

INFORMATION BULLETIN

OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF THE PARTY OF LABOR
OF ALBANIA

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COMMUNIQUE

ON THE 10TH PLENUM OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF THE PARTY OF LABOR OF ALBANIA

The 10th Plenum of the Central Committee of the Party of Labor of Albania was held on June 25 and 26, 1970 with Comrade Enver Hoxha, First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Party of Labor of Albania, presiding and heard the Report of the Political Bureau of the CC of the Party of Labor of Albania on «Raising the Organizational Work of the Party to the Level of the Tasks of the Present Stage of Socialist Construction» read by Comrade Hysni Kapo, Member of the Political Bureau and Secretary of the CC of the Party of Labor of Albania.

The Plenum discussed the Report at large and approved it unanimously.

In winding up the proceedings of the Plenum, the First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Party of Labor of Albania, Comrade Enver Hoxha delivered an important speech.

THE 10TH PLENUM OF THE CENTRAL
COMMITTEE OF THE PARTY OF LABOR
OF ALBANIA

Tirana 26-VI-1970

ENVER HOXHA

First Secretary of the CC of the PLA

ON THE THEORETICAL AND PRACTICAL SIGNIFICANCE OF WORK ORGANIZATION

— Speech delivered at the 10th Plenum of the
CC of the Party of Labor of Albania

Comrades!

An unparalleled dynamism of uninterrupted development and transformation runs through all the life of the country today. Revolutionary movements, initiatives and changes pursue one another at a high speed everywhere. All this complex and harmonious development, which, of course, is not made without hardships, without obstacles and contradictions, creates a new situation, raising before the Party new and many-sided tasks and problems of a theoretical and organizational character, on the solution of which depends to a large extent also the speed of our further advance towards socialism and communism. Marxism-Leninism and our experience in building socialism show clearly to us that the correct, sound and revolutionary solution of these tasks requires of necessity that they should be studied and treated in a scientific, profound and all-round way, that all the organizational work of the Party to carry them out in practice should be raised to a new and higher level. In this way should we grasp, from this angle should we view also all those tasks and problems which were taken up and discussed at large at this Plenum and which are of particular importance to our socialist construction at this stage.

All the life of the country, every achievement and victory

of the working class, the cooperative peasantry and the people's intelligentsia in the revolution and socialist construction are inseparable from the line of the Party, from the great organizational work of the Party, because she is the leading and directing force of our society. Our Party has always viewed its organizational work and has carried it out in all its complexity including both politics and ideology, economy and culture, science and technology, government and defense and so on and so forth. In this sense, the organizational work of the Party has always been carried out on a broad basis, while its application in practice has demanded real creative thought and forms which comply with reality.

Therefore, when we speak of the organizational problems of the Party, we are not allowed to resort to simplifications, to narrow them down and reduce them to certain commonplace organizational rules and regulations. I emphasize this because at times these problems are considered as if they consist only of such matters as the organization of the Party in the grass-root organizations, expansion of the Party, admissions to the Party, the organization of meetings and other activities of the kind. Such a mechanical interpretation of the organizational problems of the Party is a very narrow one, nor is correct the conception that the organizational work of the Party should be understood as confined only to defining and taking only certain purely practical measures without political and ideological substance and without having a clear perspective of the breadth and depth of the results which are sought to be attained.

Our great teachers, Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin, teach us that, in the struggle against the bourgeoisie for the triumph of proletarian revolution, the working class has nothing else with which to confront the oppressive and exploiting force of the capitalist order except the force of its solid organization, its class awareness. Even after seizing political power, in building socialism and communism, the working class surmounts many difficulties and obstacles, especially, due to its organization and its conscious revolutionary class activity. However, both in overthrowing the bourgeoisie from political power and in building a new society, the solid organization of the working class requires of necessity and in the first place the organization of the party of the proletariat. Without this organization it is impossible to carry out with success the political and ideological line of the proletariat. It helps, adjusts and steps up the process by

which, in the material and revolutionary conditions achieved — the subjective factor — the working class, deals its final and decisive blow in order to crush the old capitalist world and to replace it with the new socialist and communist world.

Thus, therefore, in order that the ideology and policy of the working class may be realized successfully, it is necessary to attach major importance to the role and force of the organization of the Party. Otherwise, no stable victory or success can be attained either in the struggle against capital or in holding proletarian political power without which no progress can be made in building socialism and communism.

It is from this angle that the organizational problems of the Party should be viewed and solved into practice, that the leading and organizational work of the Party should be perfected. A profound understanding of the leading and organizational, educative and operative role of the Party is an essential premise to have a powerful party of the proletariat, steeled in battle, capable of understanding aright, politically and ideologically, all problems at all times and under all circumstances, a party capable of organizing in a perfect way its job of putting its line into practice. And the line of the Party is a broad and many sided one. Therefore, let us bear well in mind that by grasping aright the organizational problems of the Party we are at the same time arming ourselves for organizing our work aright everywhere in all sectors, for accomplishing the tasks which the new stage of development lays before us.

The organizational problems of the Party cannot be detached from its organizational work to fulfil all the various tasks and to solve the problems which make up the line of the Party. Politics cannot be conceived detached from the organizational work to carry out this line in practice, and neither the one nor the other can be understood and applied if our Party is not inspired, kneaded and led by the Marxist-Leninist ideology. Proceeding unwaveringly and at a revolutionary pace makes our Party steel-like and capable of finding the appropriate solution for its political, ideological, economic, cultural and military problems.

But let us not think we have achieved perfection in tackling these problems, let us not think that all the communists understand and deal aright with these matters, let us not think we are free of shortcomings and mistakes.

It is a known fact, and it has been frequently pointed out, that the organizational work of the Party, its forms, methods and

style are not something rigid, inflexible, given once and for all time. No, they are dynamic, variable and must be changed according to the stage of development of the material and subjective factors, according to the new tasks and problems which emerge from life, according to the needs of strengthening the Party, the State Power, the entire economic and social order itself.

As we are all aware of, the whole life of the country today is characterized by a proliferation of revolutionary initiatives and movements with a broad participation of the popular masses. The working class, the cooperative peasantry, everybody engaged in manual and mental work have thrown themselves onto mass actions at concentrated targets. The school youth are taking part *en masse* in production work in cities and in the countryside. The entire population is taking part in systematic military training and drill for the defense of our Homeland. Everywhere, the workers are striving to strengthen and deepen socialist democracy, to broaden their active participation in running the country, its economy and culture. And there are a lot of other events of this kind taking place in our country. The question is posed: Are we allowed to let the organizational work of the Party continue in the previous forms, rhythms and methods, can these serve to solve the new problems and tasks emerging from this revolutionary situation, this revolutionary drive? It goes without saying that they can not. What is then to be done? We should bend our mind to looking for and finding new forms of work and organization to conform to the new situation, to open the road to the new phenomena and to help develop and improve them. By the old methods and forms of organizational work it is impossible to solve the tasks and problems which emerge from the mass actions of mutual aid not of one squad or brigade in the cooperative but of the entire cooperative and not only within its bounds but on a district level and even beyond it. The same thing should be said also about the State enterprises.

At the same time, the Party and Government organs, schools and teachers can no longer cope with the tasks and problems emerging from the participation of school youth and students in production by the organizational and pedagogical methods they use in the classroom. Here arise new tasks, new problems for factories, mines, farms and ranches which necessarily call for a new treatment of organizational work. The old school programs have been discarded and new ones are being worked

out on a frontal and radical scale. Or, can the military drilling of the grown-ups be done with the same forms of work, with the same programs applied in caserms for those doing regular military duty? In this case too we should bend our minds to finding a new treatment of the problem.

When a new directive is issued it sets out also the forms of organizing work to apply it in practice. Every one and, above all, the communists should see to it that the directives and organizational forms linked with them should be as correct and applicable as possible. At the same time, every one and, first and foremost, the communists should grasp the meaning of a directive in its entirety since it is only in this way that they can later carry it out properly. Of course, the directives and organizational forms are fixed in general lines at meetings of grass-root organizations, the Party committees, the organs of State Power and of economy, according to the needs and the objective reality which have called for their issue.

Nevertheless, both directives as well as organizational forms to carry them out in practice may contain flaws. These flaws may be detected in practice but it is necessary to follow them up in a revolutionary, not in passive way. What do I want to imply by this? What I want to imply by this is that everybody, be he or she a communist or a non-party member, detects a flaw and has a better idea, a clearer vision for change, he or she should propose this change. But what actually happens? They are often indifferent, they are shy or afraid to question the validity of a directive issued by their superiors, they are afraid of being dubbed as puffed up, censorious and quarrelsome. All of these are erroneous, non-revolutionary views.

Nor is the idea a correct one that a communist or non-party worker should make his suggestions only to the grass-root organization or to the administration.

No one prohibits discussions made in good faith about improving the work, on the contrary, the Party upholds and encourages them. The more the opinions and suggestions brought to the grass-root organization or to the administration are seriously worked out and discussed outside, the better it is. By their discussions outside their organizations in an informal way, the workers, party or non-party members, do no harm, on the contrary, they do a lot of good. After talking about a faulty instruction or directive, about a form of organization which is ineffectual and then, after having exchanged opinions — and this need not be done in official

gatherings — they raise the problem in principle at the grass-root organization or at the administration office, as the case may be, so that it may be taken up this time by the collective and decisions be taken accordingly.

When we say that the grassroot organization should take independent action, should be revolutionary and combative; this should not be interpreted only at Party meetings. Each of the Party members should also act in life in a similar way. Without revolutionary communists there can be no revolutionary organizations. Therefore, if a communist, although armed with the decisions and directives of the Party, fails to respond actively in everything and in his daily revolutionary activity, if he does not try to find the most appropriate forms of organization, method and style, he cannot play his role properly as a leader, as a communist. When the case arises, he may and should act also independently in order to carry out the directive, without waiting any longer as some communists do who are helpless and pretend to comply with the organizational forms expecting the meeting of the grassroot organization to criticize a comrade who has violated the directive or the discipline.

Why should a communist in the factory or elsewhere wait for regular meetings at which to criticize another comrade? At a break in the work he calls the comrade in question and, in the presence of the other comrades, tells him the whole truth to his face. What rule has been broken here? None! What is more, the comrade corrects his mistake. If he does not correct his mistake, then the same question is brought up also at the meeting of the grassroot organization.

When this is done about all the problems that emerge from the daily life of the communists, a lot of things and directives will be set right, a lot of forms of organization of the work will be improved, a lot of fruitful problems of principle will emerge for the grassroot organizations and the forums of the Party and of the State Power.

Organizational problems are of decisive importance to all the sectors of Party work, economic, educational and cultural, military as any other sector where work is done and production is turned out, in manual and mental work.

We say that thought reflects the material world, but often, especially those who do not delve deep enough, consider it as something which is not subjected to order and organization whereas, in fact, thinking in all cases, whatever form and shape it takes, is associated with a form of organization, coordination

and order. The question is that our thoughts, when they reflect the reality as it is, express the organic link of things and phenomena which surround us, they express that organization, the order which exists in the outer world, in other words, they express the logic, the objective dialectics of the material world. On the other hand, in order that our thinking may be clear and understandable both to ourselves and more so to others, it must of necessity be organized, set in order and systematized. Otherwise, ideas become unintelligible, problems become blurred and conclusions are illogical.

In all major problems, importance should be attached to the question of organization connected with all problems because organization is of a profound theoretical and physical significance. The life of society develops according to certain laws just as nature itself develops according to its own laws. Whether we like it or not, these laws operate, do their job. But men are not powerless before them. They are capable of grasping and utilizing these laws in order to advance production and the whole life of society. Possibilities to understand and use these laws are different in different social orders. After crossing over to socialism, these possibilities increase in an unprecedented manner. Here a major qualitative leap is made in developing society, which Engels has defined as a transition from the kingdom of compulsion to that of freedom. But possibilities are one thing and that of carrying them out in practice is another. The extensive and correct use of the laws of society and of nature for the benefit of the all-round development of man and society depends directly on our organizational work, on the creation of the conditions and the taking of the necessary measures which make their successful operation possible. Without organizing our work to conform to the requirements of objective laws, there exist serious risks which lead to major failures.

Organization, therefore, should not be considered as something subsidiary, it is the groundwork and integral part of carrying out the law, the directive. Good and perfect organization in everything is something scientific of major importance. Such a perfect scientific organization does not only apply the law, the directive and science, but advances science, helps discover the unknown aspects of laws and phenomena. Whereas bad, non-scientific organization which fails to take into account all the objective and subjective data, is harmful, it curbs theory and practice. Therefore, organization is that something important which is linked with theory and practice.

When the physicist or chemist fail to organize their work well, the scientific laws find no proper application, they cannot act, nor can conclusions be drawn and inventions be made from phenomena and events which, in fact, have not occurred, or partly occurred because the organization of work, far from being perfect and scientifically sound, has been lame and deficient. The same happens in all other fields, in industry, agriculture, education and culture. Of course, this happens also in the theoretical work as well as in the revolutionary practice of the Party.

All the agricultural cooperatives are striving to receive high yields in farm crops. But can this be achieved where no care is attached to sowing at the most appropriate time, to selecting the seeds and to carrying out all the services on time and of high quality? Of course, not. How is it that in all the Durrës cooperatives where rice is cultivated they receive over 53 quintals per hectare on the average while in Kruja and Shkodra only 26? How can one account for the big differences that exist in the productivity of the brigades of the same cooperative or of the cooperatives working under equal conditions? All of these bespeak the great role which organization plays, the taking of all the steps to ensure success.

I read one day in the «Zeri i Popullit» a very instructive article on the libraries of the cultural homes in cooperatives. In particular, it contained some correct reproaches that in those libraries one could find no books or magazines on agricultural topics. What organization for study is this? Can one acquire knowledge, get acquainted with the creative thought of people, with the experience of the most advanced, as the Party keeps recommending, without putting the organization of these problems on the right path? A bad organization of using knowledge and experience brings a misapplication of the Party line in agriculture. But let no one think that this lack of organization affects only the inadequate learning of agricultural technique and that it has no effect also on practical work in the field. There are people who think that a cooperative member can go out in the field and work even if he lacks knowledge, that practical work can be done also without a sound organization. No job, light or hard, mental or manual can be detached from organization, can be done without organization, and the more perfect the organization the better can one learn, work and produce.

Organization is a powerful means to promote development, work and thinking; it is knowledge which is not inborn in man

but must be acquired through hard work; it is knowledge without a definite limit, not the same for every job and time, or established as a pattern for all time. Perfect organization is an art based on broad theoretical, political, scientific knowledge capable of combining given facts properly, with a clear conception of the objectives to be attained and a progressive, revolutionary spirit which does not recoil before hardships, but foresees them. Perfect organization is based on a strong will power and tireless work; it takes into account the gaining of time, the application of the last word in technique and other data.

Therefore, viewed from this angle, one can understand what great importance should be attached to organizational matters.

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I wish to dwell a little also on another matter, on that of working with people, in order to grasp the method and style of this job. It is clear to all of us that the higher and more perfect organization of the all-round activity of the Party, the large-scale socialist production with the ever greater participation of the masses calls for also a better organized, better qualified and more careful work with people. In realizing this objective, side by side with the essence of Marxism-Leninism, its militant revolutionary class spirit, a role of major importance is played also by the method and style of our Party work. The question is that through our work we should penetrate into the minds and hearts of the masses and of individuals, to persuade them collectively and individually, to move and awaken them, to stir up and embark them on mass actions, to raise them up in battle for the great cause of the Party and revolution. This is a complicated job. It calls for persuasive propaganda on thoroughly scientific grounds. At the same time, it is a special art which is to be mastered by all our Party, by all our cadres, organizers and propagandists.

The formation of the socialist sense of duty is a complex process. In this process, we come up against both the social psychology of men and their individual psychology. Therefore, it is essential to have a good knowledge of both social opinion in general and of men as individuals, to have a good knowledge not only of their ideological and political views and general attitudes, but also of their psychology, their mentality about life, the needs and requirements they have not only in the material sense, but also in their social and psychological aspects. And if we work attentively, we will see that these phenomena have

their own stresses, differences and nuances in different social strata, in different ages, in different sexes, in town and in the countryside, in lowlands and uplands, in different districts of the country, without speaking of their particular manifestations among different individuals. In our work with people, in our organizational, propaganda and educational work we should without fail take into account all these phenomena.

As Marxist-Leninists, we have it clear that the personality of each individual can flourish only in the ranks of the collective. That is why we attach special attention to the forms and methods of all-round organization of collective work and of education of individuals within the collective. But, in addition to this, the Party has always stressed and stresses the need not to be content only with the general work which is done in the collective, not to be confined to this work alone, not to ignore the individual peculiarities of people, their particular preoccupations, on the contrary, to exercise more care towards them, to know them thoroughly and treat them aright by adapting even one's necessary personal approval to them.

It is precisely in this way, i. e. as science and art, that our Party has always viewed the work with people. It has done this as far back as during the National-liberation War when it carried on extensive massive work as well as differentiated and individual work with pioneers, teen-agers and old men, with women, peasants and intellectuals, and so on. Suffice it to mention the good work done and many results attained during the recent years in solving acute ideological and social problems in the battle to bring about the all-round emancipation of women and the uplift of the personality of youth; in the battle against religion and backward customs, the ability and skill of our Party in its battle to solve these problems by penetrating into the insight and psychology of the people, both of the masses and individuals, daring to crush the old and supporting with might and main the revolutionary and socialist new which is flourishing also in these fields.

But it is not right to be content with what we have achieved and ignore the serious shortcomings which are still noticed in our work with people. We should not be content only with the general outward view and massive tableaux of social phenomena, especially of the inner spiritual world of people. If we stop here, we will not be able to engage in active battle against formalism and bureaucratism, against standardization and uni-

formity in the work with people. This will give rise to acute problems of an ideological and political nature.

The work of the Party is, above all, work with the people and as such, it has many approaches, for the people themselves are different, with interests, requirements, problems and worries of all kinds. Their life is a whole complex, therefore, the Party should grasp all this complex and not be one-sided in its work. From the people we should require not only work, production, productivity, realization of plan. All these are correct, essential and important requirements, but they are not an aim in itself. With us, everything that is produced and created is done on behalf and to the interest of the working man. From this point of view, we should severely criticize and harshly condemn the method and practice of certain cadres, especially of the organs of State Power and economy, who show interest about everything, about bolts and cows, but forget what is of paramount and decisive importance to the work — man, concern about his life and health, about his safety at work, about his hygienic and cultured environment, his vacation, education and recreation, and so on.

During my visit to Tropoja, I met and talked with a group of geologists working at the Dragobia mountains. In truth, they do heroic work for the good of the people and our Homeland. I asked them how they were getting along with their work, how they lived, what problems preoccupied them, what their needs were, and so on. At first it looked as if everything was all right, but later it turned out that they had some urgent and indispensable needs. «Do you see where we work?» they asked me pointing to the mountain peaks covered with clouds, «There the snow is knee-deep now in summer and in winter it is worse, while our clothes and equipment are of the lowlands.» Is perchance our State in no position to fulfil these needs so that they may work under normal conditions also in the rugged region between the Kollata summit and the Iron Peak? That is not the case, comrades! How many of these geologists are working in this region and under these conditions? They are not more than one hundred, granted that they are two hundred. We are referring to these and not to those who work, say, in Divjaka of the Lushnja district. Thus, it is not a matter of lack of materials, but mainly a matter of inadequate concern and wrong approach to this problem. The Party has previously called attention to this problem. Certain measures have also been taken in regard to this problem, but it turns out that it is not yet tackled as it should.

I brought up this example merely to illustrate the idea, to stress what the Party has continually raised, i. e. that in all our work we should never forget man with all his interests not only material and economic but also spiritual, moral, political, ideological, psychological, cultural, educational and professional.

Our people are marvellous. They are characterized by their proletarian simplicity, their spirit of sacrifice and self-denial, their readiness and determination to go to all extremes for the cause of the Party and of the people. This is a lofty expression of their confidence in the Party, of its close links with the people. This is a colossal force, a force that makes our Party indomitable and our people unconquerable. We should direct this readiness, this confidence in the Party along the right channel and use them as a powerful weapon to surmount all obstacles, to overpower all difficulties, to carry our revolution and socialist construction always ahead. In connection with this, I wish to emphasize that we should not allow and should even condemn any manifestation of speculating on the lofty virtues of our workers. Just because our people are unsophisticated and unpretentious, in no way should we slacken our concern to fulfil all their just and legitimate, material and spiritual, needs and requirements, or, just because our people are ready to respond to any call of the Party, it is not right and there is no reason whatsoever to call them out in meetings and manifestations hours before the latter begin, just as it is not right and there is no reason to call them out for mass actions at night when the work begins during the day and is accomplished in a few hours. One of the two: either certain comrades have no confidence in the readiness of the masses or they try to cover up their failure in organizing the work. Either the one or the other, or both.

Work with the people requires a thorough knowledge of the line of the Party and skill and tact in carrying it out. Not everything can be dealt with and passed on at the massive forms of work, at the meetings of the Front, Youth, Trade Union Organizations or in the press. A hurried intervention in social and familiar matters, in the intimate life of people, instead of doing good, may often do harm by creating great and unnecessary headaches to the persons, by hurting their dignity, which may drive any one to painful acts condemnable by our proletarian ethics. We should not forget that people have feelings and hearts, they have their own dignity and personality which, far from tramping upon, we should protect and strengthen in the

way our Party teaches us, opposing any arbitrary stand and act, whosoever perpetrates them. It is not a question of covering up the failures and mistakes of one or the other, but of knowing how to find the most suitable forms and methods to achieve our objective.

In order to do this work successfully it is necessary to delve deep into the soul of people, to have a thorough knowledge of their opinions and worries, their interests and preoccupations. All this requires common sense, resiliency and tact in the work with people so as to create a warm and comradely atmosphere with them in which each one may express his opinions freely, may lay bare his problems and complaints as to his intimate friend. It is a known fact that during public discussions on workers' control, the workers and peasants touched on many things, raised many problems and made many remarks about the work and people. But up to that time these things had been hushed up, kept secret. Why? Because they were stifled by bureaucratism, by officialdom. From these cases, our Party has drawn and should continually draw its lessons. This is a matter of major importance, for it deals with its links with the masses, with the relations of cadres with the workers, with the maintenance and development of the democracy of the masses.

In order to create this warm, free and comradely environment, we should declare war on officialdom which is manifested both in the conduct and attitude of certain cadres towards the workers as well as in the propaganda, style and tone with which we approach the masses. Our cadres should set the example of modesty, of proletarian simplicity, being irreconcilable with any manifestation of self-conceit and intellectual megalomania, with the domineering spirit which wrings and smothers one's initiative, freedom of thought, sound revolutionary criticism and self-criticism. Not only in their relations with the masses but also with their fellow workers in the Party and State Power organs, they should create such comradely environment in which each one may express his opinions openly and without fear, may bring up his problems for consultation, may make remarks and ask for help.

In this regard a lot depends also on the style, manner and tone in which we speak to people, on what we write in our papers. As I have stressed it at other times before, in this regard we should first emancipate ourselves, for there are many comrades who set a bad example in this direction, who insert into the Party propaganda a style of bureaucratic, official speech,

replete with stereotype phrases, bombastic words, sophisticated terms, a thing which makes communication with people difficult, which draws a gap between and creates official relations with them. I know that a turn is difficult to make since we have been used to and turned this tradition into a habit, but we have broken many and stronger traditions and habits, therefore we can and must break also these traditions and habits and give to our propaganda a new push ahead.

The Party work with the people is negatively influenced also by the conservatory and patriarchal methods which are at times used in tackling various social problems, as well as by the leftovers of patriarchal education which are still widespread in the family, in schools, in the army and elsewhere. The burden of these outdated concepts and forms of work is felt particularly by the women and the younger generation. Our attention as a Party can not fail to be attracted by these phenomena even when they appear in the family or in the day-to-day social environment.

If we look carefully into the life of the family, we will see that many parents, even when they are of a high ideological and political level, do not know how to approach their children, especially when their children have reached their teens, they fail to take into account the ever growing personality of youth and fail to help them assert this personality, ignoring the just progressive desires and aspirations of youth, belittling their ability, capacity and experience, and resorting in their conduct towards the young to reprimands and dry and boresome lecturing, to dictate and tutelage. But it is still worse when these conservatory and patriarchal methods are used also in schools, in relations between teachers and pupils, between pedagogues and students, precisely where it is necessary to apply to more qualified and progressive methods of educating, scientifically based on revolutionary psychology and pedagogy.

At times our cadres become slaves of these methods quite inadvertently and without foreseeing their evil effects. I have been told that in recent years in the army, in order to exert an influence on those soldiers who refuse to abide by military discipline or by the norms of communist ethics, they resort also to this method; they write to their families. Some comrades are even enthusiastic about this way of going about it and consider it as an innovation in the style of their educational work. Perhaps this method can be used in some extreme case and, probably, in some cases it may have an effect, at least a temporary

and outer effect. But, in general, it is a very primitive way of approaching the subject. It is the same as the method of those teachers who report their pupils to their parents or to the schoolmaster for unbecoming behavior, thinking that by doing so they have done their duty or that they have solved the problem. Just as the teacher is and should be a bigger and more mature comrade, a second parent to the pupil, a sergeant or officer should be a comrade and a friend while the detachment where he is doing his military service should be a real new family for him. And then, is this not a typically patriarchal method? Instead of turning to the young man himself, instead of appealing to his sense of propriety, we pass over and ignore him and address ourselves to the outer, mechanical, force of the patriarchal authority of parents or, to put it in plain English, we take advantage of the timidity and bashfulness which especially the peasant and, more particularly, the mountaineer youth may feel towards their parents. And we must not forget that it is among these mountaineer youngsters, who are bashful and self-conscious, such a hasty and thoughtless gesture may cause psychic trauma. Isn't this a case of ignoring certain important psychological characteristics of their personality?

What is to be deplored is that these conservative patriarchal methods of education may be transplanted from the family, schools, the army and other social environments and collectives to the life of the workers' collectives, to the activities of social organizations, to the work of the Party with the people, exerting a negative influence, especially on the relations of cadres with the masses, keeping alive the bureaucratic spirit of commandeering and the mechanical formalism and uniformity in educational work.

In this manner, all these problems, which have always their own social, psychological and pedagogical aspects, assume a sharp ideological and political character, hamper the further consolidation of the moral and political unity of the people, as well as the uninterrupted solution of the non-antagonistic contradictions in their ranks. It is for this reason that the Party insists on raising these problems which, at first sight, may appear to some as social and pedagogical matters which are not directly connected with the work of the Party. More so, it is from this angle that the acute problems of a direct ideological and political nature, which I just referred to, should be seriously viewed.

Comrades!

Before winding up our meeting, I wish to say a few words about taking the problems we raised at our Plenum to the terrain with a view to resolving them and organizing their implementation.

First of all, it should not be thought that these problems can be solved by organizing a plenary session or calling the activists together, or by analyzing them as a whole at a meeting of the grassroot organization of the Party. It would not be right, either, to think that, on one hand, we have plenty of economic, political, ideological and other tasks to carry out whereas, on the other, we have also the problems which our 10th Plenum raised, considering them as separate ones. No! The problems which the 10th Plenum raised should be viewed and carried out in the process of implementing out the important tasks they lay before us.

We are on the verge of electing representatives to the People's Assembly, People's Councils, People's judges and assistant-judges. Can there be a better occasion for all the Party to do broad, all-round, organizational work? The question here is not to fix certain correct organizational and technical measures so that elections may proceed in an orderly manner and with good results. These certainly have their own importance, but are not the main thing. The main thing is to use the campaign for a powerful propaganda on the part of the Party and for a truly popular discussion with a view to further consolidate our socialist democracy, to make the masses more aware of their role as masters of the country, to improve workers' control to raise the role and responsibility of the persons elected as representatives of the people to the various organs of State Power, and so on. It is precisely here that we should fight the shortcomings which appear in our propaganda and which are pointed out in the Report, namely, formalism, empty phraseology and so on.

Or, we are about to engage in serious work in connection with the discussion of the directives of the coming five-year plan. Is there a better chance than this to work along the lines which were stressed at this Plenum, to poll effectively the opinion of the masses, to ensure such opinions and suggestions which will really revolutionize our plans?

Great prospects of further development of economy and culture are laid before the working class, the cooperative mem-

bers and our people's intelligentsia. A major, unprecedented quantitative and qualitative leap will continue to be made in our country, a thing which calls for a further outburst of the creative energies of our people, the smashing of bureaucratic shackles, the creation of wide fields in which the rational thinking of innovators may be given free play, many inventions, studies and well worked out designs, the fruits of the efforts of our workers, cooperative members, technicians, engineers and other specialists, may be resolved in an organized manner (I am referring to a scientific and rational organization).

It is high time for us to understand that all this stupendous creativeness requires immediate application in practice, coming thus in conflict with the old ways of management when the horizon was still narrow and possibilities limited. The numerous projects, fruit of hundreds of workers and engineers, can no longer wait for the belated decision of the head of a department. If work is not organized on a broad scale throughout Albania, in all its districts, to apply the numerous inventions, designs and suggestions of the workers and engineers of, say, building construction, which we exhibited at the Tirana Exhibition, building work will not keep pace with our needs and the existing availabilities. We should grasp these availabilities and utilize them to the maximum but, at the same time, we should grasp also the forms of bureaucratic work which lie in our way and fight them, for otherwise we can make no headway.

We should make a turn in our thinking that the center should do everything and that the district is incapable of doing great things. If we proceed from the big objective reality which our Party has created everywhere, that the district and even the locality, can direct well and organize bigger projects, we will come to a more correct and realistic conclusion and, thus, will give better direction and help. Otherwise, we will come up against hindrances, against bureaucracy. We are often afraid lest those at the base may err, but we forget that we, too, have erred in these matters when we were young and we may err even now, while those at the base are enlightened and make fewer mistakes than before.

And then we know too well the proverb «who works may also make mistakes». Therefore, we should have full confidence in those of the base who have now accumulated colossal experience. It would be a crime if we fail to put this experience

into practice, if we lack confidence, if we do not help to exercise control over and disseminate it.

By delving deep into the proceedings of this Plenum of the Central Committee, the whole Party should solve many key-problems of organization, like these I brought up as an example and not pass over them superficially.

Following the proceedings of this Plenum, the Central Committee and the Government will issue instructions to the principal district cadres to take up with the cooperative members the draft-plan of the coming 1971-75 five-year period for agriculture which the coming Congress of the Party will take up for discussion and approval. Comrades, you are well aware of the vital importance of this problem. I need not go into the core of this problem since you will be more thoroughly acquainted with the conclusions which the Central Committee has drawn from the experience, from the availabilities and needs that have emerged so far in agriculture. But I wanted to say on this occasion that these directives and tasks should be very seriously studied and discussed by the leaders of every district before taking them up to the base, to the cooperatives and State-run farms. I stress this because very often the problems are passed over hurriedly. are approved with conviction or, at times, without much conviction at the beginning, no changes, plus or minus, are made on them and with this spirit they are also taken to the base. In preparing the work this way, it looks as if we are abiding by the «democratic» forms of work, but in essence many things we force on the cooperative masses from above. However, if the cooperative masses fail to be persuaded about the realization of output and about all the directives issued from above, if they are forced on them beyond their conviction, they become burdensome and the targets will also not be reached.

Here again we come to the major problem of organizing the work of studying the directives of the Central Committee. One can't go to a big feast with only a farthing in one's pocket. Therefore, it is essential to organize a large-scale propaganda of this problem on the part of the center and upward to the base. The center, on its part, should take this problem into its hands and follow it up with a well-thought-out propaganda, not in a haze, not with general slogans, without losing, on the other hand, time in trifles. The district, on its part, too, should prepare its propaganda on a large scale, should link the drawing

up of the draft plan of agriculture with the propaganda of production, with work to be done to crops on and under soil, with its own militant and original emulation; the comrades of each district should crack their brains and organize everything in a perfect way.

Comrades! This is not an easy job nor can it be done by one or two persons, therefore arouse in everybody the spirit of combative organization for concrete political work, for its technical, scientific, financial and other aspects. We should know how to combine our meetings, discussions, consultations and explanations with the many jobs of the season, and we should not forget that the higher the results reached in productivity this year, the better will proceed the meetings, conferences and debates in drawing up the five-year draft-plan for agriculture. Fight in every manner of means all automatic and bureaucratic forms of work, or, so to say, the «just-transmit-what-has-been-transmitted-to-me» method without persuading first the people, without taking good organizational measures, without doing creative work in this line. It goes without saying that such form of approach causes no headaches, but it is without fruit and, of course, such approach to work is unworthy for us communists.

Next year we will have the 6th Party Congress before us. Before us lie the meetings of the grassroot organizations for rendering account and elections, the Party Conferences, and so on. Should these not be considered objectives which should be reached with the greatest of results towards consolidating our Party, its role of leadership at all levels, by improving its make up and spreading it, by raising the level of its members, by further revolutionizing the communists and cadres?

In order to be able to raise well thought-out, and argued problems at the Party Conferences and at the Congress, it is necessary to start right now to undertake various studies, to sum up the experience accumulated, thus, to do more scientific work as the Plenum also advised.

Reference was made, at the meeting of the Plenum, to initiatives and independent actions. It is precisely in the struggle to carry out the tasks set at this Plenum that the initiative and the independent action of the base should appear in all its grandeur. Let no orders or instructions be expected to come from above on how to use these materials. Who profits by this uniformism? Why should all matters be necessarily treated always in the same manner everywhere? In line with the problems,

tasks and links it has, each organization of the district or of the base should take up, analyze and resolve one after the other all the problems which trouble it, viewing them from the angle of the directives issued by the 10th Plenum.

It is high time for us to make a sharp turn in this direction. Let the meeting of this Plenum serve as a serious urge to make this necessary turn in our method of work, in all our organizational work!