they are seeking in order to modernize the country from the economic and military aspects.

On this course they have begun, the Chinese social-imperialists see that, in order to achieve their great political, economic and military ambitions, they must first eliminate any resistance to their expansion in the surrounding territories. But they will have to clash with a more powerful opponent, Soviet social-imperialism, in order to take Siberia and the Far East and to evict it from those zones and countries of Central and Southeast Asia in which they plan to expand and establish their colonies. Then they envisage further conflicts with the other imperialists for more distant markets and spheres of influence in Africa, Latin America and Oceania. Therefore, in order to achieve its hegemonic aims, China today has made the foundation stone of its foreign policy the alliance with American imperialism from which it is begging more and more credits, armaments and technology.

In order to create a strong China of continental dimensions, the Chinese social-imperialists are also pinning great hopes on the diabolical strategy they have worked out, on the basis of which they advocate and encourage the outbreak of a new inter-imperialist war. Since it is still too weak to wage war itself on Soviet social-imperialism, which is stronger, Chinese social-imperialism is trying to urge American imperialism and the other imperialist powers to go to war against it, and calling on them openly for the creation of a «holy alliance». The Chinese social-imperialists would like this war to break out in Europe, far from their borders, so that the United States of America, the Soviet Union and Europe itself are devastated with fire and sword, while China is left the only dominant power in the world.

However, this playing with fire cannot fail to drive China itself to a real catastrophe. Neither the United States of America, nor its allies and other friends are going to embroil themselves in a war in the interests of China. On the contrary, they are interested and acting to make China a political mercenary and instrument of war in their hands, in order to realize their own plans and strategy for the weakening and destruction of the power of Soviet social-imperialism which is their chief rival in the contest for world domination.

Today the contest between Soviet social-imperialism and Chinese social-imperialism for hegemony can be seen in all the most important zones and the hot spots of the world, especially of Asia, where their interests for expansion and domination collide more heavily than anywhere else. It begins in the Far East, continues to Southeast Asia which today is one of the zones most exposed to and hard hit by the Soviet-Chinese imperialist rivalry, to the Indian sub-continent, and extends as far as the Middle East to which the smell of oil has attracted not only the Soviet Union, but also China.

The reasons for the fierce and deep contradictions between the Soviet Union and China must be sought in the imperialist ideology and chauvinist policies which these two countries and their revisionist parties pursue. It is precisely this ideology and these policies, formulated and implemented by the Khrushchevites and the Maoists about the «great state», the «great people» and the «great party», that led the Soviet Union and China into an armed clash even over a tiny island in the middle of a river which is constantly changing its course.

The contradictions between the Khrushchevites and the Maoists have nothing to do with stands of principle, as they try to present them in order to deceive the proletariat and the peoples and to conceal their hegemonic and aggressive course. The essence of the problem is that each of these two anti-Marxist parties in power wants to be the «big shot» and to hold the banner of modern revision-

ism in its own hands in order to use it according to the interests and plans of the imperialist policy it pursues.

The Soviet revisionists are doing their utmost to maintain their predominant positions over the revisionist allies and to use all the revisionist parties as instruments of their hegemonic foreign policy, while the Chinese revisionists want to torpedo these positions and take their place. Therefore, wherever they can they set up Maoist parties and groups and strengthen the ties of friendship, especially with those revisionist parties of the West which oppose the Soviet revisionists and have tendencies to escape from Moscow's control. The Chinese revisionists reckon they will use these forces to set up a new revisionist bloc to oppose the Soviet one.

On the surface it looks as if Soviet revisionism and Chinese revisionism have nothing in common, except disagreements and contradictions. The imperialist policies they pursue according to the interests of the bourgeoisie of their respective countries, of course, divide them and lead them to conflict and war. But their identical aims in the struggle they are waging today against Marxism-Leninism, the revolution and socialism, unite them and place them on the same side of the barricade as the most ferocious and dangerous enemies of the peoples.

Therefore, since their ideological basis is the same, regardless of their mutual opposition and threats, the possibility of compromises and agreements between them, in conformity with their interests, cannot be ruled out. Zhou Enlai's compromises in the spirit of unexpected, unprincipled and secret talks and meetings with the Khrushchevites in Moscow and Beijing are neither the first nor the last. They are part and parcel of the political line of the Chinese revisionist leaders, which changes according to the changing international circumstances and the pragmatic interests of China.

As a conclusion, we can say that the Soviet-Chinese imperialist contradictions stem from the capitalist system of oppression and exploitation, which exists in the Soviet Union and China and are fostered by the hege-

monic and expansionist interests and ambitions of the ruling classes of these two countries.

International imperialism and reaction add fuel to the flames in order to make gains from the aggravation of these contradictions. At the same time, by treating the imperialist contradictions between the Soviet Union and China as a conflict between two «communist giants», they aim to befuddle the peoples and discredit socialism and communism.

The Party of Labour of Albania long ago predicted clearly and warned most seriously of the dangers which result from the hegemonic and chauvinist course of the Khrushchevites and the Maoists. The profound analyses and the accurate Marxist-Leninist assessments, which Comrade Enver Hoxha has made of this course in his works of fundamental importance, «Imperialism and the Revolution», «Reflections on China», and «The Khrushchevites», have been fully confirmed over and over again.

At the same time, along with these warnings, our Party has always maintained a principled position; it has resolutely and courageously exposed the hegemonic and aggressive policies of Soviet and Chinese social-imperialism and has laid bare their hostile plans in regard to our country. This has special vital importance both for the fate of our people and for the cause of the revolution and socialism in the world.

THE AGGRESSIVE POLICY OF THE SOVIET SOCIAL-IMPERIALISTS IN THE MEDITERRANEAN AND THE BALKANS

In his major work «Imperialism and the Revolution», Comrade Enver Hoxha writes: «The strategy of the Soviet social-imperialists... is the strategy of a predatory imperialist state which wants to extend its hegemony and domination to all countries on all continents.»*

The political, economic and military activity of the Soviet Union in the Mediterranean and the Balkans occupies an important place in the whole expansionist foreign policy of the Soviet Union in various regions of the world. This is because the imperialist ambitions of the Soviet Union are not just continuation of the dreams of the Tzars of old Russia, who considered the Balkans «a pro-Russian Slav territory», but also because Moscow's present expansionist ambitions in the Balkans are linked with expansion in the whole strategic basin of the Mediterranean.

In order to increase its political-military presence in the Mediterranean, the social-imperialist Soviet Union has taken advantage of the tense situations created in this region, which it has further exacerbated, in order to create permanent hotbeds of tension, and consequently, to have a permanent pretext for its military presence, has striven to set up groups of pro-Soviet states, to conclude

* Enver Hoxha, «Imperialism and the Revolution», Tirana 1978, p. 38, Alb. ed.

separate agreements and treaties with the countries of the Middle East and North Africa and so on. Soviet social-imperialism has exploited the imperialist-zionist aggressions in the Middle East in 1967 and 1973, the crises in Cyprus and, for a certain time, the crisis in Malta, the tense situations in Lebanon, the Horn of Africa and elsewhere, to increase the size of its aggressive fleet and renew its political activity in that region. All this political-military activity has always been conducted in fierce rivalry with the United States of America to capture the most important strategic positions in the Mediterranean.

Finding itself in positions less favourable than those of American imperialism, which has numerous naval and air bases in this region, the Soviet Union tries to exploit the various situations that arise in the context of the rivalry between the two superpowers in the Mediterranean, in order to establish its own military bases; it incites quarrels among the Arab countries while posing as their «friend» and «protector» and offering them «aid», it demonstrates its military strength through the «friendly» visits of its navy and so on. Despite all these efforts, the Soviet Union has not yet been able to secure any powerful permanent base, a thing which is essential for its aggressive navy. After the United States ousted it from Egypt in 1972 and deprived it of its base in Alexandria, Moscow has managed, by exploiting the quarrels among the Arab countries, to gain access to port facilities in a few Mediterranean countries, as well as to the use of some military air bases. By means of support ships the Soviet Union also tries to use the shallows of the Mediterranean to repair and supply its warships.

With its «physical» presence in the Mediterranean, the political aim of the Soviet Union is to exert its dictate and hegemony in the countries of this region. The domination of North Africa and the extension of its influence to large areas of Southern Europe, and especially the Balkans, has great importance for the Soviet Union. In this way, it aims to weaken the military positions of its rival, American imperialism, on the southern flank of

NATO and to control the sea routes of the Western countries, especially the narrows. Meanwhile in the economic field, the Soviet Union aims to extend its expansion and all-round economic control to the whole of this basin.

The social-imperialist Soviet Union pursues the same strategic, political and economic aims towards the Balkans. Here there is a special feature — in the past the Balkans has always been the «powder keg of Europe», an area in which the interests of the great capitalist powers of Europe, and later, those of the superpowers, have been entangled. Proceeding from the strategic position of the Balkan Peninsula, this rivalry has become even fiercer today. The superpowers are trying to interfere in the Balkan countries in every way, to strengthen their influence in the countries which they have under their control or linked with their alliances. Likewise, each tries to elbow the other out whenever it sees the positions of its rival shaken in this or that country of the region. In the plans of the two superpowers, the Balkan Peninsula remains an important base in case of an attack on Europe, the «key» to control the Middle East and the Mediterranean. The Soviet social-imperialists have transformed Bulgaria into a major outpost for the aggressive activities of the Soviet Union and the Warsaw Treaty directed against the other Balkan countries. In that country the Soviet Union and the Warsaw Treaty have scores of land, air and naval bases, depots of armaments, etc. In order to facilitate military operations in the direction of the Balkans, the Soviet Union has set up a ferry-boat system between Ilychovsk and Varna, which is among the biggest in the world, capable of transporting troops and military material from the Soviet Union to Bulgaria. In Hungary, too, there is a concentration of Soviet troops destined for the Balkan countries. Inseparable from all this are the frequent military exercises of the Warsaw Treaty forces, with ever increasing participation of troops and means, the creation of headquarters, commands and other strategic-military objects in the Balkan countries and the surrounding states, the persistent efforts of the

Soviet Union to secure bases in the Balkans for its aggressive Mediterranean fleet, etc.

The Soviet Union had the same aims towards our country, too, when, as Comrade Enver Hoxha writes in his book «The Khrushchevites», Khrushchev intended to build a big submarine base in the south of Albania to realize his expansionist ambitions over the whole Mediterranean, «from the Bosphorus to Gibraltar».

The Soviet activity and interference in this region are favoured by the complicated state of relations between the Balkan countries, where the Soviet Union, sometimes on its own and sometimes using Bulgaria as its cat's paw, according to the occasion, stirs up disagreements between the Balkan states on various pretexts. In the context of its rivalry with the United States in the Balkans, the Soviet Union is trying to torpedo the American positions in Greece and Turkey. The purpose of this dangerous activity by both the Soviet Union and the USA is to threaten, intimidate and demoralize the peoples of the Balkans, in order to create situations which, in certain favourable circumstances, could be exploited by the superpowers to justify their military intervention or aggression in this or that Balkan country.

In the analysis which he made of the political activity of the Soviet revisionists, at the 7th Congress of the PLA, Comrade Enver Hoxha points out that «The Soviet Union is in pursuit of openly expansionist aims, especially in the Balkans and the Mediterranean» and that «it is seeking to achieve these ambitions through aggression or subversion.»* The Soviet Union employs the aggressive Warsaw Treaty and Comecon — both basic instruments of its social-imperialist policy, to serve these aims.

The aggressive foreign policy of the Soviet Union in the Mediterranean and the Balkans reveals that:

First, the Soviet policy is a policy of force and dictate, a policy of blackmail and military pressure. The pre-

* Enver Hoxha, Report to the 7th Congress of the PLA, Tirana, November 1976, p. 210, Alb. ed.

sence of the Soviet fleet in the Mediterranean is intended as a means of pressure and blackmail on the countries of this basin to back up the diplomatic activity of the Soviet social-imperialists.

In the realization of the hegemonic aims of the Soviet Union, a twofold process, political and military, can be seen. On the one hand, we have the feverish political activity of Soviet diplomacy, which is trying to open the way for the realization of the strategic aims of the Soviet Union in the Mediterranean and the Balkans, while on the other hand, we have the Soviet military presence and the build-up and qualitative strengthening of the striking force, through which the Soviet social-imperialists back up their political activity in the region.

Second, in order to realize its hegemonic ambitions, the Soviet Union, as an imperialist power, practises a policy of economic expansion towards the countries of these regions, as a precursor to and base for its political and military expansion, setting in motion the neo-colonialist organization, Comecon, to this end.

Third, the Soviet policy towards the states of these regions is characterized by interference in their internal affairs, which is carried out according to the widely-known tactic of «eroding the base from within», through underhand political deals, factions, coups d'états and espionage activity or by means of pro-Soviet revisionist parties.

The hostile intentions of the Soviet Union towards the People's Socialist Republic of Albania are included in the whole complex of the Soviet social-imperialists' political activity in the Mediterranean and the Balkans. The Soviet foreign policy towards Albania, unlike that towards other countries, is linked not only with the realization of the current military and strategic plans of the Soviet Union, but also with the liquidation of the only state of the dictatorship of the proletariat and its Marx-

* Enver Hoxha, Report to the 7th Congress of the PLA, p. 168, Alb. ed.

ist-Leninist Party which has always been in the forefront of the struggle against Khrushchevite revisionism and revisionism of every hue.

Our country has always made it clear that anyone who allows himself to be drawn into the game of the superpowers, ie of the Soviet Union, too, damages the interests of his own people and, at the same time, creates dangers for the other peoples. In exposing the revisionist theses about European or Balkan security, the Party of Labour and the Government of Albania have forcefully pointed out that the Balkan peoples are in a position to act resolutely to bar the way to any interference or intrigues of the imperialist superpowers. As a Mediterranean country, Albania has opposed the presence of the naval fleets of the United States and the Soviet Union in the Mediterranean and has raised its voice against allowing the setting up of American or Soviet bases in the territories of these countries, against providing port facilities for their warships or allowing their military aircraft to fly through their territorial air space.

The Party of Labour of Albania and the People's Socialist Republic of Albania long ago exposed the foreign policy of the Soviet Union as a profoundly aggressive social-imperialist policy, a direct expression of the ideological platform of Khrushchevite revisionism. They have fought equally hard against Soviet social-imperialism as against the ambitions of American imperialism in the Mediterranean, the Balkans and everywhere else, and against the sinister aims of the Chinese social-imperialists in these regions.

As Comrade Enver Hoxha emphasizes in his book «The Khrushchevites», «... our struggle against the treacherous, fascist, social-imperialist activity of the Khrushchevite and Brezhnev revisionists did not cease and will not cease. We have attacked them and will go on attacking them until they are wiped from the face of the earth.»*

* Enver Hoxha, «The Khrushchevites», (memoirs), Tirana 1980, p. 473, Alb. ed.

THE POLITICAL, ECONOMIC AND MILITARY AIMS OF THE SOVIET SOCIAL-IMPERIALISTS IN THE MIDDLE EAST

The political, economic and military aims of the Soviet social-imperialists in the Middle East are a component part of and inseparable from the whole predatory and hegemony-seeking foreign policy of the Soviet Union today. They began with the usurping of power by the Khrushchevite revisionist group, when radical changes were made in both the internal and the foreign policies of the Soviet Union, when the principles of proletarian internationalism of non-interference in the internal affairs of other peoples and countries, which had triumphed with the Great October Revolution, and which V. I. Lenin and J. V. Stalin had consistently defended and implemented, were rejected and trampled underfoot. Comrade Enver Hoxha writes: «The policy of the Soviet revisionists is a typically aggressive colonialist and neo-colonialist policy which is based on the power of capital and force of arms. The struggle that the Soviet Union is waging today to occupy strategic positions in the Middle East, its expansion to the Mediterranean, to the Atlantic and Indian Oceans, its interference in Africa and Latin America, its pressure on Europe and its meddling in the affairs of Asia, all these actions bear the stamp of this policy.»*

* Enver Hoxha, Report to the 7th Congress of the PLA, p. 168, Alb. ed.

The political, economic and military aims of Soviet social-imperialism in the Middle East have a strategic character.

First, they are directed towards the rich natural resources and the huge reserves of relatively cheap oil and natural gas of this region.

Although the Soviet Union is one of the biggest producers of oil and natural gas in the world, it has continuously imported oil and gas in very large quantities from the countries of the Middle East: a) in order to resell them at inflated current prices to its East-European vassals and some West-European countries; b) in order to ensure that the oil and gas reserves of these countries, which are extremely important, indeed vital, not only to the economies of its rivals — the United States and the other Western countries, but also to their military machines, are not left under the control of the Americans alone.

Second, the Soviet social-imperialists take into consideration the extremely favourable geographical situation of these countries as the shortest land, air and sea links between Europe and the other continents. The Middle East is the gateway between East and West.

From the military and strategic standpoint, the Suez Canal, the short cut from Europe to the Indian Ocean, has great importance for the Soviet Black Sea Fleet.

Third, they take account of the fact that at present the Middle East is the largest and most profitable market for the sale of Soviet armaments and the best testing ground for new weapons.

Besides this, the countries of the Middle East also comprise one of the largest markets in which the Soviet Union unloads its stocks of unsold industrial goods, and makes investments which are highly profitable to itself but utterly unnecessary for the peoples of these countries.

Fourth, in the past two decades, the anti-imperialist and anti-social-imperialist struggles of the Arab peoples in the Middle East and in North Africa, of the peoples of Afghanistan, Iran, etc in defence of their freedom and

independence, their national assets, and especially, their oil, have created a very worrying situation for the two superpowers. Sabotage of the progressive and revolutionary people's movements, of the liberation struggles of these peoples is also one of the fundamental objectives of the counter-revolutionary aims of both the American imperialists and the Soviet social-imperialists.

* *
*

The policy of the Soviet social-imperialists towards the Middle East is covered up with slogans about «the security of the borders and the defence of the supreme interests of the Soviet Union», the «socialist community», and even about the Soviet Union's «friendship» and «determination» to «respect its solemn pledges» to the «allied» peoples and countries! But the falsity of the Soviet Union's «friendship» and «determination to respect its pledges» to the «allied» peoples and countries, in this case, the Arab peoples and, in particular, the Palestinian people, has become clear from the various aggressive and expansionist wars waged by Israel against Egypt, Syria, Jordan, Lebanon, etc in the years 1956, 1967 and 1973. On all three occasions the Soviet social-imperialist leaders have issued «threats» against the Israeli aggressors and their American patrons, but when it has come to taking a concrete and open stand in favour of the just struggle of the Arab peoples, that is, of fulfilling their political, technical-military and other commitments, they have backed down. They have played the role of mediator allegedly in order to «calm things down» and «prevent» a major world war.

...While they pose as supporters of the just struggle of the Arab peoples and the Palestinian people, in particular, the Soviet social-imperialists are, in fact, the main

suppliers of military and scientific cadres to Israel, thus increasing the attack capability of the aggressive Israeli army, and the main suppliers of refugees to populate the kibbutzes set up on the occupied Arab territories. The Soviet Union has never broken off its «unofficial» links with the aggressor state of Israel. The Soviet social-imperialists, like the American imperialists, are for the existence and consolidation of a great Israel, politically, economically and militarily powerful. They need this Israeli state in order to keep the Middle East in a state of permanent tension and to use it as a means of diversion and blackmail against the Arab countries. On this plane, the Soviet Union supports the imperialist Israeli policy of «secure borders» for Israel and the establishment of a dismembered Palestinian state, although it does not do so openly.

Everything indicates that in order to further its political and military aims in the Middle East, the social-imperialist Soviet Union, on the basis of its global strategy, has applied a definite tactic: each time the Arab-Israeli conflict has reached a delicate point, Moscow has addressed itself to Washington through the means of open diplomacy and the red teletype, in order to avoid jeopardizing its own objectives and conspiratorial plans. This is how the Soviet Union and the United States have arrived at the Rogers-Gromyko plan, policy of «neither peace no war», the Geneva Conference (of which the Soviet Union and the United States are co-chairmen), at the meetings of the Security Council at which Israel has been dealt with as a state involved in the war and not as an aggressor state, etc. Hence, the Soviet social-imperialists have in no way committed themselves, as they continue to claim, to defend the interests of the Arab peoples, the victims of the Zionist-imperialist aggression, but have worked so as not to miss any opportunity or possibility to entrange themselves deeper and deeper in the Middle East zone and to strengthen their positions in the Mediterranean.

The present and long-term objectives of the Soviet

social-imperialists in the Middle East may be summed up as follows:

1. To maintain the political and military influence of the Soviet Union wherever it already exists (in Syria, Iraq, South Yemen, Libya, etc), and if possible, to extend it to other countries to the detriment of its rival — the United States of America;

2. To restore Soviet influence wherever it has been lost (especially in Egypt);

3. To put the oil and natural gas resources of the countries of the Persian Gulf under Soviet control in order to get a stranglehold on the United States of America and the West-European countries which import most of their oil from this region;

4. To avoid at all costs losing its markets for the sale of armaments and stocks of shoddy goods;

5. To sabotage and destroy the strategic-military superiority of the United States of America and, in this context, to ensure the free passage of the Soviet naval fleet through the Suez Canal to the Indian Ocean, and vice-versa, at all costs;

6. To sabotage and undermine the national liberation wars and revolutionary movements of the Arab, African and Asian peoples of that area.

* *
*

The Middle East crisis is caused, incited and manipulated by the two imperialist superpowers. On several occasions, this crisis has endangered the security of other peoples and threatened to develop into a major destructive war. This danger has not been eliminated, or even reduced, because its causes have not been removed or reduced. Because of the fierce rivalry between the United States of America and the Soviet Union, each bent on ensuring for itself control of the strategic positions and the sea, land and air routes, and on plundering the huge resources of

oil and natural gas of the Middle East, it could be transformed into a world conflict at any moment.

The recent conflict between Iraq and Iran is also a direct consequence of this rivalry. By this means, the superpowers want to strike at and sabotage the bourgeois-democratic revolution of the Iranian people, to strike at and sabotage the national liberation struggles of the Arab peoples, and each of them hopes to strengthen its dominant positions in the oil-and-gas rich basin of the Middle East. This conflict runs counter to the immediate and long-term interests of the Iraqi people, the Iranian people and all the other Arab peoples. That is why the Middle East crisis and its developments pose a very grave and continuous danger to the peoples of the Middle East, the Mediterranean, Africa and also of other countries.

In many of its documents, our Party has made a profound scientific, Marxist-Leninist analysis of the imperialist policy and aims of the present-day Soviet Union and the United States of America in the Middle East and their consequences, pointing out long ago that the «Middle East crisis» is a result of the global plans and policies of the imperialist superpowers for hegemony.

Today the authority of the Soviet social-imperialists in the Middle East has fallen very low because of their hostile neo-colonialist policy. Regardless of its continuing attempts to pose as a «socialist state» which follows a «Leninist foreign policy» and «intervenes only to prevent the hostile acts of world imperialism», etc. the social-imperialist Soviet Union is considered and treated by the peoples of the Middle East as an imperialist superpower, just as arrogant and aggressive as the United States of America.

The Arab peoples and all the Moslem peoples of the Middle East have awakened and thrown themselves into the struggle against foreign imperialists and the local feudal-bourgeois oppressors. The patriotic and revolutionary movement of the terribly oppressed and impoverished broad working masses is extending. Evidence of this can

be seen in the bourgeois-democratic, anti-imperialist revolution of the Iranian people who overthrew the fanatical regime of the Pahlavis and put an end to the interference and plunder by American imperialism, without becoming trapped in the web of Soviet social-imperialism, in the dauntless struggle of the Afghan people against the Russian invaders, and the opposition of the Arab and other peoples of the Middle East to the insidious predatory policies of American imperialism and Soviet social-imperialism.

PAPERS AT SESSION «B»

Mark Vuksaj

THE PROCESS OF THE ORGANIZATIONAL TRANSFORMATION OF THE CPSU INTO A BOURGEOIS-REVISIONIST PARTY

The process of the ideological and political transformation of the CPSU into a revisionist party, was also accompanied by the replacement of Marxist-Leninist norms and principles with bourgeois-revisionist norms and principles. Thus Lenin's teaching that «Opportunism in program is naturally connected with opportunism in tactics and opportunism in organization,»* was confirmed in practice.

Despite all the disguise, the organizational principles and norms became anti-Leninist, bourgeois, reactionary, fascist. Although presented as communist, «they are used as levers for the subjugation of the party and the implementation of the will of the revisionist clique in power.»** The turn from Leninist norms to revisionist-fascist norms, was the greatest evil and the most terrible weapon for the degeneration and corruption, the development of bureaucracy and technocracy and one of the main sources of that great tragedy which occurred in the CPSU.

Let us touch on some of the main problems of the

* V. I. Lenin, Selected Works, vol. 1, p. 511, Alb. ed.

** Enver Hoxha, Report to the 6th Congress of the PLA, p. 188, Alb. ed.

process of the organizational transformation of the CPSU into a bourgeois-revisionist party.

* *
*

The revolutionary class struggle within the proletarian party, to safeguard its proletarian line and its Marxist-Leninist ideological and organizational unity is a law, a fundamental principle. Immediately after the death of Stalin, **this struggle degenerated into a struggle for power amongst individuals and groups in the leadership of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union**, just as occurs in every bourgeois party. This struggle for power led to the elimination of the revolutionary policy, norms and methods of the election of leading organs, the election or appointment of leading cadres and their replacement with the policy, norms and methods of putsches and plots, of factionalism and nepotism, of servility and careerism.

Behind the scenes, Khrushchev and Co. had prepared the terrain for such a policy when Stalin was alive and were awaiting the appropriate moment to put it into practice.

This is the only possible explanation for the fact that the very next day after Stalin's death, when all the Party and the peoples of the Soviet Union, as well as all the communists, the proletariat and the peoples of the world were weeping over this immense loss, within the leadership of the CPSU, the infighting, the struggle for power began, the struggle to divide up the positions and roles, to carry out far-reaching reorganizations in the top organs of the party and state, while intrigues, quarrels started to emerge, and plots and putsches were hatched up.*

* Enver Hoxha «The Khrushchevites», (memoirs), Tirana 1980, p. 14, Alb. ed.

In order to achieve complete domination in the CC and in the government, Khrushchev needed the two main weapons of the dictatorship, the security organs and the army. By eliminating Beria, on one hand Khrushchev got rid of one of his most powerful rivals on his way to emerge at the top of the party and state, while on the other hand, he gained control of the organs of internal affairs, which were to serve as a main weapon in his struggle for power.

With the army he followed another tactic. He found the way to win over the main military cadres who had distinguished themselves in the Great Patriotic War, but who had become bourgeois in peace-time. In particular, Khrushchev exploited the ambitions of Marshal Zhukov, whom he made Minister of Defence and a member of the Presidium of the CC of the CPSU thus winning him over. By means of Zhukov, at the head of the army, he organized the plot and putsch against the «anti-Party group» of Molotov, Malenkov and Kaganovich in 1957.

Having the leadership of the security organs and the army on its side, the Khrushchev clique liquidated the Leninist policy on cadres and replaced it with the personal policy of the clique in power.

However, Khrushchev was afraid of Zhukov's pronounced ambitions for power, and so he eliminated him from the leadership by means of plots and putsches. In the end Khrushchev himself was toppled in the same manner, in 1964, by Brezhnev and his clique, in the process of struggle for power, which is still going on in the Soviet leadership.

* * *

The elimination of the Marxist-Leninist principles and norms in the structure and the internal life of the party led to the transformation of the Communist

Party of the Soviet Union from a leading party of the working class, which realized the hegemony of this class in the socialist state and in the entire life of the country, into an appendage of the revisionist Soviet state. The Soviet state became a fascist and social-imperialist state, therefore **the party, too, became fascist and bureaucratic, being transformed into a tool of the fascist social-imperialist state.** As Comrade Enver Hoxha has stressed in his book «Imperialism and the Revolution»: «The party was stripped of its attributes as the vanguard of the working class, as the sole political leading force of the state and society, and was transformed into a party dominated by the apparatchiki and the KGB.»*

The thesis of «the party of the entire people» is also linked with the combining of the function of the first (general) secretary of the party, with the function of head of state, the concentration of both these main leading functions in the hands of a single person, Brezhnev.

*
* *
*

The liquidation of the Marxist-Leninist principles and norms, led to the **deproletarianization of the composition of the Bolshevik Party.**

The bourgeois policy on admissions to the party, brought a gradual decrease in the number of workers in the party. Thus according to figures published by the revisionist Soviet press, in the period 1966-1971, while admissions of workers and peasants represented 40.1 per cent, and 15.1 per cent respectively of the total, those from the ranks of the intellegensia were 44.8 per cent.

* Enver Hoxha, «Imperialism and the Revolution», pp. 33-34, Alb. ed.

The percentage of workers in the party dropped from 55 per cent in 1971, to 41.6 per cent in 1976, at a time when the working class made up 61.2 per cent of the total population.

The Soviet revisionists try to justify the priority given to admissions from the intellegensia, with technical progress, which they claim determines the development of society and in which the main role is played not by the working class, but by specialists of production. Therefore, according to the revisionist logic, the ranks of the party should be filled with intellectuals. In 1976, one out of every four to five specialists was a party member, whereas only one out of every 12 workers was a party member.

In that party the Leninist norms which must be applied in the process of admissions have long been abandoned. Admissions to the party are not decided by the collective leading organs and organizations of the party, but by the apparatuses, by the revisionist bourgeoisie according to its ideology and norms.

The revisionist Soviet clique used the purging of the party, which is one of the laws of the development of the party of the working class and a class weapon in its hands, to attack its enemies with police methods. This purging of a bourgeois-revisionist character started from the top leading organs and was extended downwards to include the entire party. Within just ten years (1954-1964), Khrushchev and his clique expelled over 70 per cent of the members of the CC of the party who had been elected at the 19th Congress (1952).

Even more severe purges were carried out in the lower organs of the party. At the 22nd Congress of the CPSU, under the pretext of the «systematic regeneration of the party» over 40 per cent of the members of leading forums were replaced. Again in 1963 under the slogan of «reorganization of the party» more than half the members of these forums were replaced. The Soviet revisionist press itself, admitted in 1967, that people of the bureaucratic stratum make up about 66

per cent of the members of all the leading organs of the party and from 91.1-97.6 per cent of the party secretaries of all levels. (The magazine «Kommunist», No. 15, 1967.) At the 7th Congress of the PLA in 1976, Comrade Enver Hoxha pointed out that in the revisionist Soviet party «... the members of party committees of different levels are bureaucratic officials, while the secretaries of these committees are almost one hundred per cent intellectuals and technocrats.»*

Along with purges in the revisionist Soviet party under the slogan of the «flowering of democracy, legality and freedom», a wave of rehabilitations of traitors and enemies punished by the Bolshevik Party in the time of Lenin and Stalin began. Such people as Tukachevsky, Zinoviev, Kameniev, Bukharin and Co. were rehabilitated although it is known they were traitors, agents and spies of imperialism and that their theories and viewpoints had been severely criticized not only by Stalin, but also by Lenin, when he was alive. The process of rehabilitations began on the eve of the 20th Congress of the CPSU and continued in the following years.

The transformation of the basic organization of the party from an organization for leadership into a purely formal organization which is used only to approve the revisionist political line of the party, is another consequence of the bourgeois-revisionist policy. The increase of the size of the basic organization confirms its formal character. According to the Soviet revisionists, in 1977, 40.9 per cent of the basic organizations had up to 49 members, 12.1 per cent 50-100 members and 6.6 per cent over 100 members. Hence the increase in size of the basic organization, as well as its disorganized life, not in the least proletarian, speak clearly of the formal character of the democracy of the basic organization and its role.

* Enver Hoxha, Report to the 7th Congress of the PLA, pp. 94-95, Alb. ed.

If the process of the transformation of the CPSU into a bourgeois-revisionist fascist party is divided into periods, it can be said that this process has gone through three main stages: The period from Stalin's death up to the 20th Congress (February 1956) is the preparatory stage to gain control of the key positions to then go over to radical actions for the liquidation of the policy, principles and norms of the Marxist-Leninist party. The period from the 20th Congress to the 22nd Congress (October 1961) is the stage when the process of the elimination of this policy and these norms and principles is virtually completed. The third period is from the 22nd Congress on, in which only the bourgeois-revisionist policy, principles and norms exist in the Soviet party.

Our Party has the historic merit that it was the first to uncover the Khrushchevite betrayal, and begin an irreconcilable struggle, firmly based on Marxism-Leninism against Soviet revisionism which is the most dangerous current of modern revisionism. This struggle will continue until modern revisionism is completely routed. The political and organizational line and the revolutionary activity of our Party, constitute a powerful weapon to this end. They testify to the vitality of Marxism-Leninism, to the irreplaceable and decisive role which the party of the working class plays in the revolution and socialist construction, when it is guided by correct principles, and when it faithfully implements these principles in a creative way in its political line and in the structure of its internal life.

Priamo Bollano
Senior Scientific Worker

SOME CHARACTERISTICS OF STATE MONOPOLY CAPITALISM IN THE SOVIET UNION

In his work «Imperialism and the Revolution» Comrade Enver Hoxha has said that, state monopoly capitalism, which represents the highest stage of the concentration of production and capital and is the main form of property prevailing today in the Soviet Union, is the main expression of the capitalism re-established in the Soviet Union.

From the standpoint of its essence, this capitalism is **similar** to the state monopoly capitalism prevailing in the other bourgeois countries. They have in common **the subjection of the state apparatus to the monopolies, the complete economic and political domination of the bourgeoisie in the whole life of the country, the exploitation of the broad working masses and the strangling of revolutions and peoples' liberation struggles.**

However, there are some special features which distinguish Soviet state monopoly capitalism from that of the other bourgeois countries. Those features have to do with the peculiarities of the birth, the forms of expression and the economic mechanism with the aid of which the right of ownership is exercised in the Soviet Union, etc. Seen from this angle, the capitalism restored in the Soviet Union is different from the capi-

talism of the West because it manifests itself as **revisionist centralized bureaucratic capitalism**.

1. State monopoly capitalism emerged in the Soviet Union during the process of the degeneration of the dictatorship of the proletariat and the party of the working class into a dictatorship and party of the new revisionist bourgeoisie, a process which began with the advent to power of the Khrushchevites. This degeneration could not fail to lead to changes in the economic base, to the **divesting** of the working class of the means of production and the **transformation** of labour power into a commodity like all other commodities. And according to Marxism-Leninism, **the society in which labour power is turned into a commodity and bought and sold freely on the labour market is nothing but a pure capitalist society**.

After usurping the leadership of the party and the state, the Khrushchevites applied such forms and methods of organization and management that gradually led to alteration of the essence of the socialist relations of production, established in the time of Lenin and Stalin, and introduced into the Soviet economy an economic mechanism whereby capitalist profit became the aim of production. Consequently, the former common property began to lose its socialist features and to be transformed into the property of the new revisionist bourgeoisie, the property of a new capitalist class.

Thus, the correctness of the Marxist-Leninist thesis that the socialist social character of property depends on the class nature of the state, on the class in the interests of which it is used, was confirmed. «In all cases when the working class led by its genuine Marxist-Leninist party is not in power,» points out Comrade Enver Hoxha, «in the big nationalized enterprises, the only alternative to socialism is capitalism, the only alternative to socialist state property is capitalist state property.»*

* Enver Hoxha, Works, vol. 29, p. 22, Alb. ed.

There is not and cannot be a middle or third road in this cardinal question. The very character of modern large-scale production excludes this. Consequently, the revisionist pseudo-theories which try to present the present-day state property in the Soviet Union as socialist state property, in fact are meant to defend and publicize the strategy of world imperialism which, in its search of a hybrid «new society», to prop up the rotten capitalist system, has mobilized its hack writers to provide the form to this «society». And as Comrade Enver Hoxha says, «At present they have this 'new' form in the capitalist-revisionist society of the Soviet Union, which is nothing but a degenerate society»* bourgeois down to its tiniest pores.

2. Soviet state monopoly capital is distinguished from that of the other imperialist countries by its very high level of concentration of production and capital in the hands of the state, by its being the prevailing form of property in the Soviet capitalist economy.

In the Soviet Union, state monopoly capitalism includes almost the entire economy. It extends everywhere and runs everything, while in the countries of classical capitalism it is not so widespread. In the various imperialist countries of the West the state monopoly sector accounts for 20-30 percent of the total national production, while in the Soviet Union industrial, agricultural, construction, and transport enterprises, finance and banking, trading enterprises, the fund of houses, the land and its resources, etc belong to the state monopoly sector.

Underlining the fact that the main form of capitalism in the Soviet Union is state monopoly capitalism does not mean that other forms of capitalist property are not encountered there. On the contrary, in the Soviet capitalist economy, just as in the economies of the other capitalist countries, there are

* Enver Hoxha. «Imperialism and the Revolution», 2nd edition, Tirana 1978, p. 22. Alb. ed.

other forms of capitalist property such as capitalist collective property and petty and middle private capitalist property, etc.

3. The state monopoly capitalism in the Soviet Union is presented as «socialist», as «developed socialism» and, to some extent retains the old forms of the economic structure and the political superstructure.

By formally retaining bureaucratic centralism in the economy and in the state and taking measures «to strengthen» it within the bounds allowed by the intrinsic laws of the market economy, the Soviet bourgeoisie tries to present the Soviet capitalist economy as a «regulated and planned» economy. This enables it to cloak its actions as «socialist», to cover everything with the slogan of the «state of the entire people», to use a number of laws and norms of its fascist dictatorship in its own interests, squeeze the maximum benefits for as long as possible from those indisputable superiorities which stemmed from the Soviet order created by Lenin and Stalin in the Soviet Union.

The high rate of exploitation of wage labour, the high level of accumulation and capitalization of the surplus value, the distribution of the value newly created in necessary and surplus labour, which is appropriated without payment by the revisionist bourgeoisie and, in general, all the economic processes in the Soviet Union are not realized simply by individual capitalists, but first of all by the organisms of state monopoly capitalism.

4. As a consequence of the fact that Soviet state monopoly capitalism has created its own financial oligarchy, there are special characteristics in the field of the appropriation and distribution of the surplus value created through the merciless exploitation of the working class and the other working masses. In this connection Comrade Enver Hoxha points out in his work, «Imperialism and the Revolution», that «Unlike the countries of classical capitalism, where this surplus value is appropriated in proportion to the amount of capital of each capitalist, in the Soviet Union and the other

revisionist countries it is distributed according to the position people of the higher bourgeois stratum occupy in the state, economic, scientific and cultural hierarchy, etc.»*

To the proletariat it is of no importance at all whether the surplus value it creates is appropriated by individual capitalists, or by the bourgeois class as a whole, as a «collective capitalist», and then redivided among them in various forms, either according to the capital invested, or according to position in the hierarchy established in the state, economic, military, scientific, cultural or other apparatus. In either case, exploitation remains exploitation. Consequently, in the Soviet Union, too, we have to do with the same relations as those which are created in the other capitalist countries by the struggle to ensure maximum profit, and which in essence, express the antagonistic contradiction between the working class and the capitalist class. This means that in the revisionist countries, too, the bourgeois class as a whole is opposed to the working class. Therefore, the working class, for its part, is interested in countering the united bourgeois front with the united proletarian front.

5. The economic integration of the capitalism re-established in the Soviet Union into the capitalist world system is done through the organisms of state monopoly capitalism which represent and defend the imperialist interests of the Soviet revisionist bourgeoisie in the international arena.

In this context the Soviet revisionist bourgeoisie carries out the export of capital from the Soviet Union to other countries and the attraction of foreign capital into the Soviet Union, conducts its competition and struggle for markets, for spheres of investment, for the plunder of raw materials and the preservation of neo-colonialist laws in world trade, through the direct parti-

* Enver Hoxha. «Imperialism and the Revolution», 2nd edition, Tirana 1978, pp. 106-107. Alb. ed.

icipation of the organisms of state monopoly capitalism, at a time when in the other imperialist countries these processes are carried out with the aid of private and state capital.

However, this does not mean that social-imperialist expansion is different in essence from imperialist expansion, because just like any other capitalist country, the Soviet Union, too, with its so-called credits and aid, investments of capital, exports of technology, etc is struggling for the redivision of the world, the capture of new markets and the subjugation of peoples, through the economic exploitation, first of all, of the vassal countries, as well as other countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America, especially the countries of the so-called socialist orientation. In these international capitalist economic relations the Soviet social-imperialist state struggles to squeeze out the maximum profits in the interests of its own bourgeoisie, by exploiting the working class and the working masses of other countries.

* * *

By restoring capitalism in the Soviet Union, the Khrushchevite revisionists destroyed socialism to its foundations and opened up fields for the operation of the intrinsic laws of capitalism. Thirsting for maximum profits and the realization of its hegemonic aims in rivalry and alliance with its counterpart in the West, the revisionist bourgeoisie is intensifying its oppression and exploitation of the ordinary Soviet people who, in order to escape from this situation, must rise in struggle to overthrow the supreme power of the new tsars and re-establish the dictatorship of the proletariat, through revolution.

THE CAPITALIST MECHANISM OF THE SOVIET ECONOMIC MACHINE

When the question is raised of bringing out the class essence of the mechanism of the functioning of a given economic system, its fundamental feature should be analyzed first, because this is what distinguishes one mechanism from another; then comes analysis of the economic categories of this system, and finally of its socio-economic consequences.

Following this course of analysis, it turns out that the fundamental feature, on which the present mechanism of the functioning of the Soviet economy is founded, is its development and management, not on the basis of a unified general state plan, but on the basis of the laws of the market. This regulating mechanism is applied by using such economic categories as commodity, labour power, capital, profit, production price, competition, supply and demand, the free play of prices in the market, percentage on capital, etc. It is also inevitably accompanied by such social-economic phenomena as anarchy, spontaneity, unemployment, inflation, price rises, increased cost of living, economic crises, etc. These are also the most important guidelines which characterize the mechanism of the functioning of the capitalist economy of every bourgeois country today.

In conformity with the capitalist mechanism of the functioning of the economy of the Soviet Union, the Soviet enterprises have gone over to the so-called

complete financial self-sufficiency, ie to complete economic independence. An inevitable corollary to this is that their economic-financial activity is no longer subject to centralized planning. Now they are entirely free to choose to produce those goods, in that quantity and with that range which, in the conditions of the free play of the market, will bring them the highest profits and enable them to withstand the fierce competition. The independence of Soviet enterprises has reached such a point that speculation and the black market have become a normal phenomenon of their economic and financial activity. If we add to this general framework, in which the Soviet enterprises operate, the creation of branch and inter-branch combines of the monopoly type also with complete economic independence, we can see the mechanism of the functioning of the Soviet economy as a whole, which is a typically capitalist mechanism which the Soviet revisionists try to disguise with socialist phrases.

The Soviet revisionists still assert that their economy is guided by a state plan, that there is planning and, consequently, centralism in their economy. But the state plan, as the Soviet revisionists conceive it, is by no means a socialist plan; it does not contain specific targets for each economic enterprise, and consequently, enterprises are no longer obliged to apply it. As independent commodity producers, the Soviet enterprises recognize and submit to only one economic power — the power of profit, of the market and its spontaneous laws. Thus, even that centralism which exists in the Soviet economy is a bureaucratic centralism of the monopoly type.

The lack of a truly socialist plan in the Soviet economy, is brought out and confirmed by other facts, too. The so-called plan of the Soviet enterprises contains only indices in value such as profit, the norm of profitability, the percentage on capital and distribution of profits between the state and the respective group of the revisionist bourgeoisie. This so-called plan contains

no indices of the quantities and range of concrete products to be turned out, about the fundamental funds or the funds of circulation, or any indices to do with the size of the labour force and wages, the distribution of the products, fundamental investments, etc. It is obvious that such indices cannot be laid down for the Soviet enterprises, since the aim of their production is profit, since the labour power and the means of production are commodities, since everything these enterprises turn out passes through the «devil's mill», ie through competition and the market. In these conditions, to speak about centralism, plans and planning is just like trying to convince people that, even when all eyes are turned on profit, the market and the capitalist mechanism of the functioning of the economy, this economy can still be called and actually be a socialist economy. This scandalous assertion is clear proof of the anti-Marxist logic of the Soviet revisionists.

Marxist-Leninist theoretical thought and our experience in the construction of socialism have proved that a truly socialist economy must be an economy which functions, is regulated and managed in a planned way; it is an economy in which the main problems — those which represent the fundamental needs of the society and those which represent the main proportions of the extended reproduction, are decided and safeguarded in a conscious, centralized way, by a single centre — the socialist state. This is the only regulating mechanism of a genuine socialist economy, a mechanism based on the economic laws of socialism and the very opposite of the regulating mechanism of the market and the law of the value, characteristic of the capitalist economy. Even the market of mass consumer goods in the socialist economy is regulated within the context of the plan, is subject to and serves this plan. In this market the working people of town and countryside can spend the money earned by their work, choosing among the goods they find on the market according to their tastes and

needs. On the other hand, the labour market, the market for capital and means of productions do not exist in the socialist economy.

In order to give the capitalist practices of the functioning of the economy they have established in the Soviet Union the most attractive, credible and allegedly Marxist-Leninist «theoretical» appearance, the Soviet revisionists grasp at the question of the use of commodity and money relations in the socialist economy.

It is a known fact that Marx and Engels did not envisage commodity production in socialism, so they did not put forward for solution the question of commodity production, or the utilization of commodity and money relations in the socialist economy. On this basis, before the triumph of the October Socialist Revolution the opinion was widespread that socialism was incompatible with commodity production, that they are mutually exclusive. At that time it was accepted as an axiom that commodity production did not exist in socialism. It is an historical fact, also, that in the period of war communism in the Soviet Union attempts were made to abolish commodity and money relations. However, the mechanism of the functioning of the Soviet economy of that time, proved convincingly that it was impossible to build socialism without using commodity production and the economic categories resulting from it. Basing himself on the experience gained during the period of war communism, Lenin unhesitatingly and definitively discarded the dogma of the incompatibility of socialism and the socialist economy with commodity production.

Lenin linked the abolition of commodity production and money relations with the triumph of communism on a world scale.

Meanwhile, it has been proved, both in theory and in the practice of the construction of socialism in our country, that commodity production and commodity and money relations in the socialist economy do not present themselves with the same features and nature as in the conditions where capitalist ownership over the means of production prevails, but undergo modification. To bring out this difference Stalin proved that in socialism there is a commodity production of a special kind. It is precisely this thesis of Stalin's that the Soviet revisionists furiously attack and reject, with the aim of gaining acceptance for their bourgeois thesis that the socialist economy, too, is allegedly an economy of commodity production, a market economy.

Hiding behind the «argument» that the socialist economy, too, is allegedly a commodity production economy, a market economy, the Soviet revisionists extend commodity and money relations to the whole social product, including the means of production and labour power. Therefore, the combination of the means of production with labour power, as the fundamental economic relationship on which the objective of production depends, is not carried out directly, through the mechanism of the centralized planning of the economy, but through the act of sale and purchase, in the interest of the revisionist bourgeoisie which, as the owner of the means of production, appropriates the surplus value created by the Soviet workers and peasants. It is on this basis that the mechanism of the functioning of the Soviet economy operates in the spheres of production, distribution and exchange.

Since the direct aim on which social production is based is the securing of profit and not the fulfilment of the needs of the working masses, since it is based on commodity production and not on the direct social product, the mechanism of the functioning of this

production can be no other than that of the market with its inherent laws. No economic system, including the economic system which operates in the Soviet economy today, can escape this combination, this objective conditioning.

**THE SOCIAL-CHAUVINIST ESSENCE OF THE
REVISIONIST «THEORY» OF THE «UNIFIED
SOVIET PEOPLE»**

The revisionist «theory» of the «unified Soviet people», which, according to the Soviet revisionist leadership, is a result of the «creative development of Marxism-Leninism», occupies an important place in the arsenal of ideological and political mechanisms specially selected for the implementation of the great-Russian chauvinist policy.

After profound study of the classics of Marxism-Leninism elaborated the scientific theory on the nation and the national question. Likewise, they provided accurate and fully corroborated answers to the following two questions: What is the future of nations? Will they exist for ever, or will they disappear as a social phenomenon with the passage of time? The great teachers of the proletariat have pointed out that national distinctions will gradually die out and be replaced by the world-wide communist community of mankind. This process will take a very long time. Before this stage is reached, it is necessary to go through a relatively long period of the growth and all-round economic, socio-political and cultural-spiritual flowering of nations of the socialist type, the development of their national languages and literature and the assertion of their national individuality and character. By resolutely putting these lessons into practice under the leadership of J.V. Stalin, the Soviet Union set a brilliant example as the country in which, for the first time in history, the national question had been solved in a radical, new way and where there

was monolithic unity, fraternity and very close, militant collaboration between the nations.

The Soviet modern revisionists acted quite differently. Trampling roughshod over the teachings of Marxism-Leninism, they re-established national oppression in the Soviet Union. They identified Lenin's thesis about the coming together of nations with that of the assimilation of nations in socialism, which is an utterly chauvinist standpoint.

For more than two decades, the new Russian revisionist bourgeoisie, which is following the «traditions» of the Russian bourgeoisie of the time of tzars, has been putting into practice its plans for the Russification of the other Soviet republics, under the pretext of creating «a multi-national collective», its plans for the economic exploitation and plunder and unequal political, economic and cultural-educational development of non-Russian peoples and nationalities. A result of the Russification policy is the displacement of the non-Russian population from their ancestral territories, which is being carried out in the name of the «internal emigration» and «fraternization» of the «unified Soviet people». This process is becoming more and more intensive. The percentage of the non-Russian population in the Soviet Republics is decreasing day by day. Thus, in Kazakhstan the indigenous population is less than 33 per cent of the total, while in Kirghizia less than 50 per cent. The proportion of the Letts and Estonians in Latvia and Estonia has dropped to 57 per cent («Zëri i popullit», November 1, 1977). The same thing is occurring in the other non-Russian republics, too. With their «theory» of the «unified Soviet people», the Soviet revisionists are also trying to justify the major disproportions in the national composition of their party. The following facts are clear proof of the bourgeois and great-Russian nationalist ambitions: out of every 1,000 Russian inhabitants 74 are party members, while out of every 1,000 Uzbeks, Kirghizs, Turkomen and Tajiks — 35, 34, 32 and 30 respectively, members. Of every two secretaries of the party organizations of the non-Russian republics, one is Russian. Irrespective of the percentage of Russians in these republics,

of every two deputy ministers of each republic, one is Russian. Facts show clearly that party members of Russian nationality hold key positions everywhere, in the party, economy, army, culture, state power, etc.

How reactionary the national policy of the Soviet revisionists can be judged also from the great disproportions in the economic development of the Soviet republics. A characteristic of these republics today, in contrast to the time of Stalin, is their onesided, monocultural development. The Soviet revisionist leaders take no account of the needs and the economic peculiarities of each region, nation and nationality. A disproportionate development of the productive forces — a typical capitalist phenomenon, is evident in the various republics of the Soviet Union. For example, the productive forces of such republics as Azerbaijan, Tajikistan, Kirghizia, Uzbekistan, etc have lagged far behind. Their industrial development is anaemic, one-sided and mainly in the branches of light industry. In order to justify this situation, the revisionist ideologists have come out with the «argument» that «the principal cause of their backwardness is the great increase in the populations of these republics and not the low rates of increase of social production and labour productivity there, in comparison with the Russian Republic.» Let us take the level of sales of commodities per capita. What is the situation? In the republics of Azerbaijan, Tajikistan, Uzbekistan, the level of sales of commodities per capita is 2 to 3 times lower than in the Russian Republic. Under the revisionist labels of «specialization» and «social division of labour», the backward republics in the Soviet Union converted into mere suppliers of raw materials for the industry of the Russian Republic. For example, half the arable land in Uzbekistan is sown to cotton and other industrial crops.

In the Soviet Union, the Russian bourgeoisie of our days is trying to deprive the non-Russian peoples and minorities of their native languages, under the pretext of the creation of a «unified Soviet people». Through various political, economic, ideological and cultural means,

the non-Russian populations are being compelled to give up their mother languages and use Russian instead.

In an attempt to justify or cover up the great-Russian chauvinist policy, the ideologists of Soviet social-imperialism are noisily publicizing their concepts about the «inter-nationalization of all aspects of social life», the «development of the international consciousness of the masses», the «unification» and «levelling» of the cultures of the various nationalities of the Soviet Union. Under the cloak the «unification» and «levelling» of the cultures of the the new Russian bourgeoisie aims to impose the great-Russian cultural norms and standards on the non-Russian nations of the Soviet Union, to denigrate and wipe out their cultural traditions, the national spirit of their culture and art. All the activity of the Soviet ruling clique indicates this very clearly. The concepts of the «inter-national culture» or the «inter-nationalization of culture», of the «pan-national socialist culture», by means of which the Soviet social-imperialists are trying to disguise their denationalizing practices, gained acceptance long ago in contemporary revisionist literature. The great-Russian theorists and ideologists go so far as to declare that «there is no clear dividing line between national and inter-national pride» in the Soviet Union, and go even further when they talk about the «inter-nationalization even of national sentiments».

The classics of Marxism-Leninism have sternly condemned the cosmopolitan theories and views which are intended to smother the sound national spirit of the art and culture of the various peoples and justify the assimilation of nations. Lenin has said, «International culture is not non-national. Nobody said that it was. Nobody has proclaimed a 'pure', culture, either Polish, Jewish, or Russian, etc.»*

The demagogic claims that in the Soviet Union the «national question has been solved finally and definitively» (L. Brezhnev, «On the Occasion of, the 50th Anni-

* V. I. Lenin, «On Art and Culture», p. 57, Alb. ed.

versary of the USSR»), that the problems arising on this question in the conditions of developed socialism «cannot be called national questions», cannot conceal the bitter reality of the Soviet state. What is left of all this lustre when the Moskovite revisionist leaders themselves complain about the existence of «national prejudices» and «nationalist manifestations», as an «extremely dangerous phenomenon which is preserved in the mentality of people insufficiently developed from the political standpoint»? In the light of this widely-known reality, such statements as «these prejudices still linger on even in the conditions in which the objective circumstances, conducive to any kind of antagonism in the relations between nations, have long been «eliminated» and the bourgeois politicians and propagandists, who «encourage national prejudices in the most varied forms from abroad», are allegedly to blame for this, are obviously false. In fact, the source of this state of affairs must be sought in the treacherous general political course followed by the Moscow renegade clique since the counter-revolutionary seizure of power, and in bourgeois capitalist economic, political and ideological basis of the Soviet Union today. In order to perpetuate their domination over the other revisionist countries, the Soviet social-imperialists have also come out with chauvinist doctrines and concepts on the «pan-national socialist culture», the «man with universal socialist nationality», etc. With these chauvinist concepts they «...want to erase the national identity of ancient and famous countries of Europe that have contributed so much to its culture and history»*.

In the service of their aggressive, oppressive and exploiting policy the modern revisionists have always done their utmost to subjugate these countries economically. The Soviet Union is blowing its trumpets that a «community of free equal socialist states» has been created. The revisionist propaganda does not fail to add that this

* Enver Hoxha, Report to the 7th Congress of the PLA, p. 216, Alb. ed.

«community has been created not as an arithmetic sum of states but as a unified social organism». But the revisionist clique of Moscow reigns in this alliance, and through the Comecon and the Warsaw Treaty, tools in its hands for the enslavement of the member countries, it is carrying out its neo-colonialist policy in the vassal countries, plundering their assets and realizing their economic integration into the Soviet social-imperialist state. The Soviet Union has impoverished its allied countries economically, has tied them up after its charriot and is forcing them to «dance» to the Soviet drum.

Nexhmedin Luari

Senior Scientific Worker

THE CAPITALIST DEGENERATION OF THE COLLECTIVE FARMS IN THE SOVIET UNION TODAY

During the years 1928-1936, under the leadership of J.V. Stalin and in conformity with the teachings of V.I. Lenin, the collectivization of agriculture in the Soviet Union was completed with overall success. The completion of this important process, the transformation of the small private economies into large collective economies, marked the triumph of socialism in the countryside, too. Thus the economy of the Soviet Union was established with both feet on socialist ground, as Lenin instructed.

«In 1937 the collective farms accounted for 93 per cent of the total number of peasant households, while the grain crop area of the collective farms amounted to 99 per cent of the total grain crop area sown by the peasantry» (History of the CPSU (b), a brief course, 1945, p. 347).

The collectivization of agriculture overturned the old relations of production, barred the way to the development of capitalism in the countryside and of the exploitation of peasants, established new relations of solidarity and mutual help in the countryside, as well as between town and countryside, between the working class and the peasantry, thus further strengthening the alliance of these friendly classes.

It provided the Soviet state with its socialist base

in the broadest and most vital, but also the most backward sector of the people's economy.

After the death of J.V. Stalin, with the coming to power of the Khrushchev group, and especially following the 20th Congress of the CPSU, the restoration of capitalism began to extend to the countryside as well. Thus «Soviet society turned bourgeois down to its tiniest pores, capitalism was restored in all fields.»*

With the degeneration of the character of the ownership of collective farms, the relations of distribution in the Soviet Union also degenerated. In fact, today, the labour power of the collective farmer has been transformed into a commodity. The collective farmer is paid for only a very small part of the work he does, while most of the results of his labour are appropriated without payment by the new bourgeoisie through channels of the realization of the collective capitalist ownership and the state monopoly ownership. Mere juridical proclamation does not define the character of ownership. What is important is its real aspect, the economic aspect. From the economic aspect, the important thing is, **first** who decides how property is used; **second**, what mechanisms are used for the administration of this property; **third**, who profits from this property. The present-day capitalist collective farms in the Soviet Union are collective only in name, while their content has changed in all directions. Although formally the main means of production are not directly the property of the bourgeoisie, as they are in classical capitalist society, the new rural bourgeoisie which runs these farms appropriates the labour of others and the profits which are drawn from this property and this capitalist distribution. Hence, the collective farm property has been transformed into capitalist property of a specific group of the new rural bourgeoisie and production in the collective farms is now based on profit and the enrichment of this bourgeoisie. With the re-establishment of

* Enver Hoxha, Report to the 7th Congress of the PLA, Tirana 1976, p. 215, Alb. ed.

capitalist relations, the economic laws of capitalism operate in the Soviet countryside, too.

The revisionists' action of breaking up the MTS and selling the tractors and other farm machinery to the collective farms was one of the anti-Marxist acts which destroyed the socialist system established in the Soviet countryside. This capitalist measure accelerated the bourgeois degeneration of the collective farm order.

With the breaking up of the MTS, the Soviet revisionists placed large quantities of the main means of production in the sphere of the circulation of commodities, thus reviving the market mechanism and departing from the socialist road. Engels condemned the existence of the circulation of commodities in the so-called economic communes of Dühring, regarding this as an element which inevitably gives birth to capitalism.

The abandonment of the socialist principle of distribution according to the quantity and quality of work done, the establishment of forms of remuneration contrary to this principle, have created marked differences in the incomes distributed among the collective farmers, and especially, between their incomes and those of the managers and administrative personnel who comprise the new bourgeoisie. All this has led to alteration of the social class structure of the Soviet countryside, where there are now the class of exploiters and the class of the exploited, regardless of the fact that amongst them there are strata of different economic levels according to the place they occupy in the production and distribution of the surplus value.

Consistently adhering to the Marxist-Leninist principles in the field of distribution, the PLA has never allowed the creation of great disproportions in incomes between town and countryside, or within them.

The Soviet revisionists tried in vain to cover up and disguise their capitalist practices in the field of distribution, through anti-scientific and anti-Marxist theorizing, such as the so-called revolution in the field of incomes, the social differentiation of labour, etc which, in fact,

create the terrain for the new bourgeoisie of town and countryside to increase the exploitation and use any means to enrich itself in every way.

According to the Marxist-Leninist theory, the private plot of the cooperativist, as an economic phenomenon, comes into being with the collectivization of agriculture. It has a transitory and temporary character and represents an auxiliary economy which serves to fulfil certain requirements of the families of cooperative members, but is not an economy producing for market production. It was treated as such in the Soviet Union as long as Stalin was alive and the CPSU stood on Marxist position.

At the November 1978 Plenum of the CC of the Soviet revisionist party, it was stressed that «...it is essential that a climate of warm encouragement is created for the individual (read: private) agricultural economies... for they do useful work for the state. This is an extremely important issue...» (Ekonomicheskaya gazeta, No. 12, p. 16, 1979). The decision of June 6, 1979, of the CC of the Soviet revisionist party and the Council of Ministers of the Soviet Union on encouraging private production is a continuation and deepening of this line and has enthused the observers in the capitalist countries who notice with pleasure that «the Soviet party and government hope to stop the downhill course of private production» (ATA, Foreign News, July 3, 1979, p. 10)). As a result of this, the private sector as a whole, accounts for more than 25 per cent of total agricultural production, and frequently the amount of agricultural and livestock products from the individual plots sold on the private market is greater for some products than the amount of the same products which the state capitalist sector (the state farms) sells. Prices for these goods on this market are two to three times higher than on the state capitalist market. In the Soviet Union today, about 600,000 collective farmers and other private producers sell agricultural and livestock products on the peasant market. Twenty-eight peasant markets with 20,000 stalls have been opened for this pur-

pose in Moscow alone. (ATA, Foreign News, November 12, 1980.)

The capitalist system is incapable of ensuring stability in agricultural production. In the world today about one billion people suffer from hunger and 450 million others live on the verge of starvation. (ATA, Foreign News, June 9, 1980, p. 5.) Albania is among the European countries with least arable land per head of population. Nevertheless, by relying on the cooperativist order, the ever increasing needs of consumption, industry and export for bread grain and other agricultural and livestock products are ever better fulfilled in conformity with the requirements of the socio-economic development of the country. «The collectivization of agriculture, carried out over a period, step by step, as well as the unceasing strengthening of the common property, are proving the superiority and vitality of the socialist cooperativist order right now, when all over the world, not only in the backward countries, but even in the so-called advanced countries, there is a great shortage of agricultural products.»* Thanks to the correct Marxist-Leninist line of our Party, «We are able to produce 5 times more bread grain than before Liberation, while in 1979, as compared with 1960, agricultural production was about 3 times greater.»**

Analysis of the experience gained by the PLA during these 36 years of socialist construction shows that the safeguarding and strengthening of socialist ownership in its two forms, as well as the constant improvement of the relations of distribution in a revolutionary way, under the dictatorship of the proletariat, have decisive importance. Through the dictatorship of the proletariat, the PLA has constantly strengthened and developed both forms of socialist property, has ensured that this property is really owned by the working class, the cooperativist

* Enver Hoxha, Report to the 7th Congress of the PLA. pp. 45-46, Alb. ed.

** Mehmet Shehu, «A Magnificent Balance of Victories in the Course of 35 Years of Socialist Albania», Tirana, 1979, p. 14, Alb. ed.

peasantry and all the other working people and used in the interests of the whole society, allowing no individual person or stratum to profit and enrich themselves from it.

The capitalist degeneration of the collective farm order in the Soviet Union, and the transformation of the socialist collective economies into capitalist collective economies wiped out one of the most hard-won historic victories of the proletarian revolution after the seizure of power under the leadership of Lenin and Stalin.

SOVIET SCIENCE IN THE SERVICE OF THE REVISIONIST AND SOCIAL-IMPERIALIST POLICY

The imperialist and social-imperialist superpowers have placed all their scientific potential in the service of their counter-revolutionary and hegemonic strategy on the internal and external plane. «As the capitalist and revisionist states they are,» said Comrade Enver Hoxha at the 8th Plenum of the CC, «they use science and technology, too, to oppress and exploit the broad working masses, to achieve their predatory imperialist aims.»

At the time when the Soviet revisionist leadership usurped power the Soviet Union was a first-rate scientific power. With the correct, principled and far-sighted policy of Lenin and Stalin, not only had the great backwardness in science of the past been overcome within three and a half decades, but, in many fields of scientific research, an unquestionable superiority had been achieved over the other countries.

Today, in the process of the total degeneration of the Soviet system, science has been placed completely in the service of the revisionist social-imperialist course. For example, the works of Soviet authors in the fields of social, economic and other sciences prepared public opinion for the future actions of the revisionists in power. Here we may mention that, on the internal plane, many of the revisionist «reforms» and measures, which set the Soviet Union totally on the course of capitalist development, have

usually been preceded by «studies» which have described these measures as imperative demands imposed by the objective laws of the society of «developed socialism».

On the external plane, the main preoccupation of Soviet social sciences is how to prettify the typically neo-colonialist exploitation of the countries within the Soviet orbit with socialist labels. Thus, repeated studies are made of the international division of labour, the «internationalist» character of the Soviet aid, the economic «integration», etc. etc.

For its expansionist purposes, Soviet social-imperialism displays special interest in studies dealing with problems concerning broad zones of the world, especially those in which it intends to extend its influence. Historical studies of this nature intend to show that, over the centuries, the limit of vital Russian interests has been extended thousands of kilometres beyond the state borders, as «the exigencies of a great nation and people» require.

In this respect, they display a special interest in the Balkan countries, always emphasizing the allegedly friendly and benevolent stand of Russia towards these countries. To this end, in the past 20 years, the participation of Soviet scholars in international congresses and symposiums has been extended, as has the scope of their studies on the problems of the history and culture of the countries of the Balkans, the Near East, Africa, Asia and Latin America. In nearly all fields of Albanology, the Soviets have created nuclei of cadres who try to justify Soviet aims by distorting the scientific facts.

In regard to the natural and technical sciences and the other applied sciences, distortion and falsification cannot be employed as in the social sciences, nevertheless, this does not mean that the revisionist ideology and policy is powerless to impose itself on the development of these sciences; however, to achieve these aims it must employ other, more appropriate means. On the one hand, efforts are made in the theoretical-philosophical field to set the fundamental sciences along the course of idealism,

and on the other hand, the applied sciences have been placed totally in the service of expansionist, social-imperialist interests and aims.

The revisionist leadership of the Soviet Union aims to achieve the development of these sciences so as to use them as a means of ensuring increased profits within the country, and greater competitive ability on the international plane, and what is more important, to build up its military potential in order to strengthen its positions in the inter-imperialist rivalry.

In order to achieve these aims it imposes a heavy-handed policy in the orientation of scientific research (through the allocation of finance and appointment of scientific cadres, its own strict check-up, etc), setting Soviet science on the course of ever more pronounced militarization, as can be seen in the special interest and the priority given to research in the fields directly or indirectly linked with war.

The institutes, which work for the system of the military technology and new weapons, also have big centres of fundamental education in mathematics, physics, chemistry, biology, etc. Of course, studies in aerospace and nuclear physics, etc are linked with a complex of sciences and require development of them, to a greater or lesser extent, in all directions. However, the level of this development is dependent mainly on the degree to which these sciences are used for military equipment. Special care has been devoted to long distance communications, the detection of extremely weak signals in the background of big noises, telecommand systems, the coding and decoding of information, the miniaturization of electronic devices, etc which are linked with the equipment of missiles, espionage, spy satellites, etc.

For these purposes the Soviet Union employs not only its own scientific potential, but also that of the other countries of the «socialist community». Through cooperation, it employs the most highly trained scientists of revisionist Eastern Europe on particular problems, in the framework of comprehensive complex studies.

This working together with the member countries of the Comecon, of the «socialist community», on common problems and themes is evidence not of aid and collaboration, but of the exercise of Soviet control, of the fact that the scientists and scientific institutions of those countries, too, are placed in the service of Soviet social-imperialism. According to the revisionist press, in the years 1971-1975, the members of Comecon worked on 193 problems, including 306 themes on the basis of the coordination of plans, as well as on 102 independent themes. In 1976-1980, they worked on 264 problems, which included 862 themes, and on 17 independent themes. Thus the independent themes were reduced from 102 to 17.

Another aspect of the revisionist policy is the underlining of the idea that modern science, especially the fundamental and technical sciences, cannot be developed in small countries, but only in the big countries which have a large potential, highly skilled personnel and sophisticated laboratories. This echoes the superpowers' «policy of the umbrella» from a new direction, because it is intended to implant the opinion that the small countries should carry out their scientific development, too, under the shadow of the «mighty» and with the help of the «experts» of the latter. One aim of this, among others, is to get information about many problems of the country that receives this «aid», information which in the past was obtained by the risky methods of traditional espionage. The fact that science penetrates all the activities of a country allows the Soviet «experts» to get full information which will eventually serve Soviet expansionist aims. In 1977, one of the Soviet scientific magazines («Izvestia Akademii Nauk SSR», Geological Series, No. 2) wrote: «For ten years on end, Soviet and Afghan geologists have worked to compile the geological map of Afghanistan on the scale of 1 to 500,000, and in special zones on the scale of 1 to 200,000. As a result, a great deal of material has been gained on its stratigraphy, magmatism, tectonics and useful minerals.» There is no doubt that, in the course of these studies, the Soviet social-imperialists have had

the possibility to gather strategic data which they used in their aggression against that country.

On the ideological plane, Soviet science long ago abandoned the positions of militant materialism which Lenin and Stalin defended and developed. Now the Soviet scientists accept many idealist theses as «reasonable hypotheses»; however, the revisionist leadership is still interested in maintaining a «dialectical materialist» pose in the treatment of philosophical problems in science. While describing the guidance of science and scientists by the Marxist-Leninist philosophy as «dogmatic» and absolutizing certain features of the development of science today, they have reached the point of making such neopositivist assertions as that today each science has its own philosophy. Thus, in essence, the role of the Marxist-Leninist philosophy, as the science which lights the way for all other sciences, is negated.

For example, through the words of their best-known representatives they have begun to consider it their «honourable» duty to declare that the natural and technical sciences are freed from the influence of the materialist philosophy, while «proving» the inhibiting role of the latter. «If we are going to speak of the history of philosophy as a whole (i.e. without making any differentiation between materialism and idealism), we cannot but admit that the 'laboratory tests' of philosophers, in the overwhelming majority of cases, have not been to the benefit of science, and indeed, have sometimes done it great harm», writes the academician Ginsburg, striving to «prove» the harm that the Soviet philosophers did to Soviet science, in the past decades of Soviet state power, and more over, that the philosophers «in general» have done to science «in general» throughout the history of philosophy.

These facts show how correct and well-based is the conclusion of our Party that the Soviet revisionists have placed science and technology in the service of their revisionist and social-imperialist policy.

DISTORTIONS BY THE SOVIET REVISIONISTS IN THE FIELD OF PHILOSOPHY

The 20th Congress of the CPSU officially sanctioned a revisionist, anti-Marxist course. This political and ideological fact is the source and base of all the activity of the Soviet philosophers in the distortion of the Marxist-Leninist philosophy. The Khrushchevites had to disguise their new political course in order to present their revisionist line, inside and outside of the Soviet Union, as a «Marxist-Leninist» line, a «creative development» of Marxism-Leninism. They had to distort the Marxist-Leninist philosophy in order to make the revisionist line acceptable to those who did not constitute the social base of revisionism at that time, and later to the entire mass of the communists and the people. The 20th Congress was the first to attack and distort such fundamental theses and principles of the Marxist-Leninist philosophy as those on classes and the class struggle, the role of the masses and the individual, the proletarian revolution, war, peace and peaceful coexistence, the fundamental contradictions of the epoch, etc. The subsequent revisionist congresses distorted other principles such as those on the dictatorship of the proletariat, the Marxist-Leninist party and its leading role in the revolution and socialist construction, etc. The attack on the Marxist-Leninist philosophy was a frontal attack on all the principles and laws of dialectical and historical materialism. The revisionist

theses which the 20th and subsequent congresses sanctioned became the official philosophical theses. Thus, the revisionists began their attempts to turn the Marxist-Leninist theory into ontology and gnoseology, to turn back to Hegel, to neo-positivist, pragmatic, idealist and metaphysical currents and tendencies. Despite their hiding behind Marxist-Leninist disguises and phrases, and their organising of «criticisms» of certain blatant deviations from the Marxist-Leninist philosophy, the Soviet revisionist philosophers have attacked and distorted all the principles and laws of dialectical and historical materialism.

One of the main aspects of the retrogressive process of distortion of the Marxist-Leninist philosophy is represented by the attempts of the Soviet revisionist philosophers to fragment the dialectical materialist world outlook, to strip philosophy of its ideological role, of its social function and its proletarian partisanship. This was the context in which their attempts to alter the structure of Marxist philosophy were carried out. And, according to them, this was necessary in order «to raise the Marxist-Leninist philosophy to the level of the requirements of the epoch.» Deliberately misusing and distorting Engels' thesis that after every great discovery materialism must alter its appearance, the Soviet revisionist philosophers claim that «the time has come for the 'dialectics of nature' (which they consider as the ontology of Marxism) to be created.» They have even defined the content of the «dialectics of nature» — the study of the universal laws of nature, matter and the forms of its existence. They are applying the concepts of neo-positivism when they split up the Marxist-Leninist philosophy and want to create as many dialectics as there are concrete sciences! The fundamental aim of these efforts is to liquidate the fundamental principles of dialectical materialism, to liquidate the role of philosophy as a world outlook. As Lenin said, these hirelings of the bourgeoisie try to disguise this philosophical debasement of science with the argument that Engels wrote the work «The Dialectics

of Nature». In fact, in this work Engels makes philosophical generalizations from discoveries in the natural sciences, formulates the general laws of dialectics, and neither in this, nor in any other book has he ever set himself the task of creating a «dialectics of nature».

From 1956 up to date, the Soviet revisionist philosophers have engaged in a great deal of «theorizing» and «polemics» about the relationship between dialectics, logic and the theory of knowledge. From this theorizing has emerged the opinion that regards these sciences as independent, thus reducing Marxist philosophy to a gnoseology, a science dealing only with the laws of thought and isolated from objective reality. This attempt to reduce Marxist philosophy merely to the confines of logic is intended to eliminate Marxism-Leninism as a leadership science.

The concepts of the Soviet revisionist philosophers, who conceal the distinction of principle between Hegelian dialectics and Marxist dialectics, and place Hegel on almost equal footing with the classics of Marxism, serve these aims. For them it is Hegel who provides the key to know Marx and Marxism, and not Marxism-Leninism which assists a critical appreciation of Hegel's philosophy and all the other philosophical systems. Further, speculating with Lenin's assertion that he who has not read Hegel's logic cannot understand «Capital», the Soviet philosophers claim that «this idea can and must be extended to the other works of Marxism, too, including the works of Lenin himself» (F. Kostandinov, «Hegel's Philosophy and Modern Times», pp. 6-7). As Comrade Enver Hoxha stresses, in this way, these enemies of Marxism «. . . try to turn Marx's dialectics upside down and to place it on a new, transformed pedestal, that of the neo-Hegelians.»* It is not accidental that they turn their eyes towards Hegel and demand a return to him. Their political aim is to deny the revolution, and Hegelian philosophy, which is

* Enver Hoxha, «Reports and Speeches 1970-1971», p. 109, Alb. ed.

not the philosophy of the revolution, supplies the philosophical basis of this aim. But Hegelian dialectics is abstract, idealist and limited.

The profoundly scientific and revolutionary character of Marxist dialectics, its critical, proletarian class spirit has always terrified and angered the enemies of Marxism-Leninism, because, as Marx says: «It does not bow in obeisance to anything and its revolutionary and critical in its essence.»*

In their attempts to distort Marxist dialectics, the revisionist philosophers resorted to various tactics. First, misuse of the thesis of the creative development of Marxist-Leninist philosophy became their favourite method. Under this emblem, they raised the question of changing the content, concepts and fundamental laws of Marxist dialectics and presented this revisionism as an «enrichment». The «enrichment» which these pseudo-Marxists have made, in fact, is an accumulation of distortions which deny the fundamental ideas of Marxist dialectics. This is what they have done with the concepts of matter, space, time, dialectics, the law of the unity and struggle of opposites, etc. The Soviet revisionists have gone so far in their distortion of the thesis of the creative character of Marxist philosophy that now they speak of the existence of a «dialectics of capitalism and all other antagonistic formations», and of a «qualitatively new dialectics of the communist **formation**» (I. A. Moroz, «Dialectics of the Development of Socialism», 1978, pp.17-18). Hence it turns out that, there is not one Marxist dialectics but two, one of capitalism and another of socialism. According to these «Marxist» inventors, Marx and Lenin created the dialectics of capitalism, while «it devolves upon us to create» the dialectics of socialism, which is qualitatively different. The so-called «dialectics of socialism», preached by the Soviet revisionists is, in fact, a collection of all the distortions which the Soviet phi-

* Karl Marx, «Capital», Book One, p. 33, Alb. ed.

losophers have made of Marxist dialectics since the official sanctioning of the revisionist line in the Soviet Union.

Second, a favourite tactic is that of side attacks on the fundamental principles and theses of Marxist philosophy while preserving the external appearance of formulations of the Marxist-Leninist theory. This is done in order to be able to continue the distortion of the fundamental theses and principles of Marxist-Leninist dialectics from behind this disguise, to strip them of their revolutionary essence «with the aim of fighting socialism and communism.»* The Khrushchevites have acted in this way with all the fundamental principles and laws of Marxist-Leninist philosophy.

Third, the Khrushchevites also followed the course of allowing the propagation of ideas, which are in blatant opposition to Marxist dialectics about matter, contradictions, development, etc by organizing «criticisms» of them. These «criticisms», which were made from revisionist positions, served as a basis to dish up and spread their new anti-dialectical ideas. Public opinion was worked on in this way, and consequently, these revisionist ideas gained acceptance and were described as a «contribution to Marxist dialectics». Both the fact that, idealist and metaphysical ideas and viewpoints which distort and openly negate the fundamental principles and laws of Marxist-Leninist dialectics are allowed to be launched, and the fact that the «criticism» of them is organized from revisionist positions, reveal the anti-Marxist, hostile position which the Soviet revisionists maintain towards the Marxist-Leninist philosophy and their intentions and actions to combat the revolutionary philosophy, dialectical and historical materialism. The picture becomes more complete if we take into account how their political slogans, the assessment of the epoch and its main contradictions, the justification of military invasions, the concept of limited sovereignty, the «theory»

* Enver Hoxha, «Reports and Speeches 1970-1971», p. 109, Alb. ed.

of «developed socialism», etc are built up on the basis of metaphysical concepts of historical idealism and pragmatism.

The problem of distorting the Marxist theory on contradictions has been at the centre of attention of the Soviet modern revisionists. This is connected with the fact that the dialectical theory on contradictions demonstrates the objective necessity of overthrowing the bourgeois order through the violent proletarian revolution and the inevitable triumph of communism.

The distortions of the Soviet revisionists also involve problems of the content of the law of the unity and struggle of opposites, and the specific character of its operation in socialism. While absolutizing and distorting the specific character of the operation of this law in socialism, in order to cover up the restoration of capitalism in the Soviet Union, the Soviet revisionist philosophers deny the existence of antagonistic contradictions after the construction of the economic base of socialism. By means of such demagogy they try to conceal the capitalist reality of the Soviet Union, which is characterized by the existence of private property, exploiting classes and fierce class contradictions. The abolition of private property and the exploiting classes becomes a reality only after the construction of the economic base of socialism in a genuinely socialist society such as ours. But again, besides non-antagonistic contradictions which are typical of socialism, antagonistic contradictions still exist during the entire period of transition to communism. The antagonistic contradictions in socialist society have their peculiarities and are resolved in the context of the existing socialist order. Proceeding from their opportunist, anti-Marxist concepts, the Soviet revisionist philosophers deny the class struggle as the main means to resolve antagonistic and non-antagonistic contradictions in socialism.

According to the Soviet revisionists, in socialist society class struggle quits the stage and is replaced by unity which is considered «the most important condition

for the successful resolution of contradictions». Apart from the fact that they try to sell capitalism as socialism, they absolutize unity and conceive it in an abstract manner. This abstract character has its source in their negation of the class struggle. Our Party has accumulated rich experience in the solution of class contradictions. It applies the Marxist-Leninist philosophy and theory in practice to the letter. At the same time it has waged a ceaseless and resolute struggle against the metaphysical and anti-Marxist deviations from and distortions of the Marxist-Leninist theory by all the enemies of Marxism-Leninism and the revolution.

COUNTER-REVOLUTIONARY PROCESSES IN THE SOVIET REVISIONIST LITERATURE

At the end of 1960, at the time when the Meeting of 81 communist and workers' parties was being held in the Kremlin, important changes had already taken place in Soviet literature. The change of course by the Khrushchevites had made itself felt in all aspects of the life of the country, but the repercussions of this deviation were especially evident in Soviet literature. And this is fully understandable. As an active part of the ideological superstructure, literature and the arts were bound to be among the spheres most susceptible to Khrushchevism. Once again life was proving Lenin's thesis that there can be no literature and art outside politics.

Soviet literature at the beginning of the 60's had nothing in common with that great revolutionary literature which was born in the flames of the October Revolution, the Civil War and later, in the years of socialism in the Soviet Union. For decades this literature and art had been a spiritual nourishment and source of inspiration for the workers and progressive people throughout the world. Breaking through the walls of prejudice and silence, raised by the international bourgeoisie the names of Gorky, Mayakovsky, Ostrovsky and Fadeyev, Soviet music and films, had spread the truth about the revolution, communism and the new proletarian world which was emerging, all over the world.

At the beginning of the 60's, at the time of the

consolidation of revisionism, not even the shadow of the great revolutionary Soviet literature was left in the Soviet Union. The Khrushchevites had succeeded in distorting it, reducing it to an amorphous literature, rotten in content and form, a miserable means of illustrating their anti-Marxist theses. It was a typical conformist literature adapted to their anti-communist course, colourless, spiritually barren, with no authority among the international audience.

In his report to the 7th Congress of the Party of Labour of Albania, Comrade Enver Hoxha says about the Soviet revisionist writers and artists that «they have turned into a caste in the service of the counter-revolution and the chauvinist and expansionist policy of Soviet social-imperialism.»

There is an opinion that one of the main reasons for the degradation of Soviet literature is the existence in the Soviet Union since the 20's and 30's of regressive or decadent writers such as Akhmatova, Bulgakov, Zhoshchenko, Pasternak, etc some of them surviving from the time of the Tzar, and others emerging in opposition to the Soviet power later. It is true that some of them continued to write, mostly translations, but their literary activity was extremely restricted, and they themselves were isolated from Soviet cultural life. They were rightly called «internal emigrees», and it is unimaginable that they could play an important role in the development of Soviet literature, much less set the tone for it. Other writers set this tone and another literature dominated in Soviet life, the true literature of socialist realism.

In his speeches, instructions and correspondence with outstanding Soviet writers, Stalin had made clear the stand of the party towards the development of the internal life of Soviet literature. The emergence of writers like Bulgakov or Pasternak was an aspect of the class struggle in the Soviet literature and art, and by no means a phenomenon allegedly caused by mistakes in Stalin's stand, as the Trotskyites and Maoists try to present it.

The change in the political course of the Soviet Union the state of stability of Soviet literary life, which existed in Stalin's time, was replaced by the most unpredictable oscillations; the principled class struggle, as a normal manifestation of literary life, was replaced by unprincipled stands, ranging from flattery of a few writers to sensational scenes, reminiscent of western movies, like the expulsion from Soviet territory of Solzhenitsyn, whom the Khrushchevite revisionists themselves had brought to the limelight as a tool to attack and denigrate Stalin and the dictatorship of the proletariat, but who later became too much of an embarrassment to them. This whole Khrushchevite business of the Khrushchevites struck a mortal blow to the development of Soviet literature. Its appearance changed completely. Such writers as Ehrenburg, Tvardovsky, Sholokhov with their works «The Thaw», «Vasil Tyorkin in the Other World», «The Fate of a Man», followed by Simonov and Katayev, and new writers of the type of Yevtushenko, a direct offspring of the Khrushchevite 20th Congress, began their infamous crusade against socialism, disguised behind the struggle against the alleged cult of the individual.

In order to dominate the great mass of Soviet writers more completely and, on the other hand, to create the illusion of a vigorous literary life, the revisionist chiefs encouraged the creation of different groups and trends in the Soviet Union, which are allegedly engaged in polemics with one another. Thus, there are the groups of writers labelled «pro-peasant», of «pro-Western liberals», of «Slavophil conservatives», etc. These groups are polarized around different literary organs, the influence of which in Soviet literary life increases or diminishes as the changing circumstances require. The revisionist leadership supports them for its own interests. It especially supports the opposition between the two main groups: the pro-Western liberals and the Slavophiles, otherwise known as the «pro-Russians». Both these groups were utilized by Khrushchev, as they

continue to be utilized by Brezhnev, preference for one or the other being determined by the current policy. When the revisionists are engaged in some flirtation with the West, they encourage and bring to the forefront the liberal group, which is for the elimination of the last vestiges of any, even formal, distinction between Soviet literature and bourgeois literature. However, in their insatiable desire to carve up the world, the revisionists come into collision with the West, so they shove the liberals behind the scenes and bring on stage the chauvinist «pro-Russians», who are only the other side of the same medal. This occurred at the time of the occupation of Czechoslovakia, and recently again, with the occupation of Afghanistan.

When they want to sabotage social struggles and to put down revolutions, the revisionists encourage pacifism, supraclass humanism, the literature of the horrors of war, but when they want to send their tanks into Prague or Kabul, they turn over the page there and then, and replace pacifism with militarism, gentleness with savagery, the plough with the sword.

This ambiguity of Soviet literature is its main characteristic, and it could not be otherwise with an unprincipled literature placed in the service of the counter-revolution and social-imperialism. Apart from the variations in emphasis on pacifism or militarism, the ambiguity is also clearly expressed in a series of other problems which the Soviet literature presents or solves in that way and with that variant which interests the revisionist chiefs of the Kremlin at given moments or in given circumstances. Take for example, the treatment by Soviet writers of the national and the cosmopolitan in literature, a treatment which undergoes chameleon-like changes at different times and in different environments. Whereas the «pro-Russians» chime all the bells of great-Russian chauvinism. When writing of Russian literature, the Russian language and Russian traditions, they change their tune completely in regard to other, non-Russian peoples. In this case they espouse

another set of principles, the national character is roundly condemned, proclaimed harmful, labelled «bourgeois nationalism», and instead, there are calls for the internationalization of culture, for the «common culture of the socialist peoples», etc, which are simply open calls for the denationalization of national cultures.

In their struggle to dominate the motley scene in present-day revisionist literature, that great market in which every kind of rotten literature is bought and sold, the present revisionist chiefs have mobilized and sent into action a new detachment, apart from the various modern groupings and the remnants of yesterday's decadent writers, known as the «internal emigres», a very effective and active detachment called the «dissident Soviet writers», «external emigres».

Despite the contention implied in their label, despite the differences, disagreements, anger-rancour which they have with the centre, the dissident Soviet writers, whether within the country or abroad are in essence flesh of the flesh and blood of the blood of the present-day Soviet revisionist literature.

The «dissidents» are the spawn of Khrushchevism. It was Khrushchev personally who ordered the publication of Solzhenitsyn's books in the Soviet Union and it was the Khrushchevites who called on the Soviet literary scum to rise against socialism. It was only when the masters came into conflict with their apprentices, only when these so-called dissident writers, with their insistence on pushing ahead, did not respect the laws of demagogy, that is, no longer obeyed their masters on the question of the speed with which the betrayal should proceed and were becoming a danger to the revisionist chiefs who feared exposure, that the latter, after trying in vain to discipline them, attempted to get rid of them.

However, it is immediately evident that the struggle against the «dissidents» was half-hearted, only for the sake of appearances. Was not Boris Pasternak the chief dissident of the Soviet Union some years ago? Neverthe-

less, it did not take long for Pasternak's blemishes to be forgotten, and now his books are published and he is honoured in the Soviet Union the same as the others. Without doubt this is what will occur eventually with Solzhenitsyn and all the others who will be reunited with the body from which they broke away.

One of the tasks of the Soviet literary «dissidence», with its clamour against the present Soviet regime, is to present this regime and its leaders to the world as allegedly «leftist». These facts reveal the naked truth, that despite all its noise against the «dissidents» the Soviet government is still encouraging them today, just as in the past, creating possibilities for them to work and even issuing them with passports for travel abroad. Sometimes the dissidents' words reveal some truth which exposes the present revisionist leaders, such as the statement made by the «dissident» writer Alexander Zinoviev to the French newspaper «Nouvelles Littéraires», in which he lamented that: «The pressure of communism is so strong in the world today that even the leaders of the Kremlin themselves can hardly cope with it.»

In regard to the relations between the present-day revisionist literature and bourgeois literature, they are nothing but a reflection of political relations. Despite the fact that, from the strategic standpoint, they are component parts of a united reactionary world front, bourgeois literature and revisionist literature have contradictions and disagreements which result from the contradictions between the group of bourgeois states headed by the USA and the group of revisionist states headed by the USSR.

When our Party challenged Khrushchevite revisionism right in its centre, Moscow, in 1960, along with the struggle for the defence of the principles of Marxism-Leninism, for the defence of the freedom and independence of the peoples, and following its example, the struggle commenced for the denunciation of revisionist art and the defence of socialist realism, the banner of which the Khrushchevite revisionists have abandoned.

C O N T E N T S

The Opening Address by Prof. NDREÇI PLASARI, Vice-director of the Institute of Marxist-Leninist Studies at the CC of the PLA	3
--	---

REPORTS

Prof. AGIM POPA — The 20th Congress of the CPSU and the evolution of modern revisionism	11
VANGJEL MOISIU, Senior Scientific Worker — The struggle of the PLA against the pressure and interference of the Khrushchevite revisionists against our Party and country	30
OMER HASHORVA, Candidate of Sciences — The present socio-economic order in the Soviet Union — a capitalist order	53
Prof. ARBEN PUTO — The social-imperialist character of the foreign policy of the present-day Soviet Union	69

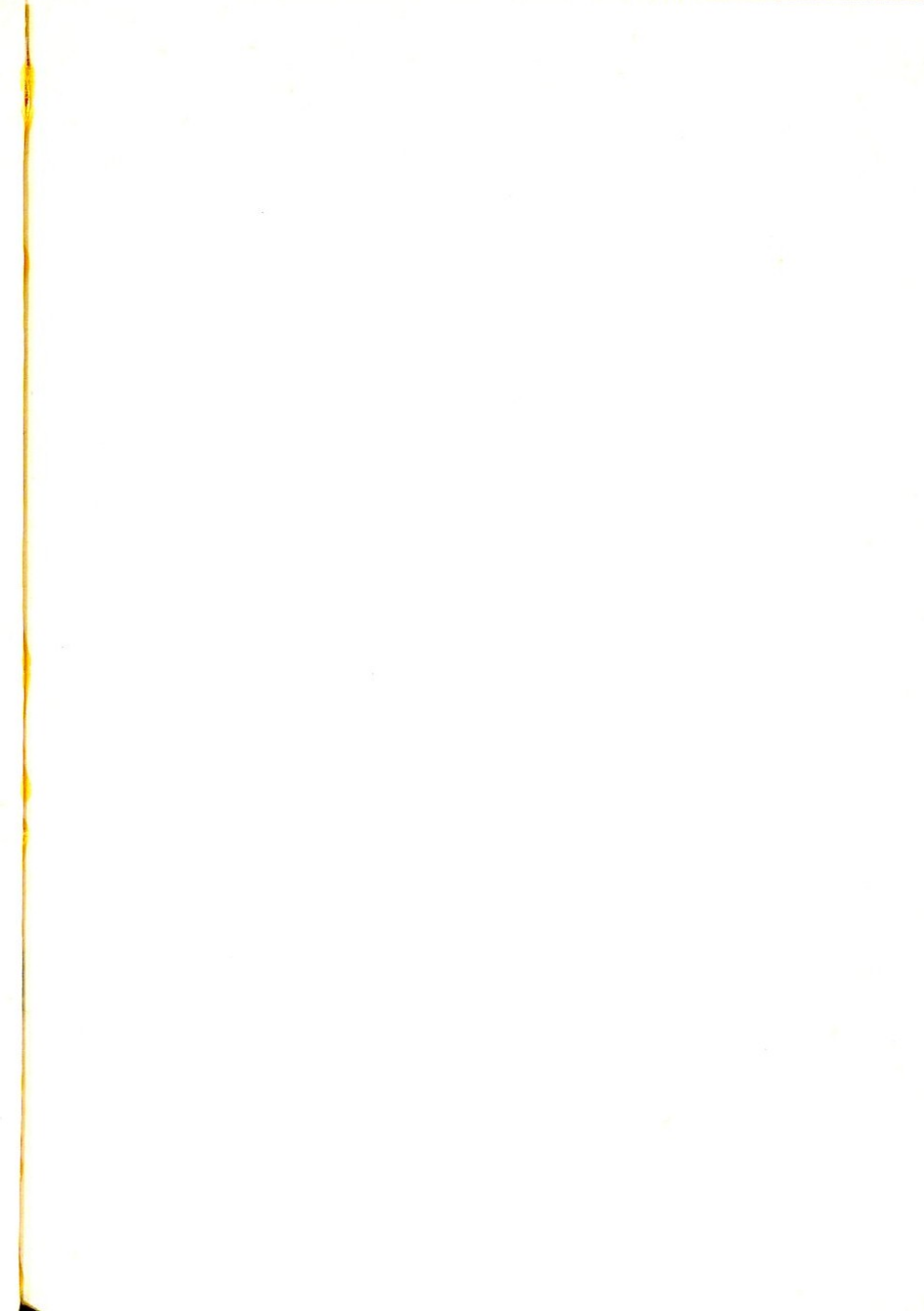
PAPERS AT SESSION «A»

SEVO TARIFA — Comrade Enver Hoxha's speech at the Moscow Meeting — a work of historic importance	87
--	----

SPIRO DEDE — The stand of the PLA in the Bucharest Meeting — a revolutionary Marxist-Leninist stand	93
METO METAJ — The undermining activity of the Soviet revisionists in the military field and the struggle of the PLA to foil this activity (1956-1961)	100
SELIM BEQIRI — The opportunist stands of the Chinese leadership towards Khrushchevite revisionism during the years 1960-1964	106
FATOS NANO — Complete integration of the Soviet economy into the world capitalist economy	113
GENC XHUVANI, LULËZIM HANA — Comecon — an instrument of Soviet social-imperialism for the exploitation and domination of the member countries	119
DERVISH DUMI — Soviet-American rivalry and collaboration — the greatest danger to peace and security of the peoples	125
ÇLIRIM MUZHA — The Warsaw Treaty — the main instrument of the Soviet policy of domination and aggression	131
ARSHI RUÇAJ — The sharpening of contradictions between the Soviet Union and China — the result of their imperialist policy	137
SHPËTIM ÇAUSHI — The aggressive policy of the Soviet social-imperialists in the Mediterranean and the Balkans	143
AJET SIMIXHIU — The political, economic and military aims of the Soviet social-imperialists in the Middle East	149

PAPERS AT SESSION «B»

MARK VUKSAJ — The process of the organizational transformation of the CPSU into a bourgeois-revisionist party	157
PRIAMO BOLLANO, Senior Scientific Worker — Some characteristics of state monopoly capitalism in the Soviet Union	164
Prof. HEKURAN MARA — The capitalist mechanism of the Soviet economic machine	170
THIMI NIKA — The social-chauvinist essence of the revisionist «theory» of the «unified Soviet people»	176
NEXHMEDIN LUARI, Senior Scientific Worker — The capitalist degeneration of the collective farms in the Soviet Union today	182
Prof. SHABAN BAXHAKU — Soviet science in the service of the revisionist and social-imperialist policy	188
VASILLAQ KURETA — Distortions by the Soviet revisionists in the field of philosophy	193
ISMAIL KADARE — Counter-revolutionary processes in the Soviet revisionist literature	200



Lekë. 9.