

ENVER HOXHA

SPEECHES

1967 - 1968

WORKERS OF ALL COUNTRIES, UNITE!

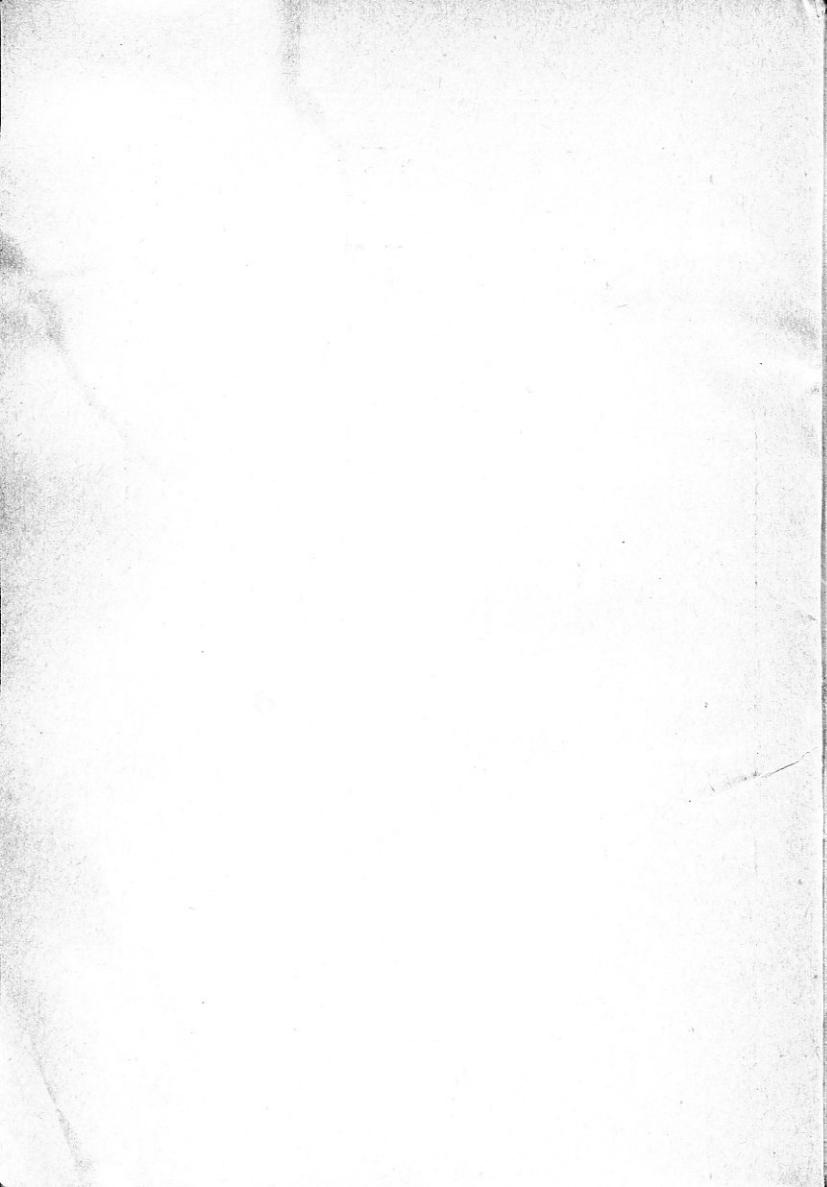
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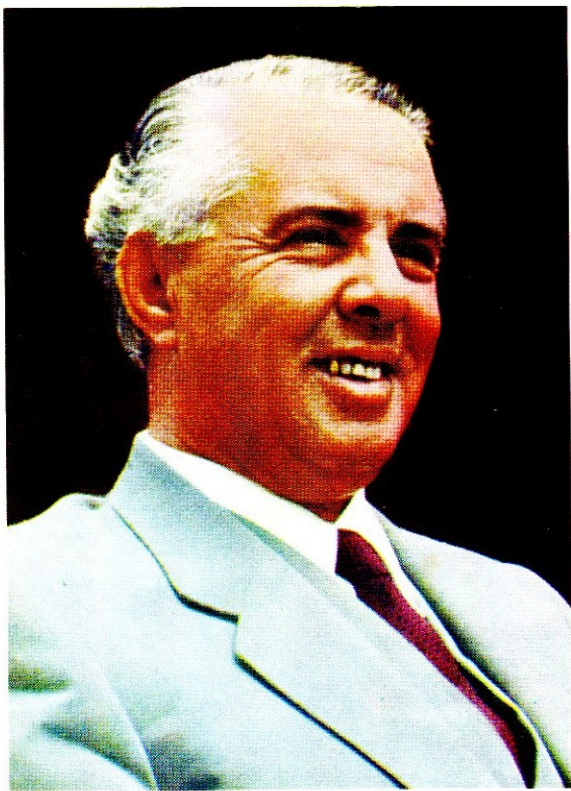
ON FURTHER REVOLUTIONIZING OUR PARTY
AND THE LIFE OF OUR COUNTRY
AS A WHOLE

(Speeches 1967-1968)

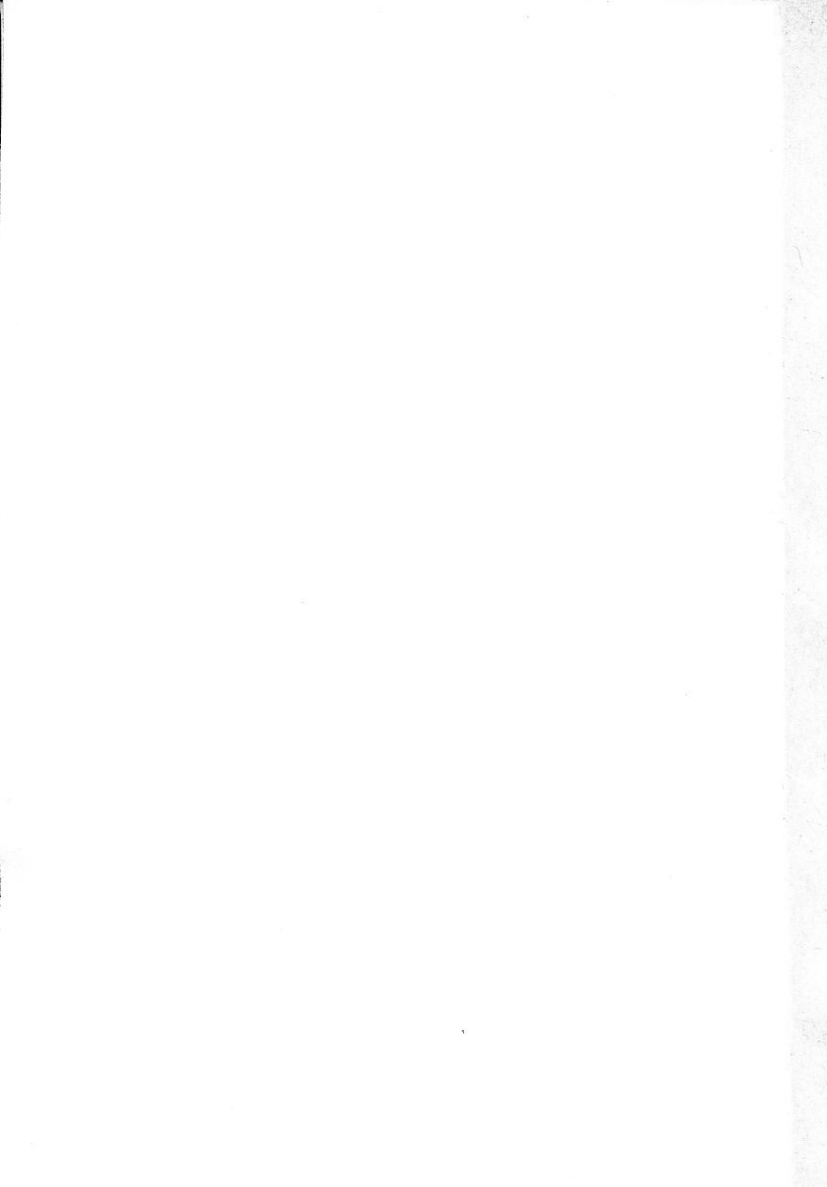
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ENVER HOXHA



THE FURTHER REVOLUTIONIZATION OF THE PARTY AND GOVERNMENT¹⁾

Comrade Communists!

Our Party organizations are looking forward to an important event. During the coming two months meetings will be held everywhere, in the local organizations of the city and of the country, in various institutions and army units, to render account and elect the leadership of the Party local organizations and committees in regions and remote districts.

Rendering account and elections are an event of major importance to the further consolidation of the Party. In meetings held for this purpose every communist is called upon to draw a balance-sheet of his work and of the work of the organization, to weigh, in the spirit of criticism and self-criticism, all successes and shortcomings, to formulate the objectives which he will strive to achieve in the days to come, to elect the secretary, bureau or committee from among the comrades who have done better, who claim distinction for their ability as organizers determined to carry out the line of the Party.

Meetings of local organizations for rendering

account and elections must in all cases justify their holding. What I mean is that each should be asked to render account, not of how we have carried out our tasks in general, but how he or she has carried out his or her task as a communist in particular, not only in the field, factory or office but how he or she has fulfilled his or her duty in society, how he or she is mobilized to tackle social, political, and family problems, and, when I say family problems, I do not, by any means, refer to the internal affairs of the family but to the social and political problems that preoccupy the Albanian family.

In local organizations a revolutionary communist demands a rendering of account from his fellow revolutionaries, for the problems under discussion are not private, personal affairs, but political and organizational problems of the Party, problems of the collective, of the masses; therefore, we, as communists, bear great responsibility as a Party collective and as communist members of this collective.

We are constantly waging a major battle to further revolutionize the Party and have achieved good, very good results. Revolutionizing the Party means revolutionizing the communists. The latter should be steel-like soldiers, politically enlightened, courageous, kind, straightforward and frank and, when need be, severe as well. They should deal destruction to every thing that is wrong and decrepit and fight in the forefront to uphold the new and progressive. If what I am saying appears to be general principles then I will be more specific.

Let me begin from the very simplest. How can a communist, who treads six times a day on the filth that covers the staircase of his apartment house and takes no trouble to remedy this situation and educate all the dwellers of the apartment house, be called a revolutionary?

How can a communist be called a revolutionary when he takes part in meetings of the ward, of the Front, of Trade-Union organizations, only when he is summoned, and even then tries to turn tail or attends just for the sake of being present, and when there, sits mum as if exempt from any responsibility to take part in discussions, let alone putting into execution what the others have brought forth in their discussions?

How can one consider on vanguard positions that local Party organization of the Durrës wharves, or how can one consider a revolutionary that worker of these wharves, who does well by day and is even praised for his work, but who at home by night makes church icons and sells them to the faithful in the morning?

Furthermore, how can one consider on revolutionary positions the local Party organization in the mountain village of Zgjan, in the Hysgjokaj locality of the Lushnja district, where almost all girls from 13 to 14 years of age and below are betrothed, and some of them are even married off young by their parents contrary to the law?

Still furthermore, how can one consider on revolutionary positions the entire Party organization of the Lezha district where the scandalous custom of selling off girls in marriage has become

a tacit law? The entire Party and country should wake up, throw into the flames and twist the neck of any one who tramples underfoot the sacred law of the Party in defense of the rights of women and girls. These are problems of major moral and political importance.

Calling communists to task is necessary, but it should be done in a revolutionary, not a mean spirit, for paltry, apolitical matters, not in the form of an inquisition, not for trumped up charges or vindictive personal attacks. All these kinds of taking one to task are alien to and punishable by the Party, for they are all inspired by petty bourgeois viewpoints.

Therefore, I think we should abstain from such forms of rendering accounts in general which yield no results, or from resorting to stale criticism and self-criticism which bears no effect, which does not educate comrades politically and which does not help them solve problems aright.

In order to make the Party pre-eminently revolutionary, every communist should assume and bear responsibility by carrying his tasks to the letter and by rendering account for his work to the letter. Accounts are often not rendered properly because obligations, first and foremost, political obligations, are not duly grasped by every one.

Let us take, for instance, the members of Party committees or members of the bureaux of local organizations and even the communists of the basic organizations. It is usually claimed that not all are duly mobilized for the various affairs of the Party; the bureau of the Party committee

is criticized that its secretares or the secretary of the basic organization fail to organize the work with them, and so forth and so on. These are to the point and just and they should even be more strongly criticized since the only more or less organized and planned work of the Party committees and their secretaries is carried out with the committee instructors, with the people of the apparatus, and now and then, at occasional meetings, with the secretaries of the basic organizations. Looked at and done in this way, this work smacks of bureaucratic officialdom.

But the blame does not rest on these comrades alone, it rests also on other comrades who are criticized only after a fashion, or are not criticized at all, and when the time comes for them to render account of their work they fail to do it, proceed to elections and are re-elected. I am referring in the first place to the members of the plenums of the Party committees and of the bureaux of basic organizations. They are elected by the Party to direct, organize, mobilize and fight like revolutionaries, and not just to wait for the two or three meetings a year of the Party committee and to think that that is all the job expected of them. At these meetings their job has just begun.

They may say, «Well, the secretaries do not call us together, they do not mobilize us», and so on. We have, however, never seen these comrades call the secretaries to task for this, and finally, to even throw them overboard if they fail to do their job properly. Let us suppose that the bureaux and secretaries are to blame for this, but we have

rarely seen members of Party committees avail themselves of the rights the Party has given them and use these rights in a revolutionary way. Rarely, if at all, has any one gone to check, assist, instruct and take steps on the spot in other basic organizations besides his own, or visited and assisted economic organizations besides the one he is directly connected with, without having been assigned to do so. He won't raise a finger without consulting and getting the permission of the secretary. A Party committee member should coordinate this work with the secretaries, should demand facts from the Party apparatus, he should discuss with the secretaries what he has seen, what he has done and what he suggests should be done. To take no trouble, no initiative within one's competences but to attend only to the simple tasks under the jurisdiction of one's own basic organization cannot be called a revolutionary style of work. This is simple concern over local interests.

The proper exercise of all prerogatives and duties by every communist at the grass-roots or elected to the leading organs of the Party does not mean violating the Party norms, to which I shall refer later, but, on the contrary, striving to steel them. If he fails to exercise these rights, he tolerates, in this way, a method of work which intensifies the bureaucratic spirit in the work of the apparatuses of the Party and leads to a state of affairs in which those appointed to the Party apparatuses emerge as all-powerful, tread the stage as «infallible specialized Party workers», and people say of them that «they have the affairs of

the organization at their fingertips». This is true also of certain rank and file members of the Party.

No doubt the work in the basic organization should be organized, there should be a proper division of jobs among communists. In certain cases this is done well, in others not so well; this we should improve but in no case should a communist idle his time away when no specific job is assigned to him. There are numerous jobs waiting to be done. Then, what kind of a revolutionary is that communist who waits for someone to assign him to a job?

No, a communist of this type cannot be called an energetic, enterprising revolutionary with initiative. The Party has no need of such members; its members should know that it is only in revolutionary struggle that heroic communists can be created and tempered.

Therefore, all Party meetings, particularly those in which accounts are rendered and elections are held, are a great school in which the Party cadres are revolutionized.

Rendering accounts and elections should set in motion also all the non-Party workers of the collective who are not, and cannot be, indifferent towards successes or shortcomings at work, towards tasks the party organization will assign for the days to come, or as to who will be elected to the leadership of the Party organization. Therefore, while getting ready to go to meetings to render account and take part in elections, the communists should talk to workers, discuss with them their ideas, remarks, criticism,

and suggestions, and study these carefully, so as to bring to the Party meetings not only the opinion of communists, but also that of the non-party masses. A preparation of this kind will go a long way towards conducting these meetings in a militant revolutionary spirit.

Our Party goes to its meetings to render account and hold elections strong and monolithic and armed with the historic decisions of its 5th Congress. In comparison with last year's elections, it goes this year with a richer balance-sheet of successes achieved by our workers in battle under the leadership of the communists. The 1966 State plan was accomplished with better success than that of any other year. The total industrial production plan was realized 104⁰/₀ or 12⁰/₀ above that of 1965. For certain products, in comparison with 1965, the oil industry turned out 9⁰/₀ more products in 1966, that of coal — 17⁰/₀, copper — 56⁰/₀, iron nickel ore — 43⁰/₀, electric power — 24⁰/₀, machine-building industry — 40⁰/₀, light industry — 10⁰/₀, food-processing industry — 5⁰/₀, etc. Good results were likewise attained in agriculture. In comparison with 1965 the areas planted to food grains increased 7⁰/₀, potatoes — nearly four times. 18,600 hectares of virgin land were reclaimed, that is 70⁰/₀ more than in 1965, etc. The accumulation plan for food grains was fulfilled 112⁰/₀, potatoes — 106⁰/₀, cotton — 103⁰/₀, sugar beet — 123⁰/₀, sunflower — 115⁰/₀, etc. Important successes were achieved also in other sectors such as in building, transport, trade, education, culture, public health and sanitation.

1966 was the year of major creative initiatives by the working class as a consequence of which many new shops and factories were set up; for the first time all the peasants in mountainous regions were organized in their agricultural co-operatives; it was the year of a further strengthening of the defensive potential of our country and of a revolutionary mobilization of every citizen of our People's Republic.

These successes are a major incentive and encouragement for every communist and every worker of our country. They strengthen our conviction, that just as we accomplished the tasks of the first year of the 4th five-year plan, we will fulfil successfully, and even better, the tasks of 1967 and the future years of the 4th five-year plan which the 5th Congress of our glorious Party has set forth for us.

Our Party teaches us communists never to rest on laurels. We should not overlook our shortcomings and cover them up with our successes. We know that, in spite of successes achieved by our Party organizations in mobilizing the masses, there have been and continue to be deficiencies against which the Party should wage a resolute **struggle**.

The Central Committee of the Party has constantly emphasized that the grass root organizations should exercise more initiative in their work. But this matter is at times not rightly interpreted. Thus, there exists an idea, according to which, taking up for study the decisions of the

Party committees in the basic organizations, lays a heavy burden on the latter and curbs their initiative. Taking up for study decisions sent from higher organs should not be considered as something superfluous and unnecessary. Such an idea would be erroneous, for thus it would follow that the Party as a whole should not be informed, instructed either on how to act and think, or on how to impart directions and generalizations of experience gained.

We should not lose sight for a moment of the fact that democratic centralism lies at the very root of our Party. That is to say, the democratic life, the democratic activity of our Party, is conducted under a centralized leadership, elected by most democratic methods by the entire Party. On the basis of this democratic centralism, therefore, the important decisions of the higher organs of the Party should not only be made known to all, to the lower organs and to the Party as a whole, but the lower organs should make a deeper study of them and find the best ways and methods to carry them out, to realize them in practice.

These vital decisions of the Party cannot be carried out when a liberal, petty bourgeois spirit prevails, when the dangerous attitude of «what do I care» exists in the Party. No, in our Marxist-Leninist Party, in a militant proletarian Party, there is no room for liberal political and organizational disintegration, for sham democracy.

Our Party leads the great proletarian struggle of the people, and in order to win every battle, it enforces an iron discipline which is such in the

Party because it is conscious. These norms of the Party, and the ones I will refer to shortly, should be preserved and strengthened and one should in no way think that, since the Party is in power, that, since we are building socialism successfully, we can afford to be lenient in enforcing the norms of the Party to the letter. By no means! These norms consolidate the Party, make it a vanguard and an invincible Party.

Studying decisions or suggestions pertaining to work, to forms of work and tasks coming from higher organs is essential. Such a thing does not limit the horizons, does not curb the initiative of any basic organization. But the question is what specific aid is given to them to understand and carry these decisions out under the actual conditions in which the basic organizations live and lead. Here we have a great weakness.

The field of action of every grass root organization looks alike but it is not entirely so. Therefore, we cannot recommend that the elaboration of a decision should be done alike in the city, in the countryside, in the workshop and at the brigade of a cooperative or in a school. We should not insist that every organization should treat all the problems which a decision may raise in a uniform way.

An organization should get its bearings, be well informed and understand well the substance of the decisions as a whole and then take up and tackle certain parts of it dealing with its own acute and actual problems. But what happens among us sometimes? Instructions with regard to

this work are at times given in a perfunctory way, the seminars are conducted in a general way and this creates a situation in which some secretaries of basic organizations fail to refer the instructions or information received at the seminars to the basic organizations.

Why does this happen? Either because those things told to the secretaries are common run and the secretaries of the basic organizations feel they have nothing to impart to the comrades in the organizations, or because what are said are good, new things but the secretaries of the basic organizations fail to take accurate notes, or fail to understand them thoroughly, and the notes taken are so poor that when brought to the basic organization they turn into stale, stereotype formulae heard thousands of times before.

Therefore, the Party committees and the secretaries of the basic organizations should devote great attention to making preliminary arrangements for this work. Party committees should realize that the work done in the countryside has its own specific nature, which often, and especially under our concrete conditions, is quite different from the work in the Party organizations in the city.

To forget or ignore the differences of our town from the countryside, the life and customs of the city from those of the country, and to use in an automatic and stereotyped way the same method of work in both the city and country, is bound to yield unsatisfactory results. Secretaries and instructors of Party committees pay no great heed in this respect. They do not take duly into ac-

count, for instance, that our organs of the press, for various reasons, do not go where they should or as quickly in the country as in the city, that the cultural center at a cooperative does not function and is not frequented like that of a factory or city, that the backward vestiges in the consciousness of the peasant are guarded with more stubbornness than in that of the worker, that the cultural level of the peasants is still lower than that of the city man. Then, what is left for the secretaries and instructors to do? There are two ways: either to plod along like cart horses or to crack their brains to find the appropriate way out. A recipe could hardly be given, for, as I said before, every village or group of villages may have particular ways out in compliance with the situation and environment. But one recipe is infallible and the main remedy to cure and set the work on its feet. It is knowing thoroughly the situation prevailing in the countryside, to know the people and cadres of the village individually, to know their capacities, their inclinations, their will and their hearts. This holds good also for the city organizations. It is only on this basis that the basic organizations can exercise their initiative and self-action, it is only on this basis that the Party committees and instructors can give qualified assistance. Improvement of this shortcoming in the method of work of the committees and basic organizations will help to make the Party organizations more combative and capable of leading the work to accomplish better the great tasks lying ahead.

Now that the Party organizations are prepa-

ring to go to their meetings to render account and hold elections they should bear well in mind their peculiar characteristics as well as their shortcomings, and discussions should be centered especially on the latter since elections are on the agenda.

It must be said that in connection with elections the Party committees have created a tradition which must be rid of things that yield no fruit or of out-dated forms. One of these things is the habit of talking about all problems when rendering account and proceeding to elections. It seems to me that comrades should delve deeper into this matter. We may adopt the practice that reports at these meetings should be confined to one or two main issues, let us say to production, or only to matters of culture and education, to those topics where there are more weaknesses and deficiencies, and every communist should render account, should make criticism or selfcriticism on them. Just what problems to take up depends on the characteristics of the basic organization, on its specifications, on its weaknesses and deficiencies.

Our task is to keep tempering our Party so that it may always be militant, dynamic, active, irreconcilable with deficiencies and weaknesses. In order to achieve this it is essential to infuse new blood into the Party ranks, to admit new members from the ranks of the working class, cooperative farmers, from the most outstanding and revolutionary elements of our intelligentsia. The Constitution²⁾ adopted at the 5th Congress of the Party clearly defines the conditions necessary for admittance to

the Party and the steps to be taken to train candidates. The task of the basic organization is to explain these requirements and their objective well so that they may be correctly understood. If the directives of the Party for admittance are explained well and are correctly understood, then it will be clear that the new requirements of the Constitution do not close the doors of the Party, but on the contrary, fling them wide open. But to whom? To the honest, to the revolutionaries. Whereas for those who are not deserving, they shut them.

Why does some comrade or other now think that the new conditions might hamper the injection of new blood into the Party? Because, until now, Party members and organizations have not followed sound criteria in proposing and admitting people into the Party without testing them well. Now the criteria are sound and tests differentiated, people should get used to these new forms, and there is no reason to think that the doors of the Party are closed. If the doors were closed to the people, that would be very bad just as it would be very bad to have the doors flung wide open for any one to enter when it pleased him. But some take the directive of the Party wholesale, whereas it is differentiated into various grades — for workers, for cooperative members, for intellectuals and for employees. If these grades and requirements, established for people of various walks of life, are not taken into account and both the miner and cooperative member as well as the intellectual or office employee have to go through a period of

trial as a candidate, this means that the directives are not grasped, and this is fraught with risks.

Let us take the case of those who recommend a candidate for Party membership. The instructions of the Central Committee have it that «**a stand should be maintained**» against those who make thoughtless recommendations. This should be interpreted aright, recommendations should be made and he who recommends is responsible to the Party, but this should not be interpreted to mean that punitive measures should necessarily be taken against him for errors and offenses committed by the candidate during his membership period in the Party ranks, for then he would no longer recommend any one. The matter should be approached in accordance with the dialectical development of events.

Or the requirement of the Constitution that the candidate may change his profession when he is under trial. This may be done in principle but not as a rule, for a procedure of this kind is to the detriment of both the work center and the candidate.

A candidate may be transferred from his own district but this should not become the rule. When the candidate is a bachelor this can be done more easily. And then, there are many, various and difficult sectors of work in every district to which the candidate can be assigned. The question of education in centers of adverse conditions of work should be viewed also in regard to workers and cooperative members; particular attention should be devoted when dealing with women, especially when they

are married and are rearing children, but we should be more exigent towards employees and intellectuals. Thus, the directives of the Party should be interpreted correctly, and the problem of admitting members on these new grounds to strengthen the Party with new blood should be followed with great care and ceaselessly, for this is a matter of vital importance to the Party.

The aforesaid matters are of importance to the improvement of the work of the Party. But it is not these alone that should be borne in mind in connection with the campaign of rendering account and elections to the Party. Further revolutionizing of our Party and State organs, the tempering of the Party and the Government depend on a complexity of problems. I want to talk to you on two problems of principle:

First, about the strict implementation and observation of the revolutionary principles and norms of the Party.

Secondly, about a consistent and determined fight against bureaucratism.

On the implementation of the norms of the Party

Right from the time it was founded, our Marxist-Leninist Party has given primary importance to **democratic centralism, to criticism and self-criticism, to proletarian democracy, to a critical analysis of problems and events, to sound secrecy, iron and conscious discipline, to the mass line, class struggle, and so on and so forth.** Good results

in this respect are confirmed by the moral and political situation in the Party, the ideological uplift and revolutionary spirit in the Party and among the people, the realization of the Party line without disquieting mistakes, the realization of plans.

It would of course be a mistake and short-sightedness on our part if we felt self-satisfied and said that everything has reached perfection among us. Self-satisfaction, resting on our oars creates that condition of inertness which lets mistakes pass by and covers them up with the idea «we have achieved successes», «now everything goes well», «we need not bother about certain dangerous manifestations which we may consider as accidental».

Self-satisfaction over correct decisions taken and thence the ideas that those who have formulated them on the basis of the experience of the Party and of the State are infallible, above reproach, by maintaining towards them an idealistic, mystic, anti-revolutionary, anti Marxist-Leninist dialectical attitude, is a wrong idea, a wrong concept. One should always proceed according to the principle of believe and check, lay great store by and respect every person who works and strives hard, correctly and with perseverance, following the Party line, but let no one, whoever he be, pass unrebuked and uncorrected when he errs; do not hesitate to expose and deal harsh and merciless blows at any one who takes the inimical course against the Party, against the people, against socialism.

To continue to revolutionize the Party with firm tenacity — this should be our greatest concern. The Party cannot be revolutionized except through a thorough knowledge and deep philosophic understanding and strict application in a revolutionary way of the Marxist-Leninist principles which guide the Party and the Leninist norms, which govern its life and that of the communists.

This great vital problem cannot be understood in a formal way and we should not allow these principles to be applied mechanically, to be learned as cut-and-dry, lifeless formulae. One of our main tasks is that, while learning and applying these principles and norms properly, we should, at the same time, find out the real, deep reasons why these norms are not understood and applied properly in general, or by some in particular, in this basic organization or the other, by this communist or the other.

The workers of the Party are now capable of continually making this necessary diagnosis of their work and they should therefore prescribe the necessary remedy both on a general level for the Party as a whole as well as for particular communists. The remedy for particular communists who do not grasp and apply properly or violate norms is the study of the theory of Marxism-Leninism, is the revolutionary battle, and this is part and parcel of the general education of the Party in these directions.

Let us look at some lessons the experience of the Party imparts to us

In spite of the great progress achieved, in the basic organizations of the Party there is a lack of intensive life, a lack of lively debates and discussions, of exchange of opinions on opposites, from which comrades can learn and correct conclusions can be drawn and just measures can be taken which will enhance and assert the personality of every communist, sharpen his vigilance and make it easier for him to carry out the directives, the line of the Party, in a correct way. This is a cardinal matter in the life and struggle of the Party.

Should we devote special attention to this problem and find out the real reasons that hinder the basic organizations from being at their revolutionary peak? Most certainly! Without more ado! Or, should we be satisfied with the results we have attained and take no account of the fact that a number of communists take no active part in discussions and debates? Should we be satisfied to say that «they are uninformed», or consider the faults of a communist who is being criticized as merely subjective and not delve deeper into the matter and come to the conclusion that, though this or that communist is to blame for having erred, we, the basic organization bear a share of responsibility for having failed to help him? Or, when a communist or group of communists fail to accomplish their tasks and fulfil plans, should we merely say that it is their fault, whereas we, the basic organization, disclaim any responsibility if things go

badly and solidarize with them when everything goes well? No, by no means!

But why do such things happen in basic organizations, why do such things happen among communists? It is not the first time we have analyzed these things, at times superficially, at other times in more detail; it is not the first time we have called attention to them and yet they still occur despite the organizational and educational measures we have taken and are continually taking.

In no matters, I think, should we create illusions, should we let ourselves be swept away by self-gratification or think we have accomplished our duty by taking these measures, or, in fine, say that we have results (and in fact we have results) but «it is inevitable for such things to happen. This is the dialectics of life and struggle». These ideas should not lull us to sleep, therefore we should always delve deeper into analyzing things and we should enforce and organize better the measures we take. On this, I think, should we lay more stress.

I have emphasized at other times that the meeting of the basic organization should be an event of great importance for the communist and in order to make it such it is necessary that better preparations be made by all and not only by the secretary, not only in drawing up a good agenda but also in having all communists take part in solving the minutest details of the problems which the basic organization takes up for examination and discussion. If this procedure is followed, it is impossible not to have discussions in the basic or-

ganization, it is impossible not to have debates and controversies, not to have new ideas, right or wrong, not to have criticisms and self-criticisms. This is the kind of basic organization we are after. For it is here that every initiative originates from, that the right education is received, it is here that the communists are imbued with the correct norms of the Party, that their political and ideological enlightenment and even their technical and organizational uplift are achieved, for the organization of work, the performance in life of their duties, the individual and collective efforts to raise the technical level of communists and non-communists, depend a great deal on the revolutionary debates in the organization.

Where else, if not in the basic organization, will he be asked with insistence to render account for his deeds, to maintain discipline? Where else, if not in the basic organization, are criticism and self-criticism properly made according to the norms of the Party? If the communist does not have the courage to express his opinions in the basic organization, will he be able to express them properly in his meetings with the masses? If the communist is not educated to grasp and carry out the dictatorship of the proletariat and all the norms that emanate from it in life, in his conscience and in his work, then the question arises: How will he go about it that the masses may grasp what the dictatorship of the proletariat implies, what its political, ideological, ethical, organizational and repressive norms are?

We teach and want the broad masses to speak

freely, to criticize shortcomings and people with a view to educating and correcting them. Of course, a thing of this kind cannot be carried out properly by the masses if the Party as a whole, and a communist in particular, do not understand and carry it out properly.

The question is not that our Party and our communists are not acquainted with these norms and do not put them into effect. No, but here there is quite a touch of formalism, of automatism, a lack of profundity, an improper insight into the good or evil that may result from their understanding and implementation or the contrary.

I think the basic norms that govern the life and struggle of the Party, hence, of the basic organization and of each communist, should be understood well and in depth, that their ideological and political sides should become familiar to all. On this we have not insisted as much as we should and in the way we should have done.

In order to illustrate this conclusion let us take the Constitution of the Party as an example. The Constitution is the vademecum of the communist, it is the basic document which regulates the life of the Party. It synthesizes the principal directions of the Party, the rights and duties of the communist, according to which, unless he knows them thoroughly and carries them out in life, he cannot be considered a good communist.

If he violates these norms of the Constitution he is subjected to punitive measures which may reach to expulsion from the Party. But a queer thing happens: the Constitution is not learned, is

not used as a basic material by the communists, rank and file or leading members. Many of the latter have not read it at all. Some read it and say: «We agree. We know these things well. We abide by them.» It is true that we know many things, but then why do we blunder, why do we violate the articles of the Constitution? This shows that we do not know these articles well. At times we are completely ignorant of them and they have not become a stumbling block for erroneous things in our consciousness, they have not become an inspiration to always proceed along the right path and in a revolutionary manner.

Every year, ever since our Party came to being, we have been giving lectures on the Constitution. This work has yielded and yields results, but we should continue to look for reasons and also find better methods to make every communist keep the Constitution before his eyes, in his mind and in his heart at every step he takes.

If one asks a worker how much his pay is, what his rights as a worker are, and when his vacation begins and ends, he will tell you in most accurate terms what they are and on what law they are based. He knows the consequences of coming short of reaching the work targets and all that, but when it comes to the articles of the Constitution he pleads ignorance. We should no longer tolerate a practice of this sort, for this brings about undesirable results in revolutionizing the Party.

Let us take the question of dodging the issue of taking part properly in discussions on various

problems at the meetings of the organization.

I am not referring here to some mechanical thing that all the members of the basic organization absolutely must discuss everything, but to the phenomenon itself: Why do they not discuss? This should preoccupy us first and foremost.

There are no discussions, or discussions are dull when the problem is not well understood, when it is not properly delved into and is not raised correctly with well founded arguments.

There are no discussions when the problem is communicated to the organization in a cut-and-dry way and at the last moment, taking the organization by surprise and placing it in a position of either not discussing it at all or discussing it in a perfunctory way. Indeed the problem is raised just to have it done with, it is dragged in as a drudgery intending in a round-about way to impose on the organization the ideas of him who raises the problem and there are those in the organization who find it easy to get up and speak but who often have no ideas to offer but mere words.

It is not hard to see what negative effect a thing of this kind has on work, on education and what relations are established between the leadership and the base.

The only way to invigorate the organization is to prepare for the problems to be brought up for discussion. Only he who grasps the problem can discuss, offer suggestions, criticize, look beyond and propose. If everybody approaches the matter in this way then there is little doubt that good and bad opinions will join issue, will be sifted, the best

ones will be chosen and measures will be taken to surmount any obstacle that might lie in the way. But during these debates one will also come to know people for what they are worth. This is what revolutionary struggle is in the organization.

The rules of procedure at the meetings are there not to hamper these debates but to promote them. Care should be taken and we should combat the bureaucratic aspect of these rules and regulations. Sticking to these rules for the above purposes, the Secretary should not feel superior to others nor think that it is for him to draw the conclusions he desires or that his is the last word, «God's own» word, or that his opinion is the best, for otherwise he «will raise hell», because he has the committee behind him, or formulates the minutes of the meeting which are extremely necessary to be in touch with the debates in the organization and formulates them entirely wrongly.

All this dissuades many a person from discussing. Many take the floor and put forward proposals but their ideas and proposals go with the wind and they, willy-nilly, feel obliged to give up discussing. There are others who try to criticize the work or people but who are hooted down, and thus, willy-nilly, a dull state of inertness is created in the organization. People abstain from discussing and criticizing, for they see nothing to discuss or criticize. Others see what to criticize but do it in soft terms lest they offend some one. Still others see what to criticize but do not have the courage to criticize out of sheer fear.

We are all well aware of the importance of

criticism and self-criticism and it is easy for us to say: «What communists are these who are afraid to criticize correctly? The Party demands this of its members every day.» That is so. But facts and events are such that we should always strive to find the reasons why a communist who is not and should not be afraid, under certain circumstances feels timid and is afraid to express his views freely. There may be subjective reasons, but there are also objective reasons, that place communists in these situations.

There is a remedy in each case. We should treat a communist with an intensive doze of ideological education, and cure his subjective and objective shortcomings by the work and endeavors of the basic organization, by a persistent struggle to impart the rules and regulations of the Party and make him observe them strictly and in a revolutionary way. All this should be considered, at the same time, as a broad ideological and organizational education involving all, not merely as a speciality of the cadres engaged in the organization, but of each party member without exception.

Neither the communist who is afraid to criticize and to say openly what he thinks on all matters, nor he who suppresses the criticism and ideas of the comrades, is an enlightened and a good communist, not to say a bad one, for in that case he should no longer stay in the Party. If they fail to become enlightened, to be corrected, they should by all means quit the Party, for it cannot keep within its ranks persons having these vices, incorrigible persons, just to fill the roll call.

When a person asks to be admitted to the Party and his request is granted he assumes prerogatives and duties which he must know absolutely and carry out courageously. You cannot be a member of our Party and, on the other hand, be a coward. A Party member may not be well versed in many things or may know many things perfunctorily; the Party will always teach him these through its many ways; but those things he knows, those things he has learned, a Party member should express as he knows them, as much as he has learned them, and set them forth for discussion, and as the communist that he is, should listen to the revolutionary criticism of the comrades, that is, he should calmly accept bolshevik criticism and courageously rebuff un-bolshevik criticism, honestly recognize his mistakes and march ahead.

Everybody says «this is right» but, unfortunately, there are also persons «who do not dare» and so on. But who is to blame for this, the Party, its rules, or because it constantly urges them to forge ahead like revolutionaries? If such persons judge the Party by the person who suppresses their correct ideas, who smothers their criticism, it is they, themselves, who are to blame, nor the Party nor its rules. If such communists allow the person they themselves have invested with function to overshadow the collective strength of the Party, then they are far from understanding the Party rules. But there are also persons who are well acquainted with the formal side of the Party rules but in whose hearts other petty bourgeois norms are brewing, in which case the Party should point out

these alien «norms» to them, should strive to educate them.

We should view this major problem from all angles since there are directors, heads of departments and secretaries who err, but there are also persons who are neither directors nor managers but cannot bear being criticized or being called to task, or being made to submit to discipline, and who consider any remark or observation made to them as being prompted by personal considerations. We are acquainted with such phraze-mongers (just as we are acquainted with arrogant directors) who slander directors, but when the matter is brought before the organization it is judged aright by the collective and it is only here that the truth is found out.

The only correct and complete judgment is the check up of the collective which verifies and should verify the case. This means «the control by the masses» and «the policy of the masses». All without exception should submit to the judgment of the masses on their work and conduct in society. The communists should submit to a two-fold control, to that of the Party and to that of the masses. No one can say that this is a personal, private affair, when it is related to society, to socialist and Party norms. No one should interfere in the personal affairs of another, but when this other person maltreats his wife, for instance, or leads a luxuriant life beyond his means and incomes, and so on and so forth, then the collective is fully justified in criticizing, and if it turns out that norms and laws are violated, then another course is followed.

A process of this kind strengthens our society and does not weaken it. On the other hand it weakens the petty bourgeois views on life, on the out-dated norms of life which turned man into a slave, which deprived him of his personality, freedom and initiative.

These moments of elections and rendering of accounts play a major role in tempering the Party and cadres, in further revolutionizing them. It is necessary to do away with formalism at these important meetings, to have no hesitation in carrying out the norms that govern the life of the Party. The leadership should render account at these meetings, should verify by facts that it has done its duty, and not only submit general observations and criticism of others. Conversely, every communist, too, should do the same.

Elections of the leadership should be made on sound criteria in conformity with established rules, without any one forcing a leader or leaders on the basic organization of the Party. They should nominate the candidates themselves, sift them themselves, elect their leaders themselves, and revoke them themselves in a democratic way when they fail to do their duty.

In nominating candidates we seem to have departed somewhat from the revolutionary procedure we used to follow. Now, under the pretext that cadres have already become familiar figures, we almost fail to look into their biography, or if we do, we just do it formally. This must be looked into correctly regardless of whether we are familiar with the nominee, who should stand be-

fore the comrades himself and render account of himself, not to boast of his past merits already recognized by the masses, but to point out concretely where his weaknesses lie in his work or any erroneous views he may have cherished in his mind, and pledge his word that he will correct them.

These norms should be preserved and developed aright in the Party and before the masses and, as regards those who are appointed to state functions, we should also apply, I think, certain norms more or less similar, especially with regard to principal cadres like directors, assistant-directors, heads of planning, accountants, chief-accountants, and so on. These cadres are appointed, and we may not have to change many things in the principles and norms pursued so far, but the economic organs or any other enterprise should, by all means, know who the new person is who comes to lead it. We should not only introduce the newly appointed employee to the masses, and do this not in a formal way, but we should adopt the practice of making him come before the masses himself to give a frank account of himself so that the masses may pass judgment on him and tell him: «Look here, brother, do your job well, behave well, apply the rules and laws correctly, demand from us to render account to the letter, since we will demand the same thing from you; listen to us because we will help you also if you do your job well. But, mind you, if you blunder we will pull your ears, while if you keep on blundering we will throw you overboard, and bear well in mind that there is no one who can help you; the Party is ours, the re-

game is ours, it is we who are in power, it is the dictatorship of the proletariat which reigns, therefore, we shall break your neck if you commit crimes; conversely, we shall love and respect you above measure if you do your job well».

If we stick to these norms we will see how smoothly the work will be done and how fast those persons who roam aimlessly in life will be corrected.

Why is it so important to know and apply aright the Party rules, and why should we insist so much on getting to know and making these rules the motto of our lives?

We know that our Party of Labor is, like all genuine Marxist-Leninist Parties, an organized detachment of the working class. This implies that those in the Party are the best, most revolutionary and most unbreakable persons of the vanguard. Such persons do not fall as manna from heaven; they emerge from the ranks of the people and distinguish themselves at work and in battle by their virtues and conduct. Persons who are admitted to Party membership come from various classes of our society, from the working class, from agricultural cooperatives, from employees, from intellectuals and people of other walks of life. Nevertheless, our Party is not an arena of classes in which each class has its proportional number of representatives defending the individual interests of each class, and so on. No, the hegemony in our Party is possessed by the working class, with its ideology, Marxism-Leninism, regardless of the fact that the percentage of members of working man's

origin or status may, at present, for known reasons, be lower than that of those with peasant origin.

The organized detachment of the working class in our country, which is the Party of Labor, is, likewise, not an arena where a class struggle, in the classic sense of the word, is waged, but it leads the class struggle. This means that our Party is a monolithic Party with steel-like unity of thought and action; there is no room in it for anti-Marxist, revisionist, Trotskyite, liberal, social-democrat and other fractions and opposition. It has defined its strategy and tactics always based on Marxist-Leninist theory and on the objective conditions of our country, connected with its peculiarities and time, analyzed in the light of dialectical and historical materialism. Thus, the tactics of the Party cannot evade or run counter to these principles.

It is on this basis that the Party has fixed its own norms to attain its end, which is its program, the complete construction of socialism and of the classless society, communism. This is achieved only under the hegemony of the working class which is led by the organized Marxist-Leninist detachment of this class, the communist Party, with us, the Party of Labor.

Why should there be perfect organization, an iron discipline and bolshevik norms in the Party? These are needed since they are, so to say, the concrete groundwork of the Party. Our Party is not a multitude of persons without ideology, without criteria and without aim or with opposite criteria and aims, going pattered-scatter to a wedding feast. No!

The Party of Labor of Albania was set up and embarked on as terrifying a war as was ever met with by mankind and by our people. The destiny of our people was at stake and only a Marxist-Leninist party like our own could and did save them. Thus, our Party was the sharp-edged, glistening, unbreakable and irresistible sword in the grip of the Albanian working class and people. And this sword became this because it was an alloy of Marxism-Leninism and tempered in battle and with the norms it had established for itself. Thus, it was under the leadership of the Party that the National-liberation War was won, that our people's revolution was effected and that socialism is at present being built with success. Our Party will have completed its noble task when communist society is built in our country, when proletarian revolution has triumphed everywhere in the world.

Many are the battles the Party had to fight to achieve what it has achieved. It fought against the German and Italian fascists, against the Frontists, against the feudal-bourgeois coalition of the country; it fought against the Titoites and their innumerable agents both within and outside its ranks; it fought against the joint conspiracies and agents of imperialists: it fought against the Khrushchevite traitors and their agents both within and outside its ranks; it fought against the ruthless fascist coalition of modern revisionists headed by the Khrushchevites.

Our Party warded off all these dangers and came off victorious due to the reasons cited here, and not because our people counted millions of

souls or because our Party numbered millions of members among its ranks. Our Party attaches no importance to the quantity but to the quality of the steel, and the Albanian communists, thanks to abiding by Marxist-Leninist principles, have really become as unbreakable as steel.

Our enemies do not fail to say that we stand on our feet, that Albania exists thanks to others. This, of course, is piffle. We would not be Marxists if we denied the international solidarity of the world proletariat, but one must struggle and defend oneself first, one must exert oneself in the right direction and only then expect others to help.

Many things occurred in the Soviet Union and in the countries of People's Democracy that led to the overthrow of the socialist regime and to the degeneration of their parties. Why did these things not occur among us? For the reasons I mentioned above, and precisely for those reasons nothing will occur in the future either. Has the continuous imperialist and revisionist coalition against the Party of Labor of Albania and socialist Albania ceased to exist? This coalition is on its feet but so are we and always have been. We have grappled with them and have won and may come to grips with them again and we shall win again. This will happen again and again. Therefore, the victory will be ours, our people's and our Party's to the end of time.

We should all study the materials of our Party from its very beginning, for in them we will find a colossal experience. These materials may not have the proper form of philosophical dissertation which

our intellectuals or writers of high style are so fond of, they may contain unnecessary, trivial repetitions and, at times, even erroneous things, but they are of the kind that tempered a Party and inspired a small but unconquerable people who never kowtowed and were never defeated because they stood loyal to Marxism-Leninism and its norms.

The modern revisionists and reactionaries call us Stalinists thinking that they insult us and, in fact, that is what they have in mind. But, on the contrary, they glorify us with this epithet; it is an honor for us to be Stalinists for while we maintain such a stand the enemy cannot and will never force us to our knees.

Of these documents of major historical significance of our Party, I wish to mention some moments during which, had we acted differently from what we did act, we would have brought a lot of trouble to the people if not a total loss of the independence gained with so much bloodshed.

Our Party did not allow the sharing of State power with bourgeois elements even if they were liberal at that. It did not tolerate the creation of bourgeois parties either within the Front or outside the Front, and not only because this was the experience of the Soviet Union, but because our Party and people knew beforehand, came to know during the war and after the war, who were the national-frontists, the «democrats», the «independent democrats», and others, like Riza Dani and Shefqet Beja and Co. At that time, at the opportune moment, the Party appealed to all, held out its hand

and even supported a number of them who even became deputies. These were correct tactical and necessary acts, but the Party did not turn this into a strategy and did not make it its political and ideological line of action.

Our enemies may accuse us of being sectarian and terrorists but we were not dupes; our Party and people made short work of the enemies who turned their guns on us. We were not terrorists but revolutionaries, and proletarian revolution guided by a Marxist-Leninist Party does not allow us to admit the enemy into our fold, to hold the viper in our bosom, under pretexts and reasons which one can try to dress with any kind of outer garment but which are far from being Marxist-Leninist. This was successfully carried out because the Party was the sharp point of the people's sword.

Our Party always kept its ranks pure as befits any proletarian party that has to pass through thousands of dangers in order to attain its final objective. The Party never lost its bearings in this vital matter; it always held, that in order to vanquish our people, the enemies had first to vanquish the Party. That is why it waged a continuous and coordinated struggle both within and outside its ranks.

Our Party smashed all its internal enemies ranging from Anastas Lulo³) to Liri Belishova⁴). This was a systematic, revolutionary struggle. At no time did the Party tolerate hostile acts to mount in the Party, at no time did it foil to use with patience clarifying and persuasive methods and means towards all those who betrayed it and took

the anti-party and anti-people course, but when the cup was filled and facts became evident it expelled them without hesitation from its ranks and turned those who had conspired over to the court of justice which sent some of them to the gallows. Our enemies shed tears for them while the people were glad to get rid of them.

A Marxist-Leninist Party which is respected as such cannot tolerate the existence of two lines in the Party; it can, therefore, not tolerate the existence of a faction or of many factions. If a thing of this kind is manifested the Party cannot and should not tolerate its existence, not even for a short period of time. A faction in the Party runs counter to the Marxist-Leninist unity of thought and action, tries to transform the Party into a social-democratic one, and the socialist country into a capitalist one.

These are all historic moments for the Party, therefore every one should read the materials and decisions taken about them, should study and rely on them for they are lifegiving and a guide for our actions at all times.

The struggle of our Party is a great revolutionary school which teaches it to keep its ranks pure since, although the Party is not an arena of classes, its members, who are in the vanguard at times, bring with them non-proletarian survivals which must be purged and fought against; and this is the form of class struggle which we constantly insist should be waged against these vestiges within the Party. In this great battle some communists get tired, at times they succumb. Thus, it

is because of this that they can become dangerous elements, therefore, the Party should continually educate its cadres ideologically and politically, at work and in battle so that they may never succumb, that they may always be revolutionaries. Looking at this question from this angle, the only Marxist-Leninist angle, one can see how important are the Marxist-Leninist norms that govern the life, work, and struggle of the Party, people, communists and non-party patriots.

The more deeply the correct line of the Party is grasped, the more thoroughly the principles and norms of its life are learned, the more correctly, profoundly, they are put into practice with revolutionary courage, the stronger and more unyielding will our Party be and the further will socialism forge ahead with success.

For these things, therefore, have we striven and will strive to the end with our heroic Party in the lead, for the good of our glorious people, of socialism and communism.

Again on Bureaucratism

Based on the historic decisions of the 5th Congress which guide us in our work, based on the Open Letter⁵⁾ of the Central Committee of the Party and on the Call⁶⁾ of the Central Committee and the Government, which have become notable events for the communists and the broad masses and which yielded major positive results in revolutionizing all our work, allow me to express

some further ideas regarding the ceaseless struggle which we should wage against bureaucratism and its carriers.

It would be a mistake to think that the struggle against bureaucratism has come to an end or that we should slacken our efforts following the campaign we undertook and the first results we have attained in this direction. It must be understood that this struggle will never come to an end so long as classes and the class struggle exist, it will be a continuous one.

Why will it be a continuous struggle? Because it does not consist simply in taking certain technical measures, as some take it to mean, such as reducing the number of superfluous cadres, eliminating unnecessary links in the payroll of State, administrative, economic and cultural organs or in the Party apparatus, or doing away with excessive letter-writing and red-tape and even fixing the right competences and individual and collective responsibilities. These measures have played and will continue to play a positive and combative role against bureaucratism but this is not all there is to it. This is a minor aspect and remains a technical aspect of the problem which might in itself become again a «bureaucratic measure» if its substance is not viewed from a political and ideological angle, that is, if what bureaucratism is and how it comes to being, how it creates its conceptions, where its source lies, what objective and subjective factors nurture it, are not viewed ideologically and politically.

We may have reduced the number of persons

in an institution from 100 to 50 but this does not rid us of bureaucracy if the 50 who have remained have not a deep understanding of what bureaucratism is and do not fight as revolutionaries. The same thing holds true for red-tapism. There may be fewer letters written but they might still contain the spirit of bureaucratism in them. We should attach due importance to forms, they play their role and help when they are good, do damage when they are bad, but we should never forget that what counts is the essence of the matter, its ideological meaning.

Bureaucratism, which develops in concrete forms and assumes ugly features, is inspired by idealistic conceptions which develop, take various forms, in order to serve feudalism, the bourgeoisie and capitalists, in order to dominate the masses, to oppress them, to exploit them to the maximum. Therefore, bureaucratism is a form of thinking and acting in flagrant opposition to the people, to their vital interests.

Bureaucratism and the bureaucrats are, therefore, antipopular and enemies of the people. The concepts that form bureaucratism and the bureaucrat are idealistic, reactionary, anti-revolutionary and anti-Marxist concepts. Therefore, bureaucratism and the bureaucrats are the most ill-intentioned and wily enemies of a Marxist-Leninist party and, as such, they should be fought continually, persistently and ceaselessly in all their manifestations, and the Party should, first and foremost, smash their political and ideological concepts. It should smash, at the same time, the

organizational and structural system that they establish or strive to keep alive in various forms and manners.

The people, the masses are educated and guided in two ways in the world. Where revolution has won they are educated in a revolutionary way, while where capital dominates, in a bureaucratic way. In the first community, which is a socialist community, the people are in power, the dictatorship of the proletariat is established and the Marxist-Leninist party is in power, the line of the Party, the line of the masses is in power. Here there is wide and real democracy for the broad masses and there is no democracy for the reactionary minority that have been deprived of all power as oppressors and enemies of the masses. Against these we should exercise by means of class struggle and the dictatorship of the proletariat pressure and major vigilance that should never be slackened.

In countries where capital dominates there is democracy for capitalists, oppressors, exploiters; there is oppression of the majority, of the masses, of the people. Where there is the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie, the dictatorship of fascism, there reigns the bureaucratic order of things.

Therefore, there are two concepts of direction: the bureaucratic, anti-popular concept, and the revolutionary, popular concept. One wages a life-and-death struggle against the other. Where the revolution wins, bureaucratism has lost its first battle, but it has not laid down its weapons and fights in other forms, whose source lies in the

traditions of former regimes whose old sins we are still paying for, whose source lies especially in the mentality, superstitions and world-outlook of the people.

This concept of thinking, that is, the idealistic ideology of bureaucratism is, at the same time, the concept of the minority, subjective ideas that develop in individuals and form the ideology of the minority class ruling over the majority which the minority inculcates into the minds and conscience of the majority through culture, education, politics, moral and political degeneration, in order to make it their second nature, a manner of life, thought and action.

Therefore, when the revolution wins, we should not think that all the people get rid at once of these idealistic, subjectivist, individualist thoughts and superstitions, and that these do not influence, do not check advancement, do not form a stumbling block for revolutionizing the people, their concepts and world outlook, do not hinder the rapid consolidation of socialism. No! we should not conceive it this way, for then we would not be realistic, we would not be objective and unbiassed, we would not be and would not act like revolutionaries.

We razed the old bureaucratic regime of the feudal-bourgeoisie and fascism to the ground and established the dictatorship of the proletariat, the regime of people's councils. We cannot say that in our new people's regime there did not remain, in one form or another, certain manifestations of the old way of the directing of work. It is true that

during these two decades or so we have modernized and democratized our people's State power and have continually brought it into closer contact with the masses. But we still have a lot to do so as to make our people's regime democratic not only in form, in structure, but more particularly in substance. We should strive to make the democratic substance of our regime predominate, that its profoundly popular character should prevail, since this will uproot the bureaucratic elements surviving from former regimes or reborn in new forms, and this democratic character of our regime alone is capable of perfecting the structures, forms, and of creating laws which shape the organization and guidance of the State power.

In order to wage a successful war on bureaucratism and bureaucrats it is necessary to have a profound knowledge of and strictly apply the directives of the Party regarding, in particular, «power belongs to the masses», «in as close contact with the masses as possible», «the wide democracy of the masses», and so on.

Some comrades think they understand and apply these principles well but in their practice the contrary is true. They think the regime is a democratic one merely because there are elections and that this is sufficient. Elections are held also in the bourgeois democracies, debates are entered into also during elections in the bourgeois democracies. But the deputies there, far from being from the rank and file, although they are formally elected by them through a thousand and one frauds, are from the bourgeoisie, in the service of the bour-

geoisie, to protect and fill the coffers of the capitalists with the blood and sweat of the people. Such deputies enact repressive laws in order to keep alive and consolidate an anti-popular, anti-democratic, bureaucratic regime. This is the regime of the gallows and the firing squads, of moral and political corruption.

Therefore, our elections and theirs are diametrically opposed in principle, in substance, in aims and in deeds. Ours are in essence popular and revolutionary. The deputies to our people's councils and our People's Assembly are of the people, bound to the people, elected and revocable by the people. They enact revolutionary laws in the interest of the people and themselves, together with the people, apply these revolutionary laws, ordinances and socialist norms. The will of the broad masses of the people is sovereign and can annul these laws and ordinances, it can correct and amend them if it finds them unsuitable, out-of-date or erroneous.

The role and duties of our deputy in the People's Democracy are not confined to one or two annual visits to his or her electorate and to applying in a bureaucratic way ordinances and decisions at the place he works, but he is, at the same time, the representative and member of the great masses of the people who not only implement, but also create, discuss, criticize, propose and modify. In the profound understanding and proper implementation of this lies the true battle against bureaucratic concepts. Here lies the great battlefield where revolutionaries and bureaucrats,

champions of the masses and bureaucrats, heroes and cowards, those who strive to bind the Party with the popular masses and those who strive to alienate the Party from the people, come to grips.

The bureaucrats are afraid of the masses, the revolutionaries are not. The sense of fear is an individual attribute, not an attribute of the masses. It may be communicated to the masses for a moment and it may even create a temporary panic, but the masses are without fear.

If we look back at the great experience of the National-liberation War we find cases of individuals who were afraid of taking part in battle, who hesitated, but finally joined with the brave, cast away fear and became brave. On the other hand, when the masses were fighting with heroism, there were individuals who became terrified and deserted the ranks of the masses. Thus, this was due to subjective reasons of the individual. A man of this kind took fright because his anti-revolutionary, bourgeois, petty bourgeois, individualistic and cowardly world-outlook urged him take this road.

The bureaucrat is a coward because his world-outlook is an idealistic, mystical and individualist one. This is the mainspring of all evils like arrogance, servility, falsehood, fraud and others, all of which are made use of in order to preserve the individual post acquired, in order to be promoted to higher posts, in order to secure profits by illegal means and resort to all kinds of crooked dealings. Of course, a baggage of this kind cannot escape the eye of the masses, cannot

resist the struggle of the masses, the revolutionary impulse of the masses, that is why the bureaucrat will do his uttermost to sidetrack every revolutionary rule, he will try to make revolutionary laws and ordinances ineffective in order to annoy the masses, to make them dissatisfied and, finally, indifferent. He will try to turn the State apparatus into a closed administrative and repressive weapon, to turn it into an administration in the service of bureaucratism in order to intimidate and oppress the masses rather than in the service of the people and against bureaucratism.

The dangerous bureaucrats who strive to raise bureaucratism into a system or to keep its spirit alive should be sought for and fought, particularly, in the government apparatus and in that of the Party, in the management of economic, industrial and cooperative enterprises, in the leadership of educational and cultural institutions.

The bureaucrat is afraid of the masses, he is afraid to work with the masses and when he is obliged to go and work with the masses he wishes and manages to clothe himself with authority, trying to impose himself on the masses by his authority, by the functions he is filling. In this he deforms the revolutionary, democratic essence of the government, of the laws. He violates democracy, suppresses criticism, pretends he is allegedly upholding «the propriety of directives» or of the law, the authority of the Party and of the State. In fact, he does the contrary, he lowers the authority of the Party and of the State and, through

his iniquitous, secret and, at times, open intentions, he alienates the masses from the Party.

We have the example of certain directors of enterprises or of Ministries or heads of cooperatives and others who behave in an anti-Party, anti-democratic way, like bosses, towards the masses, towards their subalterns, towards workers. We have allowed competences and necessary funds to the Ministries destined, of course, to the imperative expansion of production and, sure enough, products are created by the enterprises. It so happens that certain managers of enterprises demand and secure twice as much raw materials as is needed for a year's production, certain others keep large amounts of materials beyond quota in their depots, and as if that is not enough, they demand other materials, too. What is worse, these fellows boast of their title as directors of socialist enterprises, while in fact, they do not deserve to be even directors of private enterprises when the feudals and the bourgeoisie were in power, since a private owner would never tolerate to have his property damaged or to incur debts by creating unnecessary stocks. But our bureaucratic director does not care a damn if the property of the proletarian State is damaged or not, if the economy is handicapped, provided he runs the enterprise according to his whims and predilections, resorting to a thousand and one ways to suppress the criticism, the vigilance and control of the masses of workers. The laboring masses should by all means and without hesitation knock down a director of this type, or any other functionary of

this kind, whoever and of whatever rank he may be in the Party or government.

People of this kind suppress criticism and take revenge on those who dare criticize. They pay lip service to the principles of «the mass line», «bolshevik criticism and self-criticism», «the voice of the people» etc. But, in reality, they do everything to prevent the masses from acting. Of what value are such people to the Party and to our socialist society? None but of a negative one.

Then the question arises: Whom do these people serve? Do they serve the revolutionizing of the Party, socialism, or bureaucracy and their evil personal cravings?

The question is posed: How much is the skin of these people worth when compared with the great revolutionary masses of workers among whom they maintain this antipopular conduct? Not a penny. Why do the masses not sweep away these bad and unscrupulous people? Who backs them, why the delay in detecting them, why the delay in taking steps against them, whereas the evil they do has long been known by the masses and many times it has been pointed out by the masses, and still they are allowed to continue? No doubt, they are backed by bureaucratism, by routine, by formalism and by certain individuals of the apparatuses. And nobody else.

These bureaucratic officials who imagine that they are the true upholders of principles, of laws, are afraid of the voice of the masses, of their criticism. In the meetings which are held many times the situation created is not very revolutionary.

Not many bells are heard chiming there but only «one single bell», and when something is heard that is not in harmony with what has been «decided» an alarm is sounded and efforts are made to bring everything within «the established norms» which are not the true norms. Where, then, are the fiery debates, the exchange of contrary opinions we are after, where are the constructive criticism to correct immature and incorrect ideas? No such things can exist at such meetings. Indeed the voice of the masses is not heard there and like it or not, the masses are not allowed to think, to criticize, to decide or to propose. Thus, a check, a regime of restriction, formalism and bureaucratism is established under the banner of the «slogans of the Party», under the banner of the «application of the revolutionary norms of the Party and the people's power».

Persons who understand the directives and the law in a bureaucratic way cannot carry them out in a revolutionary way. The directive or the law for them is an order from above and should be carried out blindly. They do not take the trouble to look deeply into the origin of the laws or directives, into the circumstances that have compelled the leadership to issue them. Such a superficial and bureaucratic view of this problem accounts for the fact that they also carry them out in a bureaucratic way.

It is not sufficient to explain the law and directive only once or even twice but, through its content and subjecting it to a political, ideological and organizational analysis, it should become a

magnificent and mobilizing force. The idea of carrying out the directives without relying on the masses, without thinking and seeing in practice whether the masses like them or not, is fruitless. The right thing to do is to accept and encourage the masses to express their opinions for or against. This is troublesome and the bureaucrat is afraid of troubles. He must preserve «the good name» his superiors have created about him, he must please his superiors and forums and say to them: «the directive you have issued is an ingenious, flawless, fitting and popular one».

How can a Marxist-Leninist Party be afraid of the masses, of their voice, of their criticism? A party which fears them cannot be called a Marxist-Leninist one. But it is not the Party which fears but certain individuals, certain members of the Party, certain State functionaries, it is the bureaucrats who fear the masses, it is the ones who, under cover of Party and government authority, suppress the voice of the masses. We should smash these individuals and they should be smashed in a revolutionary way by the Party and the masses at the same time.

Comrade communists! Comrade workers! Shall we allow such persons, guised under the name of the Party or under functions of the State, to trample underfoot the laws of our proletarian revolution, to deform the revolutionary and life-giving norms of the Party, to tarnish the dictatorship of the proletariat with bombastic utterances which hide the evil intentions and deeds? In no

way whatsoever, for then we would have sealed the doom of our people.

Comrade workers, shall we permit such a state of affairs, to please some such persons and impair the grand cause of the people? In no way whatsoever.

Can it ever be imagined that the masses of the people led by our Party, that the working class and its glorious Party of Labor, could be afraid of such wretched persons? Not for a moment could such a thing be imagined.

Nor should it, however, be thought that since they are limited in number and can do us no harm we should not put them through the iron pincers of the dictatorship to correct or do away with them. Let us not forget for one moment the tragedy of the Soviet Union. Under the leadership of the Party and of the working class, the masses of the people always and in everything should be alert and safeguard the dictatorship of the proletariat, its laws, its ideology, its policy, its achievements. This is the only correct, sound road of salvation which our Party imparts to us and advises us all, without exception, to carry through to the end.

There are but two roads: either with the Party and the people or against them. Therefore, no leniency should be tolerated in observing the laws of the Party and the people, no one should be exempted from rendering account of his work to the Party and to the people and from receiving his due from the Party and from the people.

An end should be put to very restricted, very

superficial and formal criticism in the basic organization. This is based on arguments that hold no water.

We say that people do not criticize in the basic organization because they are afraid. Then, if it is so, it means that the collective of the basic organization is incapable of suppressing the sense of individual fear. Then, in this case, let us turn this job over to the collective outside the organization in order to combat with success individual as well as collective fear on the basic organization where an evil of this kind has taken root.

Do away with the existing and very ridiculous wall bulletins and turn them into revolutionary wall bulletins which will help revolutionary education. Do away in these wall bulletins with their editorial boards of opportunist scribblers who «uphold the dignity and authority of the director» and of themselves at the same time, and let every one write what he thinks of the work and of the people, in bold-face letters and without fear.

Or they say: «We should uphold the authority of cadres. If we act this way we will discredit the cadres». That means that those who say so accept, a priori, that cadres are infallible and the masses err in their judgement. To think this way means to commit a grave blunder, to think not as a Marxist, not as a revolutionary. Nobody discredits a cadre who works well, on the contrary, everybody loves and protects him. But what evil is there and what norms are violated when the masses criticize the cadre openly? Nothing but good comes of it. Why should we suppress or discourage

criticism from below under the pretext of «upholding the dignity of cadres»? What evil comes to the Party from a thing of this kind? A lot of evil comes if we commit blunders. The authority of the Party is lowered among the masses, we contaminate the Party, we keep and protect worthless elements in the Party, we mis-educate the Party.

We sometimes hesitate to take measures against cadres of long testing periods and experience. This is a big mistake when this cadre errs once and twice. In such cases we should see that the good method of work and revolutionary conduct are not always connected with the capacities of the cadre but, particularly, with his political and ideological world-outlook.

Therefore, educating cadres and people in the revolutionary spirit is a major, perpetual work, for on the good or bad work done in this direction depends the successful or unsuccessful outcome of the battle against bureaucratism and the bureaucrats, depends their improvement.

If we subject the bureaucrats to a close scrutiny we shall see that they do not study Marxist-Leninist theory as they should, that subjectivism prevails in their work. They are very sensitive in their thinking. They are megalomaniac and servile at the same time, megalomaniac towards the masses and servile towards superiors.

Bureaucrats cover up their ignorance with bombastic words and phrases. They use their long standing in leading posts as an individual, personal capital. They nurture the idea that they have become untouchable, irreplaceable, they think they

have done enough to create an opinion round and about them of «their ability» and see no danger of being lowered in rank, of being transferred, and so on. They only think of being promoted and only promoted to higher posts, and they work towards that goal.

All this un-revolutionary state of mind creates among them «a sense of stability in the easy chair they are occupying», «an assurance of infallibility at work», «a perfection of their method and style of work» which has given rise to this state of mind, and this creates among them the way of thinking and living of a new bourgeois, in the family and society, within our people's democracy. This is very dangerous indeed. If we do not apply the torch to burn these views of the bureaucrat, he, being in authority, will spread and infect others with them.

Thus, in addition to educating the cadres and the masses in general ideologically and politically, in addition to the many forms of fighting manifestations of bureaucratism, I think we should study more seriously and apply a further correct circulation of cadres⁷), since we have cadres who for more than 10 to 15 years have gathered moss at the same place and who, willy-nilly, have assumed certain features of persons referred to above. Their replacement with the people from the rank and file will do a lot of good to the Party and government from top to bottom, as well as to the persons who go from higher to lower ranks. The latter will, of course, not be over-enthusiastic to go, but we should be certain

that we are doing the right thing because in this way we eradicate from these people the anti-revolutionary views which have been manifested among them. We will cure them of this malady.

A worker or cooperative member is not greatly concerned when he changes places. In general, he never fears work or life. He is used to hardships, he earns his daily bread everywhere by his sweat. Whereas, an intellectual or office holder moves with difficulty because of many reasons; firstly, because he has created a point of view of the superiority of the «intellect» and «officialdom» and, secondly, the question of salary, the question of financial treatment. These two viewpoints which are not manifested among the workers and peasants should be combated among the intellectuals and office holders.

Knowledge, science and wisdom are not the attributes of only a certain number of people who are possessed of «special brains» or «particular virtues», who alone can teach and order others about. It is the broad masses of people who create, who build and transform the world and society and when they do this, it means that they place every merit, without belittling the merit of each one separately, in the general service of society. Therefore, the merit belongs to the masses who work, think, create, carry out, think and create again.

Therefore, we should combat the thinking of those who possess some degree of knowledge but who utilize it to force their «ego» on the masses, since this is a bourgeois, reactionary mentality,

just as bourgeois and reactionary as the mentality of «officialdom», when we get wise to the fact that it hides the bad intention of the person, his anti-Marxist, anti-revolutionary bureaucratic world-outlook and activity.

The worker and peasant are well aware of the fact that their income is connected with their work, with their sweat, while a functionary connects his salary both with his work and his post. Therefore, his going to a lower level, willingly or not, depends on whether his post is lowered or not, whether his salary and «rank» are lowered or not.

Of course, it would be wrong to give personal salaries to those who go from higher to lower levels for reasons of work. But, in the general interests, we should proceed with still greater courage towards narrowing down the gap between the wages of workers and salaries of employees⁸⁾ and among the various categories of employees. This is a correct Marxist-Leninist course. It is likewise a Marxist-Leninist line to accompany this measure with the creation of economic abundance.

From all this the Party is faced with major tasks to further revolutionize its work. The major successes we have scored in our Party work should not get the better of us and close our eyes to the shortcomings and weaknesses which exist and are not to be neglected. It would do great damage if we failed to get deeper into and carry out without fear the mass line, the true democracy of the masses, if we fail to get deeper into and carry out to the end, correctly and in a revolutionary

way, the norms of the Party, democratic centralism, not bureaucratic centralism, bolshevik criticism and self-criticism, proletarian discipline and proletarian ethics.

We will strengthen our Party by proceeding along this correct course, so that our Party, socialism and our people may have no head-ache, heart-ache nor bodily pain ever.

We have all the possibilities since our Party is strong-tempered and possesses great revolutionary experience, since we have daring, heroic Party members and a marvellous people closely bound to the Party.

NOTES

1. Speech made on February 6, 1967 at the joint meeting of the local Party organizations of the Krraba coal mine, the «Enver» machine shop, the «Wilhelm Pieck» agricultural cooperative, the army detachment No. 5009 and the State University of Tirana on the occasion of rendering accounts and elections to the Party.

2. On the basis of the Constitution adopted by the 5th Congress of the Party of Labor of Albania, the requirements towards the candidates to Party membership were greatly increased. Their probation period was prolonged to two or three years. For those of intellectual or employee's origin or status it is recommended to spend their probation period at the most difficult places and jobs. During his probation period the candidate to Party membership is

completely under the direction of the Party basic organization and of the collective where he works. It should be known to all the workers that he is being trained for the Party since they are to express their opinion whether he is fit to be admitted into the Party.

3. Anastas Lula — ex-Chairman of the «Youth Group». At the meeting of the communist groups in November 1941, he did his utmost to prevent the founding of the Communist Party of Albania. After the founding of the CPA he resorted to every means to fight the Party line and organized a dangerous faction within the ranks of the Party. The extraordinary Conference of the Party, held in June 1942, smashed the Trotskyite faction, expelled Anastas Lula from the Party and condemned him as enemy of the Party and of the people.

4. Liri Belishova — ex-Member of the Political Bureau of the CC of the Party of Labor of Albania. Prompted by feelings of ambition and career-seeking, manipulated and instigated by Khrushchev and his clique, placed herself in opposition to the Marxist-Leninist line of our Party and became a champion of the revisionist line of the Soviet leaders, but met with the firm stand of the whole people and of the CC of our Party. In 1960 she was unanimously condemned as the enemy to the Party and expelled from its ranks.

5. In March 1966, the CC of the PLA addressed the communists and the workers of our country in an open letter, wherein it reported to the Party and the people in a high spirit of self-criticism the major achievements and some deficiencies it had observed

as well as the measures it had adopted to redress them. These measures consisted in further revolutionizing its method and style of work, in fighting against alien vestiges and manifestations in the conscience of people and in strengthening the defensive potential of our country. The slogans of placing proletarian politics on the fore, of the line of the masses and of the revolutionary spirit run like a red thread through these measures, arousing the enthusiasm of and bringing to their feet the entire Party and people, ready to put these three major ideas into life to the full.

6. In October 1965, the CC of the PLA and the Council of Ministers summoned the Albanian people to discuss the orientation figures of the 4th Five-year Plan 1966-1970 and to take part in its drafting. This discussion became a great school for our Party and people; it developed the creative initiative of the masses to a new stage and created real possibilities to map out a concrete, revolutionary and mobilizing plan.

7. Following the December 1965 decision of the Political Bureau of the CC of the PLA on the «Struggle against bureaucratism, for a revolutionary method and style of work» and the Open Letter of the Central Committee, a series of achievements were attained in further deepening our socialist revolution: the Party apparatus was cut down, the personnel of the State organs and red-tapism in the center were reduced to half their former self; the competences of the local organs were enlarged; 15,000 cadres of the center volunteered to go to production work, especially to the countryside; administration emplo-

yees and intellectuals took direct part in production work one month each year; the higher wages were placed at a more just ratio to the average wages of the workers; Party committees were set up in the army; political commissaries were reestablished and military ranks were done away with in the army.

8. In order to narrow down to the utmost the gap between the standard of living of the cadres and that of the workers of the whole country, to keep the cadres and the masses of the people close to each other, to block the way to revisionist degeneration, in March 1966 the CC of the PLA issued instructions for a better ratio of work remuneration, although, the Party had never allowed pronounced disproportions in the workers' and cadres' wages. This ordinance affected only the higher wages, leaving untouched the lower and middle ones. Following Comrade Enver Hoxha's speech of February 6, 1967, the higher wages were again cut down on the same lines. The funds available were made use of to set up new cultural and health establishments.

TOWARDS FURTHER REVOLUTIONIZING OUR SCHOOLS ¹⁾

As it happens, the day on which the Political Bureau is taking up the question of the school coincides with Teachers' Day²⁾, therefore, on this occasion, we turn our best thoughts to the men and women teachers of our country who are engaged in untiring work of carrying out a major patriotic task, and while expressing our gratitude, we wish them further success in educating our younger generation in a revolutionary way on Party lines.

Our people say: «life itself is a school». In terms of our materialist philosophy this means that learning should always continue and proceed uninterruptedly parallel with and throughout our lifetime; it means, at the same time, that mental work is indissolubly linked with manual work. This means that work, production, and thought, stand in a complementary relation to one another throughout man's life, matter being primary and thought secondary. Learning and thinking are the product and reflect the dialectic development of matter.

Hence the truism that learning, the progressive development of thought, is not a mere obligation but should be considered as a natural phenomenon which is related to and originates from the transformation of matter, from its dialectic development and transformation, and consequently, an objective necessity for men and society. At all times, at every stage of his life, man, as a natural material being, is undergoing changes just as everything that surrounds him. He creates, thinks, learns and again creates and transforms. All this should be considered as a continuous, uninterrupted process from his cradle to his grave. This is a natural law. The schools we are now taking up are organized on the basis of this law of materialist development. Schools and learning should not be considered as finite, confined solely to a period of man's lifetime, or as an adequate basis, once and for all time perfect, encompassed within a cycle of given norms to facilitate the organizational work of educating and teaching.

This law brings up the question of mass instruction and education, a thing which the Party has repeatedly held forth to us, namely, that all of us without exception should apply ourselves to learning, should acquire education during our whole lives so that we may be able to create, so that thought may guide production and development. But in order that this development may proceed without a break along the road of our socialist revolution, it is necessary that our thought, education, and schooling, should base everything on our materialist philosophy.

We say, and it is a fact, that 8th grade schooling is compulsory by law, but we should say and have it clear that all schooling in its various forms, not merely in the cycle we have mapped out so far, should be compulsory for all, not in the mere legal sense of the word, as our 8th grade school is, but in the true sense of our materialist philosophy.

The problem of school organization and attendance, that is, of uninterrupted education throughout a man's lifetime is a problem of major importance that cannot be solved and done away with within a short period of time and within the actual limits of school organization alone, because, regardless of the progressive changes our school has undergone and continues to undergo, it carries along with it certain idealistic concepts inherited from the philosophy of the bourgeois school, concepts which have fettered with routine the minds of many of our people and teachers who drag along with them these conservative obstacles without themselves knowing it.

In our socialist regime, our new school, just as everything else, should follow its own laws of development which should conform to and serve our economic and social structure, since both the school and learning are important parts of the superstructure which should be guided by our Marxist-Leninist materialist philosophy.

In our socialist order of things, schools and education should be organized just as and parallel with our socialist work and large-scale production, so that they may respond to the objective

laws of socialism and communism, so that the experience in production should stimulate creative thought, so that the development of matter may clear up thought and the latter guide and help the development of revolutionary practice, the development and transformation of society.

From the pre-liberation period we inherited a cycle of poorly organized, heterogeneous primary and secondary schools of major imperfections both in form and criterion of structure, in the content of subject matter, let alone the political, ideological and pedagogical line alien to our socialist schooling. Zog's regime, a feudal Byzantinisue one, was opposed to the educational and cultural uplift of the people and, consequently, schools were its last concern.

Primary education was limited, not only in rural areas where organized ignorance reigned supreme, but also in towns. In those districts where primary schools existed, their number was insufficient but especially insufficient and nearly a privilege were the secondary schools, gymnasiums, lyceums and vocational schools. The latter could be numbered on one's fingers and were located on a few big cities.

In the domain of schools, it was the circumstances, the conditions of development of the country that imposed this policy on Zog's regime, although it did its uttermost to impede even this law of development by pursuing a reactionary, obscurantist policy. Thus, we may well say that even those primary or secondary schools which were opened at the time of this regime, were due

to the wishes and pressures of the people, of the progressive-minded teachers and intellectuals, rather than to this regime and its policy. For that little educational progress made during Zog's regime, no matter how flawed and in what form and rudimentary content, we are indebted to the people's eagerness for learning which, willy-nilly, paved the way to the penetration of light in the midst of the great obscurantism of the feudal regime.

The criteria on which the school was built during Zog's regime were feudal, bourgeois but even within this framework, they were extremely chaotic. In them we come across various conflicting criteria of the bourgeois schools which sprang from the servile policy of Zog's regime towards the various imperialists who entertained predatory intentions towards our country, the winner being the criterion of the ones who paid most to the regime without neglecting to show favor also to that imperialist bourgeoisie which intended to exert its own influence and wrest concessions at a later stage. When one imperialist's positions became stronger in our country, then we came across radical changes also in our schools, in their structure and content, extending even to primary schools. Thus, during Zog's regime we have had «national» gymnasiums, religious seminars, French lyceums, American and Italian vocational schools. The only schools that failed to spread were the Turkish and Greek gymnasiums, and this is easy to understand, since the bourgeois regimes of these countries did not succeed in or afford to buy

off such concessions from Zog who was ready to sell off the country piecemeal to any one, just as he awarded many territorial concessions to the Yugoslav, to the English and, finally, to Mussolini's fascist Italy to which he sold off the country as a whole.

The only praiseworthy note struck in this chaos in which the schools of the country had been plunged was the gigantic effort of teachers and professors to systemize our schools, to make them stable in order to meet, as much as they could, the eagerness and aspirations of the people for knowledge and learning.

In short, the process of developing our school system could not have been started before the liberation of the country. In this occasion, I have no intention whatsoever to make an analysis of this process, for that is up to the specialists on education to do in a impartial way. This analysis is of major importance to us today, if it is made, and it should be made, in the light of Marxism-Leninism.

Why is this of major importance and why should it be done?

First, because, in spite of the defects which our schools had at that period, they still have played a major role in enlightening our people, training cadres most of whom have served the people to the best of their ability at those very critical moments. The overwhelming majority of those few scholars and teachers, physicians and engineers, agronomists and technicians of medium training have stood by the people and have served them. Therefore, their role is not to be underrated or neglected.

Secondly, because after the liberation of the country and until we enacted our first school reform laws in 1946³), we had to depend on the old school, on the old teachers and educationalists. This inheritance has weighed heavily, and continues to weigh heavily to this day (naturally, with many differences) and is manifested in the pronounced conservatism of many older and also younger teachers and educationalists. Nevertheless, the school kept pace with the progressive transformation of everything in our country. Our school reform laws exerted a positive influence in this regard, the experience of the Soviet school helped us to some extent in this matter. We say, to some extent, for later on and to this day, the Soviet school grafted to our old school had preserved many features of the surviving bourgeois pedagogy. It had many shortcomings which time, the experience and development of our country brought to the fore, and obliged us to keep making partial corrections both in the structure and in the program and policy of our school.

In the matter of our school, it was hard for us to act differently from what we did because we lacked experience, means and cadres, and it would have been a mistake, if we had made *tabula rasa* of the schools of the past. We had to proceed towards making it a people's school, to spread it far and wide in cities and in the countryside, to make elementary schooling compulsory, to set up the 7th grade school, to increase the number of secondary schools, to make 7th and 8th grade schooling obligatory, to increase the number of vocational schools

and to send students to pursue their studies abroad until we founded our own university in the country. On the other hand, from the early days after liberation and onward, the concern of our Party and Government has always been to make our school, this cradle of knowledge, an important center for imbuing youth with the politics of the Party.

It is true that our teachers and educationalists carried out the policy of the Party, some adapting themselves to it, but nevertheless, they still preserved in their consciousness, method and style of their work, the trends and survivals of the old school they themselves had attended in this country or abroad.

Now matters are different. We possess a new, nearly 25-year-old experience on schools in which a constant positive process has been going on, in which a number of objectives set forth by the Party have been achieved. Relying on this basis we should take a qualitative leap forward in our schools, a thing imposed on us by the need for developing production, for completing the construction of socialism and advancing towards communist society.

But in taking this qualitative leap as we should, it seems to me that we should define with the greatest attention the principle and ways through which we must proceed without falling a victim to nihilist platforms, without grafting on things which are not suitable and well founded.

Towards our school, our Party has always pursued a pronounced tendentious policy. Wherever it has been possible, it has tried to steer the school and education along the Marxist-Leninist road, to

link them with the immediate and future needs of the all-round development of the country, of production and socialist construction. And the best proof of this lies in the persuasion of the rank and file that learning is necessary, in the opportunities that have been created for them to learn, especially now that education has become the concern of the masses, in the economic progress made, in the training of a large number of cadres who are busily engaged in work and management on Party lines and in accordance with the teachings of the Party, always devoted and loyal to the people, to socialism.

Yet, if we delve deeper into this problem, we will come across a deficiency which lies in the fact that the school is more often considered as the domain of the teacher and education expert, in which everything should be subjected to its pedagogical aspect, to the method of instruction. In other words, in the tendency that in school matters the teacher and educationalist are the only competent people to run the school once they have been given the lines and criteria to follow.

We have constantly reproached the Party comrades with not having concerned themselves more seriously with schools. Even when obliged to visit schools, their interest in them was centered on whether students received passing marks, whether they stood in need of any material, whether the students attended regularly or not, etc. Thus, they were concerned more or less with the formal aspect of the problem. They felt estranged from the school and the reason they gave for this estrangement was that they were busily engaged in other, mainly

economic, work. Thus, our Party comrades came short of grasping the links of schools with production; and when we say this, we imply that these links are paramount and decisive.

On the other hand, teachers and education experts were entirely detached from production; they felt the needs and profited from the changes that our economy was undergoing, but in their schools and in their teaching they pursued, in a stereotyped and bureaucratic way, outdated pedagogical forms and methods and a style of work which were often anachronistic. And, what was still worse, they imagined and were even convinced that they were carrying out their task to the letter. Meanwhile the Party and its personnel who guided this major political, economic, ideological and organizational transformation were not adequately interested in schools, in the changes that should have been made time and again, in the dynamic process of their development.

During these last two years the Ministry of Education and Culture came under the strong pressure of all the revolutionary measures taken in our country, got moving and began patching things up. This corroborates what I just said that the problem of education and school is not a bureaucratic one, nor can it be in general the domain of the teachers alone; it cannot be considered the realm of theory detached from production, from work, but it is a great concern of the Party, of the people, of the economy, of the structure and superstructure.

Moreover, it is not enough just to make 8th

grade schooling compulsory or to assign students to various academic departments. No, the problem is not such a light one, it is deeper and more complicated than it looks, and it is precisely this that has faced the Ministry of Education and Culture with new problems which demand solution. It is precisely up to us to find the most correct Marxist-Leninist solution to these problems.

The problems are many and are not so simple as to be solved at one discussion or at a stroke of the pen. In order to solve them aright, we should guard against anarchic methods covered up under alleged forms of mass action, we must refrain from subjectivist views, we must keep our eyes open against trends and inclinations of sympathy towards foreign schools and our own schools of the past, sympathies which in the course of time and through routine have turned for certain people into dogmas which they think are «the best», without which, according to them, the schools cannot turn out to be good, if not altogether worthless. Therefore, every thing existing in our new schools should pass through the meticulous analysis of Marxism-Leninism, since our new socialist school should be permeated through and through and guided in everything by our materialist philosophy. This is the fundamental condition.

Our new school cannot be a school of any kind, it should respond to the needs of developing production, it should be suitable and in compliance with the structure and superstructure of our socialist country. Our school, therefore, should present and embody our Marxist philosophy in all

its cycles, in all forms of organization, methods and style, it should follow up and help the revolutionary development of the structure and superstructure. Guided by the Party, it should become an integral part of the latter, to help production, to develop creative thought and promote progress.

It would be a mistake for our teachers and educationalists and ourselves if we thought that in building our school everything has proceeded according to the criteria I just mentioned. Another mistake would be, if we thought lightly that, since we took the Soviet school for a pattern, we have not erred. Among us errors have been committed not only because we had lacked experience but also because the Soviet school itself had made mistakes and had serious shortcomings, it had not reached perfection, it was in the process of development. Moreover, the stage of economic, educational and cultural development in our country (to which I will refer later) was different from that of the Soviet Union.

We should base the changes, improvements and corrections which we will make to our school on the actual situation and achievements attained through a detailed Marxist-Leninist analysis of them. By a detailed analysis I do not mean a statistical analysis within the realm of education alone, but this should be linked up with the actual concrete state of our country, with the development of production, economy and culture, with their needs, with whether these needs and gaps are filled or not, knowing how many of them are material, with the number of cadres and their quality.

Thus, we will get acquainted with the actual stage of both our economic development and our educational and cultural development, we will see where the shortcomings lie and we will make as correct an assessment of our needs as possible.

It cannot be said that we have proceeded along such a more or less perfect course, but it cannot be said that we have ever groped our way in the dark, either. After liberation, in view of the backward economic and cultural level of the country, we were obliged and we could not do otherwise, to adopt some features of the old school and, in addition to making elementary schooling compulsory, we attached importance to general culture and made all-round efforts to establish a network of many kinds of secondary schools of general education and vocational training. During the second decade after liberation in particular, we opened many gymnasiums in which we intended to raise the general cultural level of our youth and create a contingent of highly trained cadres of various profiles, of whom our country under reconstruction was in great need. This was a correct orientation, no matter if there might exist and there did exist many discrepancies. Equally correct was the orientation to train teachers «en masse».

Whereas, vocational education did not quite proceed along this course. If, during the first period after liberation, we opened the minimum number of vocational schools necessary, later on and in the development of vocational education, in general, we came across a number of negligences.

and discrepancies. Here, people might look for excuses in the fact that our industry had not advanced to that stage it has now, but this is no excuse for the lack of foresight of what stood clearly ahead of us as regards the substantial construction of factories and, especially, the development of agriculture, for which we should have taken steps right at the start by opening agricultural schools. Learning from the mistakes that have been made in our work with schools and relying on the analysis I have just referred to, we will most certainly draw correct conclusions and take such steps as to make our school a real, new and revolutionary school.

From this study we will see that socialist construction, further development of production, of economy and of culture stand in great need of trained people. Our schools are not only to provide additional personnel for some planned organisms, but to turn out 'en masse' people equipped with graded knowledge and science, not all of them uniform in everything and for everything. Learning and education in schools should not be considered as a means of speculation and personal profit, as it is considered by bourgeois philosophy, but as a powerful weapon in the hands of the new men of socialist society, in order to build this society, to promote our common socialist production, to develop socialist culture, to serve society.

If we assess aright our many-sided needs both in quantity as well as in quality, if we view the fulfilment of these needs from the angle of the

dynamism of dialectical materialist and historical development, we will come to the conclusion that we cannot and should not have only one type of school but a whole range of schools including several courses of just a few month's duration.

As regards the 8th-grade school, it seems to me that it should remain unchanged, the same for all. Its nature and criterion should remain as they are, that is, to impart to all children all through the 8th-grade school the same general culture for all without exception. Whereas, according to my opinion, its programs could and should be modified. They may include work habits but these should not be turned into technical specializations. After being through the 8th-grade school our youth will have an opportunity to attend a variety of schools of every branch, of every profile, both when they have taken up a job or when they continue their studies at another cycle of schools higher than the 8th-grade school.

Various categories of schools are established and will be established especially in secondary education. The Ministry of Education and Culture has submitted variants which may be considered a sound basis of support except that these variants should be further elaborated, because it seems to me, they include two basic defects.

The first defect is that the Ministry has come under the direct influence of those at the base who, in order to meet the urgent and major needs to develop production, look for a way out in establishing schools in cooperatives and workshops without a definite program and variety or profiles.

The second defect is that the Ministry of Education and Culture views the future and perfecting of schools from the angle of its profession, in a didactic, pedagogical, formal discipline way, as a general or special education fixed once and for all time. It is a fact that the study of these major problems of education is taken up and conclusions are reached by the staff members of the Ministry of Education and Culture; but these problems transcend the boundaries of the staff of the Ministry of Education and Culture, even if the latter is made up of hundreds of competent teachers and educationalists. The problem of education is a major problem of the Party, of the Government, of the people.

In order to cope with this huge task of education, I think it is necessary to set up, under the direct supervision of the Party Central Committee, a broad and important commission made up of the best representatives of education, industry and mining, of agriculture (State farms and co-operatives), of youth, women, physicians, sportsmen, musicians, philosophers and others.

Why are all these people necessary? Because, while defining the quite-lines, which I have just referred to, they will establish the actual links of the school with the economic and social development of the country. Each one of them will bring up his immediate and future needs, and thence will come out the right proportions and priorities, the necessary time limits to fulfil these needs, and the various types of schools needed. This is one aspect of the work to be done by this commission.

The other and equally important aspect is that of subject matter, of the proportions each of them will have in every given school or course, so that every one graduating from a school or course of study may find the corresponding school or course to pursue for his or her further and continuous training. The way this work is now being done or is purporting to be done is not very correct, for, at times there is no objective orientation. This results in oversimplified and anarchic forms, in proceeding, for instance, along the road of adding or subtracting this much from one or the other of the subjects, and thus in creating the impression that in this way everything is allegedly settled aright. These operations, of course, present and are performed with good intentions, in order to give the proper place in the texts to the line of our Party, nevertheless, they cannot always be considered adequate and free of mistakes.

Another problem to tackle is that of the «equivalence» of schooling. This is not rightly understood. I think that in this matter we should not tolerate inducements and trends which are alien to us, for «to get a degree, to become a man of authority, to receive a fat salary and to become a functionary» are petty bourgeois ways of thinking. This feeling which lies hidden under the so-called stimulus to study is in fact a latent anti-socialist survival which we should clean out and replace with the feeling of genuine socialist eagerness to study.

There are people who think that some of our youth should go through a normal cycle of schools

while others should go through courses of study or simplified and curtailed schools to meet the needs of production, with or without school certificates, and give these schools the equivalence of standard gymnasiums and technicums. This is of no interest and is not right. Some say: «Why should we close the doors of University to these people?»

This question should be interpreted correctly. The University is a high school which turns out cadres of higher training who, during the development of the country, will be further specialized at work or in various forms of qualification. Therefore, this higher qualification demands also a sound and full educational basis. The doors of the University are not closed to any one provided those who intend to attend it have received the corresponding training, and this we should define well. We have just begun to raise the problem of selecting students who are to be admitted to the University. But are we doing well or not in this case? The Commission which will be set up for this purpose should take up and define this matter more correctly. But I think that, at a later stage, the requirements for pursuing higher studies will be stricter as a result of the new conditions of the development of production, technique, sciences and modernization of our economy. The transition to a more advanced educational-cultural and technological-economic stage, which will bring about radical changes in our schools as well, should always respond to the needs and serve the situations, times and the moment demand.

But we do not stand in need of cadres of higher training alone; our needs are greater for cadres of medium training. Therefore, we cannot subject this problem to the barrier of equivalence or of graduation from this school or the other. An individual who, for many objective and subjective reasons, has not attended school regularly cannot have it as easy as his mate who has been through school regularly. Nevertheless, this individual cannot be left un-schooled, society does not let him down, it has created possibilities for him to graduate from one school, pursue his higher studies by correspondence at another higher school of this type, whereas, if he desires to be registered at the University, he should pass a series of exams on subjects not included in the programs of the school he has been through.

The Commission in question will open up clearer horizons and prospects for our Central Committee, Government and Party organizations by submitting more perfect forms of organization and work to enable our new schools to make headway.

How do I view the question of studying the periods of our school evolution from one stage to another?

1) This study will clear up for us the results attained from the time of liberation to this day, it will explain in a dialectical way the development of education and culture from one level to a higher one closely connected with the various stages through which socialist construction has passed in our country, it will point out the actual discrepancies and needs for us.

2) It will outline in a scientific way the forms, methods and steps we should take to raise the general culture of the masses to an approximate given level, hand in hand with the development of economy, to provide, up to a given level, cadres of medium technological training for our economy, to provide, up to a given level, cadres of higher training for our economy, education and culture.

3) If, for example, we call this the first stage of development, then, in order to advance to the second more advanced stage, most of the forms, methods and steps that were useful for the first stage, will not be able to be of full use for the second, since the latter demands more perfect ones, because our economy, together with our people, will have been raised to a higher level, will have reached a higher degree of qualification.

Many forms of schools will be discontinued and should be replaced with more specialized ones. Today in our country the people are no longer illiterate, they have had 8th-grade schooling and even those who have not had 8th-grade schooling, have been through special courses and schools and, in addition to the experience they have gained in life and the Party's ideological and political work, they have made radical changes and they have advanced just as socialist construction has done.

From one stage to another, our school, like everything else, will undergo changes in form, structure and content. One thing alone will never change: its backbone — Marxist-Leninist material-

ist philosophy — which will lead it in all directions and in all its transformations.

Therefore, our Party should teach, first and foremost and by all means and methods, Marxism-Leninism, — the science which blazes the way to all sciences — to everybody: students, teachers, educationalists, the rank and file, workers, peasants, old and young.

Thorough knowledge of Marxist-Leninist philosophy, of dialectical and historical materialism by students, teachers and education specialists should be our concern, and in this connection we should re-examine our textbooks, forms and methods of work. Natural, exact, social or other science, in short, everything which is taught in schools, should be based entirely on correct Marxist-Leninist lines. A radical re-examination of textbooks with a view to cleansing them, is one of the most serious jobs assigned to us which we should not think the teachers alone can do well. Textbooks should be considered as an important domain where the line of the Party, its policy, its present aims and programs and preparations for the future are concretized. We should not conceive our new socialist school with all sorts of textbooks where bourgeois idealist concepts co-exist with Marxist-Leninist concepts. We should make no concessions to bourgeois idealist philosophy and, least of all, to theology.

There are many things we should set on the right track. I have said at other times before that our textbooks contain a lot of superfluous matter, but I deem it necessary to explain this a little be-

cause I think that, in practice, this is being interpreted in a narrow sense and it is being oversimplified, for there is a tendency to chop up subjects left and right.

Let us take science. It has made great progress. To chop at any of the sciences at random and without a criterion is not at all scientific; it simply means to belittle science. The study of natural sciences should be conducted in a thorough revolutionary way. In this direction everything must be expressed absolutely clearly in our text, ridding them entirely of theology. Through the development and progress of science we clarify materialism and dialectics which we should exert every effort to impart to the students, teachers and educationalists, for only then can they grasp the theory of development in its full context.

I have heard that our teachers have taken up for discussion the question whether the Linnean theory should be upheld, whether Linnaeus's*) classification should be kept intact or whether it should be curtailed. This discussion is a positive one, but it would be more so when these amendments to Linnaeus's theory, or to any other theory, are made in the light of materialist dialectics, that is to say, discarding those things which the further development of botany or of any other science and materialist dialectics have proved to be superfluous or incorrect, and not to go about it like those people who say simply «this is of no use, that is of no use». The methods of these scientists have attained such

*) Swedish naturalist, the author of classification of plants and animals.

a degree of perfection that only the ignorant can ignore, with a single stroke of the pen. Boys and girls attending schools — and let us not forget, and attach weight to this — should learn genuine theory and science, for only in this way will they get a better grasp of the theory of the relativity of human knowledge, a reflection of matter in constant development.

Some take a shortcut and say: «of what use are these things to us?» But these people fail to understand that without learning these things, without taking them up in various forms, from the lowest to the highest, it is impossible to impart a materialist philosophical «world outlook» to our people of socialism, it is impossible to advance; on the contrary, we will fall back, we will be overwhelmed by obscurantism, theology and bourgeois philosophy. Lenin has expressed the idea that without sound philosophical argumentation neither natural science nor materialism can cope with the pressure exerted by bourgeois ideas and revival of bourgeois concepts. Our scholars of socialism should apply themselves patiently to study and be the most fiery champions of Marxist philosophy, in short, they should be materialist dialecticians.

Programs play a decisive role in schools of every category. Differentiated programs should be drawn up for every kind of school that will be established, and the corresponding texts should be revised or re-written. Side by side with this, we should also give due consideration to the serious

problem of training new cadres and of raising the qualifications of the existing ones. This is of primary importance, for it will be they who, having grasped the programs well, will apply them in our different schools. Their training should not be left to routine, for them, too, it is a matter of discipline, of schooling.

Therefore, the commission which I propose, should set up sub-commissions of specialists in subjects to be taught, and their work should be guided by sound criteria and should be aided and supervised not once a year but at definite periods by the Central Commission.

Programs are of different kinds and many in number. I am not competent to speak about them but I think that, in addition to correct political and ideological orientations, they should provide for organic links in the whole range of the subject matter given in various classes without a single break or mechanical repetition. I think that in this way the student will forget nothing during his schooling if the text is clear, simple and complete, and he will thus be able to build on the knowledge imparted to him. When these links have been well built organically, the school will not be subjected to the necessary culling of subject matter at each stage of schooling or at each class, for it will have been based on correct lines in the light of dialectical and historical materialism which requires in an absolute way both culling and organic links, both clarity and accuracy of science of whatever category it may be.

Any fear of lack of comprehensive erudition,

which some people pose, should not bother us at all, for this necessary erudition we should impart to our people in a progressive way and, if we build our school programs and texts in the way I just pointed out, our people will acquire a sound, broad and relatively complete culture and educational knowledge. They will keep many things in their head and even more than when we set our hearts upon imparting to them high-flown erudition which is beyond the scope and possibility of developing their intellect and practical knowledge. Thus, our scholars, linguists or grammarians should strive to refrain from teaching the Albanian language in an academic way, stuffing the minds of the students with all sorts of categories, intending to impart to them also abstract and dry topics of erudition, superfluous and unnecessary to practical life. Linguistics should help the students to get a better grasp of and greater skill in using in practice the living language.

The acquisition of erudition requires more time, deeper studies, greater specialization than the school cycle can provide. Nevertheless, one who has been through the regular school cannot be considered ignorant; on the contrary, in the course of life he will learn many other things, will broaden the horizon of his knowledge. Of importance, therefore, are the bases of studies, programs, textbooks, various experiments and the struggle in life to put this knowledge into practice and to enrich it with further learning. We should attach importance to the programs and textbooks of schools for all subjects.

In addition to the thing I mentioned above, we should attach particular importance to the sciences, to physics, mathematics, chemistry, to the specialized sciences like medicine, geology, mechanics, and so on. All these sciences should be taught well and, in order to teach them well, it is necessary not only for the textbooks to be clear, for the program to be well integrated all through the school cycle and University, but also for the teacher to master the subject matter well.

The main principle then is that our materialist dialectic concepts should run through textbooks, programs and teaching so that the pupil, student and teacher himself may form their communist «world outlook» and view the development and practical application of these sciences from a materialist dialectical angle.

Special attention should be paid in schools also to history and geography, first and foremost of our country, but also of the world, since there is a tendency not to give them due attention. This tendency must be fought against.

We must absolutely know the history of our people in the light of historical materialism; therefore the textbooks and programs of this subject should be reexamined with a critical eye.

The same method should be followed with the history of the peoples of the world. For this, I think, it is necessary to make radical changes in textbooks and programs and, in time and according to plan, to write new ones, since the old ones have been borrowed from abroad and, most of them, particularly those of the higher institutes, are

compiled on different political and ideological criteria, inappropriate for our new socialist school, lacking the right proportions in their descriptions and losing the organic links which we should give to the teaching of this subject, to the history of the development of human society, under the prism of historical materialism. Therefore, there is a lot of work to be done in this respect both as regards quality, content, policy, and ideology, as well as volume.

The teaching of the geography of our country is of major importance and, if it is neglected, the source of this manifestation must be looked for in the concepts of foreign schools, in the influence of the oppressive local regimes and invaders, whose interest was that our people might not be acquainted with their own country, that they might not be attached and devoted to it. Therefore, under this pressure, the geography of Albania was taught in a formal highly simplified way, listing rivers and mountains, etc. It is absolutely necessary to change this state of things altogether in our programs, texts, methods of instruction, and so on. The geography of our country, both physical, political and economic, should become a real science which, during the whole school cycle, should make our people fully acquainted with our homeland, its development and prospects. They should know and feel it, for it is on this land that they live, work and create. The teaching of geography should be most lively, and most interesting; book learning should be linked with terrain, with fields, with mountains, with rivers, with live-stock. What vast

prospects are opened up to such a teaching of the geography of our country! It is associated with tempering of patriotism and love of country, with economy, agriculture and industry; it trains future good geologists, engineers and agronomists; it promotes health, sports, tourism. If we conceive geography in connection with all of these and if we know how to link the teaching of geography in schools with nature, with the land, then we will reach the right conclusion that we should make qualitative improvements in this subject.

Major changes should be made also to world geography which is inappropriate for us in the form and scale it is being taught in our schools at present.

Re-examination of textbooks from this angle implies clean work on a scientific basis, work which from the benches of primary schools to those of the university and even beyond it makes the proper connections between theory and practice, for practice helps theory and theory helps and guides practice. If this organic link is properly made, then we will be able to serve the present and, at the same time, prepare for the future.

Re-examination of texts through the prism of materialist dialectics should be done for all the kinds of schools which we will designate, whereas adaptations of subjects for every type of lower or upper school or course should be made separately so that they may meet the needs for which each school has been opened, complying with the educational standing of those who will attend it. But in general, I think that these adaptations should

always follow well studied scientific criteria according to some given orientations and not one pulling one way and another the other, subtracting 10 hours from this and adding 20 hours to that. This should be avoided.

I have already made some remarks about science. Now I wish to say a few words on how to modify or compile new textbooks of science. So long as we want our textbooks to be compiled under the prism of materialist dialectics, they cannot be compiled by people who are not competent and have philosophical views alien to Marxism-Leninism. He who will work in drawing up the new textbooks should not only have a good grasp of Marxist-Leninist philosophy but also feel and know how to apply it, in short, to materialize it in textbooks, to link it with life. I am not referring here only to the technicians and scholars who have been through former schools and who, in general, maintain good political standing, are attached to the Party, to the people and to socialism, but who, intentionally or unintentionally, remain bound with the strings of bourgeois idealistic philosophy: this must be said even of our young cadres of higher training who have been graduated from our State University. We have many specialists who, in spite of the fact that they have been through higher schools where they have learned also philosophy and have been working for some years in the terrain, are not yet able to link their knowledge with life, have not yet reached what the Party is after, so that, as genuine materialists, as Lenin says, to

be hustlers and draw revolutionary philosophic conclusions.

What should we then do about the problem I am raising? It is necessary to organize, under the direction of the Party Central Committee and the Ministry of Education and Culture, a close collaboration of the teachers of these subjects and of scholars, of the men of letters and of Marxist-Leninist philosophy. But this major basic work should not be left to the teachers and professors alone, no matter that they are competent no matter that they may be Party members. The question is that they do not master Marxist-Leninist philosophy properly.

If we take the social sciences and, particularly, literature which is treated in schools of all branches, we will find very serious things although many comrade communists have had a hand in and the Party has devoted major attention to it. If we look carefully into the way our own and foreign literature are treated both in school and out of school (and this we should do in the light of our own philosophy), we will come across, not only weaknesses, irregularities, inconsequences, amateurisms, sensationalism and sickly erudition, but also grave mistakes which cost us dearly and which will cost us more so, if we fail to correct them. In these matters we see the reflection of the philosophical views of the bourgeois school, the individual sympathies of one or of the other according to their inclinations, according to the school and culture with which they have been moulded since they have not yet succeeded in cleaning their

«Augean stables» *) completely. They transmit in schools and life all these halfbaked and not thoroughly cleansed ideas and views, these sympathies or passions for a local or foreign author of their stuffed and confused erudition, through recitation hours, lectures, conferences, articles and books they write. This constitutes a major danger and, if we fail to put this matter in order, we will have tolerated and made concessions to bourgeois philosophy to fight us openly and almost officially on our own ground.

The Epoch of Revival is a democratic revolutionary epoch, of major importance to the history and literature of our people, it is an enlightened epoch guided by illuminist ideas, by our most outstanding people of that period, which has rightly been called the revival of the nation, its emergence from mediaeval-feudal-imperialist darkness to light, to uprisings, to battle for freedom, independence, and democracy, for enlightenment and education.

Somewhere in his writings Engels has referred to the period of Revival, not to our Revival, but to the «Cinqucento» by which name the epoch of the latter half of the 16th century is known. He says that this was an enlightened epoch which brought forth prominent men, not only men of letters and painters but also scholars, philosophers who were burned at the stake by the Church, an

*) Synonym of dirt. According to Greek mythology, in order to clean the filth of King Augean's stables, the river was turned into.

epoch which brought forth physicists, astronomers and others who broke through mediaeval obscurity, who smashed beliefs and systems and who pushed economic, cultural and scientific development further ahead. But the analysis Engels makes of the epoch of Revival is a materialist dialectic and not an idealistic one, holding that the impetus the people of the period of Revival imparted to society was neither complete nor perfect, it would undergo changes, it would develop, and partial and radical upheavals would occur in the development of human society and in the various sciences. New or supplementary laws would emerge and, as Lenin says, «these upheavals in most cases give birth to major and minor reactionary philosophic schools and trends»*) the fogs of which only our materialist philosophy can clear up and ward off the damage they do.

It is precisely from this angle that our Party has viewed the epoch of our Revival which it should further consider under the prism of dialectical materialism so that this period may be available to the school children, students, teachers, professors, and people, in its most clarified and correct form, analyzed in a Marxist-Leninist way both from the social and economic, as well as educational, cultural and historic angle, and not to suit the whim of one or the other. This should be done in this way.

We should view our people of the period of Revival in the right perspective, taking into ac-

*) V. I. Lenin. «On the importance of combative materialism». Works, vol. 33, p. 254.

count the period in which they lived, worked and fought; we should point out their ideas which were the product of the development of society at that period; we should point out the immediate and future objectives they intended to reach. If things are posed in this correct way, it will turn out that our men of the period of Revival were enlightened men imbued with progressive ideas, that they were courageous revolutionary illuminists endowed with a great and ardent love of country. They fought with rifle and pen for the freedom and independence of the people, for their enlightenment. All of these are their positive and great merits. We should impart to our people all these attributes and characteristics of the epoch of Revival and of our men of this epoch.

But we should not forget for a moment that these people of our Revival have their own negative sides which should be subjected to our Marxist-Leninist criticism. These weaknesses lie in their philosophic concepts which are idealistic. This is a heavy impediment, it is the philosophy of their epoch which is at variance and in conflict with our ideology.

Should we keep silent about this antagonism, about this life and death struggle we, as Marxists, wage against idealistic philosophy, against religion and religious beliefs? Should we consider them inviolable, taboo, just because they are people of our National Revival? Can materialist and idealist philosophy co-exist at the same time? Can we, on one hand, fight with vehemence against theology, religion, churches and mosques, priests and hodjas

and, on the other, exalt those parts of Naim Fra-shëri's works where he expresses his Bektashi philosophy, or Mjeda's where he speaks of Christian theology, or Çajup's where he says, for example, that Baba Tomor is «the throne of god», etc. and mete all this out to the people as an ideological food only because they are people of our National Revival, because they are prominent men who have laid the basis and have helped in elaborating our mother tongue, because their poetical stanzas are beautiful, because they have created pleasant figures of speech?

No, as Marxists and in the interest of the people and of socialism, we should fight these negative sides. In ideology we cannot make concessions to rhyme or diction. The assessment Engels has made of Luther's*) language as a basis of German language, has not prevented him at all from judging in true light and exposing the reactionary role of the Reform before and after the Peasant Revolt in Germany.

Therefore the question of textbooks on all these subjects, and especially of literature, in and out of school, should undergo a real analysis and check from the angle of our philosophy.

The question I raise about our men of National Revival should be understood well and solved

*) Representative of Reformation, directed against Catholic Church and feudalism in the XVIth Century in Germany. Opposed the liquidation of feudal relations by means of revolutionary violence; enemy of insurgent peasants.

aright. It is not permissible and not Marxist to overshadow this epoch. From the authors of our National Revival and their works we should make selections on correct criteria for the different categories of schools and the public, culling the negative passages, for if you give to the children of the 8th-grade school poems and writings of an author of our National Revival speaking of god and, on the other hand praise this author highly, then, you have exalted also his idealistic, deistic or polydeistic philosophy. You should criticize these, but the young school child will not understand you, will not understand the shade of difference of praise and criticism. While in higher schools their texts may be broader but never without the accompaniment of a serious Marxist-Leninist criticism of their idealistic views.

On the other hand, we should be on our guard against the idealistic cult of our men of National Revival. We should view this question from the prism of our Marxist-Leninist philosophy. Colossal changes have taken place in our country from the times of our period of National Revival in the economic, social, cultural and educational fields. Albania is no longer what it used to be, nor are its economy, culture, education, language, regime, politics and ideology the same. According to the law of materialist dialectics everything has changed and is in the process of change. If you fail to keep all these changes in your mind, if you exalt the one and forget the others, if you live only with the old and forget the new, if you think that only the old should exert influence on the new and that the

new plays a little role, means to head for a blind alley. With this in mind, we should fight any tendency to belittle our letters of the period of People's Power. The doors of our school should be flung open to this new literature of socialist realism, for it reflects the sentiments and efforts of a new glorious epoch and is such as can and should serve to implant on all the masses the lofty ideals of socialist and communist society.

We should apply the same criterion in taking up for review the other periods of mental development in the sciences and letters, in art and music which are portrayed in textbooks. As I just said, these must be complete, but we should not tolerate the exaggerated mania of certain outstanding erudites who want to impart to students «in toto» and at a short period of time, all the things which took them their whole life to learn.

This, I think, should not be interpreted to mean that we have no need for eminent scholars, for prominent specialists. On the contrary, we have great need for them, they are the wells of science and knowledge and through them we will multiply and qualify our higher cadres, but we should not confound the stages of development. A very learned person has and should find possibilities by which to make his teaching very understandable to the University student without loading him too much while he should know how to raise the dose to the specialist sent to him for further qualification.

As to foreign literature, I think that it has long been in a chaotic and very dangerous state in our schools and among the public. Although some im-

provements have been made during these recent two or three years, the situation is still precarious. In this field there is a lack of sound criteria; and where these are or are given, they have been distorted, bastardized. Therefore, the Party Central Committee should seriously take a hand in this, for there are matters of principle which should be forcefully asserted and the supervision of their implementation should be well organized. Someone takes a fancy to a novel, translates it and wants it to be published; if the translator is a high ranking person and the novel a «classic» work, it is printed and is given to the public to be fed on, regardless of the ideas expressed in it. On the other hand, this same translator will deliver a lecture on behalf of the Party, attacking the ideas of the novel he has translated. He is not bothered by his own inconsistency nor is the Publishing House which overfulfills its plan.

Into the hands of our people and youth we should place books not to misguide or disillusion them spiritually but to help them get acquainted with the development of society and, at the same time, to impart to them our own ideology. Foreign literature is a wide and variegated field. A careful selection of what we need in this field is feasible but also difficult. The people who will make this selection should be endowed with a broad culture and firm Marxist-Leninist views. These people should have a good grasp of what is needed, not as a whole but in separate categories. While translating and publishing foreign literature, they should have a clear idea of the definite aims and inten-

tions of our Party. In this important and delicate problem we should not allow snobbism, individual tastes, sickly predilections, nor should we allow nihilism by merely saying «we have no need of them at all». No, we stand in need of them but we will select that much and from those which will help our mental, artistic and cultural development.

Every nation has its own literature, and this is made up of many varieties and schools of thought. In their various phases of development and decadence, the bourgeoisie have created and create their own literature with major and minor writers, poets, musicians, artists, etc, some of whom have resisted time and some of whom have been swept away in its maelstrom. But there is no sense in translating them «en bloc», «as if we cannot do without them» or, as some may pretend, as if we cannot be abreast of the times without them. We should select those authors and those books which are most progressive, most revolutionary and of the most revolutionary moments, so that they may illustrate to our people what they have learned about the history of peoples, about their class struggle, about the development of their progressive thought. Such writers, poets and artists exist but we should never forget that in them we will not find all that we are after nor in the way we want it, since these progressive or revolutionary authors, too, reflect in their writings, if not directly, at least in one way or another, bourgeois ideas of life and thought that prevailed at the period in which they lived.

What process should we, then, follow in this matter? I think we should not be guided by the

mania to necessarily give the school children, the youth and the public a novel that they should devour wholesale even when this novel may have three good and five bad things in it. In this case, we may give them selected parts, exactly the three good ones, without neglecting to accompany them with a criticism of the whole. I think that, in order to carry out so delicate a task well, we should always bear in mind whether this serves and how much it serves the formation and education of our people, whether it builds or destroys what the Party is building every day and every hour. Since if, on one hand, we wage a daily persistent struggle to wipe out petty bourgeois survivals from the minds of people, or fight against the influence of religion and superstitions day in, day out and, on the other, hand over to our people books by world famous authors in which they serve these ideas «sugar-coated», then, with our own hands we demolish by night what we build by day.

These criteria, I think, should be pursued also regarding the study of literature in the University and not proceed along the inclinations of individual professors and load the program with the works by Aristophanes, as I read a correct criticism by a student in the «Studenti» periodical. The philosophy of our Party, materialist philosophy, should prevail in all the programs of the University both in their structure, textbooks, forms and methods of teaching.

I stress it again that the study of Marxist philosophy should preoccupy us greatly, since without knowing and mastering it, we cannot form and

educate our people. But I think that this important basic study at present is being conducted in a one-sided way and with old stereotyped and red-tape methods borrowed from the Soviet school, unenlivened and unrefreshed with the vivid and militant experience of our Party, of socialist construction in our country. I think also that this important study of materialist philosophy is not properly related to and coordinated with the other subjects, since the programs built and the lessons taught in the practice of various departments leave a lot to be desired in this respect.

It is necessary to create a genuine materialist worldoutlook among our intellectuals, in general, and among our students and professors, in particular. The study of Marxist-Leninist theory should follow certain roads reaching one point in the level of their Marxist-Leninist philosophical formation.

The first road is that of teaching dialectical and historical materialism as a separate and most important subject. This study should be conducted in a serious way with appropriate and understandable forms, in other words, teaching all the materialist philosophical synthesis formulated by our great classic writers and illustrating it with the struggle and practice of our Party and of the international communist movement. Thus, it is necessary to continue and perfect the way of teaching Marxist philosophy as we are actually doing, and to denounce and expose the attempts the Soviet revisionists are actually making to eliminate Marxism-Leninism as the leading science and to reduce it to the status of «logic». This should be

the sound groundwork of the teaching of our philosophy which is the theory that gives us our bearings and guides us.

The second road or means which re-enforces the first and opens up clear vistas to put it into effect and use it as a compass and as a guide, is that of making, rebuilding and developing our textbooks, lectures, the method of teaching and the performance of experiments and practical work in compliance with our theory. Our theory should throw light on and explain these step by step, so that the student and pedagogue, the teacher and school-child may see in theory and concrete practice that the genuine and correct development of the sciences makes progress only when it is guided and enlightened by dialectical and historical materialism.

The third means, but just as important, is the active participation of school children, students and teachers in the political and economic problems of the country while they are still being formed in schools and the university, since in this way they leave their book study and laboratory practice and embark on active revolutionary life where the basic principles of our Marxist-Leninist materialist philosophy are put into practice in a creative, variegated way, yielding tangible results that can be seen and felt.

The organic permeation in teaching and education of our Party's ideology and policy should be realized together with the Marxist-Leninist principle of linking teaching with work and polytechnization of the school. We have taken some steps in

this direction as far back as the 1960 Plenum of the Central Committee of our Party when we reorganized our schools on the basis of this principle. During recent years and in the revolutionary sphere of the whole life of our country, these steps have been enriched with new forms, initiatives and experiments. We will continually broaden and intensify this work.

These three main roads should be well combined.

For the first, a colossal heritage from our great classic writers, we should perfect our methods of work and study; for the second, we have a great deal to do and we should embark on this process very carefully and in a revolutionary way; for the third, we have already started but we should broaden, complete and perfect this process.

I wish to say a few words also about the method and style of work of teachers and educationalists.

Our socialist school demands of teachers and educators a new, revolutionary method and style of work; and for this to be so, the teachers themselves should be revolutionaries, should be educated in this way so that they may educate also the school children and students. The programs and textbooks built in this spirit and on new methods, will teach the teachers and educators themselves in this way. There is no doubt about this, but this will be insufficient if they confine themselves within their own castle, to their school-world, and fail to feel and temper themselves as active members of the vigorous revolutionary de-

velopment of our socialist society. If they fail to live and work in this way, regardless of texts and programs, they will not be shock workers, innovators and revolutionaries in the method and style of their work, they will be overcome by routine, formalism, red-tapism and the method and style of their teaching will be inert, lifeless, they will turn to that style and method of the bourgeois school which is ready at prescribing recipes and which, pretending to be «didactic» or of an «experienced pedagogy», are anti-dialectic, non-revolutionary, reactionary and static.

The method and style of teaching are the principal profession of teachers and professors who should become competent and improve them. It will be difficult for us and we would not be doing well if we handed out recipes, and the teachers and professors, on their part, would err if they thought that the method and style of their work has reached perfection and should be taken as a perfect model for all. The good experience in this line should be spread, but efforts and struggle, the improvement of their capabilities will create still better methods and style of work. There are no limits to perfection. Therefore, I think, this important problem should not be inserted into the mold of formalism and typiness but should keep developing. This should not be taken to mean amateurism and not based firmly on programs and textbooks. It is necessary to pursue the way of a worker who is both an innovator and a revolutionary in his work, who turns out of his lathe the detail called for in the most perfect shape, and

not something not asked of him or which is the product of a sickly imagination. The good method and style of work should serve its purpose.

Everything will be done well when the teacher and professor have a good grasp of the subject matter. Apart from this, there can be no good method and style of work either for the worker, or the teacher and professor. Once a teacher masters his subject matter well, he will be able to gauge the cultural level of his students, their inclinations and psychology, to keep modifying the style and method of his work to comply with the situation, and will thus arrive at that stage of his method which he will deem perfect.

A method of this kind will oblige the teacher and professor (and here they will show themselves to be revolutionary and enterprising) to use different forms of presenting the subject matter, to use a variety of forms that will lead them away from stereotypy, dogmatism, formalism and other similar evils. It is only in this way, I think, that they will not be afraid of questions asked by the students, and the latter will not be afraid of questions asked by the teacher and professor. This will create in the classroom a living, pure, untarnished, warm, fitting and revolutionary community in the process of the osmosis of thought and feelings of students and the teacher and that of imparting the teacher's knowledge to the students.

A teacher's verbalism and sickly «academicism» are nothing but a mania and a striking weakness behind which lies the deficiency of his

knowledge of the subject matter and a tendency to keep this hidden from his students. A teacher of this type resorts to these methods in order to cover up the vacuum in his «knowledge» with meaningless verbiage. This, of course, creates a false situation between the educator and students, is a stumbling block to the complete education of students who get bored and try to escape from this situation by not being attentive, by chatting, by making noise or by scribbling senseless things in their notebooks. All these manifestations of students, which are the result of an objective situation, are attributed by the unmethodic and flimsily prepared teacher to the subjective aspect of the students, to their lack of discipline, of good **conduct**, and so on. In order to correct this unfavorable situation for him, this teacher, being unable to make a selfcritical analysis of his work and feeling superior to the students in all respects, resorts to unbecoming, peremptory «pedagogical» methods, all of which point out clearly «authoritarianism», formal discipline, the force of marks, sickly antipathies, contemptuousness — all of them anti-educational and anti-pedagogic manifestations. The Party should take note of these and many other matters in the political, ideological and methodical education of teachers and educators who have been entrusted with a major task.

While upholding with all firmness the extensive application of the line of the masses in the development of education and the work of our schools, while firmly encouraging within this framework the initiative of schools and teachers at

the grass roots to carry out in a creative way the programs of teaching, to use textbooks in a creative way and to view them with a critical eye, to perform experiments, we should, at the same time, base these initiatives always on the principle of democratic centralism.

I wish to say something also about the question of marks. This problem, whether to use marks or not, is being discussed by teachers and educators alike. This is a correct and fruitful discussion. All of us can express an opinion to contribute to this discussion which, sooner or later, will lead to a conclusion.

Marks have continually been used in schools. The idea is created that if marks are not used, schools cannot function. Thus, marks have assumed the form of «a regulator» of learning, they have penetrated deep into the minds of students and teachers as something that gauges mathematically every effort of theirs, from their mastery of the subject matter to their conduct. A teacher's authority towards his students is linked up, willy-nilly, with marks.

It can be claimed that marks are a stimulus to learning, but the contrary holds also true. They may also be an impediment, they may become a harmful weapon in the hands of unprincipled teachers or educators and may not be, in all cases and at all times, a stimulus to learning for a student who, once he receives a good mark, rests on his oars and cruises behind his marks.

For our schools the problem is posed otherwise. The principal aim of our new school is to

imbue all students with sound education and culture. Our school is of a massive character. It has done away with all barriers which hampered people from attending school, as the bourgeois school does. In bourgeois schools, the question of marks, in addition to other obstacles, has had the character of putting on the brakes, of selecting, and it is easy to imagine against the children of which social class.

Our new school, being of a massive character, aims at having everybody learn, and learn well at that, so that nobody may have to repeat the class. This does not imply that all will shine but all will be and should be trained for life and, when people will have passed through school to life, they will not be asked what marks they have received but how well they will do the job they are assigned to.

I think that it is necessary to do away altogether with the idea expressed by: «I learn in order to receive a good mark». Fix your thought on: «I must learn, since without learning I can neither live nor work, since without acquisition of knowledge I cannot serve the people, the country and society properly». Learning is an essential nourishment for man. In order to implant this correct notion on students, we should not make resort to marks but to the political and educational work with them.

In this connection, we should also fight against the idea that receiving a school certificate or degree from any school is a privilege and a means to draw personal benefits from, and implant the

idea that a diploma is only a certificate of having been through school, of having acquired a certain degree of knowledge and specialization which one should put into the service of society.

Politically, therefore, we have to do a lot of educational work so that all of those who attend school should study not to get a mark or a diploma in the petty bourgeois sense, but to acquire as much knowledge as possible.

The acquisition of knowledge in school does not depend at all on marks, it depends on a correct grasp, politically first of all, of the subject matter, on the clear, unsophisticated and understandable programs and textbooks, on the ability, methods and styles of teachers and professors, it depends on all school and out of school education. According to my opinion, these, and not marks, are decisive factors.

Some may say: «These are correct, but have we reached to the point of discontinuing marks?», and from this reach the conclusion: «Discontinuing the use of marks may be untimely».

I may be mistaken, but my opinion is that our conditions are not bad, not to say very good, since we must do a lot to make them even better. Our political conditions are very good, since we have a fiery, revolutionary youth who understand too well the importance of schooling and learning and understand this in a revolutionary way. The other conditions we should and we will improve. What is now called untimely we should see to it that it becomes timely.

But how? By discontinuing marks? With what should we replace this stimulus?

First, I think that if we accept that marks are only stimuli, we could replace them with many other stimuli, moral, of course; secondly, we should discontinue the marking system on a five or ten basis as we have it at present and, temporarily, adopt that of general valuation, which we have used more or less also before, namely, «excellent, good, insufficient, etc.», and gradually abandon these, too, and replace them with more definite and qualificative characteristics to gauge the ability, efforts and other qualities and weaknesses of students which I think are the only thing to give a full idea of the students and comply with our new pedagogy. The main features of a student are reflected by these characteristics not by dry marks.

We are not practising the marking system now in the Party School or other courses. We may first begin to discontinue the marking system in primary schools and, I think, there is no danger for the youngsters to discontinue studying, on the contrary, we educate them in a new spirit when they are young, to study not for a mark or under its dread and influence. Whereas, for other schools, we should proceed at a gradual pace, making the necessary experiments, as I just said, or adopting other forms.

Lastly, marks are also connected with promotion of students, they are, so to say, a reference card for the teachers and professors. How will this be done; will the school child or student be promoted on the basis of some characteristics?

Characteristics should be the vantage point for teachers and professors, but, like marks, they should formulate these characteristics on an objective basis, when they pose questions to a student, when they control his homework or when they test him. In communicating his impressions and ideas to students, why should the teacher use dry marks and not more living, more political and more educational expressions and assessments? This is a more appropriate form. And in the end, when the student is given his certificate of promotion, this should be based on the sum total of these characteristics of each teacher in collaboration with the teacher in charge of the class or with persons charged with this task. Of course, these forms and changes are debatable. Our teachers possess a major experience and, of course, those who are in favor of continuing the marking system have not only their arguments why this system should be continued but also how to make marks a stimulus, while those opposed to keeping the marking system have also their ideas of how and with what to replace it. Therefore, in conclusion, let this matter be discussed and debated like all the problems of our new school.

Life is a great school and the school itself is nothing but an integral part of life. Therefore, the school should be closely and harmoniously linked with the activities, work and thought of man, school should serve him and society as a whole. The socialist society and the coming communist society, which the Party is building and preparing, have at each epoch and at each stage their laws

and rules of development, of revolutionary transformation, which we should know, learn, master and apply consistently.

Preparations are called for in every thing, both before the operation begins and when it is in the process of development and after; we build the present but, at the same time, we look ahead and prepare for the future. During all this process of restless, not spontaneous but revolutionary development, the struggle of opposites creates progress and the dialectical development of opposites brings about those qualitative transformations which lead our society from a high stage to a still higher one. In this major revolution the decisive role is played by the masses guided by the communist party of the proletariat and its Marxist-Leninist ideology. Thus, through its ideology, the Party should make the broad masses of people aware of this role, educate them in all aspects and render them capable of knowing, mastering and applying the laws of nature and of turning them into material benefits for the people, for society. Therefore, the school is an important stage additional to the other activities of man.

While building socialism, the major objective of the Party is to form and forge the new communist man of a sound Marxist-Leninist political and theoretical outlook, endowed with Marxist-Leninist ethics, appreciations and taste, with a Marxist-Leninist revolutionary, daring and creative spirit, that sees things through. In this revolutionary struggle of forming and transforming, in this battle of educating and re-educating, in

this contest of opposites of the new with the old in its last breath, wherever he works, creates and thinks, at every place and at every time, wherever he sets his foot or lays down his head, our new man should find the line of the Party and its philosophy materialized, should grasp the policy, theory and practical application of this line, should draw philosophic and practical conclusions from these achievements, should arm himself and forge ahead with multiplied strength always realizing that all these are his achievements and the achievements of the masses of the people guarded by his Party and its materialist philosophy.

Losing one's bearings, losing one's tracks as our people say, in all these things spells defeat. No section or sub-section of social activity should be neglected or allowed to develop apart from others or in an anarchic way. Of course, there will be unequal developments among sectors, there will be progress and backwardness, but these should be shortcomings of growth, of development, and we should never allow them to spring from political and ideological deviations.

One of the major causes of the catastrophe which befell the Bolshevik Party of Lenin and Stalin after the latter's death is also this incongruence in grasping and applying aright the line in all fields, is the sclerosis of the theoretical and organizational principles of the Party, is the failure to wage the class struggle in a radical, continuous and consistent way, is bureaucracy, and many others which have been the object of many former studies and analyses of our Party and

which should not be enlarged on here. In short, the Khrushchevite modern revisionists seized power, eliminated the Party as the Party of the working class, eliminated its Marxist ideology and replaced it with idealist ideology, and they are now turning the State of the dictatorship of the proletariat into a bourgeois State with a capitalist economy.

The modern revisionists have wrecked the Soviet school turning it into a bourgeois school with a view to creating a young anti-communist generation, a prop to the capitalist regime which they have restored in their country.

In conclusion, we must not forget for a moment all these situations, these dangers; let us have a clear head and an iron fist against the enemies of the people, of the Party and of socialism; let us not lose sight of the role of the masses and the colossal importance of the younger generation, which makes the present strong and the future secure; let us never forget that in this major struggle which the Party is waging with success, the campaign to successfully build a new socialist school is one of our greatest and most delicate tasks in which we are fully convinced that our Party will score success, as it always does in everything else.

NOTES

1. Speech made at the meeting of the Political Bureau of the CC of the PLA on March 7, 1967, where Comrade Enver Hoxha advanced his theses which

constitute a vast program of work towards further revolutionizing our school. The Party made this problem the concern of the whole masses by raising it at popular discussions. The CC of the PLA set up a special commission headed by Comrade Mehmet Shehu — Member of the Political Bureau of the CC of the PLA and Chairman of Council of Ministers of the People's Republic of Albania — to supervise the popular discussions and the whole work for further revolutionizing our school.

2. On March 7, 1878, after the selfless struggle of our men of National Revival against the Ottoman usurpers and Greek chauvinists, the first Albanian language school in our country was opened. On March 7, 1960, on the anniversary of this great event of major cultural and political importance to the Albanian people, the Presidium of the Popular Assembly decided to declare March 7 the «Teacher's Day».

3. On the basis of the educational reform adopted by the Popular Assembly in August 1946, primary education became compulsive and free of charge for all; schools of general education were unified in the whole State; a preliminary and vocational educational system was set up; the education for the grown-ups at evening schools or through correspondence courses was created and the school programs were compiled.

HOW TO STRENGTHEN THE PARTY ORGANIZATIONALLY AND HOW TO EDUCATE IT IDEOLOGICALLY¹⁾

We notice improvements in the reports sent by the District Party Committees to the Central Committee Secretariat, but we have not managed yet to have these reports illustrate more realistically the situation and delve deeper into the problems already solved or waiting to be solved and requiring the aid of the Secretariat for this purpose. The problems which the District Party Committees are asked to report on are narrowly viewed and the District Party Committees do not make the necessary efforts to have the issues examined in detail and the problems presented in as complete a way as possible. In their reports, the Party Committees slavishly stick to their theme and hardly treat of any other aspect of the problem which, on the surface seems to have no relation with it. Problems viewed in such a way shrink down to a very limited scope. This shows that Party organs at the district level are inclined to consider problems detached from each other and to establish a nomenclature that they can hardly

change or break through the established framework.

For example, the actual theme presented to the Secretariat concerns the «strengthening of the internal unity of the Party». However, while treating the problem of «internal unity», are we perhaps afraid of treating together with it, also «external unity», I mean to say the unity of the Party with the masses? No! This will be done only when a well-defined theme is proposed, as for instance «The ties of the Party with the masses», «The Democratic Front and the Party», and other such themes. Whereas the comrades (and this is only natural) could tell us quite easily also about the environment outside the Party, from which negative elements sneak into our organizations. They may say that «this would lengthen the report», whereas I am of the opinion that such a thing would but better explain and complete it.

Or let us take the report of the Kruja District Party Committee. It resembles that of Vlora. I attended the latest meeting of the Party activists of that district and I noticed, among other things, two big and serious shortcomings of this organization.

First, in the whole of the Kruja District Party organization there are only 12 women members, if I am not mistaken, and in the highlands of Kruja there is only one woman communist.

Second, the Party organization in the highlands of Kruja has been, so to speak, abandoned to itself, therefore it is only natural that there should be disputes, coteries, backwardness, even certain cases of murder, etc.

The comrades of Kruja could say that the second issue can and must be dealt with more profoundly, while the first one is somewhat detached from this theme. If we view the matter narrowly, it appears so, and we may say that «we shall speak of this when we shall deal with the problem of the admission of women to Party membership. It seems to me that the issue must not be viewed from this angle. If we scrutinize «the lack of unity in some grass root organizations» we will find out many causes for this lack of unity which must be fought against by adopting a series of measures and bringing new blood into the Party to reinvigorate it. Let us take the question of the woman. Her admittance to the Party membership should play an important role in its regeneration, the woman being one of the most revolutionary and most progressive representatives of the people. Women should inject into the Party the new blood which it has so far been deficient in, and the Kruja Party organizations has entirely lacked.

The questions we are taking up today are Party questions, questions related to the strengthening of the Party, therefore organizational and ideological questions. We strengthen our Party not only by educating it, not only by purging its ranks of all bad elements but, at the same time, by tempering it ideologically and organizationally and injecting fresh blood into it from the masses of the people being set in motion in a wonderful way by the Party struggle.

Is not there an unprecedented revolutionary

vigour being noticed among the masses of our people? Yes, it is, and a very great one at that. Should not this atmosphere be communicated to the internal life of the Party organizations? Of course, it should. At these revolutionary moments, should we not single out hundreds of thousands of resolute men and women and admit them to the Party? Yes, we should!

But all these questions are considered separately; problems are not viewed and studied as a whole; we do not follow all their aspects, we do not follow their realisation. Sometimes we forget the most important things we constantly speak of.

We have several times criticized the Vlora District Party organization; we have even given instructions about its main organizational questions. The Vlora comrades, however, have not paid due attention to these questions. Let us take for instance, the statistics of this organization. 77 out of the 116 grass root organizations of this district have not made admissions to membership, 13 of them for a period of two years, 16 for a period of three years, 4 others for a period of four years and 44 organizations for a period of over five years.

Or let us take the Tirana Party organization. Out of 424 grass root organizations 389 have not admitted any new members. Of these, 46 for a period of two years, 40 for three years, 28 for four years and 231 for over five years.

Out of 81 organizations of the Kruja district Party organization no new members have been admitted in 52 grass root organizations; such

situation has been lasting for two years in 12 of them, for three years in two of them, for four years in six of them and for over five years in seven of them.

If we then have a look at the statistics of the Party as a whole, we have the following picture.

Out of over 3,000 grass root organizations, no admissions have been made by 2,168, of which 477 for two years, 278 for three years, 156 for four years and 673 for over five years.

This, comrades, is a very serious situation, it is a blunder we are making, and I should say it is a crime we are committing against the Party and socialism. This confirms that the slogans «Strengthen the Party organizationally», «Inject new blood into the Party» are not taken seriously, are not put into practice, but even when they are carried out, this is done only in a perfunctory manner as in the case of a Party grass root organization in the Librazhd district, which when deciding to admit a new member after five years, admitted only a policeman.

The Party, comrades, must seriously tackle this problem and tackle it seriously, as I have pointed out several other times, we should make a scientific analysis of the situation in every organization, getting acquainted with its internal and external life. The Party organization should be in the know of the activity of every communist, of his seniority, his age, his political and ideological level in order to come out with pertinent conclusions defining the rates of strengthening the organization with new blood on the basis of territory

and production, on the basis of the rise of the needs of environment.

When we speak of injecting new blood into the Party, we must not talk in vain and proceed blindly, but we must study both the age and maturity, the energies and experience, the political and ideological determination, as well as the past and the present of the cadre. In this way the grass root organizations are fed with new blood at the proper rate and according to their needs. This is by no means an easy task, but one which has to be done without fail, for on it depends the very existence of the Party. To neglect this task would be a crime, to do it carelessly or leave it to spontaneity would be a grave mistake.

The situation with regard to admitting young people to Party membership is even more serious and unpardonable for a mass organization, especially when there is such a revolutionary and wonderful youth as ours. Statistics show that 61 per cent of the youth of our country are not organized. This is an alarming situation. What are Party comrades doing about this? What are you, comrades of the Youth Organization, doing about it?! One thing you are certainly doing, you are making a serious and unforgivable mistake. Without waiting for the Congress of the Youth Organization let us do away immediately with all harmful restrictions, let us reject sectarianism and nefarious conservatism in the work with young people and meet their Congress with a powerful army, and what an army, for even the ordinary young men and young women of our country

are heroes and heroines. I have the impression that the Party does not pursue this development on correct lines, it does not help it as it should. But now these things should take a turn for the better.

Another shortcoming in the reports: they only enumerate events, and only disastrous events at that. In them, one does not find, or finds very rare positive aspects, the positive experience of the Party. Far from being a correct reporting to the Secretariat, this shows only the bad predisposition of those comrades who, in the practice of education, do not strive to make use of the positive experience of the Party, of its good examples against evil manifestations.

The comrades could tell me that they perhaps do this poorly in practice, but that they actually do it. I agree with them. I know that it is done and to what extent it is done. Irrespective of the fact that it is being done poorly, it will be improved. But in your reports, you, comrades, do not take pains to give us your practical experience, how you act in practice, what measures you take, what results your measures yield. We do not see this clearly.

It seems to me that it is not sufficient to tell us that you will hold a plenary meeting or a meeting of activists where you will take up these matters. We know they are forms of work, forms of organization, but we do not see their content, their essence. Or, shall we, perhaps see them when you will present them, but then what efficient aid can we give you if we have no possibility of discus-

sing broadly with you the proposals and concrete measures which you plan to take?

Let us take the report of the Tirana Party Committee. It has established some facts such as:

«Initiatives and proposals from below are not backed up»,

«The rotation of cadres and the evils coming about when it is not carried out correctly».

«Directors lack initiative»

«There is officialdom, detachment from the masses, etc., etc».

These are some of the questions which I singled out from the study of this report. These questions are neither new nor unknown to us, but we would like to gather what measures have been adopted and what positive results have they yielded, and what other measures the Tirana Party Committee intends to take. When I say measures, I do not mean only some plenary meetings but the work that has been done and the educative forms that have been worked out to educate the cadres so as to liquidate precisely these weaknesses.

Of course, it is not for the first time that we consider this problem, but, in our advanced revolutionary conditions, we want to know how do grass root organizations tackle precisely these problems and how should the grass root organizations of the different departments solve them.

Such a way of presenting these problems in reports to the Secretariat would be of great help to the meeting participants, as well as a valuable experience to the entire Party.

At the 5th Congress and at plenary meetings before the Congress much has been said about the weaknesses of Vlora and its organization in particular. Moreover, there have been established also forms of work and directives to be followed to improve this situation. But how have these tasks been tackled? Very, very poorly. They have not been taken seriously, they have not been examined in detail, they have not been subjected to a profound study. There have not been drawn proper conclusions and tasks have not been carried out, controlled, rectified and completed from time to time.

They have acted superficially, taking occasional half measures in the old spirit. Work proceeds this way because the Vlora comrades pretend to know the situation in all its peculiarities, but in reality they do not know it as they should. They are content with a general knowledge. Thus, the situation was boiling in the cauldron and, when the steam pushed up the lid, hasty administrative measures were taken, with drawing some wood from the fire, just to lower the calories of heating.

In Vlora we have a good Party organization, but no ideological work is being done, as it should be, to temper the good qualities of the Vlora comrades. As everywhere, in Vlora, too, there exist harmful customs which tarnish the high qualities of valor and loyalty of our men and presented as manifestations of patriotism. Of these harmful customs we can quote arrogance, dislike for work, exaggerated claims speculating on the general patriotic attitude of the district, etc. All

these and other things, which are contradictions of growth, are not seriously dealt with from the ideological and political viewpoints, not only when they become manifest but also before they crop up, although our Vlora comrades know beforehand the characteristic of their environment and have every possibility to cope with this sort of problems and strive for a systematic education of people.

It is indispensable that the leading comrades of the Vlora Party Committee should take a turn for the better, realizing that Party work and its organizational strengthening depend largely on the ideological and political uplift of the communists. This uplift, their education, cannot be achieved to the due extent without a deep and many-sided preparation. Treating problems perfunctorily and superficially never yields good results.

We have succeeded in strengthening the Party internally, but it is a fact that the healthy and systematic upbringing of our communists is not at the due level. The leftovers of the past in the conscience of people, in their world-outlook, cannot be liquidated so easily and quickly; some of them are liquidated or weakened, but others survive and revive springing up in new forms if they are not fought against. Leftovers are like contagious diseases, against which we must not only resort to proper remedies to combat them but also to a constant prophylaxis to curb their eventual come-back.

Leftovers cannot be removed, broken up or discarded from conscience in the same way as worn out objects are. It is for this reason that we must

do a constant and differentiated educative, political and ideological work with people, for only thus, through proper education can we influence all the strata of the population. It is but understandable that this difficult task has been entrusted, in the first place, to the communists and their Party. The people look at the Party, but the Party also looks up to the people and relies on them to carry out this major task properly.

To fight harmful leftovers in the conscience of men and women, the Party relies on the lofty virtues of our people. Therefore, the communists must be the bearers of these virtues in their life and work; it is they that should materialize in politics and ideology the essence of education which must serve as a medicament to cure the diseases existing or manifesting themselves over and over again in the conscience of people. Education and the uplift of the ideological level of the communists must not even for a single moment follow the dogmatic method of teaching our theory in a scholastic way and detached from life. Even a communist with much experience, who understands too well the problems of life and knows how to tell good from bad, finds himself in difficult situations pondering over the philosophic formulations or the dogmatic methods of those who explain and teach them.

For the ideological education to be carried out successfully relying on our Marxist-Leninist philosophy, we have to formulate these basic principles in new forms matching with the ideological and cultural level of our men and women.

The principles of our doctrine must be based on and serve to explain our reality, they must be expressed in the simple and clear language of our people.

In this direction there is yet a lot to do, for we have done and are still doing little. We notice a creative attitude towards the development of the Marxist-Leninist theory with our great teachers. People find Marx more difficult than Lenin and Lenin more difficult than Stalin when studying the Marxist-Leninist theory. This confirms the unity of our doctrine, its compactness and accuracy, but this also confirms that it is not an inert dogma, in both its further development and enrichment through new experience and forms through new ways of expressing and formulating principles. Stalin cannot be less Marxist because his writings are more simple than Lenin's. But simple as they are, they express and back up the theory of Marx and Engels further developed and enriched by Lenin.

Giant Marx and his companion Engels, the founders of our glorious doctrine, extended their study to whole centuries and worked for the centuries. This means that from the summing up history, from human thought and creative activity they deduced the laws of development of human society, they pointed out and established the laws and the norms, the methods and the possible forms of transforming society, the ways of liquidating capitalism and of building socialism and communism. Thus, their immortal doctrine is ever new and fresh. Their genius is felt clearly in their genial

analysis and synthesis in their boundless erudition and their vast knowledge. The forms and ways used to suit to their majestic aim made materialist doctrine a beacon for the proletariat and the peoples of the world. It is understandable why Marx's work is difficult to be grasped in both its breadth and depth by our communists who have not yet attained the necessary theoretical and cultural standard. This is explicable, for Marx's work is the summum of science, its quintessence, it is deep human thought of the centuries elaborated and expressed through his struggle and polemics against various idealistic, irrational, and obscurantist philosophical concepts and trends in their essence and expression.

Thus, the work of Marx is not difficult to understand, but difficult, unintelligible and obscure are all the idealist philosophic concepts Marx unmasked and smashed into smithereens. The truth of Marx is simple and understandable to every one, it is simple and understandable to our communists and working people who are inspired and guided by it and successfully carry it out in practice. Marx has fought, worked and thought for us.

Lenin has enriched our doctrine. He continued the cause of Marx and routed the enemies of Marxism, the bourgeois idealistic theories of renegades to Marxism, he fought against capitalism in its imperialist stage under the conditions of the development of the great October Socialist Revolution, when the proletariat seized political power from the hands of the bourgeoisie. All

these things are more familiar to us, therefore Lenin's work, — the theory of Marx in constant action, — is comparatively easier to us to grasp. For the same reasons, Stalin's work becomes easier to be understood by our communists.

It is, therefore, our first duty to find gradual and differentiated ways of utilizing this great treasure — the theory illuminating our road. We must make clear to our Party members the bases of our theory and enable them to understand in a Marxist-Leninist way the materialist development of the history of mankind, to grasp in a Marxist-Leninist way the phenomena of its general development, to find out the laws of nature through dialectical materialism, understanding the Marxist-Leninist essence of our Party's policy in building socialist society, knowing how to correctly and fully explain every action of theirs. This is the main thing we are about to do. We should make the Marxist-Leninist philosophy accessible to everybody.

Although Marx is more difficult and Stalin easier to be studied than Lenin, yet this cannot be the same to everybody. That is why theory should be taught in forms and methods acknowledging differences in their ideological uplift.

Marxism-Leninism is a universal theory explaining every phenomenon. In their historic development phenomena may change their form and appearance, but their essence remains unchanged. The laws of nature and society should be construed aright and be placed at the service of the man of the new socialist society. As elsewhere, in our

country, too, the new concepts fight against old ones in every field. This fight takes place in the concrete forms of our reality. That is why it is necessary to study our reality carefully, our revolution which is being carried out in the framework of world revolution and in bitter fighting against the old world, against imperialism, against modern revisionism.

It is therefore indispensable for Party cadres to make serious efforts to delve deep into the study of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin, to master our theory properly, for it is in this way that our Party will be in a better position to make this differentiated ideological upbringing and to sum up and explain more clearly and more quickly our experience in the light of the Marxist-Leninist theory. Thus, integrating the study of theory with historic reality, we shall avoid both practicism and dogmatism in the ideological education of our men and women.

With regard to what I said above, I would like to draw some conclusions for the future work of our Party. In the great achievements our country has scored under the correct and direct guidance of the Party, we must single out some pluses and some minuses.

It is incontestable that the Party has raised the political, ideological and technical level of the communists in particular and of the masses in general, and this is gauged by the results achieved. In this general uplift, where, of course, there are both advances and drawbacks, we see that the professional uplift of production cadres, the deepen-

ing of their technical and scientific knowledge, our efforts to integrate science with practice are more advanced than the theoretical uplift of the Party cadres, than their preparation in the ideological field, than their efforts to integrate theory with practice and to achieve a theoretical summing up of the Party experience. When I say Party cadres, I mean the cadres of the Committees, of their apparatuses and the secretaries of grass root organizations. In their «trade», which is the political and ideological leadership, these cadres are lagging behind the cadres of the production sector. The latter, ranging from the engineer down to the rank-and-file worker, from the agronomist and to the rank-and-file cooperative peasant, are making serious efforts to master their «trade», to broaden their scientific, technical and other professional knowledge.

Thus, the men of production, of technology, of the direct organization of labor feel a stronger need to improve their skills. Through their efforts to become skilled, through their work and its results, they rise also ideologically, because the science they acquire and apply in practice, the theory they integrate with practice, the experience they sum up and, consequently, the innovations and rationalizations we notice in abundance in their work give them greater availabilities to better seize the scientific content of the laws of the Marxist-Leninist theory, to understand their guiding theory in its dialectical development. But this however, does not exclude the need for a profound study of the Marxist-Leninist theory, so

as to acquire sound ideological convictions. This study ought to be made. And it must absolutely be guided by the Party; for in spite of evident technological progress, we observe marked leftovers of bourgeois ideology and, sometimes, incorrect political attitudes among them. A negative influence is exerted also by the Party workers, Committees, secretaries, instructors who do not properly master their «trade», who do not make the necessary efforts to raise their ideological level and thus, be able to raise that of the others, to direct and lead not through vague slogans but through a profound knowledge of our revolutionary theory and practice.

There was a time when we had fewer technical cadres and still fewer Party workers endowed with Party education and training. The Party has now changed this situation by a thorough training of its cadres. The Party has been training a large number of technicians, teachers, engineers, agronomists, zootechnicians, economists, etc. At the same time the Party has been seeing to it that not only first secretaries, but all Party committee secretaries as well as a large number of instructors and secretaries of grass root organizations go through Party schools and training courses, where they get also a broad general culture. As a result, Party work has been raised to a higher level.

Now I think that, in general, the technical cadres are studying better, they are more persistently striving to master science and technology and to apply them in practice. Engineers build roads, bridges, factories, hydro-power stations;

agronomists manage farms and agricultural co-operatives, they apply and develop agronomic rules; designers and architects draw plans; workers produce and create. Life itself teaches them that, along with their practical work, they should not neglect either science or technology, for otherwise neither do hydro-power stations go up nor potatoes grow.

But it is not so with the Party secretaries and workers in general. Of course, the political, ideological and organizational management of the Party and State, the education of our men and women the integration of theory with practice and the theoretical summing up of social phenomena and of Party experience are more complicated jobs than solving technical problems, building up hydro-power stations and works, etc. In building socialist society, in explaining and solving social problems which we come across in life, we are guided by the Marxist-Leninist philosophy, by the dialectical laws of the development of society. But, despite constant improvements, in comparison with the great tasks incumbent on the Party to lead and direct the whole national life in its revolutionary development, the efforts of the Party workers to raise their cultural level as behoves Party workers, are still insufficient. We have also secretaries who work little with books, who do not properly engage in the study of the works of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin, of the documents of our Party and of its directives. We have Party secretaries of long standing experience as Party workers, and with a longer experience

than a hydro-power station engineer, who find it very difficult to write an ideological report, to make a theoretical summing up although in the final analysis, this is their job, their principal task.

Therefore, Comrades, we must look this weakness squarely in the eye, we must understand and solve it correctly. It must be admitted that Party workers are more inclined to practicicism and often, without performing their own task, meddle with the tasks of others, as, for instance, when they concern themselves more with the economic aspects of a given question. Not that they should not concern themselves with the latter but, in the first place, they should carry out the special task entrusted to them by the Party. The Party secretary cannot build up a hydro-power station. This is somebody else's job and the engineers charged with this task are competent, just as competent in their «trade» are the agronomists and the veterinaries. Party secretaries ought to give them their aid and not only tell them things which they know better, but to teach them precisely what Party secretaries ought to be deeply versed in — the Party policy and ideology. In this way, repetitions are avoided, and shortcomings in the work to raise people to the height of the tasks entrusted to them are done away with.

In addition to successes, we notice also shortcomings in our Party work; in addition to the great revolutionary drive of the masses we observe also many things hampering it; in addition to successes we detect also shortcomings in the organizational field. But it is a fact also that the Party

is making great efforts and achieving big successes.

Let us take the question of the organization and direction of work in State socialist enterprises where despite its shortcomings, work organization is in a better condition. And this is but understandable, as the Party organizations there are more mature, due to the extent of the working class and skilled cadres, and so on.

In the countryside this work is done more poorly. We cannot feel satisfied by saying that work there is weak only due to its nature. We must admit, likewise, that the Party, too, does indifferent work there. The countryside is not less patriotic, less enthusiastic and less attached to the Party than the town. But the aid the Party Committees have given to the countryside has been insufficient. It is here that lies the weakness of the Party committees which, although aware of the difficulties of their work in the countryside, do not take proper measures to organize both its ideological and political aspect, which is reflected also in the organization of production.

In the report we are studying, the Vlora district Party Committee tells us that among the communists of some grass root organizations there exists the spirit of career-seeking and arrogance, while some others place individual above collective interests, in some Party grass root organization crop up alien manifestations, coteries, family ties and clans, which continue here and there to play their nefarious role. Of course, these negative manifestations are not characteristic for the Vlora district Party organization alone. We

find similar manifestations in various degrees also in the Party organizations of the other districts. It is true that we fight these manifestations but we do not fight them properly. The Vlora district Party organization will hold a plenary session at which it will raise these questions. However, we have been holding such plenary sessions time and again. We must not pretend that by one plenary session or several of them we shall completely liquidate these shortcomings. Of course, plenary sessions like these are indispensable and have yielded results; but we notice that they are not properly prepared, and subsequent measures are not taken to conduct a deep ideological work. Practicism prevails both in the preparation or in the implementation of the resolutions of the plenary sessions.

In order to make a proper presentation of all these obstructing shortcomings one by one, ranging from career-seeking to morbid feelings of coterie and kinship, a theoretical and political summing up must be made not only by enumerating examples, that is, by dumping crude material and passing it off as a finished product.

Experience is not worked out in presenting some facts in reports and in accompanying them with a «must». All manifestations have their deep political and ideological sources, their economic and social causes which, if not seriously dealt with, in the first place by Party Committees and secretaries headed by first secretaries, then, nothing can be well done. But to uproot the evil, the study should be based on facts, considering the time,

way, ground and intensity of the given manifestations, as well as on theory, which means to have our classics and Party documents at hand.

To sum up experience does not mean only to line up sentences and come out with some stereotype conclusions one meets with in the daily press. This is not a serious job, it does not teach the Party in the proper way.

Why must we carefully analyse facts in the light of our theory? We must do this because, although these facts are recurrent throughout our country in the forms I mentioned above, there are, nevertheless, differences from one region to another, from one district to another, due to the different degrees of the social, economic and cultural development of our regions. One thing might be stronger in one region and weaker in another. For instance, the feeling or morbid kinship in the South is not so accentuated as in the North. Of course there is no mention of our reality and peculiarities in the works of either Marx or Lenin, therefore we should not think of having settled the question by saying: «Tell us the chapter we ought to refer to». Marx and Lenin have made their theoretical conclusions in a perfect way and, although at other times and in our reality these find different forms of expression, their source is always the same. Thus, we must absolutely study Marx and Lenin, indeed hold their books under our pillows, consult them continually so that they, too, should help us.

But do the secretaries of our District Party Committees do such a thing as they should? No,

they do not do it properly and to the required extent. But do they have the possibility to do it? Yes, they have, for they have been graduated from higher Party schools and they have collaborators galore.

However, what is it to draw theoretical outlines from our reality? It means to do what the Party really asks us, its workers, to do. By this serious work of ours we must educate the Party, raise the ideological level of the communists and of the masses, help them have a theoretical grasp of the essence of various problems, discover the source of evils and establish efficient measures for their solution and not treat the issues superficially, by giving some practical advice, some «musts» and by taking certain administrative measures.

When general conclusions are not drawn, results are unsatisfactory and measures and discussions at plenary sessions are superficial. But the worse is that some people think that, with the holding of the plenary sessions they have ended everything, «successfully», the participants of plenary session or of activists' meetings go back to their grass root organizations where they raise questions vaguely and take no serious measures.

We very rarely see first secretaries of Party District Committees sit down and prepare theoretical reports for the education of district cadres in special seminars. I speak of the first secretaries in the first place, but I do not make exception of the others. Why do they not set about this task. They have schooling and experience and authority and should carry it out. The more so as it is one

of their main Party tasks, because, the Party has charged other communists to build factories, and one or tens of others to manage them.

They wait for ideological reports to be sent to them only from above. This is not right. Party work is not summed up in the center alone. It is inadmissible that District Party Committees or grass root organizations remain with folded arms and wait for some ex-cathedra instructions from above. District Party Committees must bear this well in mind, for if they wait for the «office theoretician» to feed them phrases, while they themselves are in better position and more qualified to help themselves and the center, then, the ideological education of the Party will not proceed at the rate and the level of qualification the Party and the Central Committee require.

Actually, the Party is successfully deepening its revolutionization and that of the masses, but this should be a real deepening, I mean to say a substantiated one, broadly explained politically and theoretically.

We discover many evil social phenomena and we rightfully expose them. We are worried, incensed and revolted when we think that we have so far neglected to fight them. I think that we have fought them but not to the necessary extent and in the way we should.

It is not sufficient to say «to sell out your daughter, to betroth your underage son or daughter is a base thing», «these are barbarous customs», etc. Such expressions stand for logical conclusions only drawn of some facts, and it seems that we often

consider these philosophical and theoretical conclusions as quite sufficient, for we make no efforts to delve more deeply into these issues. Social questions are not so simple. In my opinion, they have their own written and unwritten laws. And often unwritten laws are more dangerous and obstinate. These unwritten laws are the customs. There are good customs, but there are also bad ones; good customs, too, have their positive but also their negative aspects. Customs do not remain unchanged forever. With the development of the social conditions, they, too, undergo their own evolution. Customs are unwritten laws, subjected to changes in the same way as the written ones, but after longer periods of continuity.

Thus, customs are some laws guiding social life and serving the latter. Economic, political, ideological, religious, organizational, health, family, clan tribe and monarchy questions and, prior to them, questions of feudalism and primitive community — all of them are related to customs! Therefore, customs, just as laws, have their own economic, political, ideological, ethical, organisational and other grounds.

We speak of fighting and liquidating backward customs, but to do this, we must discover their source, expose their philosophical, idealistic and religious origin, which is the more difficult as we have now changed our economic basis. But notice the characteristic of custom: although its economic basis has been totally done away with, custom will still appear and act, indeed, under our very noses.

Let us take Lek Dukagjini's Code — a collection

of medieval habits and customs of our country. The habits and customs that have assumed Lek Dukagjini's name were governing the Albanian society, especially in the North, in an iron way, so that their medieval barbarous and anti-social yoke is felt even today. If in Central and South Albania there was not such a concentrated expression of custom as Lek Dukagjini's Code which was due to their more advanced development, these parts of our country, too, were not free from some unwritten laws which are nothing else but the customs we are speaking about, which were governing and directing the life of the people, families, tribes, etc., in a barbarous way in those two parts of the country, too.

If we view them with the eye of our epoch of socialism we cannot but judge these customs as barbarous and, consequently, we must strive to liquidate them as historical products of past epochs, of their economic and social development. Our shortcoming in this question is that, when we study the ancient history of our people, we lay more stress on the historical development, considering facts and war events in a romantic way and leaving in darkness, allegedly for lack of documents, the economic and social factors of the development of society in different epochs.

We say that we have no documentary data for the study of these fundamental aspects of the development of society, but in our times, in socialism, why have we not studied and do not continue to study in a scientific way how deeply Lek Dukagjini's Code acts in the North, or the impact of family

customs, of tender age betrothals, of tribal survivals and religious superstitions on our people? Are we allowed to wake up one fine morning and notice with surprise that our Party organizations in the North are not only failing to or react feebly against Lek Dukagjini's Code, not only failing to explain or explain it very vaguely but also using it, as if it were nothing bad?

If we do not discover the real social roots of the bad custom, it is difficult for us to liquidate it. Thus, it can live in centuries. Let me give you an example: When I was a little boy, there lived in our quarters in Gjirokastra an old woman called aunt Merzo. She used to go from house to house with an ivory-like dog skull in her pocket and used it «to cure» people from any disease. She would touch the sick person's face with her dog skull, yawning and spitting all the while she was doing that. Why do I tell you about this vulgar witchcraft? I mention this only to show that this witchcraft is about 6.000 years old. A book entitled «Science and Sorcery», I was reading of late, tells about the same witchcraft with a dog or jackal skull being practised in ancient Egypt. There we find that Egyptian soothsayers or sorcers spat the same way as aunt Merzo.

We consider only the monetary speculation aspect of the talismans which are still being made today by hodjas, dervishes, clergymen and other swindlers and forget their philosophical, religious and idealistic aspect. Such phenomena are still to be met with in some backward regions.

We are filled with just indignation when we

learn that a so-and-so has sold his daughter or has betrothed his underaged son, but we do not make further inquiries to find out their social and philosophical background, to discover that it is not only a matter of money received the same way as for a sold animal, that we have to do not only with an economic factor, but that we have to do also with the intention of strengthening families and tribes, their security against outside dangers through marriages and other such relations. Parents, the family, give priority to the preservation of the «unity» of the family, to its protection and the creation of alliances over individual interests or humanitarian feelings.

In the time when these customs were taking shape, developing and spreading, the head of the family or of the tribe reigned supreme. He was the only one in position and authorized to conclude alliances and dissolve them. The same thing held true with marriage and death ceremonies. Economic advantages were giving place to the political advantages with a view to strengthening family power and its alliances in days of weal and woe. With all these and other phenomena, religion, that is, the ideological superstructure, was inextricably involved.

As a result, I think that the Party is faced with the task of delving still more seriously and deeply into these problems which, although of social nature, have also their important ideological aspect. I repeat it that this cannot be a matter of only a group of specialists, (even if they plan and organize their work much better in depth and

breadth) but a question of all the Party cadres and, in the first place, of the Party Committees and their secretaries.

Are we right that alongside our just indignation at the misdemeanour of a communist who, although being a good man, devoted to and willing even to sacrifice his life for the Party, betroths his underage daughter, or does not act to persuade his old folk not to fast, are we right, I repeat, not to raise this question of great responsibility: «Have we properly done our duty for his ideological uplift?»

The Party possesses a rich material on various social problems now. We would be doing much harm to our work if we registered all these things only as facts. We must organize their detailed, profound and serious study, draw all-round theoretical, political and educative conclusions. We should systematize on this basis our principled struggle which is to be waged taking into account the practice of these backward customs and the mentality of their bearers. The communists are convinced of the correctness of the Party directives and they stand on the forefront of the struggle for the implementation of these life-asserting directives but, though they accept them, they still grope in the dark about certain points. At the Berat cadre forum, as reported to me, the participants addressed over 100 questions when they were asked about the political problems of the time.

What was the character of these questions? They all, as reported to me, were of a practical character. For example, «Should I give a wedding

party or not when my son gets married?», «Should I receive people at home for congratulations or condolences?», «How much should I spend for the wedding party?», etc. But these questions, practical in appearance, indicate that there is no clarity yet among these cadres, either about wedding and betrothal or about death ceremonies? People raise these questions because customs have taken deep root, and their basis is not only economic, but also philosophic, either materialistic or idealistic. The Party cannot recommend to one the sum of money he ought to spend for the wedding party of his daughter, or prevent him from receiving his friends who come to present their condolences to him when his father is dead. Joys and sorrows are social phenomena, they have to do with the feelings of people, with their love and solidarity between them. Such and other aspects like these are the better side of customs. The Party is duty-bound to strengthen these positive social aspects, but it is also incumbent upon it to single out bad customs that have been integrated with good customs. If we do this properly, neither the communists nor anyone from among the people have any reason to ask about things clearly explained to them theoretically and politically.

Therefore, a profound study of these problems does not consist only in presenting a report, in holding a plenary or activists' meeting. Done in this way, this guiding job, would be neither efficient nor complete. The Party and State propaganda should engage in studying and carrying it out. The Marxist-Leninist conclusions ought to be drawn

out in all possible forms for the education of the Party members and people. For this purpose it is necessary to set in motion our press and radio, our men of the stage and music, of the ballet and cinema, professional and amateur writers and artists. All these persons must be directed, inspired, powerfully aided by the Party and State organs, they should be assisted ideologically and helped materially. Every literary production, every writing, every drama, every piece of music must be inspired and though not blackening what has been achieved so far fight what is to be fought, portraying, at the same time, the wonderful attributes of our men and women. For everything and in everything we must always come out with correct conclusions and with clear-cut revolutionary prospects.

We have looked and shall always look our shortcomings squarely in the eye, without fear. We have absolutely no reason to be pessimistic about our fight against these shortcomings, for our Party is strong, a Marxist-Leninist one, and our people are wonderful and progressive people.

By knowing the history of our people, their historical development to the present-day and by drawing a comparison between social problems preoccupying us and those existing in other so-called civilized peoples and States such as France, the United States of America, Italy, Britain, etc., we may come out with the conclusion that our people, as a progressive people, are much more advanced socially, although the degree of industrialization,

the technical level of our country are not, for the time being, at the same height as theirs.

Ours is a deep proletarian revolution. Our reforms are not simple ones, they are a real revolution carried out by a revolutionary people under the guidance of a revolutionary Party inspired by a revolutionary theory, a revolution aiming at overthrowing the old world from its foundations and building socialism and communism. Our Party blazes new trails in building socialism and is uninterruptedly deepening proletarian revolution in a revolutionary way.

Let us take Mustafa Kemal's Turkish democratic-bourgeois revolution which some people would like to call anti-religious. What did this revolution do? Mustafa Kemal, through the Kemalist revolution, overthrew absolutism, the Sultanate and theocracy, the Caliphate and set up the Turkish Republic. He continued to carry out also a series of social reforms and up to a certain extent, also economic reforms, which, although fairly advanced as compared with the past, did not go beyond the framework of a bourgeois revolution carried out under the slogan «Follow the road of Europeanization of Turkey». The road of «Europeanization» of Turkey could not deepen the Kemalist revolution but only hamper it, as it did in fact. Of course, neither Mustafa Kemal, nor his companions were for radical economic reforms in favor of the oppressed classes. They overthrew the Caliphate, they replaced the fez with the brimmed hat, they segregated the Church from the State but their philosophy was not a materialist philosophy, it was

and remained a religious and, although in more attenuated forms, a bourgeois idealistic philosophy.

Therefore, if we compare the Kemalist revolution with our proletarian revolution, we will see that ours is centuries ahead not only of the Kemalist revolution but of all the so-called western progressive revolutions, either American or revisionist; our revolution is centuries ahead from the viewpoint of both economic and social relations (although our productive forces are still comparatively lagging behind in the technical aspect), of the ideological, political and organizational basis, of education and progressive mass culture.

Ours, therefore, is a brilliant socialist revolution which we are deepening with every passing day in battle with the obscurantist leftovers of the past and with all those bourgeois, reactionary, decadent and obscurantist forms which are described as «modern progress».

Thus, by deepening our revolution in the two above mentioned directions we must profoundly understand and correctly interpret from the ideological and political viewpoints the phenomena which our proletarian revolution brings to the fore in all fields.

We should never forget that the great economic changes in our country, the revolutionization of all its aspects, come up against the regressive past; they come up also against the pressure of external reaction, the influence of the so-called modern way of life, represented in tastes, fashions, culture, art, dressing, etc.

When we speak of further revolutionizing our

country and the conscience of our men and women, we mean doing away with many customs, ways, norms of living and their replacement with new customs, ways and norms of living. Therefore, the 100 questions the Berat comrades asked as well as one-thousand and tens of thousands of other questions which will be put to us in the future should not be considered as accidental, nor as made in a spirit of contradiction, to oppose revolutionization. No, they are looking for new norms of living to replace the old ones we are doing away with. These questions are positive, they are on the order of the day. This is a new and great social problem which must accompany the materialization of the revolutionary idea of the Party. Therefore, the answer to these questions is of exceptional importance, for we are faced with the serious task of developing good customs, of fighting bad ones and of establishing new socialist customs and ways of living.

Though their implementation, the socialist laws, by which we regulate the material and spiritual life of the people, are turned into people's second nature, into habits. Moreover new customs come into being, new norms of living spring up in relations between persons, in the family, in society. These customs and habits grow and spread when the Party works well and intensively in the ideological and political fields; on the contrary, they take an erroneous course.

Let us take some concrete examples from our own reality. The Party had always recommended to fight religion, but little had been done in this

direction. What was happening? While socialist economy was becoming strong and the wellbeing of the people was rising, churches and mosques continued to be attended. Why was this happening at a time when socialist ownership was being consolidated? Because the Party, in fact, was almost not working at all in this main direction of the ideological struggle.

We can again be mistaken if we think that this affair has ended now that we have pulled down mosques and churches, that hodjas and priests have had their beards shaven. If we think in this way and rest contented only because we have liquidated the places of worship, we forget that what we have just done is only the alpha. The major part of the job lies ahead of us, we have to wage a scientific fight against religious dogmas, we have to fight against religion practice, interlaced with the various events of life.

Let us take the very delicate social problem of the women. In this domain we are making progress. The women in our socialist society enjoy all their rights, they have acquired their democratic liberties, they have been and are continually being liberated economically, they have won the right to divorce, etc. etc.

But what happens in everyday life? In general, the woman appears to be more closely attached to her husband, and when she is married, although enjoying all the rights and freedoms, we notice that she proves to be more tolerant towards her husband than he toward his wife. Here we give all sorts of reasons why such a thing happens, but

we forget one reason, one custom, one tradition, namely, that the woman fears divorce and that, if divorced by her husband, she automatically is lined up along that category of women who scarcely find men to marry them, while the man finds more easily a woman to marry him, and, in fact, he aims at young ones. This is one of the numerous reasons, but a very important one, for which the woman, unconsciously, without feeling it, without reasoning, submits to her fate. This is written nowhere but it is very difficult to be done away with. And for this purpose we must work a great deal.

There are many such social problems, comrades. These are serious problems not to be neglected, or to be treated superficially and lightly. We are faced everyday and every hour with the task of solving these problems and much depends upon what kind of solution we shall find to them. As a result of a correct solution we, certainly, will establish a correct socialist custom and norm; while as a result of an erroneous solution we might establish an erroneous custom and norm.

Therefore, comrades, we must make efforts to uplift ourselves ideologically, so as to be able to uplift, then, our Party and our people, so that our revolution should progress and never come off the rails of Marxism-Leninism. We must also attach a great importance to the organizational strengthening of our Party.

NOTE

1) Speech made at the meeting of the Secretariat of the Central Committee of the Party of Labor of Albania on April 21, 1967.