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ENVER HOXHA

SPEECHES

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WORKERS OF ALL COUNTRIES, UNITE!

ENVER HOXHA

ON THE FURTHER REVOLUTIONIZATION
OF THE PARTY AND THE WHOLE LIFE
OF THE COUNTRY

Speeches

(1971-1973)

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ENVER HOXHA

IMPROVE THE CONTENT AND LEVEL OF ORGANIZATION OF SCIENTIFIC WORK

*From the speech delivered at the meeting of the
Political Bureau of the CC of the PLA,*

April 20, 1971

In my contribution I may repeat some matters, but I also want to express my opinion about them. I agree with the report submitted to us; it is the result of a long analysis in which many cadres have taken part. I also agree with many of the remarks and opinions of the comrades which, generally speaking, I consider correct and reasonable.

During all the work of raising the content and organization of scientific work to a higher level, we must make efforts to create those facilities which we still lack, but which with the passage of time become more and more necessary. It is my opinion that as regards scientific work we have made good steps forward. This problem has not

been viewed as a question in itself but in close relation to revolutionary practice.

In our country many people, and not only the cadres, are involved in the development of science. I do not consider scientific studies, and the achievements attained in this domain, as due only to the work or qualities of cadres who have done their training, but I consider them to be the outcome of a close collaboration between working people and cadres, hence, of workers, peasants and intellectuals. Our whole economy and culture emerged from a very pronounced backwardness which we inherited from the past, and was raised to the level we have reached today, precisely thanks to this collaboration. The great advances made in our factories, enterprises, agricultural cooperatives, schools etc., are not due to the cadres, engineers, agronomists, teachers or professors alone, but also to the workers who built them and put them into operation. The woman worker of the «Stalin» Textile Mills who was given a machine to operate was at first illiterate, but through work and study, in time she completed a technical course or school, learned the technique of the work sector in which she was employed, mastered it, and put it into practice. This is what is happening everywhere in our country, in every institution and enterprise, because our Party does not consider science and its further development as the monopoly of an élite but as the property of all the broad masses of workers.

In our country, scientific work is always linked with production and should serve production.

In other countries, too, scientific work is linked to a certain extent with production. Today, in many countries of the world, scientific progress has developed on a wide scale and scientific cadres are plentiful, for they have traditions in this respect. Viewing the progress of other countries from a narrow angle, at first sight it looks as if they develop science for its own sake, but in fact, even when they build interplanetary space stations they undoubtedly have certain definite scientific, economic, health, military and other objectives. There is a great difference between us and the capitalist countries concerning the objectives and motives pursued for the development of science, for in these matters they are not guided by the interests of building socialism, that is, by the highest interests of the broad masses of the people, but by the interests of the exploiting capitalist classes, and therefore they do not allow science to be developed and mastered by the broad masses of the people. The bourgeoisie leave the development of science and technology mainly in the hands of its selected representatives, and not of the masses, as is the case in our country.

As we have always done, and as has been pointed out in our discussions here today, we should link the development of science closely with the needs of production and the tasks laid down by our plans. At the 6th Party Congress we will submit for approval the directives of the 5th five-year plan. Of course, we already have a general idea about this plan, but we will study it again, and before it is presented to the Congress, it will have

been through many debates, discussions and studies. The targets of this plan, especially the question of investments and other problems, are very ambitious and difficult in many respects. There is now total mobilization in every direction, but it will be difficult to achieve the first quotas we have set if we fail to develop and utilize in the most efficient way science and technology, which we have set on the right course, if we do not lower some very high figures in our draft-plans in the field of investments, and if we fail to improve productivity, mechanization etc.

I think that at present, with a few minor exceptions, scientific work is on the right road; it has not followed the course of developing science for science's sake, but is linked with the Party's practice of revolutionary work, precisely because our cadres have gained confidence in the value of their knowledge, have the willpower, and exert their efforts to develop their knowledge and capacities further through study, work, experimentation and persistent analysis in order to apply them for the good of the country. In these efforts we see something positive and encouraging, and this constitutes a big success for our Party. These efforts of our cadres and workers are a wide-scale phenomenon which can be observed wherever is being done. In our country, the course pursued in making science the concern of the masses has opened wide horizons of work, building and study, and has created major technical possibilities which did not exist during the early years of socialist construction. Now in our country the

technical possibilities for experimentation and the application of science have greatly increased, and will increase still further in the future. Now many technical and material possibilities have been created for a still broader and more coordinated development of our sciences. These are very positive factors which, in the situation created, set us new tasks.

I want to emphasize that in this direction we should not mark time, I stress this because among certain cadres, workers and peasants there is evident an impermissible feeling of self-satisfaction, a feeling that they have learned enough, which is a very dangerous feeling, for it hampers efforts to further develop their intellect, their experience and the application of the knowledge they have gained along the lines our Party recommends. That our people now study, is evident, but if we look deeper to see what advantage is drawn from the great experience of work, from lower, secondary and higher schools, it turns out that not all are interested to the extent required by the circumstances. There are comrades like the intellectuals and especially the higher cadres and those holding posts of responsibility who make efforts to study, but if we go lower down, we will see that efforts to study on a methodical basis are not made to the extent required, because not all the real opportunities which we have are taken advantage of. We should get rid of such a situation, and do our utmost to go beyond the present bounds of the development of our economy and culture, by raising the organization of scientific work to a

higher level. These requirements which our present development imposes on us cannot be met if the efforts of all do not run parallel with the mastering and further deepening of science and technology in all sectors.

Our economy expands, and parallel with its development its structure and organization change, but these changes demand new solutions, they demand that we find and apply new, more advanced methods in science, production, automation and utilization, with lower costs and higher productivity. All these tasks are imperative not only for the top leaders of the Party and of the state but also for the leaders at the base, the managers of the enterprises, and all our cadres, who should not lull themselves to sleep over these matters. Our working people should never think: «let things take their course, we can get by with an organization of work such as we have had, for with it we have made progress, we have such and such results,» etc. We have not yet solved the problem of growing our bread grain in the country. The question arises: Have our agricultural cadres concerned themselves with solving this vital problem? We are all of the opinion that they have not stood with folded arms, they have shed their sweat, and it is a fact that we have made progress. In our country we have certain highly developed agricultural economies, etc., etc., but our plan for agriculture has not been fulfilled in all details. This situation has many causes, and in particular we should consider well the subjective causes. I stress that in such circumstances, when the mobilization of all the

working people is called for, the Party should make very clear to them their responsibility in carrying out this task, and get them to take more interest in this problem, on the solution of which the successful accomplishment of all other future tasks in large measure depends. If these tasks are not well and successfully solved, then, of course, we may have to face a difficult economic and social situation, and contradictions may be created, which will put us in difficulties, and not only from the economic point of view. Even if we solve successfully and completely the problems that face us in agriculture, new economic and social relations will emerge, which must be studied at the proper time, just as we study, for instance, how to build a better hydro-electric power-plant or factory.

In the field of industry and mining, for instance, the problems should not be tackled only by the Ministry of Industry and Mining, but also by its dependent institutions.

I agree with what has been said here about studying many problems connected with preventing the influence of bourgeois and revisionist ideology, but besides alien influences, we are also hampered by survivals of the past in the minds of the people. In the given situation the attempts to make a better life, create among some people such non-revolutionary habits and customs as, for instance, thinking only of comfort and ease, self-satisfaction, the idea that we have done well with what we have achieved, and that there is no reason to make further efforts, etc. That is why I stressed that the new situation create new economic

and social relations which must be understood and studied, and on this basis appropriate steps must be taken to discover anomalies and to resolve correctly the contradictions created by our uninterrupted development. In drawing up our plan we should pay great attention to the proportions of harmonious development among the branches of our economy, or otherwise, instead of forging ahead, we may break our backs.

People working at the base may not consider all the activities I mentioned to be scientific, but in reality they are scientific. Many comrades at the base express very valuable opinions on problems of the economy and culture, without realizing that they are of scientific value and greatly assist the development of our science. Therefore, the Party advises that involving the masses in scientific activity, getting their ideas, enriches science, in the technological, economic, ideo-political and other fields.

Changes in the development of the economy and science further raise the socialist consciousness of the working people, of course, with something of a delay, for, as is known, the development of consciousness always lags behind material changes and development. This means that placing the development of the economy and culture on a more sound scientific basis should at the same time serve to revolutionize the people's consciousness, and not to bourgeoisify them or cover them with the dust of petty-bourgeois self-satisfaction, arrogance, bureaucratism, routine and oriental laziness.

We are all of the opinion that, within our

possibilities and in accordance with our needs, and parallel with the successes of our development, we should further deepen our ideological, cultural and technical-scientific revolution; this process should continually advance, so that we may respond to the requirements of the development of production, culture, art and so on. For this purpose we should utilize all our material and human resources, our qualified and partially qualified cadres.

I also agree with all the comrades that we should not be overhasty in this respect, as sometimes happens, when, proceeding from an ardent and not carefully studied desire, we create something just for the sake of creating it. Technical, organizational and design bureaus are really necessary, but they can be set up when it is judged necessary; and we should not set up such organisms where they are not called for. In these bureaus everyone's tasks should be properly specified, and people should not be kept in them if they do not earn their keep there, when they can very easily go to work somewhere else where they can make a greater contribution with their knowledge. I stress this because it may happen that, under the slogan of setting up many bureaus, more cadres than necessary may be gathered in them, cadres needed in other sectors. Nor should it happen that jobs which should be done by the enterprise, the foreman or the worker, are assigned to the bureau. Why is it necessary to set up a bureau when its job can very well be done by one or two foremen with three or four workers? In this respect we should use our cadres to the best ad-

vantage and evaluate them properly, for we notice that in many cases they, and especially cadres of higher and medium training, are not everywhere evaluated as they should be.

Our work is considerable and keeps expanding; therefore, our cadres of higher and medium training should not be used without a criterion; their allocation should not be guided by the «departmental spirit», which begrudges an enterprise one, two or five engineers which it greatly needs, at a time when in the enterprise, factory or complex where they are employed there are dozens of qualified foremen who can replace the engineer placed in charge of the sector. Such an attitude harms our economy and the development of science. It is precisely here that the attention of the Party, the government and the ministries should be turned, and serious measures should be taken in this matter.

We should improve on what we have achieved and develop it further, through the dialectical scientific method, so that we may get a better knowledge of the scientific basis for the development of our economy and culture, and from this see clearly the tasks which we should lay down. In the report submitted to us, a series of orientations and tasks have been defined which, it seems to me, require us to clarify and harmonize the immediate objectives as well as possible with those of the future, and to define as correctly as possible the best methods of scientific work. In order to attain these objectives, we should specify the principal and decisive means necessary, and should

mobilize the forces of the economy, which we will develop in an organized way, so that whoever lays one stone in this great structure feels his responsibility, and realizes that what he contributes has its importance, and that therefore his duty is to become more qualified every day and to give a greater technical and scientific contribution by attending the various forms of qualification, like schools, courses, conferences, etc., which are also mentioned in the material submitted.

I agree with the orientations given here about agriculture. In this important branch of our economy, we have taken the right course, except that we must mobilize to achieve the goals we have set. The problems of agriculture should be the subject of further profound scientific studies, now and in the future, on improving the organization of work in the agricultural cooperatives and state farms, on their financial organization, on the socio-economic relations created in them with their economic, technical and cultural development, within the framework of socialist construction, in their relations with the state, in the relations between lowland and mountain cooperatives, etc.

I also agree that we have made progress in industry, but we must admit that in this field we are not familiar with advanced science and, in general, we lack qualified workers. From the report it emerges that artisan methods are still used to a large extent in production, and that our scientists still have weak ties with production. In this sphere attention should be directed towards the mechanization of work processes, which is a big task.

Therefore, we should activate our people better, using all the means we have, especially books, etc., etc. We should be interested, first and foremost, in people becoming familiar with the data of world science, which they should apply under our conditions. We are not opposed to world science, nor to capitalist science, but to capitalist methods and ideology, which utilize science to start and spread war and to exploit the masses of the people.

Therefore, in conclusion, I say that today we have considerable scientific, technical and material resources, and that, if we further enliven them, if we organize them better and help them more, we will certainly make great advances. Thus we should set to work on a wide scale and never forget that the connection and mutual dependence of science and technology with production is always inseparable from the policy and ideology of our Party. All of these are interlinked with one another, and their close and inseparable cooperation, as well as their harmonization and mutual conditioning, are indispensable.

We should avoid as much as possible the danger of superficial studies, poor coordination of scientific work, and inadequate relations of mutual aid between the various centres of one sector or between different sectors. We should also avoid the failure to organize the communication of studies and result of experiments, which brings about a loss of time and materials, as well as parallel work, which is not speedily utilized in all sectors. We must keep these shortcomings in mind, because they create great dangers and many weaknesses,

they give rise to arrogance, conservatism, and the monopolization of science in an enterprise or among some scientific cadres who achieve good results which some of them may have a tendency to keep to themselves.

There is no need for me to speak about the relations between the tertiary institutions and production, between them and the technical bureaus and scientific councils in plants, in factories enterprises and cooperatives, because the comrades have dealt with this matter very well. We should not spend our scientific resources and financial means without sound criteria, without profitability to our socialist economy and culture; let us not allow parallel themes, studies and experiments, especially those which are expensive.

I agree with all the general guidelines connected with the topics of study in geology, history, the sciences, literature and linguistics; we can approve them as general guidelines, but of course they should be worked upon in a specific way by our specialized organs and experts to develop them, work out how long they will take, and specify the necessary cadres, manpower, equipment and funds.

We should also organize well the work of supervising the application of these guidelines. The organizational forms of work which are recommended seem to me acceptable, except that they should not be inflexible, bureaucratic and merely administrative.

ON SOME PROBLEMS OF WORKER CONTROL IN THE FIELD OF EDUCA- TION AND CULTURE

*From the speech delivered at the Secretariat
of the CC of the PLA*

September 15, 1971

It is essential that we continue with worker control in the future, because it is a question of major importance to the Party. In this work we should always be guided by the principle of not being discouraged by the shortcomings and weaknesses that are revealed, nor of thinking that what has been begun is going well, for this may lull us to sleep, and impede us from achieving the progressive results we desire.

Of course in practice it is difficult to reach the point where the working class knows everything well and can control all matters through to the end. On the other hand, we should not draw the conclusion that it is not doing its job well in connection with worker control. I do not think the

question should be put in this way. The problem is for the Party to keep working to make the working class aware of its role as leader, manager, educator and controller. If we succeed in this then we have done good work. But this cannot be achieved in one day, or in one year, or even in five or seven years; that is why continuity is called for. We should create genuine revolutionary ideological traditions in this matter, taking into account that the working class is always replenished with new elements, many of whom come from other strata of the population and, although they pass through a period of class probation, still lack the experience of the working class. From this standpoint we should see to it that these elements gain the experience of the class, being guided by the teachings of the Party, the working class, and the older workers.

We should make the working class aware of its great role. But in order to achieve this, it is necessary to teach it to carry out better not only its other tasks but also the special task assigned to it, that of control.

If we want the working class to exercise its control over others as it should, it is necessary to teach it first to exercise its control over itself. When it is a question of the working class control, let us say, on the sector of education, it should first check on its own educational level, for only in this way can it control others properly. Therefore, before it goes to check on schools, it should check on the workers who are enrolled in schools, to see whether they attend them regularly or not,

whether they master the ideology of the Party or not, whether they reach their quotas and productivity at work, whether strict discipline at work exists or not. In short, to see first whether the workers themselves are in the forefront of the struggle to uphold and fully carry out the party line in all its aspects.

In general we can say that the workers support and strive to carry out the party line, but we do not deny that shortcomings also exist in this direction. There are shortcomings, and there will be in the future too. This is dialectical and should not make us despair and say that, since shortcomings exist in the working class, what business has it to go and check on schools, what business has it to go and check on trade, public health and other sectors? But we should keep in mind that those workers who do not do well in their studies, or those who resort to nepotism and trickery in the sectors of trade, public health and elsewhere, are only a few isolated individuals, and the whole working class is not like them. We know that when the working class goes to a shop to check on it, and discovers faults and weaknesses in the workers of that sector, we cannot exclude the possibility that at the same time some worker or workers may enter into an agreement with speculators or with a dishonest shopkeeper, in order to get priority in supplies. This means that the working class is not alone to blame that the progress in such an important matter is not yet at the required level; the leadership of the working class, I mean the Party, is also to blame, and so

are the trade union organizations which are guided by the Party. Wherever the party organization is strong and implements the directives properly, the working class elements are educated well, and implement all laws and regulations properly. There, discipline at work, in life, and in morality is viewed from a Marxist-Leninist perspective, and lively revolutionary discussions are held, whereas when the party organization in a work centre goes to sleep, of course the working class in that work centre will sleep too.

Therefore, the question of worker control should be viewed from two main aspects: firstly, through it we should make the working class conscious of its role, so that it may get a good grasp of what control means, and that the work of controlling everything along party lines is one of its important tasks; and secondly, there is the question of raising the working class to such a level that it can exercise this control as it should.

Besides the Party's concern to work in a more specific way for the education of the working class, I think we should not leave worker control to spontaneity. By this I don't say that spontaneity has been at work up to now, but the question is to keep improving this situation, and to increase the interest of and activate the working class in checking on the application of the party directives.

There are many social problems on which the working class, in its day to day struggle, is in a position to give opinions and draw conclusions. But these conclusions, I think, will be better, more

well-founded, and will have more political and ideological effect, not only on the administration but, especially, on the people over whom this control is exercised, when the teams of workers are properly prepared. The question here is not that those who are to check on a school should know the subjects of the curriculum, chemistry, physics, the general development of currents of literature and art, etc., etc., in the same degree as the teacher of the appropriate subject. The question is that, before setting out to check on certain social matters, the members of the worker-control team should be well informed about the actual situation of what they are to check on. Thus, for instance, if the need arises to go to a school to check on why it is not attended as it should be, they should not arrive at the hasty conclusion that the students or pupils alone are to blame. A complete conclusion cannot be reached even if they go especially for this purpose. Therefore, I think, the workers should first be given guidelines on what problems they are to consider and what the situation is in the school, so that they may then be in a position to put things right.

Worker control in a school may be exercised for a general problem, considered from all sides, or it may be for a special one, for example, the teachers and the professors. In this case, the team cannot fail to touch on the students too, but it should be made clear to them that they are going there mainly to check on the teaching staff. This should be clearly explained to the members of the team, for there may be among them people who,

having full knowledge of the problem they are checking on, are able to bring out the shortcomings and difficulties, what their causes are, and what steps should be taken, but there are others who, lacking culture or style and method, are not able to carry out control, and therefore they must be well guided and instructed before hand. But when we do this, we should not confuse the working class, and especially the members of the team, by loading them with many problems to investigate, and more so when they are not properly acquainted with the problems of the school. It is important that through their work they succeed in bringing into the school the working class spirit on certain important problems which they know thoroughly because, before setting out for control, they have been instructed, they have participated in a lively debate among themselves, they have been told what to check on, etc.

If, let us say, there are facts indicating that proletarian discipline is being violated in a school, the members of the team raise the problem in the class spirit and see to it that the staff do not tone down the issue to justify themselves, enlarging on other questions to get away from the essence of the matter, saying that the students too lack discipline, they behave in this way and dance in that way, etc. In this case, the members of the control team should put a stop to such inclinations and attempts at justification, and say in clear-cut terms that they have not gone there about the students, but in order to consider the breach of discipline by the teachers and professors, or to point out to

them that they are not applying this or that method, or the appropriate style of work, that they are not making their lessons interesting, etc. In short, the workers are charged with the task, of following up specific problems which they analyse, and on concluding their work, come out with serious conclusions which they refer to the Party or to the Ministry of Education and Culture which in this case may have asked for the assistance of the Party and of the working class in Tirana or in other cities and districts. The Ministry publicizes these problems, sending a circular to all the schools, of the Republic informing them that during its control, the working class observed that such and such a problem exists in the schools, that the directives of the Party are violated by the school staff, etc., and therefore careful work should be done to eliminate these defects.

Let us come now to the pupils and students. Even if we have information that some of them do not attend school regularly, or lack discipline, etc., the members of the worker control group, before setting out on such a mission, should be well informed of the situation and make preparation for the control, not only with the aim of seeing the black side of things but also the many good aspects, which are to be found everywhere. We should never forget, comrades, that we should not slip into the position of those who try to point out only the negative side of the pupils or students and throw all the blame on them. Even if the need arises to criticize our youth for what they have done, to the extent they deserve, at the same time

as this is done they should be praised for their positive side. This should also be done with the teachers, who should be criticised for their weaknesses but also praised for good work. The working class should utilize both possibilities, praise and criticism. But we should keep in mind that when control is exercised to consider the work of pupils and students, they should not be criticized en masse for the weaknesses which are observed in some of them, but only those who have these weaknesses should be criticised. The youth should be talked to openly, but taking into account that they lack experience, they should be advised with the patience and magnanimity of the working class, and in a very comradely way. A different attitude should be shown towards directors, teachers, professors or party members. When the need arises, they can be spoken to more severely. We must make the working class familiar with these forms and methods of work, and their essence.

Our Party should not be guided by the principle that the working class (and here I am speaking of the group of workers which is sent to control) knows all these things. Taking into account that it is not possible for the workers to know everything, when we undertake to carry out such an important task of the Party, in the way I have said, in reality we carry out a basic directive of the Party, we temper and train the working class for leadership. This means that the working class should acquire knowledge of all the problems of the life of the country, of how to solve them, of applying directives, and should know where there

is progress and where there are difficulties and defects. This is the way to teach the working class, telling it to see what education is about and get acquainted with it, to create the conviction that this sector is not inaccessible to the working class, that it is not an untrodden field and the property of the intellectuals alone. Not by any means! The same should be done regarding trade, which is not the realm of shop assistants alone. No matter how conscientious the shop assistants may be, the worker control group should bear in mind that among the working people of this sector there are also dishonest elements. Besides this, the aim is not only to eliminate thefts and abuses in this sector, but, through worker control, to help trade develop and advance, to make it cultured, to develop in all people a still better socialist taste. And for the working class to attain these objectives, it must know this sector.

What do we achieve by acting this way? We educate a large number of people, naturally not the whole class, but various groups of class activists for particular sectors, who will not only put right what is not going well, but through their contact with the class, with their comrades, will also educate others. Therefore, in this regard, we should recommend that the members of the control team do not consider their job finished merely by going to check on a school, the trade sector, the administration and so on, limiting themselves to issuing instructions, or even to going to the Ministry of Trade to demand that the Minister carry out well the tasks assigned to him by the Party. If the mem-

bers of the team are workes, let us say, of the «Partizani» plant, on returning to their plant they can call a meeting of the collective, inform them that they have called the attention of the Minister of trade to the defects they noted in the trade sector, and explain to them in detail how they went about controlling certain trade units, the extent of shortcomings and weaknesses, how they put them right and so on. Then a principled political and ideological debate is held at the plant, not one based on gossip and hearsay. During the debate further remarks about the trade sector may come out, for other workers may have also observed such irregularities in this or that shop. This encourages a lively debate in the «Partizani» plant and, finally, the party basic organization, which has a clear knowledge of the directives of the Party Committee's instructions, initiates a decision to organize teams with the best experienced people of the collective, including those who spoke well at the meeting, and then informs one or another of the trade enterprises that on a certain date they will come to check on it, since in their collective there was discussion about the fact that in this or that trade enterprise there existed favouritism, bad treatment of customers, abuses, etc. And this brings us to what comrade Hysni Kapo said here, to initiative and independent action. Thus, following this debate, five, six or seven control groups may be formed from this plant. This is at once taken up by the party organization, which helps and inspires them, and also activates the trade union organization in this job and thus, following

well thought out preparatory work, the groups set out for control.

It is in this form and in this way, I think, that the people of the working class should be educated. Of course, we cannot realize the objectives and targets we wish to reach with the working class in one or two years, for we have comrades who have a long experience of leadership for 20 to 25 years in succession, in the work of the Party or State, and, despite their great experience, still fail at times to grasp everything properly. The important question is to teach all our people in this way so that they understand well the teachings of our Party on worker control, so that they understand correctly why these groups of workers are there and what the Party's aims are.

Everyone should be clear that the great objective of the Party in encouraging and organizing the control of the working class is, first and foremost, to educate the working class for its role of leadership. Therefore, the people who are subject to the control of the working class should show good will, they should receive the workers sincerely and help them carry out the task assigned to them, because there may be someone among them who lacks competence in that job. In this case they should not be annoyed about being checked on, if they have a clear idea of the great aim of this work.

These people of the working class will be educated by the Party, and when we say the Party, we mean the communists. This work should also include those who are not in the Party but who

are patriots; it is our duty to educate them all. Let us take a school principal with 40 years experience at work. As a political man, he knows that the working class is in power in our country, because without this he personally would amount to nothing, since he remembers very well how in Zog's time even those who had work remained unpaid for months on end, not to mention all the other misdeeds the regime committed against the people and against him. This man, with his great experience and maturity, should bear in mind that the young turner who is sent there to control cannot have his experience, and therefore, be patient with them. The Party should impart this habit to all, wherever they work. When the worker control comes to them, they should see and understand correctly the great aim of this work, rid themselves as much as possible of the petty-bourgeois tendency to conceal their mistakes, to self-conceit, exaggerated confidence and overestimation of themselves, the tendency to belittle the controllers, claiming that certain «incompetent» people are intruding in «their» business, while they are people of the working class. It is the duty of all to educate those who do not have their experience, to educate them skilfully through their successes and shortcomings. This is the course we should continue to take, comrades, and the Party is working and should continually work in this direction.

Worker control is one of the best revolutionary principles the Party has put into practice and is developing. We have scored successes in this

work and will assuredly have greater successes in the future. We will continue along this path, and the working class and the trade unions, with the Party in the lead, will gain ever greater experience in this field.

Comrades, let us not despair, saying that this matter is not in order, that it is not as we wish it to be, that there are shortcomings in this field, because, regardless of these shortcomings, this work, like every other undertaking, will forge ahead and make progress. Therefore, I think we did very well to take up this question for examination at the meeting of the Secretariat of the Central Committee, and there is no doubt that we will develop this work further.

ON ENFORCING PROLETARIAN DISCIPLINE AT WORK¹

*From the speech at the meeting of the Political
Bureau of the CC of the PLA*

September 22, 1971

It seems to me that the questions connected with the problem we are considering, which we are not discussing for the first time today, was rightly raised. The Party has constantly raised it before, both in the Political Bureau, in the government, and everywhere. Successes have been achieved and considerable progress made in fulfilling

1. This meeting of the Political Bureau considered the report submitted by the Ministry of Industry and Mining «On the fulfilment of the plan of range and quality of mass consumer articles in the food-processing and light industries and the measures to be taken.»

the plan for the range and quality of mass consumer goods of the food-processing and light industries, thanks to the good work of the working people in the enterprises of this sector of industry, the executive committees of the district people's councils, the Ministry of Industry and Mining, and others. But successes should not make us close our eyes to the many shortcomings which still exist, especially in organization, in discipline, and in properly fulfilling all the indices of the plans. And we do not come across these shortcomings only in the sectors of the food-processing and light industries but generally in industry as a whole, in all the branches of our economy, and everywhere else.

Therefore, as regards the problem of further strengthening organization, and especially proletarian discipline at work, I think it is necessary for the party and state organs, in cooperation with experts, to study, draw up and submit to us for approval proposals for the establishment of stricter norms which are judged correct and in favour of enforcing discipline at work. This problem must be solved because, in spite of the all-round educational work which is going on, the propaganda of the Party is not having the required effect on some individuals who continue to violate the norms of the Party, state discipline at work, technical discipline etc. Such a state of affairs continues, I think, because along with educational work, economic sanctions, in compliance with the gravity of the offence, are not taken to protect socialist property, to implement rules and regula-

tions, to apply technology, to raise standards in production and so on. Without backing our propaganda work with such measures in order to increase responsibility at work, organization and control, we will not be able to set this very important problem on the right course.

At present we have the Labour Code in force, and a number of legal acts which govern discipline at work and which, in general, are correct but are not fully implemented. Perhaps these legal norms are inadequate, and I propose that we re-examine them and, if necessary, make corresponding more detailed amendments in order to define correctly measures to be taken against those who commit offences, infringe discipline at work, etc. Everyone in our country is clear about the principle of being paid according to the work done. but the contrary should also be the case. If the work is not of good quality and of the quantity envisaged, then pay should also be cut to the extent of the loss incurred in production. The culprit should be made to compensate for the damage he has caused; this is both correct and has a socialist basis. In concentrating on propaganda and agitation in our educational work, which we shall never give up, we should not neglect taking disciplinary measures when they are needed, of course.

It is a fact that nearly everywhere, instead of the eight hours provided for in our laws, people work only six or six and a half hours a day. Shall we tolerate the continuation of this attitude to work and allow the interests of our socialist

state to be harmed? It is clear to all that this attitude is not in the interests of socialism. Therefore it is essential to establish some appropriate regulations to enforce discipline, and in doing this we are certain that we are protecting socialism and at the same time guarding the people from mistakes, and educating them in a high sense of duty towards work. Otherwise, we will neither protect socialism nor guard our people from corruption and dishonesty. I think we should have these rules wherever work is going on, and we should demand their full application, from the time work starts and during work, in order to utilize the time properly to achieve production not only in quantity but also in quality, range, cost, etc.

If the worker under capitalism does not work according to the conditions laid down, he is ruthlessly thrown out of his job, while here, in socialist Albania, the Party has made the worker conscious of the fact that he is working for himself and for society, and therefore great enthusiasm and drive at work exist in our country. Nevertheless, as we have said, here and there in our country there are also negligent, lazy or irresponsible individuals who avoid work.

Let us take the moment of arriving and starting work according to the set timetable, and the question of the workers after a few hours' work having a break of half an hour or an hour, as prescribed in the regulations, according to the nature of the work in each enterprise. What happens? In both cases there are persons who abuse the regulations, who do not start work straight

away, either at the beginning of the eight hours, or after the break, because some do not arrive on time, some start chatting or wander aimlessly about, thus taking up valuable work time. These manifestations reflect the degree of awareness, the estimation and respect which our worker has for his work time. The socialist consciousness is not at the high level required in all workers. In these cases, why should the pay of an undisciplined worker not be cut when he is to blame for not abiding by his work timetable?

We should not allow matters to proceed like this. It is quite wrong for us to be liberal towards those who waste their work time. However few may be the elements who lack a developed socialist consciousness, we should not allow them to do as they please or to fail to give society what they owe it and, last of all, to set a bad example to others. Our man, educated with the ideology of our Party, should understand that with the work he does he serves society and himself, and therefore he should do it well. For those on whom this has no effect, we should organize strict control during work time, and against those who violate discipline, we should apply sanctions for the time they have wasted. This is a fully correct measure, for only he who is disciplined at work and gives what society requires of him should earn the full pay provided for the job.

The rules which we will establish must be made known to every worker from the time he begins a job, and he should then be required to observe them rigorously. Violations of rules and

breaches of discipline are alien to socialism. The eight hour workday must be strictly observed.

Let us also take another important problem, that of turning out products of the required quality. A lot has been said here about the quality of work, but I think we should find the key factors which exert a negative influence on it, where the quality has deteriorated, and who is responsible, so that the necessary steps can be taken to guarantee products of the quality and standard required. When those who are to blame for low quality work are discovered, their wages should by all means be cut, thus implementing the principle that a worker should be paid not only for the quantity but also for the quality of the work he does.

We should keep in mind the demand for quality in everything from the raw material and the application of technology, to the product which is turned out, because the raw material and the strict application of technology etc., greatly influence the quality of the goods produced. If we demand first class fabric from a textile combine and supply it with third grade cotton, we should not claim that it will turn out first or even second grade fabric. In the same way, if the leather with which shoes are to be made is of poor quality, it is impossible to make good quality shoes from it. In such a case, we should not lay the blame on the textile workers, shoemakers etc., but on those who produce the raw materials, the cotton producers, leather tanners and so on. The textile workers and shoemakers should be criticized and as a consequence charged with material responsibility only if

low quality production is their fault, when they do not apply correctly the production technology which depends on them.

Hence the need to determine the amount to be deducted from the pay of various workers when they are responsible for turning out low quality products, or when those in charge allow them to turn out low quality products. We should see to it that each person's wage is lowered in accordance with the degree of responsibility, and the damage caused.

When the quality of production is damaged due to the inability of a worker, then another measure should be taken, and those who raised him to that job category should be held responsible, while he himself should immediately be demoted from the category he holds, since the goods produced are a clear indication that he has been incorrectly assigned to that category. He should be promoted to a higher category only after giving proof that he deserves it. These measures, I think, should be applied not only against those who damage production directly, who violate discipline at work and so on, but also against all those whom the Party and the government have charged with the function of checking on the strict carrying out of tasks, and who fail to do it properly, from the one who is immediately in charge, or the head of the sector, to the director of the enterprise. If in an enterprise all of these people make concessions, tolerate laxity in utilizing work time, promote undeserving people or turn a blind eye to poor quality products and consign them to other enterprises

or to the consumers, which affects the interests of the state and of the buyers, it is not sufficient to give them only advice, or criticism in the brigade or collective; administrative sanctions should be applied.

Nor is it right to start from general considerations about the workers, arguing that so and so is a good man, he's this and that, when the product he turns out is of low quality. A worker should be considered good when he turns out good quality products and of course, he should be commended, respected, and even praised for this, while when he fails to do his job, in addition to making him compensate for the damage caused, he should be advised, criticized, warned or even removed.

Also, when the director of an enterprise or any person in a responsible post fails to direct the work he has been entrusted with properly, when he is not strict in demanding account, when he himself violates discipline or is lenient towards the violations committed by others in carrying out state duties or party directives then according to his culpability his pay should also be cut to the extent fixed by the relevant regulations, and if he continues on this mistaken road, this means that he is not doing the job entrusted to him; therefore, he does not deserve it and should be relieved of his post, and demoted to become an ordinary worker. In this case it emerges clearly that not only he, but also the basic organization of which he is a member, is not in order, and therefore, it should render account to the Party for the harm done. As regards family incomes, let the workers

or directors themselves think about this, and not work badly if they do not want them to be reduced, but raise them by conscientious work, by their sweat, by their efforts to learn and become qualified in order to turn out good quality products or to direct well, because they should be paid on the basis of their work.

The study which will be conducted on this problem should envisage measures not only against the workers and directors of economic enterprises and the basic institutions, but should also specify the responsibility of the executive committees of the district people's councils, of government departments and central institutions like those of industry, construction, commerce and others. This problem should be understood correctly and not one-sidedly. Often, when we take up such problems for discussion and summon the comrade ministers to render account, they make self-criticism which includes the faults and shortcomings observed at the base, those for which the working people at the base are to blame. Of course the central apparatuses are also responsible for them. Nevertheless, regardless of the faults and direct errors of the cadres of the central organs, which they should make efforts to eliminate, the responsibility for the faults and weaknesses at the base should not fall on the ministries alone, while those at the base feel exonerated. Although much more should be done, we cannot say that the ministries do not work with those at the base, helping them through advice, orders, instructions, studies etc. Nor can we say that at the base everyone is to

blame for the faults and shortcomings, because not everybody, but a few people, and not everywhere, but in certain sectors, fail to carry out the tasks, or distort the directives. The struggle and efforts of the workers at the base to accomplish the tasks properly cannot be denied. Certainly the majority of people there do very good work; there are others who do good work and there are also those who work less, but here and there are those (and fortunately they are not many and are not characteristic of our people) who work badly. And it is precisely those who work badly whom we should restrain, and we should make them learn from their own mistakes, in the first place, but others too should learn from them, even those who work well, just as the conscientious work of the latter should be a lesson for all. We should unhesitatingly criticize those who work irresponsibly, and no one should be allowed to take them under protection in one way or another as may happen in some cases. If such a thing happens, when the error or fault of those who are criticised or punished is clear to all, a stand should be taken. A stand should also be taken towards those who do not protect the culprits directly, but through their indifference become silent protectors of the culprits.

Indifference towards errors, as a form of silent support, often arises from sentimental considerations or from mistaken arguments, saying that those who have done poor work or have made mistakes «are hard workers», «have a large family», «are working class people» and so on. Such arguments are not sound, for working class people should

always be in the vanguard with the class, and should never for a moment detach themselves from its drive and interests; therefore, those who do poor work or no work at all should be clear that they cannot be considered members of the class, and no one has the right to protect them; on the contrary, they should be criticised even more sharply, so that they do not repeat their mistakes, otherwise measures will be taken which affect their economic interests. Of course, the class and its Party do not desire such measures, but they are obliged to take them on behalf of the interests of the people and of socialist construction. Therefore, whoever does poor work should know that neither the class nor the State of the dictatorship of the proletariat are to blame for the economic difficulties which may be temporarily created for him by the sanctions taken against him, but he himself, because he has done poor work or breached discipline at work.

When, for instance, the state takes measures against a thief, in accordance with the law, it puts him in prison. Are the working class and socialist state to blame for this? No! In our country, where the Party leads and each individual is guaranteed a livelihood through honest work, the people are educated not to steal. Nevertheless, in reality there are some who steal because, through their own fault, not heeding the teachings of the Party and the norms of proletarian morality, they become degenerated. In this case, the law envisages strict measures; the culprit may even be put in prison, with the aim that, by undergoing punishment, he

may be educated, repent of his act, and not repeat it. But in our country, as you know, there are also cases when a minor offence is committed, and the culprit is not put in prison immediately, or even removed from his job. The first time he is advised, and if he repeats the offence he is severely criticized and taught how to behave in the future; if he is incorrigible he is warned of the consequences he may bring upon himself, he is reproached, and if he persists in his wrong course, then severe measures are taken. Thus, a whole range of educational steps are taken to save him. Only after all these efforts are made, and he shows no concern but continues to take advantage of the magnanimity of the working class, is the latter obliged to take the measures provided for by the law, by removing him from his job or putting him in prison, with the aim of correcting the culprit through disciplinary measures.

The political and ideological character of this orientation should be explained correctly and upheld by the Party and its propaganda. If it is noticed in any work centre that this orientation is not applied, then the party basic organization should get up and make an issue of it. We cannot allow some people to live off society and off the honest work of their companions. No, by no means! The basic organizations should be attentive and arouse the opinion of the whole collective to take the appropriate measures against such culprit, not only disciplinary ones which here also have an educative character, but also economic sanctions.

It is necessary for the basic organization to

consider from time to time the disciplinary measures taken in the work centres where it is active. If it turns out that violations continue and as a result punitive measures are on the rise, the first conclusion the corresponding party basic organization should draw is that it is not living up to its duties, that in its ranks there are some who have gone wrong, who must be either straightened out or expelled from the Party. Of course, they cannot be expelled from the ranks of the Party all at once, but only after all efforts have been made to educate them, that is, they have been advised, criticised, warned etc., in compliance with the dispositions of the party Constitution. When they do not change, and merely continue to make general self-criticisms, then the time has come for these so-called communists, who do not work well, to be thrown out of the ranks of the Party, for they do not deserve the high title of member of the Party of Labour of Albania.

I think that before we establish regulations to enforce discipline at work, we should re-examine more closely the laws and regulations in force, like the Labour Code, in connection with discipline, material responsibility and dismissal from work, for I am of the opinion that here and there a kind of liberalism exists. Why should a worker who has stolen socialist property and has been removed from a job and fined, again be given a job with material responsibility, or sometimes even a more important job in another enterprise? This happens because the existing norms and regulations are not strictly applied, the reason for the dismissal

of a worker from his job is not always written correctly and accurately on his employment card, the truth is not told, that he was dismissed from the job he held before coming here, because he had stolen as a storekeeper, salesman, treasurer, accountant, etc. If this is done regularly, then the enterprise or institution which he turns to for work, whose task it is to employ no one without carefully examining the respective document, has no reason to re-employ him in a job with material responsibility when it sees that he has a stain on his record, unless he gives convincing proof over a long period that he is rehabilitated. Therefore, through re-examination of the legal regulations which govern the material responsibility of our workers and employees, careful study should be conducted to look at these problems correctly, in a Marxist way, so that all that I have said may serve in the spirit of sound proletarian morality.

The measures I propose we should study and establish may seem very harsh, but I think they are indispensable and, together with the educational work which will always have priority, and which the Party will intensify still more in the future, will help to compel this handful of people, who are becoming fewer and fewer, to set to honest work. If someone does not want his wages to be cut, if he does not want negative things written on his employment card or his work record, it is up to him to see to it that this does not happen. The Party will make every effort, working to see that if possible, we have no one of this category, but when some goes beyond the limit, when he

breaches discipline, when he comes to work late, when he does not utilize his work time properly, when he resorts to trickery, when he turns out low quality products or not of the quantity and variety required etc., then there should be no hesitation about taking disciplinary measures against him. I think we should study such things as I have spoken about, for our rapid development requires this.

DEVELOP THE TECHNICAL-SCIENTIFIC REVOLUTION FURTHER IN OUR COUNTRY

*From the speech held at the 18th Party Conference of
the Tirana district.*

September 29, 1971

Comrades!

All the communists and the people as a whole are already familiar with the draft-directives of the 6th Congress of the PLA on the 5th five-year plan for the economic and cultural development of the People's Republic of Albania for the years from 1971 to 1975. Allow me to cite some of the principal figures of this plan which we have begun, to give a better idea of its grandeur, of the serious tasks that lie ahead, and the great projects which await us. By 1975, total industrial production will be 60 to 65 per cent higher than in 1970, with an average annual increase of 10.6 per cent. Total agricultural production, for all the five years of the 5th five-year plan taken together, will be 50 to 55 per cent higher than in the preceding five-year

period. The volume of investments during the 5th five-year plan period will be 70 to 75 per cent higher than in the 4th five-year plan period. For the five years of the 5th five-year plan period taken together, capital investments will be much higher than the investments of the last decade, 1960-1970. By 1975, the national income will be 55 to 60 per cent higher than in 1970.

The growth of labour productivity during this five-year period will be the main factor in increasing social production in all branches of our economy. This growth will account for about 70 per cent of the increase in social production, about 56 per cent of the increase in industrial production, and about 90 per cent of the increase in the volume of construction. In agriculture, increased productivity will be the main factor in raising agricultural and livestock production, which will account for 80 per cent of the total increase in agricultural production during the whole 5th five-year plan period.

The 5th five-year plan sets us massive but fully realisable tasks. The development of our people's economy is uninterruptedly intensifying, which means high rates of increase, higher social productivity, greater efficiency in material production, economical use of manpower and of material and financial means for extended socialist reproduction. The great quantitative and qualitative changes which we want to bring about during this five-year period require the total mobilization of all the Albanian people. They call for the radical further improvement of the method of manage-

ment and organization of our people's economy and culture, raising the level of mastery of our revolutionary ideology, of our science and technology. Especially important in this chain of tasks are the problems of a deeper and all-round grasp of the technical-scientific revolution, and of carrying out more fully the tasks arising from it in the present stage of our development. In this connection I wish to raise several problems which have emerged from the experience of our Party and the working masses in this technical-scientific revolution.

The building of socialism and communism is based on the continuous, uninterrupted, progressive and coherent development of the economy, culture and science and of course, on their close connection, based on Marxist philosophy, on the materialist dialectics of development.

In our country, under the leadership of the Party, great progress has been made in science, and in the development of our economy and culture. This is proved by the results achieved. On the basis of these results, we will continue with more drive and still greater results in our work because during the past years, in the struggle to overcome the great backwardness and numerous subjective and objective deficiencies, we have gained rich experience, and because our present situation is better than before since, we have many active trained cadres on whom we can firmly rely in all our work. These cadres have acquired knowledge and experience in work, production, organization, science economy, and culture, and in management.

The great problem of the Party is to make the masses aware that what has already been achieved must be carried further, consolidated and improved, and that we should not mark time, giving way to unhealthy petty-bourgeois self-satisfaction. What has been gained and consolidated day in, day out, should serve to create material goods for the people and all this should create, shape and temper among the people, generation after generation, the tradition that in life one should work, learn and create, but that life should also be enjoyed.

In all these directions the Party should work hard and in an organized way. No success should blind us to our faults and shortcomings, or make us mark time. The Party and its Central Committee lay before the people great work programs and study plans, which need to be correctly implemented. They are problems of the immediate present and of the future, which call for the total mobilization of human, physical, mental and material forces.

In our country, scientific work and the development of technology or, in other words, the technical-scientific revolution, is proceeding, along correct lines because here science and technology are the results of the armed proletarian revolution which overthrew the old exploiting bourgeois capitalist regime and established the dictatorship of the proletariat. Thus, our people are fully aware that it is not some kind of technical-scientific revolution which, as the capitalist and modern revisionists claim, will cure the ills of capitalism,

reform it, and do away with classes and class antagonisms in the capitalist world, or the deep antagonistic contradictions in countries where revisionist cliques are in power. What will destroy the state power of the capitalist bourgeoisie and of the modern revisionists, in order to establish socialism, is and remains the proletarian revolution, not the technical-scientific revolution.

The second important question is that the Albanian people, having emerged from a state of great backwardness, have achieved really great results in their all-round development through their own persistent work, and under the correct leadership of the Party. During this development, they saw and became convinced that the feudal chiefs and the bourgeoisie who used to oppress them, and their allies who pretended to help but later occupied our country, used the progress they had made in science and technology in their capitalist countries in order to exploit Albania most savagely. Through their own experience, they saw the truth of Marx's thesis that this progress serves the capitalists to colonize and enslave peoples, to oppress and ruthlessly exploit working people. The Albanian people witnessed the same phenomenon when the Soviet revisionists usurped power in the Soviet Union and began their sabotage in our country, not to speak of the Yugoslav revisionists who were themselves backward in the domain of science and technology but were masters at sabotage.

Let us not take the example of education and culture, fields in which the Albanian people have

made such colossal progress relying on their own resources; let us not take our socialist agriculture, where such great positive transformations have come about, but let us take only the question of the development of mining and the extraction of minerals in our country. If we compare only the barbarous exploitation, the quantity and quality of work, and the methods which fascist Italy used when it was occupying our country, with the quantity and quality of work and the methods of our working class after liberation, we can clearly see the revolutionary force of our people. But let us compare that period, during which the Soviet revisionists claim that they helped us so much, with the subsequent period when we expelled them from our country, and we will see what great progress has been made in mineral extraction, geological research and opening new mines in our country.

The third important question is that right from the start the Party launched a call and took steps to make education and culture the possession of the masses, to make science, and technology the possession of the masses, and not to become and remain the possession of an élite group of scientists as the capitalists and revisionists call them.

The masses of our people, who won the revolution, gained the self-confidence that they would win every battle they waged, that they themselves would build socialist Albania, and to do this they must learn, they must make a profound study of science and technology, and carry out revolution in all fields, because they themselves were the

architects of their own future. Guided and educated by our Marxist-Leninist Party, the broad masses of our people now strive on all fronts to fill the gaps left by the past, to reach and go beyond world standards in all those areas in which our country should be productive, and at the same time to show the world the correctness and revolutionary vitality of Marxism-Leninism, and the superiority of the socialist system over the capitalist one.

The distinctive characteristic of our people is that, faced with the deplorable state of science and technology inherited from the past, they were not full of pessimism, they did not fold their arms saying that we could not learn, that we could do nothing at all by ourselves, which would have aroused and developed the cult of submission to the «learned foreigner». Our people set to work and study, surmounting many obstacles; they treated the «learned foreigner» with kindness, as a friend and brother, when this was what he was, they regarded him with distrust when he behaved in a suspicious manner, and settled accounts with him when he behaved in a hostile way.

We are Marxist-Leninists, and as such have a great thirst and respect for progressive world knowledge and science and progressive world technology, and will make every effort to master them and put them at the service of our people. We have not been and are not opposed to modern world science and technology, but we do oppose and will fight without mercy against bourgeois ideology, which misuses scientific and technological invent-

tions, which uses sciences and technology for enslaving the people, for barbarous and predatory imperialist wars, for blackmail and threats.

We know that science is an extraordinarily broad field, which cannot quickly be mastered considering the proportions it has assumed. It calls for much struggle and effort. We hold that we should not view the question of scientific work as something in itself, but closely connected with our revolutionary practice, and this is precisely why the role of the masses becomes decisive in the progress of science and technology.

The growth of the confidence of our cadres and working people in the value of their knowledge and, on that basis, the efforts they make to carry on learning, working, experimenting and analysing, mean that their scientific and cultural knowledge increases all the time, so that many problems can be solved in our country relying on our own resources, regardless of the fact that these problems may have already been solved in other countries; but we are prevented by the savage capitalist-revisionist boycott, which was and is imposed on us, from taking advantage of them. The capitalist and revisionist states do not give the smallest thing away unless they calculate that there will be big material profits and political advantages for them.

The correct understanding of the development of our country, the successful construction of socialism, and the great needs we have, have been a major concern of all of us and have been turned into a mass question wherever work was being

done. Wide horizons opened for our people, horizons of work and study, and technical and material possibilities were created for broad and harmonious development. New problems continued to crop up for solution under new conditions. Our economy keeps expanding, calling for new forms of structure and organization, requiring the application of advanced scientific and technological methods, and suitable forms of work to lower costs and achieve higher productivity.

All these needs and requirements oblige our people to study science. For them, such concepts as «iron» or «steel» are not simple terms, they are obliged to learn their composition, their various qualities and how these qualities are attained, where these metals with these particular qualities are used and where they are not used. And this happens with everything, with every kind of work. Our people are thinking more profoundly, they are taking up work in the various fields of knowledge and science. But from such a development of the productive forces, new economic and social relations arise and develop, which must be studied and explained, and which call for suitable measures to be taken along with these changes to overcome the contradictions and anomalies created by development, in order to control and regulate the proportion of this development.

It is clear that these changes raise the socialist consciousness of the working people but, of course, this change comes later than the material changes; therefore, in this very important matter, these major positive factors should at the same

time serve to revolutionize the conscience of our people, and not to bourgeoisify them, or to allow the dust of petty-bourgeois self-satisfaction, of conceit, bureaucracy, routine and laziness, to settle on them.

For this reason we should further intensify our ideological and cultural revolution, our technical and scientific revolution. We should improve and develop what we have already achieved, determine the explicit tasks which we should lay down, define clearly the further objectives, present and future, which we wish to attain, and define the most correct methods of scientific work to use, and the main, decisive means necessary. We should mobilize all the working forces, so that each may lay his own stone in the building of this great structure, and feel responsible for what he contributes. His contribution, be it ever so small, has its importance, and therefore it is his duty to increase his technical and scientific contribution from day to day, becoming more qualified.

But results and progress cannot be achieved without work, without effort, without sacrifice and without study. We must recognise that here people still do little study, they do not make efforts to find the best methods of study, they do not make rational use of the time at their disposal, they do not properly utilize the means at their disposal in order to «squeeze out the oil» as our people say. Many people think that being under a socialist regime, they can both fail to complete the full output during the compulsory 8-hour workday, and can even break the law and work less, that they

can get along with very little reading or none at all, bein satisfied with that limited knowledge which entitles them to employment and a wage.

There are people in cities and villages who rarely take up a book after work, spending their free time in gossip instead of assigning themselves the task of studying. I say studying for, unlike some people, I do not consider reading the newspaper or a novel as something out of the ordinary. Some offer ungrounded justifications: «We are tired», they say, «we have families, we have no place to work and study». People who have assigned themselves the task of serving the country, of working, learning, and experimenting, of making every minute count, find both the time, the form, the methods and the place to carry out these tasks. They have all possibilities for study in our country; but under whatever difficult conditions, people with strong willpower work with great patience in this direction. Let us recall here that colossal, persistent work and iron will to study of our great teacher Karl Marx who, despite difficult economic conditions and various obstacles in his work, created and left to mankind a rich heritage of discoveries and knowledge to transform society, to overthrow capitalism, to do away with exploitation, and to build socialism and communism. Let us recall the famous Pierre and Marie Curie who discovered radium for mankind. Working night and day with dogged persistence, sometimes going without food, for no one helped them, they worked for four years on end in a shabby garage with primitive means and materials to process thou-

sands of tons of pitchblende from which they succeeded in producing what they were after, radium, and how much of it? Only one-tenth of a gram.

Therefore people should not look at their watches time and again in order to leave the lathe, the laboratory, the school, or the field as soon as possible as some do, but should give more thought to the results of work, for under socialism people should not do a half-hearted job or study in a primitive way, basing their study on narrow scientific horizons.

In our country the scientific research which has been and is being done will, of course, continue and yield still better results, because the level of the people engaged in scientific and cultural work is rising. We have talented people in all disciplines, but we cannot say that in our country scientific research covers many fields and that it is all at the required level. It is possible for research to be on such a large scale in our country, and not to lag behind that of the foreign scientific world.

Before us lies the major task of conducting many scientific studies and much research in the domain of agriculture, in all its branches. These studies and this research require our scholars to be familiar with the achievements of world science in this broad field. But this is neither sufficient nor applicable if we fail to delve deep into the specific secrets of our agricultural domain in all its complexity, if we fail to study these characteristics through broad scientific experimentation, drawing conclusions which can be compared with the data of modern science and agricultural tech-

nique. This will enable us, under the very favourable conditions of a socialist economy, to create and develop an agriculture which integrates politics, modern socialist organization of work, developed agricultural technique and the most advanced social relations. Intensive study of agricultural science, like that of all other sciences, is not an aim in itself, but is done so as to obtain from the soil and from livestock as many agricultural and livestock products as possible, as food for our people and animals and raw materials for our factories, to obtain from the livestock as much milk and milk by-products, meat, wool, hides, and work and draft power as possible.

Therefore, in addition to making great efforts in agricultural production, we should at the same time conduct further and deeper scientific studies on agricultural problems, for the present and the future, on the improvement of work organization in agricultural cooperatives, in the field of agricultural technique, various crops, animal husbandry, fruit growing, irrigation etc., etc. We should also conduct further studies to improve the organization of the financial system, and the economic and social relations which are being created in the cooperatives, as a result of their continuous economic, technological, and cultural development within the general context of our socialist economy, in their relations with the state, etc., etc.

The establishment of modern industry in our country and the great uninterrupted progress of all its branches has given and will give a great quantitative and qualitative boost to the theoretical

development and application of science and technology in our country. Gifted workers, experts and highly trained cadres have given proof of great ability and maturity, setting up all these projects with their own hands and using their skill, mastering modern production processes, and making positive improvements in them. Broad fields of study, experimentation and application have also been opened for all the other workers of our country.

We have had great all-round assistance from the People's Republic of China in important sectors of our economy. The factories, combines, thermo-and hydro-power stations and other projects given by China, in a highly comradely, fraternal and internationalist spirit, are among the most perfect and modern. From the close technological and scientific collaboration between us and the Chinese comrades our people have drawn and will draw great benefit, in the further development and enrichment of their scientific and technical knowledge. We should profit as much as possible from this very fruitful Marxist-Leninist collaboration, from the ability and experience of a high scientific level by world standards of the gifted people of Mao Tsetung's socialist China, the only great and loyal helper of socialist Albania.

Recently we all learned the sad news of the death, in the forefront of the struggle for socialist construction, of two distinguished workers, two heroes of socialist labour in our country, two communists and faithful fighters for the great ideas of socialism. miner Frrok Kolë Kaçorri from Mir-

dita and the Chinese comrade Chan Pao U, brigade leader of antenna installation, who as an internationalist worked tirelessly until he gave his life for socialist construction in Albania. Therefore, to honour their memory I propose that we all stand and observe a minute's silence...

Their memory will remain unforgettable to us!

But in spite of all these successes and favourable conditions for the study and application of science and technology, we should be realists and admit that our people engaged in scientific theory and those applying it do not always combine their work properly, they are not always properly up-to-date with the development of modern science in their own and related disciplines, they do not make the efforts they should for the continual improvement of their level of qualification. It is true that where efforts are made we also see that praiseworthy initiatives are taken, but often the working people continue with artisan methods and spirit which do not conform to the environment and the times, or our requirements and needs. We have good scientific, technical and material forces which, if we further enliven them, organize and guide them properly, listen to them and give them more help, will enable us to take greater steps ahead. Therefore, let us set to work with confidence and redoubled efforts, on a mass scale.

We should always bear in mind that there should always be connection and mutual interdependence between science and technology, and between them and production, and all should be closely linked with the policy and ideology of the

Party; thus, they should always be in close collaboration and harmonization, dependent upon and not separated from one another.

We should always see to it that a close connection exists between scientific theory and experimentation, and between them and production, both in the solution of the immediate problems and requirements that emerge from it, but also in the solution of long-term problems which should not be neglected but, on the contrary, should be tackled.

In applying and developing the sciences and technology, the Party and all the various scientific workers should know what comes into their field of study and development, and what is needed in the field of application, in order to see quick results. This is essential, for there exists a danger of superficial studies, of lack of coordination, and of the failure of various centres of a sector or various sectors to give mutual assistance, a lack of organized and timely communication of studies and the results of experiments. These lead to a loss of time and materials in work which is sometimes unnecessary, sometimes duplicated, where achievements are not speedily utilized in all the sectors where they should be, which creates a feeling of conservatism, a kind of monopoly and arrogance among the scientific cadres who make scientific achievements.

The more clearly defined scientific problems are, the better it will be. This should accord with the needs of our economy and culture, now and for the future, and should be coordinated. Scientific

resources and finance should not be used without sound criteria, without benefit to our socialist economy and culture, duplication should not be allowed in themes, studies and experiments (especially costly ones). Therefore, everything requires that we strengthen the close links and coordinate the plans, activities, studies and experiments of tertiary institutions, various laboratories, etc., with production, technological and design bureaus, and the scientific councils in factories, cooperatives and state farms. This requires major organization and harmonization, a job which calls for concentrated efforts in many directions, but aiming at one thing; the successful construction of socialism in all its aspects.

We should not think that technical and design bureaus, scientific councils and all the other nuclei of this kind are organisms that «should be set up for the sake of setting them up», and begin to establish them without sound criteria even where they are not needed. Nor should we think of filling them with numerous capable cadres allegedly to do scientific work in them, when these people are badly needed in production, application and experimentation. We should always be very careful about this.

These organisms we are setting up should not be formal ones. Our development demands that they be set up, and the problems they deal with and solve should not be minor ones, which the worker, the working collective, department or brigade, have the duty and ability to deal with themselves, without bringing in the technical bureau at all.

The work in these scientific organisms should not only be done according to plan and with full responsibility on the part of those who belong to them, but they should assign themselves great tasks, they should keep increasing their knowledge, keep up-to-date with the data of theoretical and applied science, they should be scientifically accurate in the results they turn out, and always in the forefront as pioneers of science, to disseminate it among the working masses of the collective where they are employed, arousing among these workers an interest in reading, studying and understanding scientific work so that they may be able to apply it correctly and develop it further. Therefore, the members of these scientific organisms should not consider them as their ivory towers.

The party organizations and every communist should understand well the directives of the Central Committee or of the Regional Party Committees; they should understand that these directives cannot be properly carried out without being analysed and understood by the masses, from the simplest worker to the highest specialist. For the communist, in the first place, it is a party obligation to understand the directive thoroughly and prepare well to implement it. But to implement it well calls for analysis, organization and taking measures. There are communists who are negligent, saying «Some one else will think about that», «I am only a communist gatekeeper at the combine, and I don't care about scientific work». At any moment the Party may tell this communist gate-

keeper to go to the technical bureau, just as it told such an 18-year old gatekeeper during the war to take command of a battalion. Of course, if our present communist gatekeeper has been lulled off guard, and only opens and shuts the gate, he is not even any good for a gatekeeper, let alone for a communist.

I brought up this example to emphasize that many qualities should distinguish the communist from the masses; he should be in the forefront of work, struggle, organization, creativity and sacrifice, he should know how to collaborate closely, to urge on encourage, and push ahead advanced people, non-party members, people who master the technique and specialization which that communist lacks. If he acts in a lively and dynamic way, full of tact and good will, the communist, even if he is not very learned, wins the people's hearts, the masses will love and follow him and build up great confidence in the Party, for the Party is made up of its members.

When the communists carry out their tasks in this manner, then we can say that the Party is leading the work. The Party is not in the lead just because it holds a meeting once a month but because its meetings take decisions which are thoroughly analysed in the fields of practice and theory, and because its members are in the forefront of struggle, in the forefront of the masses, in the forefront of sacrifices, in order to carry out all these decisions fully in practice.

On the other hand, all the leaders at every level, be they of the Party, of the state or of the

economic enterprises, should listen well to and discuss decisions and problems with the communists at the base and with the workers, because at times their opinions, studies, suggestions, remarks etc. regarding all the technical and organizational activity of the enterprise and cooperative, are not properly listened to, are not valued as important data which influence progress and achievement or, as the case may be, the loss and disorganization of the enterprise.

Hence the important problem that «each should carry out his task with full competence, but also with full responsibility». He should be held responsible for his work and should render account for it, but at the same time to hold others to account for their work, for he is responsible for that as well. These rights and duties should be properly defined to our working people and their correct application should be continually checked. Those people who, when faced with difficulties and obstacles, try to cast the blame and responsibility on others, but are the first to raise their heads when it is a case of receiving praises, should not be allowed to act like that.

Comrades!

Today when revolution is on the rise in the world, the people who are fighting with arms, strikes, demonstrations and every means against the oppressors, the imperialists, social-imperialists and world reaction, are every day becoming more

capable of knowing and recognizing where their enemies are and who are the friends that aid them. The People's Republic of Albania wages a fierce and indomitable battle against US imperialism, Soviet modern revisionism, and their satellites. The struggle for socialism and revolution, the firm support for the struggle of the peoples of the world, have greatly raised the prestige of socialist Albania, its Party and government.

The People's Republic of Albania does not figure as a great power in the world, but as a state with a policy which shows great wisdom, farsightedness, courage, justice, consistency and determination. This policy of the People's Republic of Albania, which is the policy of its Marxist-Leninist Party, has aroused the great sympathy and love of peoples and revolutionaries, and the respect of all democratic and progressive people. At the same time, it has aroused the hatred of our enemies.

This is very positive for our homeland and our people. It is positive because, along with the continual strengthening and consolidation of the internal situation of socialist Albania, its international position is also being strengthened. The stronger we are internally, the stronger we will be abroad. A correct policy always strengthens internal and external positions at the same time. Our Party has pursued and will always pursue such a policy. We do not and cannot live in isolation. We have and will continue to have international obligations.

World policy cannot be dictated by the two super-powers. The people cannot allow themselves

to be oppressed and exploited by the imperialists, the social-imperialists and world reaction. Their former monopoly of world politics has been shaken and with every passing day is being struck from every side by the revolutionary wave of the peoples.

We are on the threshold of our Congress, where we will make a detailed analysis of the international situation; therefore, you understand that it is not so urgent for me to enlarge on external events. This too because you and the people as a whole follow the development of international politics and the line and stand of our Party very attentively.

Nevertheless, I wish to stress that at present within world capitalism, and in particular within US imperialism, the worst crisis seen since the Second World War has erupted. This has been dubbed «the dollar crisis», but it is not comprehensive enough to call it only the crisis of the dollar, or even of the currencies of the other capitalist states which are influenced by the inflation of the dollar. This is a general economic, political, ideological and military crisis of all the capitalist states, of their structures and superstructures, a crisis of their regimes and alliances. This major crisis has just begun; the catastrophe will follow.

In order to escape the grip of this crisis, the capitalist oligarchies will try to load the heavy consequences on to the workers, on to the people, by burdening them with still heavier taxes, by raising the cost of living, by turning millions more unemployed workers into the street. This will

mean intensified capitalist rivalry and a savage struggle to seize markets, together with plots, military intervention and local wars which pave the way to the great peril of a world war.

The present crisis has not arisen because imperialism and revisionism want it; it is to their detriment, it has seized them by the throat. They have been caught in the grip of revolution, by the people who are fighting and scoring successes, by their defeat in Vietnam and in other countries, by their colossal expenditure on predatory wars. The development of the crisis will intensify still further the struggle of the people and the progress of revolution.

Under these circumstances, it becomes our duty to consolidate the achievements we have attained, to build, to educate, to be on our guard and fight, within and outside our country. Without violating the Marxist-Leninist principles of our foreign policy, we should know how to really profit in an astute and determined way from the development of the situation. In these moments of major crisis for imperialism and modern revisionism, we should intensify our struggle against them, we should properly utilize the major contradictions among our enemies in our favour, in favour of the socialist states and of the peoples who are rising in revolution, we should keep exposing these contradictions and not be satisfied with the alleged concessions and moderations of their stand which the imperialists and revisionists reluctantly make, until the danger is over, so as to take revenge

later. Therefore, we should always be on the alert, and continue to strike at them.

Our socialist countries should continually use tactics, but these should always conform to our ideology, they should serve our strategy, in the interest of our socialist countries and of revolution.

At present, US imperialism, being in a serious crisis, in difficulties and in conflict with its allies, with continually growing contradictions with its friend and collaborator the Soviet Union over the division of spheres of influence, is obliged to force a smile, to try to deceive and, to find counterweights for its wavering allies. It is our duty as revolutionaries to strike at them on both flanks, to oblige them to further aggravate their contradictions so as to create favourable ground for the people to deal harder blows at them.

We should expose the pacifist illusions and demagogy of the Soviet modern revisionists, who raise a hue and cry about being anti-imperialists, but on the other hand strive to extend their «empire», and work against socialism, against the liberation struggle of the peoples, against the People's Republic of China and the People's Republic of Albania.

The foreign policy of the Moscow revisionists stands out for its aggressiveness all over the world, just like that of the US imperialists. The Soviet social-imperialists amass troops on the borders with China, conclude military alliances with India against China, and together with the Americans draw up plots with militarist Japan for the same purpose. The fleets of the two superpowers co-exist

on the Mediterranean. The Soviet social-imperialists draw up all kinds of schemes in the Middle East, exert military pressure on Rumania and Yugoslavia, and have recently been pursuing an open policy of friendship and rapprochement with the Bonn revanchists. This policy has long-term aims and constitutes a major peril for Europe and the whole world.

Recently Brandt and Brezhnev met and held talks in the Crimea not merely as two statesmen but rather as two party chiefs. The chief of Soviet revisionism met with the chief of German social-democracy and agreed about what you have read in the press, but also about things that have not been said publicly. In fact Soviet revisionism came to agreement with German social-democracy to make the law in Europe. The victims of this banquet are the interests of the German Democratic Republic which, if not today, will be sacrificed tomorrow by the Kremlin czars for the sake of uniting the two German states to suit the wishes of Bonn, for the sake of a still deeper alliance than the Moscow-Bonn Treaty. Bonn won the case over West Berlin — which Moscow served up on a platter. Now it is the turn of the ratification of the treaties and, eventually, the removal of the Berlin wall.

The leadership of the German Democratic Republic has become wholly subservient to Moscow. Efforts to organize the conference of European security, if others allow it, will find the Soviets side by side with Bonn in drawing up their joint plot to dominate Europe, where the Federal

German Republic has now become the most powerful western capitalist State which challenges US influence in Europe, and effaces the power of France and England, not to speak of that of the other partners of NATO.

Thus, as can be seen, the Soviet and US intrigues and those of the Bonn revanchists and the allies of the two parties are fraught with dangers not only for the peoples of our continent but also for those of other continents. Therefore, we should fight with great courage, as always, and never lose our vigilance, or be overcome by self-satisfaction.

Without dwelling further on these problems, I end my speech wishing much success to the communists and workers of the party organization of the Tirana district, and telling all our glorious Party, which is 30 years old this year, to be always on the forefront of revolutionary struggle, clear and determined in its Marxist-Leninist principles, beloved by the people and prepared for sacrifice, worthy of its working class, to deserve by its work and struggle, by the simplicity and political clarity which should always characterize it, the great confidence which the people and the working class of our country have in it.

Long live the Party!

**SPEECH DELIVERED AT THE 6th CONGRESS OF
THE PARTY OF LABOUR OF ALBANIA ON
BEHALF OF THE REPRESENTATION IN THE
SESSION TO PRESENT THE LIST OF
CANDIDATES TO THE LEADING
ORGANS OF THE PARTY**

November 6, 1971

Comrades!

Yoy have assigned to us of the representation the task of drawing up the plan of candidates for the Plenum of the Central Committee of the Party of Labour of Albania, and for the Central Control and Audit Commission which the 6th Party Congress will elect.

This was a very important and delicate task, and therefore we worked with a sense of responsibility in order to present the Congress with a seriously prepared plan, based on the correct Marxist-Leninist orientations of the Party on the composition of its leading organs, as well as its general orientations on the cadre policy.

Thanks to the careful work done by the whole Party, a large number of cadres have been pre-

pared, and they are continually being prepared everywhere. It is precisely from the ranks of this great army of Marxist-Leninist revolutionaries that we tried to select some of the most suitable for the Central Committee. The party leadership had already been assisted in this work by the opinions of the comrades of the Plenum of the Party Central Committee, and of the leading cadres of the Party in the districts. We have also based ourselves on all the method of work of the party organizations and organs which the leadership has applied throughout the Party's existence and during the period between the two Congresses. Consequently, major preliminary work has been done and this greatly helped the representation in drawing up the list of candidates which I will submit to you today for your examination and approval.

The representation finds it appropriate to propose to the Congress that the coming Plenum of the Party Central Committee should consist of 110 people, including 71 members and 39 candidate members compared with the 97 it has had up to now (61 members and 36 candidates).

In all our Congresses, the candidates for the Central Committee have made up about 36 per cent of the membership of the Plenum. We are of the opinion that this ratio should be maintained in the future.

The figures on the increase in the number of members of the Plenum have always been calculated scientifically, on the basis of the growth of party membership, the number of cadres, the expansion of the various sectors of the economy,

culture, services, the army, etc. Studying all the data from the 1st Congress to the present, the representation reached the conclusion that the growth of the Plenum, including the suggestions I made for the Plenum to be elected by this Congress, is normal and fully justified.

That is all I have to say about numbers.

Now allow me to report to you about the criteria which the representation has used in drawing up the list it has charged me to submit to you.

Firstly, as always, the most important criterion by which we have been guided in our work, in conformity with the teachings of the Party, is the political and ideological loyalty of each candidate to Marxism-Leninism, to our glorious Party, and to the great cause of the people. The militant path of our Party and its cadres has tempered them, subjected them to many tests, and matured and developed them politically and ideologically.

Secondly, we have borne in mind the teachings of the Party on continually improving the social composition of its leading organs. This is a matter of major principled importance for a party of the working class like ours. From the report and the discussions it emerges that we have scored great success in this, in all the party organs from the base to the centre. This success does not lie only in the high percentage of workers in the leading organs of the Party, but also in the fact that these cadres have strengthened our leading organs; success also lies in the fact that deep ideological convictions about the necessity of this have been

created in our Party, among all our cadres, old and young.

According to the draft I will submit to you, the number of cadres promoted from the ranks of workers (of worker origin or status, those who themselves have earlier been workers) increases. It is envisaged that the new make-up of the Plenum will include 16 new comrades with this background, which is equivalent to 61.5 per cent of all the new candidates proposed for election to the Plenum of the Party Central Committee.

Thirdly, taking into account that the number of women has increased both in the effective membership of the Party and in the ranks of cadres, we have envisaged that in the coming Plenum of the Central Committee the number of women should be increased from the present 11.34 per cent to 15.4 per cent. Women are about 30.8 per cent of the number of new candidates proposed for election to the plenum. Despite all this, we have not yet reached the stage we are aiming at, and therefore the Party should do more and better work in the future in order to have more women in its ranks, in its leading organs of all bodies, and to show constant attention to preparing and tempering them, and promoting them to posts of responsibility.

Fourthly, in connection with the major tasks which we must accomplish in the future, the commission also took into account certain requirements and needs which are dictated to us in certain sectors. For this purpose we saw to the distribution of the members of the Plenum of the Central Com-

mittee as far as possible according to their sectors of work and specializations. Thus, we tried to fill certain gaps which still exist in certain sectors of the work of the Party and state power, with members of the leadership. This, as I said, is connected with the major tasks lying before us in this five-year plan which has just been approved by the Congress, and in the more distant future. This is necessary, for we have to train new devoted cadres for the Party in due time, to exercise leadership in all sectors, keeping in mind that the leadership is not elected to function only during the period between two congresses.

I will speak more concretely. The representation has envisaged that in the coming Plenum of the Central Committee, the number of members should be increased somewhat more with comrades working in the sector of agriculture, and that the necessary number of qualified cadres from certain important sectors, which are at present inadequately represented, should be elected. It took care that no technocratic elements should come to the Plenum, but party men with specific qualifications who can grasp and solve aright the numerous and varied problems which face the Party and its leadership. Today we have an abundance of such party cadres, outstanding social activists who militate in the district party organizations as well as in various sectors.

In drawing up the list, we took into account the evaluation of the work of the comrades elected by the 5th Party Congress, as well as a large number of new candidates.

The representation, as was the case during the proceedings of the Congress positively assessed the activity of the Party Central Committee from the 5th to the 6th Congress. This was another very glorious, militant period of activity for our Party, filled with marvellous achievements in all spheres of life, with a rich and positive balance in all respects. In all this great work our people have done under the guidance of the Party, the Central Committee has made its contribution. In general, the Central Committee elected by the 5th Congress of the Party, both as a whole, as well as each individual member of the Plenum, has exerted all its efforts in carrying out the tasks set by the Congress, as well as the new tasks that have arisen time and again during its work. The Central Committee and every one of its members have striven as revolutionaries to guide the work of the Party in all sectors. Inspired by the Party and the people, it has fought and achieved success in preserving and tempering the steel-like unity between Party and people in a revolutionary way, faithfully upholding the great political, ideological and organizational line of our Party, which is the pillar of all successes and which ensures the future of our homeland.

During the period from the 5th Congress, not the least sign of hostile work, or of inconstancy in the line, has appeared either in the Party as a whole, or within the ranks of the Central Committee. None of the comrades elected by the last Congress showed the least sign of wavering in the interpretation and application of the correct

Marxist-Leninist line of our Party. This is one of the great achievements which makes our Party like steel which, as the Congress showed, it will always be. This is due to the clarity of the line and the struggle the Party has waged and continues to wage, for the consistent application of the norms of its life.

As was pointed out in the reports and discussions held at this congress, we have had a number of weaknesses in our work, in the sense that if we had been better mobilized, if we had all worked better, if we had made greater efforts to understand problems better and more profoundly, if we had had more initiative in management and application, we would certainly have come to the Congress with still greater successes. Regardless of the faults and shortcomings observed among some, in general, the work of the Party, and the achievements attained are brilliant in all fields.

Starting from this assessment, the representation found no political fault, no mistake in the line, in any member of the present Plenum. But within the ranks of the Plenum there are comrades who for various reasons, the state of their health, their limited ability and so on, have not shown themselves to be at the height of their task. At bottom they have been and continue to be, in general, good comrades, resolved and faithful to the last to the cause of the Party, and will remain such, whether or not they are elected to the new Plenum of the Central Committee of the Party.

As the 5th and preceding Congresses have

charged us, and as was stressed at this Congress too, we should keep our Party always resourceful, revolutionary and full of initiative. In order to be like this, it should be always young, in the sense that the experience of older cadres should be incorporated with the vigour and drive, at work and in struggle, of the new blood which continually emerges from the ranks of the people and enters the Party, where it shows extraordinary maturity and determination. Our Party has followed this revolutionary course throughout the 30 years of its existence, and we can now report to the Congress that the overwhelming majority of the new cadres elected to the Plenum of the Central Committee have developed further. The very fact that the representation decided to propose to the Congress that the great majority of the new members of the Central Committee should be promoted from the ranks of the candidates we have today is a success. This is a normal procedure for, as we know, the members of the plenums, as a rule, should be elected from the ranks of the candidates, both in the centre and in the districts. There is no sense in candidates remaining always candidates.

It should be pointed out that during the period between the two Congresses, a very large contingent of members of worker origin and social status, and of those who were formerly workers themselves, have been admitted to the Party. Many new cadres of this social status have also been promoted to the party leadership, to the basic organizations, and to the committees; as we said in the report, at present they constitute the majority

of the members of the leading organs of the Party in the districts. Young comrades, who are ideologically and politically developed and full of vigour, have also come into the leadership.

Therefore, as in the past, the representation tried to have this new situation of the composition of the Party reflected in the Plenum of the Central Committee which will be elected by the 6th Congress. This is an imperative demand, because the Party, as the leader of the country, should think of the present, and of the near and distant future; therefore, it is essential to promote young comrades to the leadership, so that they may be tempered and educated, and the leadership is not to be left to grow old, just as we do not let the Party grow old, and the Plenum should also reflect this.

As we have said, the Plenum is being enlarged on the basis of certain definite criteria. However, there is a certain limit to this enlargement, there are certain proportions beyond which we cannot go. This, and the need to bring new blood into the leadership, make it necessary for certain comrades of the present Plenum who, although they have made no political or ideological mistake but, on the contrary, are pure and devoted from this standpoint, but who have not been very outstanding in their activity, to be left outside the Plenum of the Central Committee. Of course, this is not something new which is being done at this Congress, since it is a familiar practice followed at all the Congresses of our Party.

Comrades, these were, in summarized form, the criteria and considerations on which the re-

presentation based itself in drawing up the list of possible candidates for the coming Plenum of the Central Committee.

At the same time, on behalf of the representation, I propose that the Central Control and Audit Commission of the Party should be made up of 21 members instead of the 17 which it has today. This increase is explained by the reasons I have mentioned in speaking about the Plenum of the Central Committee, and will help to speed up the examination of the appeals of the communists, as well as in raising more problems from the life of the Party on the basis of the competences accorded by the Constitution to this party organ.

After having submitted the list of candidates to the Plenum of the Central Committee of the Party of Labour of Albania and to the Central Control and Audit Commission, comrade Enver Hoxha continued:

On the basis of the rules of internal democracy of the Party stipulated in the Constitution, let us now discuss one by one the candidates on the list I have just submitted. For each of the comrades proposed, we have here the necessary information. Thus, the comrade delegates can pass better and more correct judgment on the list of candidates submitted to them.

Now I will reread the names one by one, together with the necessary information about each. The comrades should express their remarks and opinions freely.

TO WAGE AN ALL-OUT BATTLE IN EVERY DIRECTION AGAINST MANIFESTATIONS OF PETTY-BOURGEOIS PSYCHOLOGY

*Speech delivered at the meeting of the Secretariat
of the Central Committee of the Party of Labour of
Albania.*

January 27, 1972

I want to say to the young people we have invited to this meeting that the question of fighting petty-bourgeois psychology has been well grasped by our youth. This is a problem of great and vital importance for our whole country, for our Party, our working class, our youth, our women, in short, for all the people of our People's Republic. This problem has also been referred to in the fourth chapter of the Report to the 6th Congress, which speaks of the formation of our new man, his Marxist-Leninist education, the improvement of his moral features, etc. Our battle in this direction should be concentrated against all petty-bourgeois manifestations and survivals, in

order to strengthen and implant in our people the best qualities, and our proletarian norms and morality.

The question under discussion is a major problem, and we should fight for its solution not only with slogans but much more broadly. The slogan our youth have chosen for the campaign against petty-bourgeois psychology is correct, but we also have other slogans which seem of a more general nature but which contain in themselves the objectives which the Party has in mind for the education of our working people. One of these is, for instance, «think, work and live like revolutionaries» which is and should be a great slogan for all, because if we analyse it and go deeply into its all-round content, it includes all questions.

The initiative taken by the youth organization in connection with the campaign against petty-bourgeois psychology should not be interpreted as a specific part of its job. It is primarily the specific task of the Party, of the working class. I am certain that you too view it in this way, and the Party itself should also view it in this way. You call the struggle you are waging against petty-bourgeois psychology a movement, and I think you are not wrong in calling it that, but keep in mind that it should not be a flash in the pan, but a huge, continually growing avalanche. It should never be extinguished because it is connected with the struggle waged by the Party for the formation of the new man.

The Party, in particular, should not consider movements of this kind as the typical job of our

youth. Nor should the working class think this way about the matter. There should not exist the view that we party members and the working class have other deeper problems of a higher political and ideological nature to solve, and that therefore movements like the one we are discussing should be taken up by our youth. If the Party treats these major social problems in this way, and reduced them to initiatives which the youth take for their own development, it makes a mistake, a gross mistake, because in fact they are important for the tempering of all, and not only of the youth.

If the Party does not become the initiator of these movements our youth undertake, it means that it has a major shortcoming in its work, which it should recognise and take immediate steps to correct. It is not a question of the Party merely recognising this shortcoming and thinking it sufficient to encourage the powerful youth organization to forge ahead in the struggle it has begun against petty-bourgeois survivals and psychology, or against alien capitalist and revisionist influences, etc.; but it should itself join and lead this broad movement which our youth are undertaking.

The Party should reflect and work out whether this form of work being implemented on a national level against petty-bourgeois survivals is adequate or not. Is the method of work used by the Party itself, to explain the political and ideological significance of the concrete activities and movements which our youth are undertaking, adequate? Is the political and ideological work of the basic organizations or party committees, to

inculcate the political and ideological principles set by the Congress, not only in the party members but also in all the members of the organizations of the masses, adequate? Or is the solving of the political and ideological problems of our Party going on in a routine manner without being linked as it should be with practical life?

When the Youth organization calls meetings at which particular problems are discussed which have been raised by their most outstanding elements, such as for instance, that of proletarian discipline in schools, work sites, etc., then the party organization should send one of the most theoretically enlightened comrades, recommending that after the debates have been held, and all the most outstanding and active members of the youth organization have spoken at length, this party member, who should be theoretically well prepared, should also take the floor, and discuss from the theoretical viewpoint what proletarian discipline means, not only as far as observing the work timetable is concerned but also drawing profound conclusions on this problem.

But why should this party comrade draw such conclusions about this preoccupying problem at these very important meetings of our youth? First of all, so that the Party can launch this army, this great force of our youth, into conscious struggle outside the «walls» of their organization, outside the school, work site, cooperative and everywhere else, against breaches of discipline which often meet with a muted reaction.

The fight against petty-bourgeois survivals

should be carried on in an organized way at the meeting of the youth organization. When the theoretical aspect of proletarian discipline, let us say, at the foreign language school (I take this as an example since we have the youth secretary of this institution here), is spoken of in an organized way, we will have implanted in the heads of the young people of this organization the knowledge of how to understand and fight for this cause against whoever is concerned. When a young person who takes part in this movement and is educated in the revolutionary spirit in the organization notices that some one is malingering, is lagging behind in work, in the enterprise, the cooperative etc., he reacts and takes a stand. An alien attitude towards work is contrary to what he has learned; therefore being well aware that in matters concerning the Party, the people and socialism there should be no favouritism, he fearlessly calls on the malingerer not to lie, but to go to work at once, because there is nothing wrong with him. The members of the youth organization, educated with the teachings of the Party, should fight on all sides, in the family, at school, at work, wherever they are present, at meetings of the Front organizations, of the trade unions, etc., wherever a thousand and one economic and non-economic problems are under discussion.

Among our people we also notice certain manifestations which are alien to our socialist society. There are types who tell lies, who pretend to be sick, who bear grudges against one another, who gossip, who show favouritism, hide goods under

the counter, etc. An all-out battle should be waged against them. The positive thing in this battle which our youth are waging is that in striking at alien petty-bourgeois manifestations, they temper and train themselves, just as the army does when it trains a soldier to become capable of successfully attacking the enemy, from whatever direction he may come. Our youth act in the same way. Now they have launched an attack, let us say, to implement proletarian discipline; later, when progress has been made in this direction, they will take the initiative to fight fraud or indifference, and still later, tackle another problem and so on in turn. In this way they learn how to fight in an organized way.

In daily life, wherever the need arises, not only in the family but also at school, at the factory, in short, wherever people live, work, discuss and act, and where alien manifestations and wrong, harmful attitudes appear which are irreconcilable with the line of the Party, the young man or the young woman, even if he or she happens to be alone in certain cases, should not give in, but should take a stand, intervene, explain and insist that the right course should be followed. Here lies all the force and meaning of these movements; this is the objective of the struggle we are waging for the formation of our new man. When a member of the youth organization sees that even his closest comrade is not acting in the right way, he should tell him his opinion openly and in a comradely way, precisely because he is a friend of longstanding, and not cover up any mistake or short-

coming he observes in him, at the same time showing him how to correct that mistake for the common good and for his own benefit. If the one who has made the mistake, in spite of the comradely advice, fails to correct this mistake, then the question should be raised fearlessly up before everybody, at the meeting of the collective, the department, the brigade, etc.

Our revolutionary young people who have taken such initiatives and who are prepared to take others like them, are in the vanguard and make up a great auxiliary force of the Party. Together with the communists, wherever meetings are held, at work or in society, they are like the head of a sledge hammer which strikes forcefully at alien manifestation and weakness which appear. In every case the youth should take an active part, speak out and fearlessly attack every negative manifestation. This is what the Party requires of them.

In their criticism, our young people should confine themselves to speaking in general about principles, but they should also struggle concretely, fearlessly, but of course wisely, against anyone who violates the directives of the Party, and should not confine themselves only to the question of the fulfilment of the plan. The Party should always think about how to introduce a leaven, a revolutionary ferment, wherever the work goes wrong, so that its example, the example of every communist, is followed by the members of the youth and women's organizations, not to speak of the working class, which should be the spearhead.

In no case should the Party show a lack of interest or give purely patriarchal approval, from a paternalistic position, expressing only satisfaction or dissatisfaction over an initiative or any other good thing that our youth undertake. It is quite insufficient for the Party to tell our youth that they have acted well or badly in undertaking a mass action or initiative, for this would be a paternal gesture, it should itself join in this initiative, and not only that, but it should use these initiatives as an enlivening ferment.

The Party has continually raised the problem of introducing fresh blood into its ranks, and well-known rules have long been established on this vital question. But this is only one side of the problem. In addition to the admission of new elements, new, pure, militant and revolutionary views should also enter the Party, because here and there in its basic organizations or in the party committees there still exist old views which must be fought with determination in order to wipe them out. Then by the time we have waited for an active young person with revolutionary views like the young comrade from Gjergjevica who addressed us here, to be admitted to the Party according to the established regulations, we will be pushing up the daisies. It may happen that a certain party basic organization maintains a very sectarian attitude towards admission to membership, hindering young people from entering the Party, but in order to introduce new revolutionary ideas we can use all methods, taking steps to do away with obstacles. A basic organization may

temporarily prevent a young, active and militant person from entering the Party, but when the assembly of the cooperative meets, it cannot prevent him from speaking, because everybody there has the right to express his opinions, and no one can prevent him from doing so. The young people who make up the most active force of the Party, even if they are not party members, in fact belong to the Party, for they belong to the youth organization which is guided and inspired by the Party. They take part everywhere in bold mass actions, completing 300 to 400 workdays at the cooperative, and so on. In broad meetings, wherever they are held, they have the full right to speak, and unsheath the dagger of criticism against all the old survivals at work, in life, in society and in the family, whoever may manifest them, party members not excluded.

Comrades of our youth organization, your initiatives are of great importance and contribute to the improvement of the moral image, and the education of our new man. These revolutionary initiatives you have taken are praiseworthy, but do not forget that you and we together are the trees of this great forest, and therefore, the main purpose of all this work is to educate not only the youth, but all the people of our society.

The important initiatives you have begun are a continuation of all the work the Party and your youth organization has taught you to do. In these matters you have also been inspired by the teachings of the Party Congress. Consider these major movements further, and develop them in all their

diverse forms, with the primary aim of tempering yourselves ideologically and politically, because ideological and political tempering will make you outstanding fighters of the Party, regardless of the fact that you are not party members, and you are clear that it is impossible for all the masses of our youth to be party members.

Great successes have been attained in the ideological and political education of our people, especially of our young people, but a lot has still to be done in this direction. We should strive to raise to a still higher, exemplary level the political, ideological and educational work which the Party has done and continues to do, for the dangers are many, external dangers whose source lies in the pressure of bourgeois and revisionist ideology, but also internal dangers whose source lies in the remnants which still exist in the minds of our people.

Comrades, we should never underestimate these remnants, we should never be satisfied with the results we have achieved in our battle against them, however great these results may be. This compels us to work tirelessly to temper the political and ideological awareness of the people further, because it is true that the majority of them follow the course of the Party, but among the masses there are also elements who are not tempered, not strongly convinced, so that in the slightest difficult situation, they waver. The Party wants no one to waver, so we should work so that even the minority which may be in this position embarks on the right road. Our Party continually

advises us to learn from the experience of the vanguard people, to learn especially from the experience of the youth organizations, and combine these, correctly integrate them with the Party's method of work for the political and ideological education of the masses and for economic achievements.

All of us, comrades of the Secretariat of the Central Committee, agree that such movements should be undertaken by the youth in the future too, they should continue on a broad scale, with powerful support from the Party.

It is very positive to see the correct Marxist-Leninist course our Party and our socialist state have pursued and continue to pursue, in contrast with the tragedy which is occurring today in the revisionist countries. This shows how correct the line of our Party has been and is.

In our country, the youth have correctly grasped the revolutionary movements, and we should therefore intensify this work, which we have begun well. Great possibilities for this have been created in our country. We all heard the two girls and the young man from Vashtëmia who spoke today before the Secretariat of the Central Committee; how freely and with what strong logic they spoke! They really pleased us with their comments, full of youthful revolutionary vigour. To tell the truth, not all of us, when we were their age, could speak as eloquently as they did.

This shows that the Party has educated a marvellous revolutionary youth who are proceeding along the correct path it has indicated. This constitutes a great guarantee for the future of our homeland.

SOCIALISM IS BUILT BY THE MASSES, THE PARTY MAKES THEM CONSCIOUS

February 26, 1972

Comrades,

Some questions of the Party that I want to bring up here are not unknown to you. There is the question of some manifestations, which, although not a line, must be criticized, must be fought against and must be eliminated. The line of our Party is the correct line, the Marxist-Leninist line. However, in the course of its implementation, not only ordinary people, but also some cadres who do not understand it properly, make mistakes in its implementation. Therefore, we must work to avoid mistakes, whether big or small, or, if mistakes are made, we must correct them immediately, while they are still small, and prevent them from becoming worse. One of the good qualities of our Party is that, when it does make mistakes, it recognizes them and takes measures to rectify them.

First of all, we must understand well who

builds socialism. Lenin teaches us that this is a great question of principle, which must be clear to young and old in our country. But even this is not enough, it is important to apply it well in practice. Who builds socialism? Lenin asks.

«Socialism cannot be established by a minority, by the Party. It is established by tens of millions of people, when they learn to do this work themselves. We see our merit in the fact that we are trying to help the masses to get down to this job themselves immediately, and this is something that cannot be learned from books or lectures.»¹

This is what Lenin teaches us and its meaning is clear, but we must try to apply it well in practice. Socialism, then, cannot be built by a minority alone, not even by the Party; it is built by the millions-strong masses of the people led by the Party, whose mission is to make them conscious.

Is our Party marching on this road or not? Our Party has marched and continues to march along this road in the full sense of the word. Our Party understood the National Liberation War correctly and therefore did not wage it alone, but with the people. Even after liberation, when the question of the construction of socialism arose, the Communist Party of Albania, by correctly understanding Lenin's theses, did not get down to the

1) V. I. Lenin. Works, vol. 27, p. 141.

work for the construction of socialism only with the communists, but declared that the new society would be built by the Albanian people, therefore it mobilized and led the masses to implement its program.

We see this correct line of our Party in every field of its activity. Take the work done for the implementation of our five-year plans, for example. We all know that one after the other these plans were drafted and discussed by the broad masses of the people, while, in every case, the leadership of the Party made a synthesis of the great activity of the communists and the people who had got down to this difficult task, achieving successes and overcoming shortcomings for the construction of socialism in the conditions of our country.

Throughout the efforts for the construction of socialism, with each passing year and five-year plan, the leadership and the whole Party have drawn conclusions from all this activity and from all this struggle, have seen where the most advanced experience was, where the mistakes and shortcomings were, where we should concentrate after having completed one five-year plan, and what steps we should take for the five-year plan which we have already begun implementing. In every case, the leadership has given instructions, and this is how it has always acted. These instructions have been discussed with all the masses of the people, analysing the good and bad aspects, thus educating the masses and encouraging them to make proposals, suggestions, and express opinions as to what should or should not be done, what

should be done first and what later, how much production should be increased or reduced in this or that sector, etc. On the basis of the great work, there have been tens and thousands of proposals, questions and discussions and there have been meetings of workers, agricultural cooperatives, people's councils, executive committees, plenums of the party committees and special meetings of the Government and of the Central Committee of the Party. This is how it was in the past, this is how it was during the drafting of the 5th five-year plan and this is how it will be during its implementation. As a result of this extensive work conclusions were reached which assisted in formulating the theses of the 6th Congress and the draft-directives of the new five-year plan, which finally became law after being approved by the People's Assembly.

But the struggle for socialist construction during the new five-year plan is not merely restricted to the front of the economic construction of the country. This is also interwoven with the great work for all-round political, social, educational and cultural development and for consolidation of the defense of the country. And the whole of this activity is carried out on a Leninist basis, with the active, militant participation of all the masses of the people.

The directives of the 6th Party Congress have already been taken up everywhere by the communists and the broad non-party masses. Now the question is to put them into practice in a revolutionary way, with the active participation of the

people, the working class, the peasantry and our people's intelligentsia, otherwise they will become meaningless and unable to be realized.

The struggle for the implementation of these directives means, at the same time, testing their correctness in practice. This is of particular importance. We cannot proceed from the principle that the directives of the Party, because they are the result of all-round work done with the broad participation of the masses of the people, are all, without exception, faultless, easily carried out and correct for application. During the efforts for the practical implementation of the directives of the five-year plan we will come up against many kinds of material and non-material difficulties, because all kinds of difficulties exist, we will come up against various obstacles, because the class struggle still exists, because the new, which always forges ahead, clashes with the old, which tries to impede it, therefore the new and strong strikes at the old until it eliminates it. In this clash the most appropriate forms of work for the complete application of the directive should be found. Therefore, it can by no means be said that, since these directives come from the Party, everything should be implemented, blindly, without effort, without struggle. It would be a great mistake to think that no one will impede them; this would be to deny class struggle, to deny contradictions, difficulties, obstacles and everything else which prevents us from advancing. In life, there are and will continue to be various factors and people, who will deliberately or unconsciously obstruct our progress. This

necessitates the organization of work for supervision of the implementation of the directives.

When we say that the implementation should be supervised, we also imply testing the correctness of the directive itself. In general, the directives of our Party have always been correct, because its general line has always been correct. The guarantee of the correctness of its line rests in its tempering in the past, and in revolutionary struggle at present and in the future, while remaining loyal to Marxism-Leninism.

In the past our Party has experienced a great deal of events, but on every occasion it has maintained a correct Marxist-Leninist stand, has fought in a revolutionary way, has always triumphed resolutely over the counter-revolutionaries and has worked persistently to overcome every kind of difficulty it has met with. From the outset our Party has been a revolutionary party, comprised of revolutionaries; it will continue to experience only victories. It is a revolutionary party at present and will remain so in the future.

However, in the course of time, in various party and state directives, decisions and ordinances there have been shortcomings and mistakes, as well as things which have not been correct, not in the sense that they have changed the correct general line of the Party, but that a correct solution has not been found for this or that particular question. In such cases, once the mistake is discovered, measures have been taken to correct it. Therefore, we say that during the control in practice of the party line, which has been worked out

to be implemented in this five-year plan, too, the correctness of every directive, as always, should be tested in life.

The issue must be viewed in the light of the relations between the minority and majority, the Party and people. It is the Party which issues the directives, but it is due to the tireless struggle and work of the people, under the leadership of the Party, that all the blessings have been created and the foundations of socialism have been laid in our country. If we say that all these achievements are the work of the Party alone and ignore the people, then we deviate from the correct line and make a mistake. As Lenin teaches us, the minority can do nothing without the majority, not only from the viewpoint that the socialist society cannot be built by the communists alone, but also from the viewpoint that only on the basis of the living experience of the masses, can a correct line and a correct leadership in the construction of socialism be worked out and the correctness of the directives be controlled and mistakes avoided. If we say that this control is carried out by the Party and state power alone, we are mistaken, but if we say that it is done by the people, and on some occasion even forget to mention the Party, we are not mistaken, because the active and decisive role of the Party in our society is implicit, for our people are closely connected with the Party and at the same time are the best judge of its work.

But our Party has not made and will not make mistakes in this direction. Nevertheless, there are people who, to hide their mistakes, say and do

things which do not comply with the line of the Party. The question of how the Party understands the construction of socialism is of great importance. Socialism is built by the masses of the people, the directives are implemented by the masses of the people, the correctness of the Party is ensured by the participation of the people, and the work to correct mistakes is also carried out with the participation of the people. Nothing can be done without the people. This is one of the great Leninist principles, from which we have never deviated and will never deviate. Let the Khrushchevites, the Togliattists and all the revisionist trash prattle, let them criticize, the immortal principles of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin on the party and on the vanguard of the working class. These principles stand as firm as Mount Tomor, they do not alter, but stand as firm as a granite rock. The party is in the vanguard, it is the vanguard of the working class, and it is precisely this which the revisionist «theoreticians» try to refute. The Leninist theory on the party does not alter, it cannot be tarnished by the «theories» of the revisionist trash.

We say that the Party is the vanguard of the working class. But what does this mean? We all know and see everyday how and where the working class works. It is in constant struggle that it works in mines, in factories, in agriculture, on construction sites, on canals and everywhere, it comes up against many kinds of difficulties and privations and strives to overcome them. But when all this is happening where should its vanguard, the Party,

be? It should by all means be on the forefront of struggle and work, in production. This is the place of honour for the communists, otherwise the Party cannot play its vanguard role. Therefore, the Party continually requires that the majority of the communists go into production where they should be in the forefront of work and sacrifice and set their example in every direction. We must never forget this, otherwise we deviate from the Leninist line, we become «bosses» and «commanders». It is the duty of the communists to stand as always in the van of that class which works and clashes with difficulties and hardships. This demands that the leadership of the Party, of the vanguard of the working class, be ensured where the most difficult fronts of struggle and work are.

The question arises: why is it precisely on these fronts that the leadership of the Party must be ensured? So as to ensure the accurate implementation of its directives in every detail, that is, the realization of the desires, aims and aspirations of the working class and the peasantry. Can this noble aim be attained when the majority of the communists become «officials» or when they are accumulated in offices? By no means! To think and act in this way, means to act with the old petty-bourgeois mentality according to which to guarantee the leadership of the Party, means that the majority of the communists should occupy the key positions and give orders, that the party members should command, while the non-party people should be ordered about. No, in this way the leadership is not guaranteed. The party leadership

correctly understands the needs of the apparatuses, but this has nothing in common with inflating the apparatuses of the people's power, of the economic organizations, of the mass organizations, with communists. Therefore, we should not understand and act upon this question, as some people do, by accumulating as many communists as possible in offices, as though this would ensure the leadership of the Party and state power. If we bring only communists into the state power or only communists into the mass organizations, and if we act accordingly in the sectors of trade, construction, culture and throughout the various levels of socialist construction, then it is clear that we are not properly abiding by Lenin's teachings on this.

Elsewhere, speaking about this great problem of principle Lenin, says:

«The workers must enter all state institutions, they must control the entire state apparatus, and this must be done by the non-party workers who elect their own representatives to the non-party workers' and peasant's conference.... We must bring as many workers and peasants as possible into this apparatus... and thus we will stamp out bureaucracy from our institutions. It is essential that the broad non-party masses control all state affairs and learn to govern by themselves.»¹

In this questions we should bear the future in

mind, too, when we reach communism. Then, there will be neither party nor state, because the people will govern themselves. To this end, the Party should teach the non-party masses of the people, from whom it has emerged, the working class, the peasantry and all the working people, how to govern by themselves, as from now.

Only by seeing the question in this way can we say that we have correctly grasped the idea that it is the majority that builds socialism, that without the majority, the minority can do nothing. We must understand this well, just as we must understand that the leadership of the Party is essential, as Lenin teaches us. I dealt with this earlier.

How do we stand with this question in our country at present? Do we have a correct ratio everywhere between the communists and the non-party cadres? Is it necessary for almost everyone in our state or administration apparatuses, in the economic or mass organization apparatuses to be communists? Naturally, it is a bit different with the party apparatuses; in general the people employed there are required to be communists. Non-party workers cannot be employed there, except for a limited number. Nevertheless, there are jobs in a party apparatus, which can be done by non-party workers, for it is not said that for instance the driver, the door-keeper, the librarian and some other employee should be party members.

But let me answer the question. I posed: how does this question stand in our country? In general it is not bad, but we must recognize that it is

not as good as it should be. Therefore, it is up to us to re-examine some questions in this direction. This problem does not only concern our Party today. The Party has always instructed the communists to throw themselves into the first ranks of the struggle, and after liberation to work where the difficulties are greatest for the construction of socialism and the defence of the victories achieved. In recent years, especially after the measures adopted for the revolutionarization of the cadres, exceptionally great work has been done in this direction, and this constitutes one of the greatest merits of our Party. The Marxist-Leninist, the sister communist parties in various countries, regard the measures currently adopted by our Party to bar the way to the dangerous influence of modern revisionism and right opportunism, as something new to Marxism-Leninism.

Modern revisionism has caused great regression in the international communist movement. What is this regression, who caused it and how should we confront it? The Party of Labour of Albania stood firm on the Marxist-Leninist principles of the party, on the theories of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin, when they were attacked by the traitors, the modern revisionists. In the difficult conditions that were created for the world communist movement our Party found roads and forms of opposing the enraged attacks of the enemies not only with propaganda, but also through concrete forms of work. All these powerful revolutionary movements that were undertaken in our country, including the movement for sending cadres

into production, etc., constitute that contribution which is being spoken of and which our Party is making today. Our Party has always regarded and should further regard this problem with caution, because in practice, in life, the Marxist-Leninist teachings are not always and in every case applied as they should be. This will be completely achieved when we have divested ourselves of every petty-bourgeois sentiment, of the vestiges of hostile ideologies, when we think and act always as revolutionaries, as the Party would have us to. The sending of a communist to production at any time is correct and is in the interest of the Party and the people, and when it is seen that he is ready to go and goes without hesitation wherever he is required, in response to the Party's call, then we can say that a communist like this is in the vanguard. If the question is seen like this by every party member, this is very positive and indicates that the Party and the communists who constitute it are on the correct road.

But the Party and its members will be on an even more correct road when the communist who works in the administration, without being told, himself comes up with the proposition to the leadership: «Why keep me here? I cannot stay here where you have appointed me, in the administration! I will go and work in the agricultural cooperative». We should shake this man by the hand, because he shows that not only has he correctly understood the principle, but also that he is determined to implement it through his own initiative, without being told by someone from above. An

engineer acts well when he addresses the Party in this way: «There are too many people here in our department and the papers are smothering me, comrades, I don't want to stay any longer in this office, I don't want to remain in the administration, my place is at the grass roots, so I will go to the railway construction site or to the hydro-electric power-station to work as an engineer or master builder». This is a very positive thing for the person and the Party. Such examples of readiness are not uncommon among us, but it must be recognized that we have much to do in this direction.

In connection with what I have said, I want to give you some figures. In the total number of cadres in the central apparatuses of the ministries, the communists make up 45.5 per cent, that is, nearly half of staff. Nevertheless, examining the figures in detail for every department there are differences. For instance, in the Ministry of Health about 56.9 per cent of the cadres are communists. Why do we need all these communists there, especially doctors? Wouldn't it be better for the communist doctor to be sent to Macukull, for example, to serve the people, instead of having him sit comfortably at a desk in a ministerial office in Tirana? Or at that apparatus of the State Planning Commission, 50.5 per cent of the cadres are communists and in the Ministry of Commerce the communists make up 52.2 per cent of the total.

Why on earth are so many communists needed at the apparatus of the Ministry of Commerce? Wouldn't it be better for many of the communists

who work here, to go without delay to the grass roots, where the practical struggle is being waged to supply the people properly and to serve them better, to eliminate many shortcomings in this sector, or to protect the people's property from abuse, and to replace them in the apparatus of this department with more patriots and non-party people. At the base these communists would indeed be on the forefront of the struggle for socialism, there where the acute problems emerge and demand solution, where the greatest difficulties are encountered and must be overcome.

Thus, when it is not necessary, to appoint a communist to a certain post, it is better to send him to work at the grass roots, in production, because work is an honour for all, both for the communists and for all non-party patriots. This being so, let the party member first go where he is needed and where the difficulties are greatest, let only the necessary number of communists, and not more, be brought into the administration apparatuses, and let the other posts be filled by non-party people. Thus, when chiefs are needed in departments, for instance, one in the Ministry of Education, another in the Ministry of Commerce, and so on, suitable people, such as non-party patriots, can easily be found.

We, communists, are not admitted to the Party in order to ensure privileges, on the contrary, by gaining the great honour of joining the ranks of the Party, we are charged with heavier and greater tasks towards the Party and the people on all questions, ranging from demands for the rigorous

implementation of the laws of the Party, its norms, and so on, to the accurate fulfilment of our tasks as citizens, by setting our example for the non-party working people.

Let us not be afraid that if we act in this way, our studies at the centre will be interrupted. We will still carry out studies, but this work can be done quite well, not only by communists, but together with them by non-party working people, such as Naum Stralla¹⁾, who was one of the most learned economists in our country, an honest and able patriot, and this is why he was one of the best advisers of our Party and government. Now, we have many such people. Therefore, let us bring more such non-party people and able patriots into the departments, and send more communists to the grass roots, where they can still carry out studies. Often the ministry asks the respective section of the Executive Committee of the regional People's Council for information which will provide concrete data as a basis for studies. This means that these studies cannot be carried out without the aid of the grass roots. This being so, why shouldn't the person who engages in such studies go and work at the grass roots? In this way the studies will be even better because they will not be bound by red-tape, but will be carried out by getting to know the vivid life of the people at close quarters,

1) Pensioner, «Hero of Socialist Labour», who died recently, ex-chairman of the prices sector at the apparatus of the Council of Ministers.

But there is something still «finer» in the accumulation of communists in the apparatuses and precisely there where the line of the masses is spoken of. The communists make up 55 per cent of the total number of cadres in the central apparatuses and in the mass organizations at the centre, while in the apparatuses of the mass organizations in the districts 63.1 per cent of the cadres are communists. But there are also differences between the mass organizations. Thus, in the apparatuses of the youth organization at the centre and in the districts, the communists make up 52.2 per cent, in those of the trade unions 67.2 per cent, in those of women 65.8 per cent. Thus, in the mass organizations, where day and night we incessantly wear ourselves out speaking and propagating «reliance on the masses, reliance on the masses», precisely in those which we call mass organizations, out of every 100 workers of their apparatuses the majority are party members. Why is it that non-party elements are not brought into them? Is it essential for all these communists to be in these apparatuses? What are they all in these apparatuses for? Why aren't they sent to work elsewhere and replaced by non-party workers?

Let us now consider how the question stands with the People's Councils, with the Front Councils, and with the People's Courts of Justice in the districts. Here too, communists make up 34.37 per cent in the People's Councils of districts, while they make up 31.37 per cent in the Front Councils. Of the judges and assistant judges elected in 24 districts, 51.9 per cent are communists. See how

many communists we have even in these organs.

The other day I asked for the list of deputies elected to the People's Assembly and saw that a high percentage of them are communists. Why should there be such a high percentage of communists in this organ? Even in the past we have had non-party members in this organ. Further more, during the war, people were elected to the General Anti-fascist National Liberation Council who were celebrated patriots, and even though they were not party members, they remained deputies after liberation for many terms of office. It was only last time that some of them were not re-elected, as was the case with some communists too, not for lack of confidence in them, but because it was thought that young people should be brought into this high organ of the People's Power as well. But it turns out that almost all those elected are party members. In electing a deputy or a councilor from the ranks of the distinguished workers or cooperative members, is it always essential that the person be a party member, when we have distinguished workers and cooperative members galore, even heroes of socialist labour who are not in the Party and who are fully entitled to this trust?

The question arises: why has this happened? It has happened for several reasons. We admit the best people into the Party. Being among the best, when young communists happen to be carrying out an important function at the time of their admission to the party, it has been considered proper for them to remain there. Thus, this has happened owing to the aim of raising cadres from the ranks

of the best people, and as a criterion, it is only just to select them in this way, but we have been overdoing it in this regard by attempting to have as many communists as possible. Then there is another cause which has led to the creation of this situation. Frequently it is easier for the leading comrades and party organizations to decide on appointing a cadre to an important post, from their office. Sometimes they have the list of communist cadres ready at hand, therefore, when the need arises, in order to save trouble, they say, «why should I appoint a non-party worker to this post of responsibility when I've got a whole list of party members and know their background; that everywhere they have been, they have done their job well, that they are honest», and so on. Thus, he selects one of the communists and takes him, say, from the trading network of Burrel and brings him to the one in Tirana. In this way, many communists have been appointed to posts of responsibility, whereas the others, those who are not in the Party, although there are plenty of good people among them, are not sufficiently known. This too has brought about the appointment of more communists than necessary in the administration apparatuses.

Then, there are even such communists, and this is still more dangerous, who try to occupy a cosy corner, who fight to fill some «armchair», position. Such people who think like this and distinguish themselves by such tendencies, know who to curry favour with, they try to take advantage of the occasion to put in a good word for

themselves to create a favourable opinion of them among the comrades in responsible positions, directors, chiefs, etc., in order to obtain the coveted post. This is another reason why we have many communists in our apparatuses. Finally, there is yet another reason why cadres are not drawn from the ranks of the non-party people: lack of confidence in them. This is of major importance in principle. The Party must always be maintained as a revolutionary one, be continually safeguarded as a vanguard Party, so that it truly puts into practice the Marxist-Leninist principle of getting closer to the people, a principle which it must not only declare, but must also implement concretely and completely into life.

How should the non-party elements be treated? Marxism-Leninism teaches us that the communists should treat the non-party elements as equals and have confidence in them as in their own brother. If a communist has no confidence in the non-party elements, then neither will the non-party people have confidence in the communist. This is reciprocal.

Lenin advises that relations between party members and non-party elements must be characterized by mutual confidence. The confidence of the communists in the non-party people creates confidence in the communists among the latter. This confidence is created through the mutual aid and control between party members and non-party elements in the course of everyday practical work. Comrades, this is of great importance to us and to every party.

Our Party, in general, has great confidence in the masses of the people and it is precisely owing to this confidence, not in words but in deeds, that it is closely linked with them. The people have seen that the communists have shed their own blood, have made great and innumerable sacrifices, have selflessly fought for the interests of the people, therefore the people have great confidence in the Party and the communists. But it is imperative that we zealously safeguard this great confidence of the masses in the Party, for this is the greatest strength of our Party. Our Party and country have always borne in mind and respected this Leninist principle, therefore both Party and people have developed strong ties of mutual affection and have complete confidence in one another. This is clear to all and beyond doubt. The question now is for the Party to preserve and further develop this great principle which has already triumphed in our country, in everyday relations, in personal relations and relations of work. The confidence of the communists in the non-party people must be evident in concrete deeds. Indeed, you may be a party member and have a party card in your pocket, but in order to be fully entitled to this card, you must have confidence in those who are not party members, who do not have a party card, but who are good people, distinguished workers, honest and endowed with all good qualities. Looking at the issue like this, let us again take up the question of elections. Why should we have confidence only in the person who is a party member and not in another who is not in the Party,

but who is just as loyal to the people and the Party, who, if asked, «go, throw yourself into the fire», is ready to make any sacrifice at any time for the Party. It may be that such a person has not joined the ranks of the Party because he lacks some of the qualities of a communist, but he too is determined, he too loyally implements the line, he is, so to say, «a non-party Bolshevik». A non-party patriot is ready to go anywhere he is asked, to fulfil any task entrusted to him, however difficult, not because he communicates with this or that communist, but because he is convinced that this is the line of the Party and that he carries out its instructions due to his love for the Party.

It can happen that someone might say: «I am sorry, but I cannot leave town because my wife is not well». In the case of a non-party person we should turn a blind eye to this and accept his request without losing our confidence in him. But we should act differently towards a communist. When he says, «I cannot leave town for the countryside, because my wife is ill», he should be told: «Come now, get down to your task immediately; in the countryside too there are sick women, there too they give birth to children, there too, as much as anywhere else, there are people suffering from rheumatism or other diseases, and besides, what is the hospital for, when someone is sick he should be sent there. Is it only in Tirana and in other big towns that there are sick people like this? Aren't there such people in the highlands? What do they do?» We should be severe with such excuses in a communist, because the communist,

as the Party teaches us, should be the first to make sacrifices and the last to claim favours.

The question is that faith in the masses of the people must be tested and strengthened in life, in practice. This is a great characteristic feature of our Party, and it must be safeguarded, further developed, and efforts made to win over every single person, just as drops of water make up a river. All this great love between the Party and the people has been created due to the blood that has been shed. The communists were shot and sacrificed for the people, who have seen for themselves that they are their own sons and daughters, their best people, therefore this confidence should be mutually safeguarded and developed.

The question then does not consist only in the problem of the number of non-party people elected to the councils at all stages and levels, but also in the way we utilize them, and activate them in getting down to the tasks they have been entrusted with by the people. Because, not only do we elect few non-party people to these organs, but even when we do elect them, we do not always activate them as much as we should.

I was pleased with the contribution of comrade Nika Treska, head of the Executive Committee of the People's Council in the town of Burrel, when she spoke of the good contacts there between the councilors and the masses of their electors, in order to solve their problems together with the people. This is precisely the correct road the Party requires us to follow, this is how we must always act in this direction. Nevertheless, it is known that

we do not activate the deputies, the members of the regional People's Councils of the villages as much as we should and in the way we should. And we make a great mistake in not activating them in the affairs of governing the state and controlling the economy. There are hundreds and thousands of the best people, therefore, in the first place, they must learn how to govern the state and the economy, we must teach them to maintain close ties with the masses who have elected them and to bring the voice, remarks and proposals of the masses to the councils, to bring the truth as it exists, without disguising it, without opportunism. Certainly, there are employees of the administration who are honest, but we cannot say that all employees at the administration apparatuses are the same. It is a fact that there are opportunists among them, that there are others who seek to guard their posts, who curry favour with their superiors and when they do not carry out their tasks, try to conceal it. Whereas, when the councilor, in the capacity of one elected by the people, maintains close ties with the masses, he brings the voice of the masses to the council.

But, do the councilors have any powers? Yes, they do, and many at that. Then, why don't we give them these powers in practice? We have said many times how the councilors should act, but it should be recognized openly that we do not activate them as much as we should; we have more faith in the people of the apparatuses than in the councilors who are elected from the masses of the people. This has resulted in the apparatuses of

the Executive Committees of the district People's Councils being excessively inflated with appointed people, especially at present under the pretext of the extension of powers. Thus, at present, there are from 120-130 people in the apparatuses of the Executive Committees of the district People's Councils, or as many as there were in the ministries at the time when we made the «triming» at the end of 1965, while in the agricultural section of the executive committee of the district alone there are 15-20 people, in that of education about 20 people, the same with the trade sector etc., etc. The chairman of the Executive Committee, the chief of the section or even the district Party Secretary think: since we have filled these apparatuses with so many people, what do we need these councilors for? Oh well, since they have been elected, it is enough that they come once every three months to the councils, where we render them some sort of account or other, hold some solemn meeting with them, where, if you like, we deliver a report and end the matter with that.

Comrades, are we going on the correct road by acting like this? This is not the first time that the Party has raised the question of activating the elected people. It has emphasized this many times before, and has advised us how to act with them. The councilors are the direct representatives of the people, they are elected by them. The Party, the state power and the people have granted the deputy the right, when, for example, he observes something wrong in the trading network, etc., even if he is a worker in a factory or plant, to

simply pick up the telephone and inform the director of the enterprises where he works that he must, that very day, go personally to control some of the trading units. It is the Party who teaches him to act like this, whereas the director of his enterprise should not raise obstacles, but on the contrary, should allow him to get down to his task as a deputy in the way he should. Similarly, two or three deputies, and here I am not only speaking of the deputies of the People's Assembly, but of those of the district People's Councils as well, are in quite a good position to substitute 20-30 employees accumulated in the apparatus of the Executive Committee. But, where are these deputies actually working? One may be working at a shoe-maker's shop, another at a carpenter's, another at a factory, construction site, etc. All of them are representatives of the people, are men of production, men of the class, therefore, if they are activated, they could do much work. We have dwelt at length on control by the class, but it seems to me that this question has been somewhat passed over in silence, has been cooled down. But class control means that the working class should stand up and aid its party in carrying out the directive issued. The Party cannot live without the class, just as the class cannot ensure victory and forge ahead without the Party. Both of them, then, collaborate closely with one another.

The working class, when it sees that the Party has inflated its apparatuses, draws its attention to it, tells it that a mistake is being made here, informs it that such apparatuses are not necessary

to it, and that therefore, they should be cleared out, got rid of because all these people in them are fed at the expense of the class that produces. And the worker control, after studying the situation, suggests that where, for example, there are 22 employees, it is sufficient for only 5 of them to remain without impeding the work in the slightest and that 2 of them be communists and 3, non-party persons. It demands of these people that they do their job well, at the same time, the class itself undertakes to control the situation in the same place a bit later on, which means that it will instruct and lead them in the work and if they make mistakes, reprimand them as well. And it must be clear that when the class speaks, bureaucracy cannot speak, and conversely, when the class does not speak, bureaucracy rears its head.

The class control puts the directive of the Party into effect, ensures its correct application. All the improper excuses and pretexts that some people have on the tip of their tongue in order to dodge going from the centre to the districts, from the town to the countryside, because their household would be ruined, because their son or daughter is at school, etc., etc. will be smashed to smithereens in front of this control. And what about the people? What about the Party? What about the work? These petty-bourgeois tendencies must be made the target of the worker control; it seems to me that this has been taken a bit too lightly and is poorly organized in practice.

We should grant the working class the power

it is entitled to. This is what the Party teaches us. Who is in power with us? The working class. Therefore Lenin teaches us to bring as many elements of the working class as possible, whether party members or not into the state power. This too is a form of worker control. This control has arisen from necessity, from the struggle for the application of the line of the Party. When matters do not go smoothly, for example, in the trade sector, why should we condemn only one ordinary saleswoman? And the director, whom we have placed at the top, what does he do? How much does he organize, how much does he control and how much does he aid his subordinates to perform their tasks well? Or, is he one of those people who, when the worker control team goes to him, says: «At your command, comrade workers, you are quite right in your criticism of us». No, this is not enough. It is not enough that he accepts in words what the workers tell him; he must also act precisely on what he is told by them who can see the shortcomings and the weaknesses much better, who are vigilant and will not reconcile themselves to shortcomings and bureaucratic attitudes. This director should say, «Thanks very much» to the worker control, he should carry out its instruction, and after the worker control, there should be no allowance for another control by the officials, who might make matters look a bit better or arrange matters only amongst themselves, finishing up with some remark on the registration card. On the contrary, everything should be carried out to the letter so that, when the worker control goes

back to the trading sector, it does not find the same situation again, every shortcoming should be done away with and the situation be improved. Otherwise the workers should go to the Party and demand the dismissal of such a director, because he is to blame for the fact that measures are not being taken to strengthen the situation in his sector, or he should be reprimanded, transferred to some other job, etc. The word of the workers should be carried out within as short a time as possible, because this is the class control, otherwise there is no class control, except in words.

Rendering account before the people's masses should be continually borne in mind. I spoke to you about how the worker control stands with us, but now let us see what Lenin has to say and let us do as he teaches us.

Lenin says:

«There should be organized regularly not only general meetings for the masses of workers and peasants, but also meetings for the cadres in responsible positions to render account on their work before the masses of workers and peasants. Such meetings should be organized by all means not less than once a month, so that the possibilities be created for the non-party masses of workers and peasants to criticize the Soviet organs and their work. Account should be rendered not only by the communists, but by all cadres as well, at all posts of responsibility, in the first place,

at the organs of trade and people's economy.»¹

But, do we act on the instructions of Lenin? No, we do not act completely in this way! On the contrary, «in order to save time», we have created some forms of work, thinking that these help it along and the work gets done. Thus, the general meeting of the cooperative, when it is all boiled down, is a mere formality and we are satisfied that in its place we have the representative body and the meeting of the assembly. But we must not forget that the representative body could go astray or fall in line with the chairman's opinion, there could even be people appointed to it who curry favour and follow this or that party secretary, among them there could be some three of our persons who get on familiar terms with those in the leadership, etc. Therefore, it is better to render account before all the masses of the cooperative members and to teach them, as Lenin instructs us, to open their mouth. The correctness or incorrectness of the leadership is judged by the masses, and the leadership is responsible to the masses for what it does.

The existing forms leave room for those in positions of responsibility to feather their own nests, some even thinking they can get away with it with the district first Secretary of the Party

1) V. I. Lenin. Works. Vol. 43, 5th Russian edition, 1973, p. 253.

knowing about it. This makes it essential that every communist, whether he is responsible for supplies, a salesman, a worker of the municipal services, or whatever, render account for his work, say, once a month, to the masses of the people. Thus this creates the possibility for the masses to express their opinion on how they are being served, supplied, treated, what they think of this or that person; to judge those in positions of responsibility when they are at fault and even to give their opinion on whether or not they should be kept on in their position and to dismiss them from it when they go on making mistakes and fail to correct themselves. When some employee or director makes a mistake in his relations with the people, he must be criticized and warned not to make that mistake again. If this criticism and warning is practiced periodically, then next time he comes to report to the masses about the improvements he has made, you'll see for yourself that he has been brought down a peg or two. Therefore we should see to it that the chairman of the cooperative, or the director of the municipal services, enterprises or any other employees in a position of responsibility, report time and again to the masses who are directly interested in their work. The former should speak to these masses and report to them on how they have done their job, because after them, the masses will get up and speak about each particular one of them. When this is done periodically, if it is observed that they have not remedied their mistakes, the masses have the right to tell them: «we advised you once,

twice, and now kiss us good-bye.» When a person, whatever his position, knows that each month he has to render account to the masses, he will collect himself and try to work better. Then we can say that the worker control is effectively carried out and yields results.

There are cases when dealing with some matters, even though we handle them well, some people give us trouble. Here it was mentioned how the people themselves decided on distributing study bursaries. When we act in this way, everything is solved correctly and no one can say anything against us. Nevertheless, some discontented people may appear, who even in such cases say: «partiality is being shown». He believes that the Party does not know how it was done, therefore he thinks he will try to see if he can profit in an unjust way; he thinks, since this is a democratic regime, even if he does not succeed in this he loses nothing. The forms of work you have practiced concerning study bursaries are democratic, therefore as many such forms as possible should be found for every problem to prevent them from being decided on by the administration apparatuses alone, say for example by the chief of the trade section, because the chief could be flattered by someone who is trying to hide his own dirty linen and trying to make the chief keep his mouth shut, perhaps by even sending him some early season tomatoes, some peaches or a basket of grapes and if the chief accepts them, he has no alternative but to help hide this man's dirty linen. Whereas in front of the people they could not act

in this manner; the people would not descend to such tactics and when they see that you are not acting correctly, they would pull your ears.

And what has the Party said about the question of the cadres? The Party has instructed that the masses should be consulted about every one who is to be appointed. If the need arises to appoint a director, first, we should address ourselves to the collective and ask them: «Do you want this director, comrades?» There are cases at present when such questions are posed, but they are frequently formal, for in fact the opinion of the collective is «taken into account» last of all. First, the nominee is asked whether he agrees to the transfer, the question is decided by the organ which has him on the list of nominees, then finally the cadres' office is informed, and only after these procedures, when everything has been decided upon, do we go and talk the matter over with the workers to see whether they want this person for their director or not. But, the matter should not be handled like that; the decision should be taken after having first asked the opinion of the workers, after having ensured workers' consent, and after having urged them to stand up and speak their mind in front of the collective on everything they know about this candidate, to express their opinion on whether he is fit to be a director or not. In a word during the meeting the question should be debated and the opinions discussed. When it is seen that the overwhelming majority has expressed its opinion on the person, then the decision is voted on. This manner of electing and

deciding on the cadre is more democratic. And only after this process should the proposal be considered by the organ which has the list of nominees on the basis of his personal file which is presented to that organ. The personal file of the candidate should reflect all that has been said by the workers. Their words should not be scattered to the wind as happens now, so that his file contains only the officials words the words of the chief of the cadres office. This practice should be changed. A man is better known by those who work and live with him day and night. However able the person in charge of the cadre's office may be, he cannot know everyone from his office.

Someone may appear and say to us: «Hold on, comrades, such things must not be handled in this way. Are there regulations to be observed here, or not?» Yes, we should answer this man, we have regulations, but the ones which we are talking about are the best regulations, more revolutionary, more just, more democratic and in no way bureaucratic. Therefore, when nominating a person to some post the matter is discussed by the collective, the secretary of the party organization of the base, who is present, absolutely must write to the Party on what was said about that person, without keeping anything secret from the committee, so that the personal file reflects the reality and that the decision taken be just and objective.

Even when the question arises of electing a council or, the masses should debate and discuss the question of the person proposed. In this case, everyone has a right to stand up and propose the

candidate he considers most appropriate, listing the strong and weak qualities of the person in front of the whole collective. After him someone else might take the floor to add to the picture of the person's qualities, but he also points out some shortcomings of the person proposed, which were not mentioned by the first speaker, stressing that these do not constitute any serious obstacle to the person's election, but they should be recognized and corrected. A third person may think that another candidate is more suitable than the person already discussed. After the participants in the meeting have discussed broadly who should be elected, the candidates are voted on.

This is a correct and democratic procedure, from which we gain great benefit, for in this way peoples' qualities are considered in detail and unworthy people are prevented from coming into the leadership. In as much as every citizen of our country enjoys freedom of speech, it might happen that someone proposes an impure element. In this case, it is up to everyone, communist or non-party patriot when they know the person proposed, to stand up and explain to the meeting who the man is, to point out the stains of his life, to point out that the one proposed is not an honourable person, etc., and they therefore call on the participants to refuse him as a candidate for councillor, while they address a severe criticism to the one who made the proposal over the fact that it was thoughtless of him to try to bring such a person into the council. This is class struggle, a struggle which does not permit people, who are not deemed fit, to

profit from our genuine democracy, a struggle for the incessant defence of the lofty interests of the people and the Party.

We should understand democracy correctly, both within and outside the Party. In the first place, we should be clear that, above all, it is necessary to strive to convince people politically. Political persuasion does not arise of itself, or fall from the sky, but is an entire process, formed through incessant political work among the people, following the correct line of the Party, and is achieved by explaining everything to them with patience, wisdom, good conduct, Marxist benevolence, by explaining it once, twice, thrice, and then when the other won't listen with severity. But we should resort to the greatest ruthlessness against the class enemy. The question of political persuasion is closely linked with democracy. If we really seek democracy, we should make efforts to convince people politically, otherwise we will be forced to resort to violence, which the Party does not permit, for it pursues the road of convincing the people, the road of democracy.

In this regard there are some people who try to capitalize on our true democracy and attempt to profit from it for their own narrow interests or in order to satisfy their own personal whims. It happens that someone, although he is a worker, writes asking me «to take measures against the team leader» of his workshop, because one day, on coming to work, the team leader did not wish him good-morning and on this account he put up a flash poster against the team leader. This worker

is not satisfied at this, but complains to me that measures have not been taken against the team leader. It seems that this man is not in his senses. Even if the team leader did not greet him, what's wrong with that? Maybe, the team leader had something on his mind at that time, and how could we punish our men for such a trifle? But the fact is that in our ranks there are such people as this worker, with pronounced petty-bourgeois vestiges in their minds, who go beyond the limit. Instead of addressing himself to the team leader, as a comrade would, such a man as this will take revenge. He should kindly enquire why the other did not greet him, clear up the matter with him, do away with every dissatisfaction and strengthen the ties of friendship with him. Instead, he leaves no stone unturned before addressing himself to me through a letter. Comrades, this means to abuse the correct democratic forms of our social order.

In this aspect, we should also be very careful in defending our legality, which is a just Marxist-Leninist legality. Naturally, this, too, should be understood and implemented well. In our country legality has been put on the right road, our laws are in the interest of the people and are drafted with the participation of the people. In the course of the struggle we wage for the implementation of our laws, we strive to educate the people, to protect them from making mistakes, from the evils of the past, from the old vestige.

Despite this, it is observed that a series of crimes are committed in our country, especially to the detriment of socialist property. Therefore, in

this regard great ideo-political work should be done by the Party, the youth, the parents, etc. Special concern should be shown for the young people, especially in the large towns, where some unpleasant manifestations occur, such as pickpocketing, etc., whereas the matter is somewhat different in the countryside. However, we should exert our efforts everywhere to instill a conscious discipline, especially among our youth, without in any way permitting liberalism and anarchy, which we should fight against.

What I have mentioned should be carried out thus, for, as I said, the apparatuses should not obstruct, but should assist. We should fight against those people in the apparatuses who create bureaucracy, who do not allow people to speak their minds openly, to criticize those who commit mistakes and offences.

Bureaucratism impedes and distorts real information as well. The real information which the leadership needs, does not come frequently enough to the Central Committee. What sort of information do we need at the centre? The bureaucratic and formal aspect of the question that tells you nothing? No, we want neither bureaucracy nor formalism; on the contrary, we fight against them, but the evil is that neither does the Party Committee receive information from below about those problems worrying the grass root organizations.

The Party Committee needs to know and is greatly interested to know for example: what is the response of the party organization at the Shoshaj cooperative to this or that problem; how does

it wage its internal struggle; are there discussions, criticism, and self-criticism, or not, etc. When a problem is considered, someone over there agrees on a certain question, another may not agree, etc., someone asks why it was done this way, for it would have been better to do it some other more profitable way; someone else says why it was done that way, etc., etc. What does the District Party Committee get out of all this debate? It is often only formally informed that «the meeting of the party organization at Shoshaj was held at the fixed time, that this and that problem were taken up for consideration and that these results were achieved: one, two, three, four, five...», but nothing is mentioned about the proceedings of the meeting, what viewpoints were expressed there, etc. No, comrades, I think the Party Committee would be greatly interested to know, concretely, how the discussions on the problem considered developed at this meeting of the Shoshaj organization: when one raised this question, another criticized so and so, because he had not acted this or that way; then, two others took the floor to oppose him and pointed out to him that he did not proceed from a correct party position in his criticism, on the contrary, he should have criticized the person for another problem, and not for the one which he stressed. Such information on the procedure of the meeting will show the Party Committee that this is a really militant organization of the Party, that it is seething with life and agitation and creates the conviction that, in such a party organ-

ization, where the problems are correctly discussed, the work will go well. The committee will be informed on how the communists fight and respond there, how able and energetic they are, how they understand Marxism-Leninism, democracy, criticism, etc.

Comrades, this is what the entire struggle of our Party for the preservation of its concrete line entails, and it is on this struggle, waged in the course of its activity, that the organization should rely, when the time comes to hold the elections to the Party, too. It is this struggle that should decide who the future secretary of the organizations will be in the next elections, if the other who held this post up to date has not accomplished his task well; that this person should be the chairman and not that one; etc., etc. These are some important aspects of internal party life, which are also vitally important to the leadership, which in turn is enlivened by the base. Comrades of the grass roots, by acting in this way, you enliven the leadership. It is essential for the leadership to be told about precisely these aspects of the internal life of the organization, for it is these that it needs, and not the formal aspect of the question.

But, what happens in fact? Many are afraid of informing the leadership on these important aspects for the internal life of the party organizations, lest it «becomes concerned» and wonders just what is happening in Shoshaj. No, comrades, informing the Party Committees on what I said, will assist it and help it understand that what is

happening at Shoshaj is nothing to worry about on the contrary, it will know that the party life there in developing vigorously, in the spirit of debates, where the communists finally make decisions and carry them out in unity, like a single body, regardless of the fact that all kinds of opinions were raised and expressed during the discussions. This is only normal; it is to act otherwise that is not normal, is not on the Marxist-Leninist road of the Party. If it was observed that there was no debate at Shoshaj, if it was observed that there was a false silence there for a long time, then the District Party Committee would really have something to worry about, it would have to think seriously about why it has happened and reach the conclusion that the situation there is not as it should be, therefore, it should pay attention to aiding and enlivening their organization. Whereas some comrades think otherwise and say: since there is silence, this indicates unity, therefore the situation there is normal. No, comrades, the situation in the party organizations is as it should be only when there are debates, criticism and self-criticism to form a correct party position, when opinions are expressed on the work and proposals and suggestions made, etc., in short, when life seethes there, and not when «silence» reigns.

But we should understand correctly what should seethe. Let everything seethe within the organization. Even if someone comes up in opposition to the line of the Party, let him oppose it, let him express his viewpoints in front of the com-

munist. This is better for the Party, because then it knows who it has to deal with. It is better that a man speak out what he has on his mind than to keep it inside. In such a case, when someone opposes the line of the Party, the rest, those who are determined to defend this line, will put themselves against him, and explain matters to him or show him his place. This depends on the concrete case. Therefore, the struggle within the Party is vital. We should never forget this, comrades, for it is of extraordinary importance.

Why do I say these things? I mention these because we must make our Party ever more militant, not lethargic, not obedient to some persons, but obedient to the Party's general directives, obedient to the theory of Marxism-Leninism, which it should understand, assimilate and fight to the bitter end to have them implemented in practice, for they are the foundations of the Party. This means that the Party must be militant, because, otherwise, evil may befall it, things may get so much worse that it might come to confront the class.

Listen to what Stalin has to say in connection with this:

«What happens if the Party itself begins in this or that way to confront the class, by infringing upon the basis of the correct relations with the class, by infringing on the basis of mutual confidence?»

Generally speaking, are such cases possible?

Yes, they are.

They are possible:

1) When the Party begins to prop up the prestige it enjoys with the masses not by means of its work and the confidence of the masses, but by means of its «unlimited» rights.

2) When the policy of the Party is overtly wrong, and it does not want to re-examine and correct its mistake.

3) When the policy of the Party is just on the whole, but the masses are not yet ready to grasp it, and the Party does not want or does not know how to wait, so as to enable the masses to become convinced of the correctness of the policy of the Party through their own experience and attempts to impose it on the masses.»¹

Allow me to make a small comment on this quotation. The Party has some rights, but it does not have unlimited rights over everything, it cannot act at will. The Party has the right to do what the people want, what the class wants, what the laws permit, what its Marxist-Leninist line permits. Beyond these, it has no right to act. If it goes beyond these confines, then the Party, the communists, embark on the wrong road.

The Bolshevik Party, in Lenin's time, did not make mistakes. At the time when Stalin was at

1) J. V. Stalin, Works, Vol. 8, pp. 48-49.

the head of the Central Committee some distortions were made by bureaucrats, but the fundamental principles of the general line of the Party remained intact. They were trampled underfoot after his death, when the party leadership and the state power were usurped by the Khrushchevite revisionists.

With us, the situation developed in a different way. Our Party has always been prudent and just in its line. Nevertheless, individual persons make mistakes, but these are not the mistakes of the Party, or of its line.

Thus, for example, at a united agricultural cooperative in Tirana, the secretary of the party organization of the base gives an order to search all peasants' houses without exception to find out who had stolen a certain amount of olives from the cooperative. Who gave this secretary the right to order every house to be searched? Nobody? This act is a great offence to the people, by capitalizing on the name of the Party. According to the laws of our state, no one can enter anyone else's house without their permission. Neither the Party nor the law allows for someone's house to be searched in contravention to the fixed regulations. Only the prosecutor has the right to issue an authorization of entry into a citizen's house, but the prosecutor, too, should think the matter over well before the search is conducted, he should have concrete evidence that theft or crime is committed, and only then does he order the police to start the search. Whereas, some communist comrades, taking things lightly and proceeding

from the erroneous concept that «the Party can do anything», go and search all the houses of the village, merely because one or two persons have stolen some pounds of olives! To allow such erroneous, arbitrary acts, which originate from the distorted viewpoint that the «Party can do anything», leads to the road mentioned by Stalin, when the Party endeavours to prop up its own prestige not by its own work, not on the confidence of the masses, but on its »unlimited« rights.

We should have it quite clear in our minds that there are also limits to the rights of the Party. Our Party, being in power, has made laws, has established regulations, which no one should violate. If the Party violates them, this is a great mistake, for it creates a situation where it relies on its «unlimited» rights, without a base in the people. The confrontation of the people with the Party is an erroneous road. Therefore, our Party has not allowed and will never allow such violations, it will take ruthless measures against all those who commit them, whoever they are.

A cooperative member from Elbasan writes me a letter, whose content is really very bitter, extraordinary bitter. Among other things he wants to know when the party organization at the Shir-gjan agricultural cooperative will cease making mistakes? For it has ordered that all privately owned live-stock be sold or slaughtered. The writer of this letter wonders how it is possible for such a thing to be done. At first, we could not bring ourselves to believe that such an order was

issued either, therefore we sent people to verify the matter on the spot. What was the result of the control? It came out that this order was issued by the Executive Committee of the District People's Council, by the bureaucrats of the agricultural section. When these «scribes» over there were asked why this order was given to this cooperative, they answered that it was thought that in the future it would become a higher-type cooperative, therefore, privately owned livestock, according to their distracted minds, should be either slaughtered or sold. This act, which was in open contradiction to the line of the Party, and which had worn the patience of this cooperative member thin, urged him to write me this letter. But because of this order from the 2,400 ewes owned privately by the cooperative members prior to the issue of the order, about 800 ewes were sold at the time when the verification was being made. When people understood that this was a wrong order, they stood up and demanded explanations from the Executive Committee which had taken this decision in opposition to the line of the Party. The people were right.

Such orders, issued in the name of the Party, but which, in fact, run counter to its line, are hostile. Therefore, can we allow these people to commit such monstrosities? No, we can never allow them to, otherwise we oppose the Party to the masses. Therefore, anyone who acts against the directives of the Party, against the masses, should be sent to the people without hesitation, and

should tell them personally that the mistake was not made by the Party, but by us bureaucrats, he should apologize and beg the people to give him somewhere to shelter his head, some tatters to sleep on, some job in the fields and, if the cooperative has enough meat and milk, to let him eat some too, if the cooperative has not let him wait until it produces them.

The question arises: where do such unjust orders and directives emerge from? They are the offspring of bureaucratism, therefore, in order to avoid them, bureaucratism and the bureaucrats who do such things in the name of the Party must be ruthlessly fought against. Such persons harm the interest of the people and harm the line of the Party to such an extent that they make the ordinary people pose the question: for how long will the Party make mistakes? No, comrades, it is not the Party that has made the mistake, it has never said that privately owned livestock should be sold, even when the cooperatives become higher-type ones.

A directive has been issued that the number of goats be reduced, but this, too, should be thoughtfully carried out. We shall reduce their number only because they damage our forests and yield little, nevertheless, as long as they are not yet replaced with more productive animals, their number should not be reduced; this reduction should be carried out gradually and carefully, so that our children do not lack food. This is how it will be done with ewes too, although, as is known, we will never aim at completely doing away with

them, because a number of them should be kept for the future, too, to meet the needs of the present and of the future, especially for wool, but also for meat and then for the simple reason that this useful animal eats a part of fodder that other animals do not and turns them into material goods.

This is what the Party advises. Then, why should its directives be understood wrongly? If a party instructor goes to the grass root level and makes a wrong explanation of the directive, the communist should tell him: «I don't agree with what you say, for I have the directive of the Party clear in my mind. I have the Constitution of the cooperative, which permits me, as a cooperative member of the highlands, to keep one cow and ten ewes in my private plot, and now you come and tell me to slaughter them; but I will not!» If some amendments are made to the Constitution, this will not happen without first taking into account the opinion of the cooperative members in the highlands of the Mati district and throughout Albania. In such cases, the Party, as always, will seek the opinion of the masses. When it is concluded that the time is ripe for the reduction of the number of livestock, the cooperative peasantry will be consulted by all means. If it is seen that the time is not yet ripe, that the cooperative is not yet in a position of regularly providing its members with milk, then no reduction at all will be effected.

The Party does not oppose the desire of the people. If its correct line is not well understood, then the implementation of the line must never

be imposed on the masses. The Party should continue to patiently explain to the masses, without hurrying or opposing the people.

Connected with this, Stalin teaches us:

«Even the greatest Party might be caught unawares, even the greatest Party might be at the end of its tether if it does not draw lessons from history, if it does not increasingly temper the militant readiness of its class everyday. Comrades, to be caught unawares is something extremely dangerous. To be caught unawares means to become the victim of «surprise», victims of panic in face of the enemy. But, panic leads to disintegration, to defeat, to the abyss.»¹

In our party work we should always bear in mind these teachings of Stalin. It might happen that the Party opposes itself to the class and gets caught unawares. This might happen not only to a big party, but also to a small one. The possibility of the catastrophe as foreseen by Stalin, even happening to a big party when it is taken by surprise and does not draw lessons from history, etc., unfortunately was proved in the Soviet Union after his death. The Bolshevik Party of Lenin and Stalin was not in militant readiness. This readiness, according to the opinion of our Party, is ensured when we attach importance to some mat-

ters which might seem trivial as well. In this regard, we should always be vigilant. When the Party slackens its militant readiness at a certain moment, it is caught unawares by the class enemy. In the Soviet Union this was how modern revisionism emerged which represented the bureaucratic, corrupt elements, the enemy of Marxism-Leninism, the enemy of the Leninist revolutionary norms of the Party, and which had wormed its way into the Party and remained hidden there as in a cocoon.

We should bear in mind the historic experience taught by Stalin, we should bear in mind that experience of the Bolshevik Party which found itself unarmed in face of modern revisionism, precisely because in its work it neglected reliance on the masses. Stalin foresaw what could happen to a party if, under the stress of bureaucratized apparatuses, it relies more and more on its «unlimited» rights. Do not think that this slide came all of a sudden. No! Here we have to deal with an entire process, a regressive process, when under the guise of its great authority, the revolutionary norms of the party are distorted, bureaucratized and become sclerosed, as happens to the blood vessels of old people, in whom sclerosis can cause not only serious disorders, but also sudden paralysis. The tragedy that occurred in the Soviet Union proves that the Bolshevik Party was being gnawed at from within like an apple, which although red on the outside, is worm-eaten inside and has not long to live. «The worm» that ate the

1) J.V. Stalin, Works, vol. 11, p. 68.

Bolshevik Party from within was bureaucracy, the sclerosis was the violation of the Leninist norms, all of them disguised with the name and authority of the great Party of Lenin and Stalin.

The people who begin to embark on this regressive, degenerating process, endeavour to exploit the prestige of the Party for their own interests, to raise its name high through hypocrisy. There are those who sincerely try to uphold the name of the Party, and there are those who, under this guise, do nothing but strive to make a fetish of themselves, of their own ego. There are some of the latter kind here and there who, charged with party work, are always talking about the Party. Why do they do this? They do this to add to their own importance, they stick their chest out to show that they are «the envoys of the Party», to imply that you should weigh your words well when speaking to them, you should listen to what they say and do as they tell you! These are bad, anti-revolutionary stands and are maintained by the bureaucrats. These people are inclined, in general, to minimize their own faults, to make them as small as possible, and, possibly, even to cover them up so that they will not be questioned. But, who do they conceal these faults from? From those who strive to be faultless, who try to spot the mistakes and denounce them, who criticize and take measures to correct them without delay. It is precisely these people that such bureaucrats are afraid of.

The line of the Party is the line of the working class. It reflects its aspirations and efforts

for the realization of the tasks, common struggle and work. In actual life, this line is still better understood, formed, tempered and tested by the Party itself, by the class, by the masses. Whoever separates these factors from one another, slips and deviates from the line. The people who slip tend precisely towards separating these factors, they try to hide themselves from the party control, from its norms and regulations, they aim at hiding themselves behind the authority of the Party, they stick their chest out boasting: «I'm the authority». These people, instead of reflecting on the remarks of the masses, try to cover up their shortcomings, discuss things quite abstractly, demanding to be heard, because they are supposed to be in the right. In order to hide their mistakes and avoid criticism addressed to them, they try to indentify themselves with the Party and thus defend themselves and escape criticism. When they see themselves threatened by imminent criticism, they make a great fuss saying that «the Party should not be criticized», that «the Party is infallible», etc.

This stand harbours in itself a great evil, it gives birth to fear of criticism. In a village of the Kruja district, the members of the People's Council went to the house of a peasant woman and slaughtered her goat in her private plot, saying that this she-goat was above the norm allowed to the cooperativists by the Constitution. The truth is that this woman was not a member of the cooperative, but she had kept more livestock in the plot of land granted to her by the cooperative

than the provisions of the Constitution allow for the cooperativists. Naturally, the act of this peasant woman was by no means correct, but the «envoys» of the Party, instead of resorting to the method of persuasion, solved the matter in a high-handed fashion, went to her house, seized the old woman's she-goat and slaughtered it before her eyes saying that this was an order from the Party! Has the Party ever said to act in this way? Never! This is a mistake made by some people vested with power, but not by the Party. These arbitrary acts, as I have said above, give birth to fear of criticism. These acts stem from the incorrect concept of some people, who, as Stalin pointed out, think that the Party has «unlimited» rights. Thus, someone might think, «Since the Party has the right to do anything, then why should I make any criticism at all? The Party has the power in its hand and, if I say a word, it might mean I will have hell to pay for it.»

The mistakes committed by some individuals run counter to the line of the Party. Comrades, if such cases are allowed to exist and multiply, if those persons thinking that the Party enjoys, «unlimited» rights are allowed to act freely, then what happened to the Communist Party of the Soviet Union will happen here: arbitrary acts, appropriate and inappropriate measures under the pretext of «defending the Party» and «safeguarding its authority». In fact arbitrary acts lead to the separation of the Party from the class, from the masses, to its disarming and weakening, and finally to its liquidation. What Stalin predicted

about a party being caught unawares, must never be forgotten by our Party, must always be borne in mind. Our Party is a strong Party, a Party which zealously defends its norms, which fights and will continually fight for them. Nevertheless, here and there there exist some negative manifestations, some tendencies of certain bureaucrats or immature people, and it is precisely against them that we should fight in time, as soon as they crop up and we should correct them by all means as quickly as possible.

In conclusion I wish to stress the fact that we continue to march unswervingly on our correct Marxist-Leninist road, as it was defined by the 6th Party Congress, first of all for the further consolidation and strengthening of the Party. We should study the directives of this Congress with great attention, ponder on them continuously and profoundly, be led by them in our daily work and by the other materials of the Party which constitute a great treasury of experience. This material will assist us to better understand the Leninist theory on the party and the modern revisionist's false «communist» theory on the party, which is nothing but the theory of the liquidation of the party and of the proletarian dictatorship.

As you know, since the betrayal by the Soviet revisionists and their stooges, the international Marxist-Leninist communist movement has been engaged in a severe life-and-death struggle against them. Our Party is in the van of this struggle which we must carry through to the end; therefore, in our country it is indispensable for both the

people and the army to be armed and trained in military arts. But we, the party members and our entire people, parallel with arming ourselves militarily, should first of all be armed with our invincible theory of Marxism-Leninism. We will find this theory in the classics of Marxism-Leninism, we will also find it in the vivid, long and militant experience of our Party. Therefore, we must consider the enlivening of the revolutionary life of the grass root organizations, of the Party Committees at all levels, as an important permanent task of ours. By attaching first-hand importance to the ideological militant training of the Party, by being aware and armed, we shall never be taken by surprise, on the contrary we will be always in the vanguard, in the place of honour in the struggle against the class enemies, whether internal or external, against imperialism and revisionism, until our final victory.

The vigorous and militant life of the grass root organizations and of the Party Committees, the common revolutionary struggle of the elected and electors, the work of the party apparatuses, the joint struggle of the whole Party within revolutionary norms, within the limits of democracy and democratic centralism, all these are of vital importance and should be unhesitatingly carried out through struggle, without timidity, without servility.

Servility is irreconcilable with the nature of the communist, wherever he works, at the centre of at the grass root. The elected have been brought to the leadership of all levels by the electors, but

both sides, the elected and the electors, should collaborate and strive for the implementation of the line of the Party, without hesitation, and without servility towards one another. Such a revolutionary collaboration leaves no room for timidity, servility, or fear on the part of anyone. It is only in this way that the Party, its Marxist-Leninist line, are defended. Such a stand is a powerful blow dealt by our Party at the reactionary, bourgeois imperialist, anti-Marxist and revisionist ideologies.

The Leninist party norms are made the target of a subtle attack by the revisionists of all hues, who aim at liquidating the parties of the Marxist-Leninist type, in order to ensure the victory of capitalism and imperialism and to defeat the working class. The revisionists resort to all ways and means to attack Leninism, its principles for party building and its norms, which make it militant, active and the vanguard of the working class. Furthermore, the Italian revisionists go so far as to tell such ignominious lies as that Marx himself had not been for the creation of a party of the working class, therefore, according to them, Lenin had distorted Marx's ideas. In this way, the revisionists come out against Lenin, but they are careful to disguise their anti-Leninist struggle.

But facts indicate the opposite. The Communist League organized by Marx and Engels was a party of the proletariat. In many of their writings they have stressed, in particular, the need to organize the communist party to lead the working class. The revisionists cannot negate this, it is as

clear as the rising sun. On the other hand, the revisionists say that Lenin has not only deviated from the ideas of Marx, but that he has also distorted them, thus opening the way for the emergence of bureaucracy ect. ect.; and they make precisely the same accusation against Stalin, too.

All of us know the history of the Bolshevik Party and the Leninist theory on the party, on its principles, on democratic centralism in the party, on discipline and all other norms, without which a true Marxist-Leninist party cannot exist, revolution cannot be carried out and led, the proletariat cannot establish its dictatorship. All these have been proved by history.

In the final analysis, what is it that the present day revisionists are seeking? They seek and promote some theories which Lenin has ruthlessly fought against in his time. According to them, the working class in the West has attained a high stage of development, therefore, it is not essential for it to be regimented, organized, and to have a strict discipline. According to them, the party line, its leading role, in opposition to what Lenin has said, dwindles to nothing. According to the revisionists, the party committees in capitalist-owned factories, can play a certain role only if they urge the workers to make economic demands, and not political demands. Such theories and other similar ones were condemned and refuted by Lenin in his time. Therefore, the modern revisionists' propaganda and that of all enemies of socialism, which are spearheaded to savagely against Marxism-Leninism, are aimed at diverting the working

class and the working masses led by it away from the road of revolution and socialism.

In our country, despite the shortcomings in the work, the line of the Party is based on Leninist principles. Its directives are constructed, implemented and verified through the party-class and party-people fusion, in harmony with the Leninist theory and principles on the party. Our Party is in the uninterrupted process of revolutionary development and continually fights to find new forms and methods, a better and more revolutionary style with each passing day. This constitutes the guarantee of the correct Marxist-Leninist line of our Party for the future, too.

SOME PROBLEMS OF THE INTERPRETATION AND PRACTICAL IMPLEMENTATION OF THE DIRECTIVES ON THE WORK OF THE PARTY WITH THE MASSES

*Speech delivered at the meeting of the Secretariat
of the Central Committee of the Party of Labour
of Albania*

April 24, 1972

I agree with the remarks and comments which the comrades have made about the interpretation and practical implementation of the directives on party leadership in the mass organizations, and therefore, I do not intend to go into detail on these matters. I only wish to point out that the problems we are discussing are not being raised for the first time. If the Party re-emphasizes them time and again, it does so in order to correct mistakes that may have been made, in order to further improve our work, to «shake off the dust». The purpose is for the directives to be interpreted and implemented as well as possible by the communists and the masses, and in no case to be looked at

apart from the problems and needs of the country's development. Viewed from this angle, the speech I recently delivered at Burrel was not something detached from these current needs.

I insist on the necessity of interpreting and implementing the directives properly, for a superficial and premature judgment in this can mean danger to the Party, and its slipping towards the right or the left. Now that my speech in Mat is under discussion, someone who does not understand the line of the Party may think that the door is open to liberalism and to the creation of distorted views: «Come and criticize right and wrong». Liberalism would be one of the major perils just as, on the other hand, sectarianism would be, for it causes the Party to be closed within its own shell, holding discussions and taking measures against those communists who commit errors, and violate its decisions and directives, at party meetings only, and not before the collective where they work. Both of these manifestations, liberalism and sectarianism, are very dangerous, and should be fought against in whatever form they appear. Therefore, in order to get a deep grasp of the directives and carry them out in practice, it is necessary to follow continually the correct Marxist-Leninist course. For this purpose it is essential to keep always in mind the teachings of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin, and the experience gained by the Party throughout its revolutionary life and struggle.

The Party should always be at the head of the masses, and, together with them, should imple-

ment through struggle and effort the directives, instructions, norms and decisions it takes. But in life and in the course of work, the Party and the masses it guides should think and act to correct the errors and fill the gaps which may exist in the directives and instructions issued, and in this process correct the errors that the communists and non-party individuals make. This work should be done more intensively today than in the past, because the situation now is quite different from that of the war days.

Now we are no longer as we were during the National Liberation War, when circumstances obliged us to carry out much of our work in strict secrecy, because many of the instructions and decisions of the Party had to be kept from the enemy, who made every effort to learn of them as quickly as possible, so as to work out plans to attack the Party. During the fascist invasion, if the enemy had been informed in time about a directive of the Party to launch an attack on a given target, or who were the communists belonging to a certain cell, who were and who were not admitted into its ranks, for what reasons a particular person was not admitted to party membership, or why this or that communist was criticized, if the enemy had been informed of the decisions that had been taken, then it would have been much easier to strike heavily at the cell and the whole Party. Therefore, under those conditions the maintenance of secrecy was a strong weapon in the hands of the Party, in the struggle it waged against the occupiers and traitors, for the libera-

tion of the homeland, and the freedom of the people.

Now too we are in a state of war with the class enemies, and therefore, we should guard our Party and its unity like the apple of our eye, we should guard our state secrets and the ideological and organizational norms and rules of the Party. But while always being vigilant about these things, we would not forget that the situation is quite different compared with that difficult period we went through. Today the Party is at the head of the masses, it is in power. Through struggle and strife, the antagonistic classes have been done away with in our country. The Party has strengthened the alliance between the working class and the cooperative peasantry. At present the Party directs all the life of the country; it directs the economy through five-year plans which cannot be realized without active, all-round, conscious participation, and a high political and ideological understanding on the part of the working masses of town and countryside.

During the war the Party called on the communists to be always fearless, on the forefront of every battle, to sacrifice even their lives if necessary, to face death courageously for the higher interests of the homeland and the people, to set an example to the masses in every way. The heroic implementation of these party directives by the communists led to the great days of liberation.

Now the Party continues to call on the communists to be on the forefront of the battle to fulfil the plans and defend the victories achieved.

And the communists are in the vanguard in implementing the party directives. In the new conditions it is essential for them to think and fight with a new style of work, and eliminate the survivals of the old method of closed work in the party cells and committees, which was suitable for the period of the war, but not for the present. It seems to me that there is no longer any reason to keep the party directives to ourselves as before. We should uphold and implement properly the articles of the party Constitution, and its organizational norms. But since we accept in principle that it is correct to criticize every communist for the errors he commits, be he secretary of the basic organization, secretary of the district party committee, or member of the Central Committee or government, since we accept that not only may we criticize him, but when the occasion arises we may discharge him, that we may even criticize an entire party forum for one mistake or another, then what organizational reason prevents us from disclosing these matters, when they have threatened the interests of the Party and of the people? Why should we not inform the workers of the particular collective why these measures have been taken? Why should we not tell them why a certain communist was criticized or dismissed, or why a whole forum was criticized? It seems to me that arguments for secret work do not hold up today.

Let us now take the question of the meetings of the basic party organizations and committees. Have we held and do we hold them at the proper level, on the basis of the party directives? The

conclusion is that the level of these meetings and of the implementation of these directives is not always as high as it should be. The question arises: Why are they not implemented?

As comrade Ramiz Alia stressed, the conclusions of the meetings of the Political Bureau and the Secretariat of the Central Committee are published and sent in bulletin form to the whole Party, to study and benefit from them. But we are told that there are cases when some secretaries of the basic organizations take these materials, read them themselves, and then put them in the drawer, instead of making their contents known to the communists, let alone the working masses. These comrades misinterpret the comment written on these materials, «for internal use».

What does this show? It shows that some of these comrades are not yet clear about the circumstances we are living in. They have not yet properly understood that it is necessary to inform all the masses of the Party and the people about a decision of the leadership. There is no reason for materials sent for all the Party to be shut away in the drawer of the secretary of the basic organization, if there is nothing special about them to be kept secret. It seems to me that these party leaders do not understand this matter properly, and that on the basis of the situation we are going through, they should think better and no longer tolerate such attitudes. These attitudes are maintained because that organizational secretary or communist still lives with the old mentality of secret work, or tries to keep a monopoly of the ideas

expressed in the materials of this organ, with a view to giving his comrades the mistaken impression that he alone has broad horizons! It is unpardonable not to do one's best to inform all the comrades about the materials of the Central Committee.

At no time have the Party and its Central Committee given the directive that open materials should be kept under lock and key. All of us, especially comrade Hysni Kapo who is in continuous contact with the secretaries of the district party committees, have explained this to the comrades in the districts, but some of them still suffer from the old mentality I pointed out, and they should shake it off as quickly as possible.

Decisions and directives covering various needs and problems are often sent to the district and to the base by the Party Central Committee, the Political Bureau, and the Secretariat. We have often asked the comrades of the district and the base to send us their comments and opinions on them. We emphasize this, for we are aware that all that we discuss and decide is not always perfect, complete or unable to be bettered. Therefore we continually call on the Party to speak about any shortcoming or omission that may be observed in the decisions or directives, or any stipulation, which practice proves cannot be implemented and should be amended. We have repeatedly made such requests, but we have rarely had any comments in this direction from the Party committees, let alone from the comrades at the base. But experience has proved that decisions have been

taken, and directives given, which were not complete or without mistakes.

If the centre does something to inform the Party and the masses about the problems it considers and the decisions it takes, the way this job is done in the districts is very weak. The problems the district party committee takes up for discussion and the decisions it takes remain almost unknown, for only a few cadres have any knowledge of them, those who take part in the forum and some other who, as the need arises, are called to report to the meeting, to give explanations, or those who are particularly interested in the problems under discussion. I do not mean only that information about the themes and the method the party committees have used in examining these problems should be sent here to us in the apparatus of the Central Committee, although sending them has its importance for the Central Committee, but it is also of major importance to send them to and have them analysed by the base and the masses, to check on the complete implementation of these decisions and to verify their correctness in practical life. This is one of the essential forms of work which would greatly help the party committees to be in the forefront, and to lead the broad working masses in the districts in implementing the decisions the committees have taken.

If you, leading comrades of the districts, wish to be in the lead at work, at the head of the leadership of the masses, then it is essential for you to work so that the problems you discuss find a

wide and rapid response among the broad masses of the people in the districts, incorporated in the mass organizations which they belong to. Therefore, these problems should be made known, explained and made clear to them through these organizations and you should then set to work to mobilize them in solving these problems successfully. The masses should thus see that the Party does not stand at the head merely because it leads the organs of the dictatorship of the proletariat, but also because it takes correct and important decisions and issues directives on how to solve the various problems that preoccupy the country, enlightens the masses, makes them aware of the significance of these decisions and directives, and mobilizes them to apply them in practice, which helps revolutionize the life of the people and promote their well-being. This contributes to the daily strengthening of unity among the people, to cementing socialist affection and solidarity among the workers, and helps to solve everything in a correct way and with great goodwill. Through its work, the party committee makes all these things clear to the masses. Therefore it is essential that all its activity in the district, based on the decisions of the Party Congress, the directives of the Central Committee and the decisions of the Political Bureau, the Secretariat of the Central Committee and the government, reflects the situation, the needs, and the aspirations of the masses.

Hence the need for the masses to know, for instance, why the party committee of their district or the basic organization met on a particular

occasion, and what was decided. Are they entitled to this or not? Of course they are, because the Party builds socialism together with the masses, who should know about what the Party discusses and decides, for otherwise they will not mobilize all their forces in a conscious way to carry out the decisions that have been passed. There may be and are internal organizational decisions which the party committees take, there are questions that should be kept secret from the internal and external class enemy, but the majority of the decisions taken by a district party committee are not of this nature, and therefore it is necessary and essential that they should be communicated to the masses. Thus, when the district party committee examines economic problems or the need to take steps for the enforcement of discipline at work, for the education of the youth, or for the good administration of schools, etc., why should these problems not be communicated to the workers, why should the details of the decisions taken not be explained to them? All are interested in the decisions of the Party, and they cannot be implemented by the communists alone, but by all the working people, with the communists in the forefront of the struggle.

Our practice so far, in informing the masses about the work and decisions of the Party, is not as good as it should be, and this practice is also reflected in the method of work of the basic organization. In many cases the secretary of the party basic organization in an enterprise, agricultural cooperative, institution or elsewhere does not

use the right method in preparing work plans or agendas of meetings. Therefore it often happens that the agenda is vague and has not been made known to the working collective. The working collective should not only know beforehand what the basic organization will discuss, but it should also be informed afterwards what was decided at the meeting of the basic organization, so that it may then know why to mobilize for the job assigned to it on the basis of the directives of the higher forums and of the basic organization itself, which has at its disposal the directives and decisions of the Party, of the Congress and the Central Committee, which it receives through the daily press and through the bulletins of the Central Committee. To this end, the Party has continually emphasized that in many cases the agenda of the meeting of the basic organization can be posted up to inform the communists and non-party workers. But, when the meeting ends, the secretary of the basic organization should gather the collective as soon as possible to inform it about the problems which were discussed, what was decided, etc. When it happens that the meeting has also discussed the case of a communist who has not done his duty, or whose conduct has been poor in the collective, in society or in the family, and the basic organization has criticized him for this, the collective should also be informed, not only of the steps taken against him but also of his attitude towards the criticism, and of his undertaking not to repeat the mistake.

If we act in this way, then we will see how

life in the basic organization will be revolutionized, how well the communists will carry out their tasks, and what progress will be made. Through such a practice, the non-party masses themselves will be interested in the problems of the organization, will help it with their opinions and suggestions, will be encouraged to expose the faults and shortcomings in the work of the organization, and of those who do bad work, and will help the organization to know in more detail the problems that preoccupy the collective. Enlivening the life in the collective and in the organization will also greatly assist the latter in choosing what problems to bring up at its meetings.

The Secretary of the Party Committee of the Shkodra district said in his remarks here that the communists do not put up wall posters in the collectives where they work. Under the conditions of secret work, of perpetuating a tradition of work unsuited to the present situation of our development, it is understandable why the communists do not put up wall posters in their work centres. Under these circumstances the communist thinks: «Why should I put up a poster on this or that problem, since I have raised this problem in the basic organization, where I spoke about it, made criticism and self-criticism, etc.?» The communist may indeed have done this, but what he said remained within the organization, since it was not made known to the masses. Such a practice does not have a good influence and does not encourage the masses to criticize us, the communists; on the contrary, it weakens the effectiveness of criticism

and self-criticism by the masses. Therefore, it is essential for us to change this situation.

A communist who has made a mistake can and should by all means be criticized at the meeting of the basic organization to which he belongs, but this is not enough. The Party gains nothing if the mistake a communist has committed is kept secret from the masses. This means that many of those who are not in the Party will not know about it. But if some non-party worker has noticed the incorrect behaviour or the wrong attitude towards work maintained by a communist in his department, brigade, school and elsewhere, bearing in mind that the Party teaches the masses to criticize without fear, he may get up and say: «You, comrade, who are a cadre and a communist, have maintained this wrong attitude, so explain to us why you did this, and what you intend to do to repeating it?» In such a case, far from hushing up a comrade's fault, the communists should acknowledge that the criticism is right, and if this matter has also been taken up at the meeting of the basic organization, they should inform the collective that the culprit has also been hauled over the coals at their meeting.

The Party comes before the masses with open criticism and a program for everything. It has no reason not to say that a particular communist has erred in one direction or another, and there is no reason why the masses should not also be told when a whole organization has been wrong and has been told to take action to correct its mistakes properly and radically. For this it should seek the

assistance and opinion of non-party people who make up the overwhelming majority of the workers. By pursuing this course, we will have better relations with the masses, who will certainly say: «Long live the Party, because the way it is acting is the most correct one!» This is the way all our people think, and the way they express themselves unanimously; now that they are discussing the speech I delivered at the Plenum of the Party Committee of the Mat district, where I did no more than express our Party's views to the masses, and called on them again to criticize fearlessly any one who errs or commits an offence.

Has this stand maintained by the Party lowered its authority at all? No, in no way has it lowered this authority. On the contrary, this stand has raised the authority of the Party to a still higher level among the non-party workers. Of course, if we consistently go deeper into these matters, there is no doubt that the Party's authority will be further enhanced. Therefore, it is not permissible for us to detach ourselves from the masses, to restrict ourselves to discussing problems within a closed circle, only at the meetings of the basic organization.

It may happen, on some occasion, that there may emerge individual elements, carping critics and troublemakers, not to mention any enemy, who under the slogan of «democracy» and the call of the Party for bold criticism of faults and shortcomings, try to profit in order to concoct intrigues, to launch unjustified attacks against cadres, communists and honest people, and present activities

and people in dark colours. These individuals should be suitably punished. But even in these cases, the Party does not lose. On the contrary, it gains because, on the one hand, the collective will know these elements better, while on the other, the masses themselves will know how to oppose wrong views and will settle accounts with the intriguers.

The criticism of the working people should not only be listened to attentively and taken into account, maintaining a serious and correct attitude towards it, but immediate radical steps should be taken to put right mistakes. The Party does not permit formal, superficial acceptance of the criticism of the masses, because the non-party people have every right to say, «We have criticized you once, twice and three times, but we see that you are doing nothing; why are you doing nothing, comrade communists? How many times will we continue to criticize you, and you do nothing to change the situation?» Therefore, if the basic organization fails to act in the revolutionary way of the Party, to correct an unsatisfactory situation, an unhealthy situation, as quickly as possible, then not only does it allow itself to tail behind the masses, but the criticism for the mistake of an individual communist passes from him to the basic organization. If it fails to take measures, to shake itself up, the criticism is directed towards the higher forum, and so on in turn. Therefore it is essential to use these forms of work I have pointed out towards the communists who err; all should be criticized openly before the masses when they

err, otherwise a difficult situation would be caused and the Party would detach itself from the masses.

If the directives of the Party are not understood and implemented correctly, then the communists will put up wall posters like everybody else, even against the party members, and such a thing will not affect the basic organization at all. Why should a communist not put up a wall poster when he sees that a particular party member, despite the decision taken in the basic organization, despite the severe criticism he may have been subjected to there, continues to err? In addition to the wall poster, he is entitled to demand that this party member who is repeating his mistake should be called to account again before the basic organization or the collective. If this just request is not met by, let us say, the secretary of the basic organization, a wall poster directed against him should also be put up.

Now let us come to another problem that concerns us all, to the problem of drawing up the agenda on the basis of knowledge of what is happening.

Without failing to make our own self-criticism, for we too have our shortcomings in this, we cannot overlook the fact that you comrades of the districts also have responsibility in this. You have not always kept in mind the slogans and the line of the Party that «the rank-and-file and meetings with the working people are enlivening», they «inspire», «encourage», and open up new perspec-

tives», therefore, you have not always given us the necessary aid in this direction.

The Party Committees are charged with being in the lead of all the work of the party organization in the district, and they hold great responsibility in this. It is up to them to draw up plans for activity, and to determine what meetings should be held in a given period, with an approved agenda. But how appropriate are these agendas which they work out, how well do they respond to the needs of the time, to the concrete problems that preoccupy the district, how do the party committees solve the problems which they consider at a particular time, in accordance with their importance and relevance, on the basis of the general directives of the Party Congress and the Party Central Committee, and the decisions of the government?

I do not doubt that the problems that the leading organs of the Party in the district take up for discussion are essential and correct ones, but considering this question and comparing it with the insufficient work which we do here too, and about which we are making self-criticism, I think that the Party Committees in the districts must have many weaknesses. The basic organizations cannot be exempt from these weaknesses, although they live closer to the masses and work among them. The basic organizations of the Party will succeed in having a clear grasp of the problems to be considered at their meetings, if they continue to study the principles and the directives of the Party more deeply and in a revolutionary

way, foreseeing all the harm that may be caused by the slightest deviation from the correct line and Marxist-Leninist organizational principles, and if they apply the line of the masses with consistency. Then it will not happen that the secretary of the organization or a couple of other communists call for an unnecessary meeting of the organization, say, for the sole purpose of criticizing a party member for something which is not so important at that particular moment, when it should be looking further ahead, for instance, at the problem of norms, which is a problem of principled political and economic importance, or, perhaps, at certain negative phenomena which have been observed in the collective. Thus, much closer knowledge of the life of the collective where this basic organization militates will help it to choose among the many problems the one which really deserves to be taken up.

How can the basic organization arrive more concretely at the most correct conclusion in specifying on the agenda the problem which preoccupies the collective and itself most? It can reach this conclusion when the communists are deep among the masses and in close touch with them; when they know their opinions, their wishes and their concerns, when they work with them in production and when the communists, with a clear conscience and iron will, are the first to place the general interest above the personal. In this case a correct solution will be found to the question for example, of paying a hard worker who toils and sweats, not less, but on the contrary,

more, than one who sheds no sweat. In this case the communists themselves will act and set all the other fellow workers in motion to correct mistakes. This, then, is how the most important problems to be included in the agenda of the basic organization can emerge.

When all the communists live in close contact with the non-party masses, when they themselves take direct part in production, they cannot but be in a position to propose to the secretary of the basic organization the most acute problem which should be analysed at the meeting, because this is dictated by life itself, by the needs of production, by the will to carry out the line of the Party, by the will of the working collective and of the communists who fight in the vanguard of the masses and work tirelessly to accomplish the tasks raised by the time, by life itself. Such a thing can never be done by the will of one person alone, even if he is the secretary of the organization, when he is detached from life and from the masses. The secretary is obliged to consult with the communists about the problems which the basic organization will consider. Thus the communists as a whole, and not one or two people, should discuss and decide whether a certain problem is to be included in the agenda or not. Then you will see, comrades, how good and clear the agenda will turn out to be, how timely will be the problems to be considered, and what good results we will have in our work.

When the Party takes up and analyses the most important problems that preoccupy the

people, the working masses rejoice and impatiently await the decisions that will be taken. After the meeting it is essential that these decisions should be made known immediately to the masses, so that they can mobilize to implement them.

By acting this way in every collective, great revolutionary liveliness will be created among the masses, and the basic organization will be stimulated to feel its responsibility more strongly, will act more justly, showing courage and initiative, and will not trail behind the masses. When criticism is justified and hits the target, people will be better educated and revolutionized. Under these conditions it is not very important whether or not the representative of the women's organization attends the meeting of the party organization to discuss a problem relating to women, when the women of the collective themselves have raised this problem, complaining that they are being hindered, that in their activity difficulties are being created by the men, and by their party and non-party brothers. By acting this way the problem will be solved better and more justly. Thus, it is not very important whether or not a representative of a mass organization attends a meeting organized by the Party, as long as not only the communists but all the non-party working people take part in this meeting, at which the problem of things which are not going right is considered and discussed in a revolutionary way. Therefore, the committee or basic organization should listen attentively to the proposals made by the working people, and take immediate steps to fulfil their

request, to look into the problem that is worrying them, and to make such a profound analysis that old and young are shaken up, the party committee should then take immediate steps to issue the appropriate directives to improve the situation and carefully follow up the results of this work step by step.

It is clear that the Party should from time to time also call to the meeting the comrades elected to the leadership of the mass organizations, and carelessness about doing this should be stopped. It is quite impermissible not to activate the forums of these organizations through the established forms, which should be better utilized and continuously improved. But the narrow concepts that exist, thinking that the line of the Party with the masses is carried out merely by calling the representatives of the mass organizations to a particular party meeting, while the decisions taken in these party meetings remain secret, leave many problems involved.

I wanted to emphasize these questions, for on all the others I agree with the materials and with what the comrades said in their remarks. Let us have it rightly understood that in the field of the leadership of the mass organizations by the Party, as in every field, we have made progress; by what I said here I do not mean that the party committees in the districts work in a bureaucratic way. It is a fact that the party comrades in the districts go to the masses, are in daily contact with them, consult with them, take their opinions into account, etc. The question now is to work better and go

more deeply into the directives of the Party on this problem, not only the present directives, but also previous ones. This is a skein whose threads are closely tied to one another, and if you begin from the last and forget the first, the directive cannot be fully implemented.

I also had something to add about the meeting of the activists of the Party. The Party has practiced this form of work and I think this was necessary when the number of communists was smaller than at present and the mass organizations were not at the ideological, political and organizational level that they are today. Nor, of course, were the activists round the Party at the present level. To a certain extent, they accomplished some tasks which the communists should have done, they were people assigned by the Party to take its word to the masses, they were propagandists instructed in a special way to acquaint the masses with the problems of the times. When the Party thought of activists, we did not only have fewer party members, but their ideological, political and cultural level was low. Later on, with the further development and consolidation of the Party, this active assumed another meaning, it embraced more of those workers who were outstanding in their work, and aimed, through activating them, to prepare them for admission to the Party.

Anyway, no error of principle was committed by creating the active of the Party whose members used to gather now and then and were sent out to explain certain directives they were given. Now the situation has changed. But the old con-

cept of the active and the method of work used with it are difficult to uproot, for they have become deeply rooted and have become a habit in the practical work of the Party. However, today we have thousands of other workers outside the active whom we activate, most of whom are as capable as the members of the active. Therefore, I am of the opinion that there is no reason to retain the active for the purpose for which we had originally created it, not even for the purpose of preparing the best workers for admission to the Party. Today, this form of work can be harmful, because it may be construed to mean that other workers not in the active cannot be admitted to the Party, as if the doors of the Party are opened only to members of the active. Therefore, it was rightly said here that we should not take any decision today about this problem, but wait and make a final decision after having consulted with the comrades of the district party committees.

**GREETINGS ON BEHALF OF THE CENTRAL
COMMITTEE OF THE PARTY OF LABOUR
OF ALBANIA TO THE 7th CONGRESS
OF THE TRADE UNIONS
OF ALBANIA**

May 8, 1972

Comrades,

It is a great honour and a special pleasure for me, and for the whole leadership of our Party and State, to be among you today, comrade delegates, at this Congress of your militant and combative organization. Allow me to convey to you, delegates, and to all our heroic working class, the warmest revolutionary greetings of the Central Committee and our Party as a whole, and to wish you good work and full success.

This great convention of the organization of the working class and of the other working people of our country is being held only a few months after the 6th Congress of the Party. At that Congress, the Party took important decisions, and laid down a major program of work and new tasks for the further material and spiritual development of

our society. Their accomplishment will further strengthen our country. Albania's transformation into an industrial-agricultural country will proceed more rapidly, the life of the people will become happier, and the complete construction of socialism will take a further great step forward.

This brilliant prospect has aroused unparalleled enthusiasm and a new upsurge of activity and efforts among all our working people in town and countryside, in factories and mines. The working class is on the offensive. It has taken and is carrying out a number of revolutionary initiatives, in order to implement the historic decisions of the 6th Congress and accomplish the tasks of the 5th five-year plan.

The Central Committee of the Party is convinced that the proceedings of the 7th Congress of the Trade Unions and the decisions it takes will give a new impetus to the manysided activity of the trade union organization, it will increase the drive and mobilization of the working class at work, and its revolutionary awareness and activity. We are certain that the voice of the working class will resound forcefully at this Congress. From its rostrum it will have its important say about all the problems of the life of the country, pointing out the brilliant successes achieved, the great experience gained, and the advanced revolutionary initiatives which should be undertaken and developed; it will point out correctly the great value of the collective and of our marvellous people who do wonders in their work, and will openly and courageously criticize shortcomings and defects,

bureaucratic concepts and practices, and everything old and alien that lies in the way of the progress of our socialist society.

Our Party and people have achieved great victories and extraordinary results in all fields of socialist construction. We are proud of our socialist industry, of the combines, plants and hydro-power stations which have been set up by the skilful hands of our working class, and which are being managed and exploited by them so capably and with such ingenuity. In the socialist transformation of our countryside and in the development of our agriculture, we also see the great contribution made by the working class, its invaluable aid in bringing about the progress of our new countryside. The working class plays a decisive role in all the magnificent achievements attained in the development of education and culture, and in the revolutionization of the whole spiritual life of our country.

An important contribution to the achievement of these important successes has also been given by our people's intelligentsia who, together with all working people and under the guidance of the Party and the working class, have placed all their creative abilities at the service of the homeland and the cause of socialism, and have tirelessly worked to develop and organize production, and advance education, science, and culture.

Everywhere, every project and every success bears the seal of creative work, the inexhaustible energy, the thought and spirit of sacrifice of the working class, and bears the seal of its revolutionary ideology.

In the all-round and complex struggle, full of adversities and obstacles, waged by the working class together with the other working people to overcome the backwardness inherited from the past and to build the socialist economy and culture we have today, the working class has developed and tempered itself. Its consciousness and organization have been raised to a higher level. The working class has become more mature politically and ideologically, better prepared and more able to cope with new great tasks, to carry out better its historic role and mission as the leading and irreplaceable motive force of the whole life of the country, which holds political power and the destiny of the country in its hands.

These results are inseparable from the great leading and organizing work of the Party, and from its all-round concern to arm the working class with Marxist-Leninist theory, and to bring about its ideological, political, educational, cultural and vocational development. In the future, too, our Party will work untiringly to continually advance the education of the working class, to raise its militant spirit, and temper it ideologically and politically.

The realization of the major tasks now facing us is a continuation of the ceaseless and self-denying battle which our people wage to build socialism. The working class, led by the Party, stands as always in the forefront of this struggle.

Within its ranks there have sprung up such great movements as «standardbearers of the ideas of the 6th Party Congress», «Shock Worker of the

year 1972 and of the 5th five-year plan», the initiative to accomplish the tasks of the five-year plan with the manpower of the year 1970, to gain the title «Example in discipline and proletarian education at work», to mechanize work processes, to improve the quality of production, to save materials and money, and so on and so forth. From its ranks have emerged such vanguard workers as the outstanding driver Spiro Lera, tractor driver Shyqri Kanaperi, geological brigade leader Ismail Nika, and teacher Hysen Mezini. Their example is followed by hundreds and thousands of others, by whole collectives like those of the Bulqiza, Mborje-Drenova and Memaliaj mines, the oil prospecting enterprise N°2 at Patos, the «Tractor» plant in Tirana, the metal manufacturing plant in Gjirokastra, the superphosphate plant at Laç and others, or of the State farms at Maliq, Sukth and Kamza, which have set an example of determined and devoted work for the benefit of the people and socialism.

Every time the Party has laid down tasks and opened up new prospects for socialist construction, the word, thought and action of the working class have always been decisive in carrying them out. And this has not happened by chance. It is the class which, through its high revolutionary consciousness and spirit, its creativeness and self-denying work, advances the triumph of revolution, and the construction of new socialist Albania. Therefore, our Party and government always consider it necessary to seek advice from you, comrade workers, and from all the people, about the pro-

blems that continually emerge from life and from the socialist construction of our country, to examine them together, and jointly to find the most correct way to solve them.

Our country has risen to a new and higher stage of economic, social, educational and cultural development. But this development will naturally come up against various contradictions and difficulties of growth which we must set aside and overcome. The present phase of our socialist construction cannot coexist with and carry along old artisan concepts of production, vocational qualification, the organization of work, and bureaucratic routine, which obstruct the running of the economy along scientific lines. These shortcomings and weaknesses hinder our new start, and make more difficult the accomplishment of the tasks it sets, which are much greater and more complicated.

Therefore, all of us, the workers, the organs of the economy, the government and the Party, are required to live up to our work, to have a higher sense of duty and stricter discipline, and to adopt a revolutionary method and style of work.

The working class and its Party have the right and duty to demand of the party organs, the organs of the state power and the economy, and of all managers, that they take all the necessary steps to organize the work in such a way that the energy, efforts and capacities of the workers can give the best results possible.

For the organization and management of our

economy and of all our social life, the Party and people's state power have issued laws, and have set up the necessary organisms, giving them the relevant powers. All of these are essential, and have their own significance and importance. The laws should be implemented rigorously for, otherwise, the way is open to anarchy, subjectivism, arbitrariness and spontaneity. But however just they may be, however much we improve these laws and organisms, they cannot solve by themselves the major problems we are faced with. Nor can these problems be solved by inflating our apparatuses and staffs, by endlessly organizing and reorganizing them.

The key to the improvement of the work should be sought primarily in raising the consciousness of our workers so that they have a correct ideological and political understanding of their tasks, and in enforcing responsibility, discipline, and control over the work.

The working class is directly and vitally interested in the increase of production, and in the speedy growth of the productive force of society. For this purpose, it is necessary first of all for the working class itself, and every worker, to set an example of strict discipline, to endeavour to do organized work with high productivity and quality, and to demand this rigorously of others as well.

The Party demands these essential features for a revolutionary method and style of work from all, workers and managers, and working people of the economy and state administration. Discipline and rules are violated both by certain workers and

by certain managers. But the breach of discipline by the latter has more serious consequences. We should therefore consider this matter with the greatest seriousness, and demand the enforcement of order and discipline by the rank and file workers, and the employee of the administration, up to the leaders of the highest organs of the Party, the state power and the economy.

Just as we require the workers to produce in quantity, in quality and at low cost, we also require with the same class rigorosity that the intelligentsia and other working people do good, efficient work of high quality. This means that they should work productively, and that staffs should not be inflated by accumulating in one place cadres and employees who do more to hinder one another than to work creatively. Having inflated apparatuses and many organisms does not serve either the efficiency of the work, the progress of technique and production, or real scientific management.

We say, rightly, that the discipline of the plan is law. But what happens? Before the ink has dried on the approved plan, changes are made in it by the departments, and the worker collectives are faced with an accomplished fact without it being considered necessary to solicit their opinions about it. By a stroke of the pen, basic funds and materials are casually transferred and re-transferred from one project to another, from one enterprise to another. Such gestures disorientate the base, create additional difficulties, and have a bad influence on the work. They pave the way to irregularities and breaches of the discipline of the

plan at lower levels of the administration. When the director of an enterprise sees that the minister makes changes in the plan which run into millions of leks, then he too considers it an easy thing to make changes in the plan for the enterprise, to decide to produce or not to produce certain articles, to hold back crude oil, iron, cement and other materials above the plan, or not to fulfil contracts.

Of course, a plan is not something inviolable. However correctly things are foreseen in a plan, life brings changes and dictates the need for corrections. It may happen, for one reason or another, that a study has not been made accurately. At the same time, unforeseen difficulties and circumstances may arise, which call for new measures to be taken to overcome them. In these and other cases the problems that arise should not be left to spontaneity, but should always be examined and solved within the regulations. Otherwise, mistakes are made, responsibility lessened, and the discipline of the plan weakened.

In their efforts to fulfil the plan, worker collectives are often handicapped by the irregular supply of raw materials, etc. This may happen because there are difficulties, but more often because of irregularities, disorganization, and a lack of responsibility. These disorders damage the whole economy of the country, and in some cases reduce the workers' incomes, because, as we all know, on the basis of the rules and regulations in force, when the workers are not working because planned materials are not supplied they do not receive full pay.

I would suggest that this matter be re-examined. It is not right that the workers should suffer when they are not to blame, and, moreover, that they alone should suffer. If such a thing is done on the basis of decisions taken, then the whole apparatus of the enterprise, as well as all those responsible for these irregularities, including the ministries, should suffer the same consequences as the workers.

This, I think, will place people in a more militant position to carry out better the tasks assigned to them.

The responsibility for the faults and shortcomings I have just referred to falls on all those who do not seriously carry out the plan targets. They try to cover this up with all kinds of justifications, sometimes blaming transport, sometimes imports, production or distribution. However, this labyrinth of justifications is of no use to the workers. They want their factory, plant and every workplace to be supplied according to the plan so that they may fulfil the set tasks. When the workers lack supplies and are not producing, they are entitled to come and complain to the ministry and even to the Party Central Committee.

But their right and duty are not only to complain. The working class should stand up and say «stop!» to irregularities. It should call to account and hold responsible any one, regardless of the position he holds, insist on the application of legal sanctions, and take measures, going as far as dismissing from their jobs all those who are incorrigible.

Our Party rightly demands that our planned targets be achieved and overfulfilled. This is for the good of the people, of the working class itself, and of socialism. The working class, in responding to the call of the Party, has always worked with selfdenial and enthusiasm and has advanced the development of our economy from one five-year period to another. But in our socialist economy everything must be accounted for, well thought out, and carefully weighed. From this standpoint, not every overreached plan target is always justifiable and acceptable. When the planned targets are over-reached by using up reserves, when more materials are used than planned for, when goods are produced merely to raise total production and not to produce what the people need most, such over-reached targets are not wanted by our economy and our working class.

Under the present conditions of the rapid development of our economy and culture and of the entire life of the country, the volume of work each worker and manager has to do has greatly increased. The problems and tasks that face us have not only increased, but have become more complicated. But we have every opportunity to cope with the job and solve the problems successfully. The Party has patiently and carefully trained many capable cadres, ideologically and politically tempered, loyal to the working class and to the cause of socialism. What is now required more is to strengthen the responsibility of each for the task assigned according to the powers given to him.

Improvements are evident everywhere, but

not at the level we wish them to be. In the various organs of state power and of the economy, from the base to the central departments, personal responsibility and calling to account are not always at the necessary level. It is neither just nor principled for one person alone, say, the minister or the director of the enterprise, to be held responsible for everything.

Of course, they should not and cannot evade their direct responsibility. But in the ministry there is also a deputy minister who runs specific sectors, there are directors, and departmental heads who lead the work there, just as there are chief engineers or chief agronomists, chiefs of planning and others, who are assigned to clearly specified jobs. Each should bear full responsibility for the job he is assigned to, and should be required to render account to the last detail on carrying it out. No one should be exempted from responsibility and from the control of the Party, the state, the working class and the labouring masses.

Here, in our socialist order, there are no contradictions between the masses and their state power. Ours is a state of workers and peasants. Therefore, the working class and peasants, the working masses, should be and are interested in continually strengthening the proletarian state, their power, by fighting bureaucratic distortions, and people's shortcomings and faults.

When the working class and the labouring masses call to account, criticize, condemn bureaucratic procrastination, irregularities, and the lack

of responsibility and control, and face people of the state organs and apparatuses with their responsibility, they are not opposing either their Party or their state. Through such revolutionary acts, they do not «negate», they do not «strangle» the administrative functions of the state essential to the management of economy and of society, but they make the people who work in them do their jobs better.

The cadres and managers are people of the working class, educated by the Party in a sound spirit, and they pour out all their energies, talents and knowledge to the benefit of the people and the country. But among them there are also some who have been contaminated by bureaucracy, and become conceited and arrogant, stand aloof from the masses of the people and think they know everything and have no need to ask anyone, that the opinions they hold about this or that problem cannot be wrong, and that their acts are beyond criticism. They reach the point where they think they are irreplaceable. This leads them to errors, to arbitrary acts contrary to the laws of the state and the directives of the Party, to disregard for the wishes and opinions of the working collective. The worst thing is that they often justify these attitudes and present these actions as if they are taken on behalf of the Party in order to implement its directives, in the name of the general interest, of the campaign against narrow personal interest, allegedly in order to cultivate the spirit of sacrifice and the revolutionary spirit, etc., etc.

The Party has not allowed and will not allow

any one, whoever he may be, to place himself, intentionally or unintentionally, above the Party and above the class, to impose his will on the masses, to trample underfoot state laws and the rights of the working people, to disregard the voice of the masses. It is the duty of all the working people, especially the working class, to speak out courageously and condemn severely any manifestation of bureaucratism, to place under their control all the activity of the organs of the state, the economy and the Party, and the communists, cadres and employees wherever they work, be they elected or appointed. The idea that «it is someone else's business in some other place to look at their work» is not the idea of the Party. No unjust acts can escape the vigilance and judgement of the working class, of the people. Bureaucratism crops up its head and becomes active where it is underestimated and the fight against it weakens. It cringes and cowers when the masses raise their voice, when the control of the masses is exercised over it, when the powerful fist of the working class and its Party falls on it.

Comrades!

The great tasks which the 6th Party Congress set for the development of the economy and culture, and the numerous and complicated problems which emerge from our rapid development cannot be solved only by appealing to the conscience of the people, or only by taking administrative steps. We should set the organization, management and

planning of our economy on a more scientific basis so that the combination of social, collective and personal interests may be more correctly harmonized, always bearing in mind the knowledge and application of the objective laws of socialism. Our Party has always followed this road, and therefore all these historic victories have been attained, and magnificent prospects have been opened. Now it is up to us to further improve our system of managing the economy, relying on the teachings of Marxism-Leninism and on the experience we have gained throughout these years of socialist construction.

The interests of our economy, of our working class, and of the people demand that we not only produce as much as possible, but also produce by using as little manpower, materials and finance as possible, that we produce goods cheaply and of as high a quality as possible. Major improvements have been made in this respect. But the successes we have scored should not prevent us from seeing the defects we have in this field. In this case, above all, it is a question of raising the efficiency of our economy, of making the enterprises and the self-supporting system more productive, and of further improving the use of economic levers.

These problems have been brought up and talked about on other occasions. But how long shall we allow certain industrial and agricultural enterprises to incur losses for years in succession? Why are payroll funds and expenditure for materials and fuel exceeded, without being accompanied

by a corresponding increase in production? How can it be accepted that costs are lowered to the detriment of quality, or that goods are produced which the people do not want and not like? Is it not very bad and condemnable that certain enterprises make only partial use of, or find superfluous, machinery and equipment bought abroad with foreign currency? Why should our enterprises be urged to run after the «total» fulfilment of the plan and neglect the production of much of the planned range of items, of so-called minor articles, or the fulfilment of contracts with others?

Regarding these phenomena, which the ministries and the administrations of the enterprises come up against every day, deep all-round studies should be conducted, and presented to the Party and government, with concrete proposals on the measures to be applied. The working class itself is and must be no less interested in doing away with these defects. Viewed from this angle, it is the duty of every worker collective to see to it that the self-supporting system is strictly applied everywhere in all the links of the enterprise, that every enterprise should be profitable, and should not be allowed to incur losses except in extraordinary cases and by a special decision of the government. The principles and requirements of the self-supporting system should be made known to all the workers, so that they may strive to carry them out, to take an active part in running the enterprise and in exercising their control over all its activity. The problems of the organization and payment for work have been and remain the

object of the great and particular concern of the Party and the government. These are problems of vital interest to the development of our economy and to the life of the workers themselves. They are of deep ideological, political, economic and social significance, and are not purely administrative and technical problems.

Let us take the question of work quotas. The working class has shown itself ready, and has taken numerous initiatives, to raise quotas, to pass over to higher progressive technical quotas. This is a further expression of the high socialist consciousness of the working class, of the sound revolutionary spirit which characterizes it, of a deep understanding of the fact that higher work quotas are to the benefit of all, and to its own benefit. The better the work is, and the higher productivity is, the more production will increase, and the more the well-being of the people, of every worker and peasant family, will be improved.

Setting work quotas is a very delicate, responsible job. It must take into account the conditions that have been created, the introduction of advanced technique and technology, the improvement of work organization and the higher qualification of the workers. This does not permit haste, nor the taking of subjective decisions. Every change should be well weighed and studied in depth.

When we say we should be reasonable and not take hurried decisions about work quotas, this does not mean we should reconcile ourselves to the existing situation. Why should we stick to experimental statistical work quotas which we have

been working to for over twenty years? Has all this time not been enough to experiment and then to establish new well, studied, technically based work norms? It is true that progressive work quotas have been established in many enterprises and work processes, but these are still rather limited.

The task of establishing technical norms is not new, it has been discussed at other times. But conservatism and bureaucratism hinder and delay the solution of this problem. This is also sometimes justified under the pretext that the establishment of technical norms «angers» the working class and «encroaches» upon its interests. This is not justification and the working class does not accept it. It is well aware that everything in our country is done for its benefit. The establishment of technical norms can affect only those who unjustly receive more than they are entitled to for the work they do, but does not and must not affect those who work well, who receive what is due to them according to the quantity and quality of work done.

The study and establishment of new work norms should always be done in the spirit of the class, along class lines and in the interest of the working class, not according to stale views, maintaining out-dated, superseded norms only in order not to «anger» those who try to profit from society and put more money into their pockets. The workers themselves should persuade these people that they are not in order, that in this way the interests of the class are not upheld but harmed.

Keeping these experimental statistical norms

in force has brought about certain unjustifiable disproportions in the pay of workers of the various branches of our economy. It is quite unjust that a worker of the food-processing industry, because he greatly overfulfils low work norms, should receive the same pay as, or more than, a miner who workers underground in difficult conditions.

Nor does the fact that workers of the same category are paid the same for working a day shift as for a night shift, comply with our socialist principles regarding pay.

I shall take another case. How can it be accepted that a young boy who has just left school, should receive approximately the same pay as an old experienced worker who has from 15 to 20 years seniority at work?

Other irregularities are created in the present system of pay because, in many cases, a lot of workers with a lower personal category are employed in jobs of a higher category. Consequently, a less qualified worker receives, in this case, equal pay with another, more highly qualified worker. This impairs the quality of work and production, lowers productivity, and lessens the incentive and interest in raising one's qualification.

Our society is very interested in having people continually raise their qualification for work, and their technical and vocational ability and knowledge. In our country, all doors are open for any one who wants to work and learn. But we must put more order and discipline into this matter, and raise requirements. We should not permit formal promotion to a higher category without subjecting

the knowledge and ability of the candidate to strict verification and control. Each should be given the category he or she really deserves. I say this because in this matter there are also manifestations of leniency and sentimentality. This is also shown in the training of higher cadres at the university, where certain young people are awarded unmerited titles and diplomas. This is not to the interest of the working class and of the people.

All matters dealing with the system of pay, granting of categories, and qualifications, should be viewed in a complex way, not a onesided way, for otherwise undesirable economic, political and social consequences may emerge. In studying and solving these problems, special attention is to be attached to maintaining correct proportions in pay for qualified, less qualified and unqualified work, for heavy and light work, for work in more important and less important branches of the economy, in the principal and auxiliary sectors and so on.

The shortcomings and faults we are criticizing are partial and particular. They are not typical of our development, and cannot overshadow the results of the good work of the organs of the Party and our state power, our cadres and workers. Our life, the development of our economy and culture and our socialist construction, are characterized by rapid progress, and major transformations and successes, which are the fruits of the conscientious and selfdenying efforts of our heroic working class, the cooperative peasantry, the people's intelligentsia, the communists and the

party and non-party leading cadres. We criticize shortcomings and weaknesses and cannot reconcile ourselves with them, because they hinder us in our triumphant march forward, they restrain the drive and creative work of the masses, preventing us from attaining the results we have every possibility of attaining. We fight them, because we want to advance faster, and to march always ahead.

Comrades,

Many cooperative members representing our peasantry have also been invited to take part in this Congress of the working class and all our working people. This is a very good thing, as it testifies to the strong and close alliance which binds the working class with the peasantry. Our working class and peasantry have marched and will always march side by side, will exchange experience and will help each other, because they are following the same road and have the same goal.

Today, our peasantry are faced with tremendous tasks to develop agriculture, and increase agricultural and livestock production, which are so essential to our economy and the life of our people. The accomplishment of these tasks will be decisive in the successful fulfilment of the whole 5th five-year plan. Aware of these tasks, our cooperative peasantry are working with fresh vigour and enthusiasm to reach the set targets, and to make our socialist countryside more beautiful and more

prosperous. In all the efforts the peasantry make, they will have, as always, the direct, unsparing and all-round support and aid of the working class.

There are many tasks our industry will have to face to assist the countryside. It will have to supply agriculture with more chemical fertilizers, insecticides, herbicides, machinery and work tools, building materials and mass consumer goods. The peasantry rightly expects great assistance from the working class regarding the improvement of the organization and management of the cooperative economy, the raising of consciousness, and the enforcement of discipline and order at work. The Party is fully convinced that the working class will honourably fulfil its obligations towards the peasantry, and will as always play its leading role in building socialism in the countryside, just as the peasantry for its part will fulfil its obligations and pledges to the working class and the urban working people.

Comrades,

Your Congress is meeting at a time when major events are taking place in the world, which we are not isolated from or unaffected by. But, as always, our Party, our government and our people as a whole analyse the development of the international situation with due attention and maintain a stand which complies with the defence

of the freedom and independence of our homeland and the construction of socialism in Albania, which helps the cause of revolution and of the liberation of the peoples throughout the world.

The international position of socialist Albania is strong and unshakable. Thanks to its revolutionary struggle and activity, its correct internationalist policy and its determined anti-imperialist and anti-revisionist stand, our country has gained the sympathy of the progressive and peace-loving peoples of the world, and has many powerful friends who always wish it well and help it generously.

The friendship and collaboration between the Albanian and Chinese peoples, between our two parties and governments, is becoming increasingly stronger. This friendship is built and is growing on the unshakable basis of Marxism-Leninism, proletarian internationalism, and our common interests and aims. As such, it has resisted and will resist all tests, it will be steeled further to the benefit of both our peoples, and the cause of revolution and socialism in the world. Our Party and people will always work to make our close Albanian-Chinese revolutionary ties, our fruitful cooperation, mutual respect and fraternal aid forge ahead and become ceaselessly stronger.

We consider the brilliant successes achieved by the working class and the whole Chinese people, under the wise leadership of the glorious Chinese Communist Party and the great Marxist-Leninist, comrade Mao Tsetung, as our own victories. They fill our hearts with joy and we wish our comrades

of the Chinese working class and all the Chinese people further and greater successes in the future, so that they may make great People's China a still more powerful bastion of revolution and socialism in the world, an even more unshakable base of the anti-imperialist struggle of all the peoples.

The working class and the whole Albanian people rejoice immensely to see that in recent years the revolutionary activity of the working people in all the capitalist and revisionist countries is rapidly gaining momentum, and with it their class consciousness.

While the bourgeoisie and the Soviet-led modern revisionists have been plunged into a major crisis involving the economic, ideological and political spheres, the working class is coming onto the battlefield, now earlier, now later, here with more determination and there with less, and striving to take into its hands the power and role which history has assigned it. It is certain that the intensity, acuteness, and degree of political and ideological awareness of the world revolutionary movement will keep growing and deepening. Revolution can never be stopped by either bourgeois oppression or revisionist betrayal.

The powerful movement of the people for national liberation from the imperialist, colonialist and neo-colonialist yoke has become an irresistible trend in modern history. The brilliant victories achieved by the people of Vietnam against the US imperialist aggression show that a people

who fight heroically for independence cannot be beaten.

For more than a month now, the heroic fighters of South Vietnam have been successfully continuing their bold offensive, the greatest and most powerful since the 1968 offensive. They have succeeded in liberating many towns and districts, seizing the major US military bases within the powerful grip of their encirclement, and causing incalculable losses to the enemy. Washington's «Vietnam strategy» has been profoundly shaken. It was proved that neither now nor at any time can there be such a thing as «Vietnamization». For Nixon, there is only one course, to withdraw as soon as possible from Vietnam, to let the Vietnamese and the people of Indo-China settle their own affairs freely and independently of any foreign aggression and intervention. The persistence of the US government in continuing its military violence and political manoeuvres to achieve what it could not achieve on the battle-field is doomed to shameful failure, as has been the case so far. The continuation of aggression can never stop the Vietnamese people from freeing their country and realizing their national aspirations. The future of Vietnam and of the other peoples of Indo-China is secure. They are building it with their sacred fight for freedom and independence, with their bloodshed and numerous sacrifices.

The working class and the people of Albania, certain of the inevitable triumph of the fraternal Vietnamese people, have been and will be in soli-

darity with them to the end, and will give them all their support.

The Albanian people are in full solidarity with and support unreservedly the just struggle of the fraternal Palestinian people and all the other Arab peoples against the Israeli-imperialist aggression.

The struggle of the Vietnamese people, and that of the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America against imperialism, and in the first place US imperialism, show that no predatory power, however big and powerful it may be, can check the people's drive for national liberation, or stop the overthrow of the old relations of imperialist dependence, oppression and exploitation.

The peoples of the world have now risen and are opposing with greater determination the policy of violence and hegemony which the US imperialists and the Soviet social-imperialists are pursuing, the attempts they are making to extend their zones of influence and to divide the world between them, the policy of dictate and arbitrariness of the two imperialist superpowers. The working masses oppose in particular the demagoguery and deceptive slogans of the old and new imperialists who, pretending to be concerned about peace and international security, try to lull the vigilance of the people, to prevent them from uniting into a general anti-imperialist and anti-revisionist front, and to disarm all their revolutionary opponents ideologically and politically.

But the efforts of the US imperialists and Soviet social-imperialist and of all reactionaries, cannot stop the triumphant march of the working

people of the world, of the international working class, towards national and social emancipation, towards revolution. Socialism is the future of mankind, and therefore, it can neither be stopped nor diverted.

The great historic victories the working people of the capitalist and revisionist countries are scoring in their struggle against imperialism and the national bourgeoisie are another source of powerful inspiration for us all, a great incentive to work even harder in our country to reach all the targets set, in order to further advance the cause of socialist construction in Albania.

Allow me, dear comrade delegates, to take advantage of this occasion to greet the representatives of the trade unions of fraternal countries and representatives of revolutionary workers who are attending your Congress and, through them, the working class and all the workers of the countries they have come from, to wish them successes and victories in the noble struggle they are waging.

The working class of Albania, and all our working people, will strive, as they have done so far, to ceaselessly strengthen their internationalist solidarity with their class brothers in other countries, and will firmly support the struggle of the working people of the whole world against imperialism and capitalist exploitation, in defence of national liberation, democracy and social justice, for the final victory of the great cause of the proletariat, socialism.

Dear comrades, let us raise our revolutionary spirit and proletarian discipline higher, let us face

difficulties courageously, do away with shortcomings, and forge ahead on all fronts! Let the drive and impetus of our heroic working class, of the working masses of town and countryside, of our women and youth burst forth powerfully, to fulfil and overfulfil the plan for 1972 and for the whole five-year plan period, in order to make our socialist homeland more beautiful and more flourishing!

Long live the glorious Party of Labour!

Long live our heroic working class!

Long live the Trade Unions of socialist Albania!

Glory to Marxism-Leninism!

ON PROMOTING SOCIALIST DEMOCRACY IN THE FAMILY

*Speech delivered at the meeting of the Secretariat
of the Central Committee of the Party of Labour of
Albania*

May 24, 1972

I too wish to say a few words about the question we are examining at this meeting of the Secretariat. First of all I wish to express my satisfaction at the good and well thought out comments of the comrades of the districts who work with the organization of the Women's Union¹. I am very glad that the Party, through tireless work, has trained such capable comrades who have a profound understanding of its line and are able to implement it correctly in practice. I have no

1) Reference is to the women in charge of the women's organization in the Përmet, Shkodra, Elbasan, and Mirdita districts, invited to attend this meeting of the Secretariat of the CC of the PLA.

doubt that in the Party we have hundreds and thousands of other women comrades like those we heard here, who should be highly valued, encouraged and supported by all, and by the Party in the first place, for the good work they do. They should be supported not in a sentimental way and in the petty-bourgeois sense, because they are women and «woman is the weaker sex», not because «the Party says so», but because the problem of women is of extraordinary importance. Women do not exist just to bear children, they are social beings with whom the life and the whole progress of human society are linked, at every level and from whatever standpoint you view it.

Our Party, from the time of its founding, has fought, is now fighting, and will continue to fight in the future, for the complete emancipation of women. It does this not only because women make up half of society, but because this stand arises from the principled policy which our Party pursues for the emancipation of all the masses of the people. The aim of our Party and of communism is the emancipation of the oppressed, of all those who suffer from economic exploitation, from lack of democratic freedom and, in general, from all forms and survivals of social inequality. The whole struggle of the Party aimed at freeing all the working people of Albania, men and women, young and old. This struggle continued until the people were freed and won political, social and economic freedom.

For the victories achieved to be consolidated

on a new basis and new principles, the economy was organized, and the ideological, political and moral education of the people, culture etc. were developed, with much effort and sacrifice. Having given the power to the people, the Party now stands at their head to build a happy life, a socialist society. Our life is forging impetuously ahead, our revolution is developing incessantly and deepening in all fields, and we are fighting to raise the material and cultural level of the working masses continually. But we must understand clearly that in this development, despite the improvements made, which bear no comparison with the past, there are also discrepancies and inequalities, such as, for instance, the differences between the economic, social and cultural condition of the cities and villages. We see that workers' centres and cities are better supplied with mass consumer goods. In spite of all the efforts made to narrow this and other gaps, we are still far from closing the gap completely, for we have not yet succeeded in giving the people what they need most, in quantity and quality. As we know, the struggle of the Party aims at equipping all our people with Marxist-Leninist education and culture, but in this field, too, there are inequalities, which are natural under the present conditions. The time will come, after many generations, when in our country these pronounced differences will no longer exist, when, true enough, some will be more or less educated than others, but there will no longer be illiterates or semi-illiterates. Thus, in spite of all the differences which will exist among people, we will reach

a general level of education and culture much higher than at present. Naturally, this will come about as a result of the great economic development of the country, as a result of the development of our education and culture. These successes will serve as the basis for the further improvement of the life of our people, of their economic conditions and cultural and educational level, and as a consequence of these improvements, a much narrower sphere of action will be left to the many age-long survivals in the consciousness of the people, petty-bourgeois survivals, and bourgeois and revisionist morality and ideology. In this way, the Marxist-Leninist understanding of every problem will be further illuminated. This inequality also exists in the relations between men and women.

When we speak of inequality in the relations between men and women, of oppression and the way to fully emancipate women, it is self-evident that we should not imagine that kind of inequality and class oppression to which the people were subjected in pre-socialist socio-economic formations. Under our conditions, the way to the complete emancipation of the woman is mapped out under the direction of the Party. Just as we are striving to close the economic gap between town and countryside, in the same way we will close the gap of the disparity in relations between men and women, to achieve their full equality not only in law but also in practice. This fundamental problem is of primary importance in the building of socialism.

Relying on the teachings of Marxism-Leninism, the Party has made and is making great efforts in the struggle for the complete emancipation of women. The participation of women in productive work has played an important role in extending their economic freedom, but at the same time this phenomenon has a major political and ideological effect and consequently has brought about a radical change in the direction of narrowing the distinctions between men and women. The Party, as a political organization which guides the proletariat, and inspires all the people wherever they are, cannot be fully successful in carrying out any activity of leadership without the broad participation of women, because their problem is related to everything. It cannot be said that this or that political, economic, social or cultural problem concerns men alone, excluding the women who make up an important section of society, who through no fault of their own, have lagged behind in cultural and educational development.

The struggle for the complete emancipation of women should not be forgotten for a moment, for it has to do with the narrowing of the existing differences in the economic, educational and cultural fields between one part of the population and another, between men and women. This major orientation of the Party should be taken to mean creating facilities to lighten women's tiring work of rearing and educating children, the essential need to provide consumer goods and gradually extend electrical home appliances needed to shorten the time of household work which, in

spite of the Party's insistence that this work should be shared by all members of the family, still continues to fall almost exclusively on the women. Every party basic organization, every state, cooperative or social organ, every enterprise, institution and every individual, wherever he or she is employed, should also see to it that the existing differences in the relations between men and women are done away with. All should think of narrowing this inequality, just as they think and act in narrowing the gap between town and countryside. Our women comrades who are more enlightened politically, ideologically, and from the educational and cultural standpoint, who are in a position to understand and be more profoundly aware of this inequality, should be the principal elements, wherever they work, to raise before the collective both the obligations of women towards society and those of society towards women. We have such women comrades today not only in the towns but also in the countryside.

Experience has continually proven that when the Party takes a problem in hand and mobilizes the masses to solve it, every goal, no matter how difficult it seems, is achieved. Thus, when the Party made an all-out effort, taxes and the system of compulsory accumulation of agricultural and livestock products were lifted. When the Party raised the question of supplying electricity to all the villages of our country as an absolutely essential need, because socialism could not be built with the countryside in darkness, this task was completed with full success. The Party is doing the same thing

for the complete emancipation of women, but in order to have better results in this field, which has to do especially with the ideological and cultural revolution, we must firmly insist that all the people, at every step of their lives, bear in mind the teachings of the Party on making the question of the complete emancipation of women a problem of all the people.

Revolutionary struggle, the Party teaches us, does away with all those outdated survivals which exist in the minds of the people, as well as the consequences of these survivals, which weigh more heavily on women. They weigh more heavily on women; not because they desire them, but because of the backward concepts inherited from the past which the ruling classes cultivated for their own interests using their power, the power of religion and the power of men. Men should never think that they love freedom more than women, even though the women are less educated and cultured. People who are not fully equal with others feel the burden of oppression and love freedom more than any one else. This is just as true in the sphere of family relations as it is true that the slave loves freedom more than the slaveowner, the serf more than the feudal lord and the proletarian more than the bourgeois.

We should become deeply aware of the feelings of those girls who are «sold» by their patriarchal, conservative and backward fathers, or of those women who, though they toil harder than their menfolk, are at times scolded and even beaten by their husbands. If we become profoundly aware of

the feelings of the women, we will see what great revolt seethes within them in such cases as I have mentioned, and what boundless desire they have to call on their Party to liberate them! The Party should find suitable forms, ways and means to meet the demands of women, not only economic, but also educational, cultural etc. The task of carrying out this noble mission falls, first and foremost, on us, the communists, who are the most advanced and aware members of society, because we are more revolutionary, we are equipped with Marxist-Leninist ideas, with socialist culture and with the teachings of our Party, which orientates us, lights our path and guides our activities, and prevents us from turning into a blind alley. The Party's work for our ideological, political, educational and cultural development is an important factor in building socialism, and has made us more capable of facing obstacles, fighting and conquering them, and always forging ahead.

The level of comprehension on many questions varies, because our society is made up of people of different generations and walks of life. One of these is the older generation who, despite all the progress they have made in the process of their education and re-education, in spite of their great merits and the special respect they enjoy because they made the revolution, have not yet sufficiently rid themselves of the old feudal, conservative and petty-bourgeois ideas and opinions. This is apparent especially in the field of family relations and concretely in the relations between

husband and wife. If the Party were to fail to understand this reality, then it would be on the wrong track, and would not be able to concentrate its forces on bringing about those progressive changes which are dictated by the new stage of the historical development of our country, the full construction of the socialist society. If we are content with general statements declaring that we have given women political, legal and social freedom, and close our eyes to the economic, cultural, moral or political disparities that still exist in the family between wife and husband, the Party cannot mobilize itself as the standard bearer of the struggle to liberate and save the oppressed, to draw all the masses, especially the women who through the centuries have been most oppressed, out of this situation.

The question of further raising the educational and cultural level in our country has extraordinary importance for all, especially for the older generation, among whom there are a large number of people who have less culture than those young people who have been educated and brought up under the conditions of the socialist society. The grandparents and parents of the present youth were brought up before liberation and, for the reasons we know, received very limited education and culture. The National Liberation War, the liberation of the country and the work of building socialism, enabled some of the people of the older generation to rid themselves of the fog of the culture which they had received from the old society, and in the process of re-education, they were

equipped with the culture of our new state and social order. This phenomenon of getting rid of the negative influence of bourgeois culture began to appear among our intellectuals immediately after liberation, while among the broad masses of the people who lacked even primary schooling, this was more difficult.

The Party should see that this transformation, brought about among the generation of intellectuals which I have just mentioned, is extended at all costs to the older generation of the population, because all, by their actions and attitudes, greatly influence the formation of the younger generation. Our younger generation is raised with pure feelings, with broad socialist culture, and lives, works and fights under socialism; thus it is interested in opening the way for our socialist norms everywhere, but petty-bourgeois remnants, nurtured by bourgeois and revisionist ideology, and reflecting the concepts and thoughts of the old world overthrown by our revolution and transmitted by the older generation, hamper social progress and become an obstacle, especially to the complete emancipation and allround progress of our youth and women. The dissemination of socialist education and culture among the mass of our women has special importance in fighting the many patriarchal, feudal, petty-bourgeois and bourgeois survivals. All the old people living in villages, towns and cities have the opportunity to be re-educated, just like many of their companions whom the Party has convinced and educated. Those who cannot advance at the same pace as the younger gene-

ration should support it and not become an obstacle, especially to girls and women who are eager to forge ahead.

In line with the decisions of the Party Congress, the Women's Union of Albania rightly considers the educational, technical and vocational development of women as one of its principal tasks. These two elements, the level of education and the level of socialist relations in the family, also determine the level of the emancipation of women, following on what they have achieved in social production and in the political and social domain; therefore, for the reason I have mentioned, the Party and the mass organizations like those of the trade unions, the youth, the Front etc., should attach greater importance to school attendance at every level, especially by women. Why do I say especially by women? Because among some people there still exists the old concept that «a woman doesn't need education». This reactionary concept has been shattered among the young. Now almost every girl attends school and a good number attend secondary schools and university. This is an extraordinary success for the great work of our Party, which others have not attained. Today our girls are good from every point of view, they are strong, agile, cultured, hard workers, pure in their thoughts and capable of understanding aright questions of party policy. The Party has educated them with all these attributes.

We have many schools, ranging from the lowest to the highest which should be zealously attended by our young people in line with the

directives given, but we should also make efforts to raise the cultural level of the older generation, because a great disparity exists among them in this respect. I do not think that we should call on the old women in the countryside to attend school, for it would be difficult for all of them to do this, but it is essential to find forms and methods of work so that education, and especially culture, may be assimilated in a concentrated way by all the people, especially the women. If this is done well, if the cultural level of the somewhat older women is raised, then we will see with our own eyes major transformations taking place as regards the further narrowing of the cultural gap among them, and we will be able to wage a more effective campaign against old survivals, whose source lies to a great extent in people's ignorance. In this way the instructions and directives of the Party and of the women's organization will also be better and more easily understood, and there will be no need to go into detail about everything in these directives, whether for minor problems or for important ones dealing with relations within the family. Why do we have to speak in detail now about many things? Because at present the women, and even the men, in the countryside are not all at the necessary cultural level, and often become an obstacle to the establishment of new socialist norms, specially in the family.

Within the context of the development of women, we should also look at the other side, that they should be involved to a greater extent with the preoccupying problems of the time, of life.

Traditionally, the men have been and continue to be superior in this respect. This superiority of men in life did not come about all at once, but was created over a very long period. Men engaged in work outside the family, tackling problems of social production and social politics which were very intricate; they have had to solve many problems in order to meet the needs of the family and in this process they developed, learned, advanced, and asserted the worth of their abilities.

Not only men but women too must learn from life and confront the problems it raises. Today not only in the town but in the village too, men discuss state, political, and moral questions, matters of principle, etc., and have no time to attend to minor matters. What about the women? Many conditions have been created for them as well. In our country the women take part in productive social labour, in political and social life, and now have a richer mental world, they aspire to be active everywhere the same as men, and to a certain extent they also manifest their abilities. But still, when the women have done their work and done it well at the factory machine, in the laboratory and elsewhere, they return home where they have to do the tiring housework, and thus, naturally, have very little time left to think beyond the narrow framework of the family. Some men who discuss major economic and political issues, go home and expect to have dinner ready and other services done for them, and then go to bed without taking «the trouble» to discuss with their wives too the major problems of the time, in the way they discussed

them with their companions or read about them in the press. Often, these men are too lazy to communicate to others the Party's discussions and conclusions on the necessity of introducing the new norms in the family, which would influence the women as much as the elderly or the young.

It happens that men, underestimating the women's need for ideological, political, cultural and vocational development, hinder them from attending courses or conferences, because they cling to erroneous views on the relations between husband and wife and relations within the family. This attitude of some men is incompatible with the line of the Party, it is backward, patriarchal and conservative.

Married couples and other members of the family should communicate and discuss many problems together. In this respect, men have no reason to hesitate to talk with their wives just as they do with one another, because the things they discuss outside the family are not secret matters. If they were secret things, they would not discuss them even with their friends who do not belong to a party basic organizations. If we succeed in making all the communists and other non-party members understand the great importance of the communication of culture in the family, especially to the wives, sisters, and daughters, but also to the old, then we will have raised the cultural level of the masses to a higher degree, and this will bring about the elimination of many distinctions between men and women and thus the successful and harmonious solution of many problems which

preoccupy the family. With the establishment of these relations, every problem will be solved with good will, for all will be guided by the same principle.

On economic problems within the family such as the administration of the combined incomes, expenses, saving etc., etc., husband and wife will decide jointly, and as correctly as possible. Judging by the incomes they earn, the number of children they have, the needs which arise etc., they will act in the way that seems most reasonable to them and will buy those things they need to lighten household work, and to improve their material and cultural situation. This is done in many families where the teachings of the Party are rightly understood and the cultural level of the couple is high. The husband who seeks to impose his will against the interests of his wife and children, who eats and drinks without taking into consideration the needs of others, lacks a sense of marital and parental responsibility.

We will solve these problems aright only when we have made women aware that they must insist on the rights that belong to them, and that they must work hard to raise their ideological, political and cultural level. There can be no true socialist society and family, no pleasant life within the family, if it is not understood by all that the relations between husband and wife should be characterized by mutual and equal obligations and rights, by mutual confidence, respect and love. The establishment of these correct relations will greatly influence the upbringing and education of

the children to become worthy citizens of our society. This is an absolute necessity, which cannot be realized unless we take an interest in the wife, mother, sister or daughter in our household.

The development of the personality of women, and cultured communication with every member of the family, will greatly limit many concepts of backward men who hinder young women in their work as social activists after they marry, and will prevent many parents under the influence of pronounced patriarchal survivals from «selling» their daughters for money, concluding marriages for payment, etc. The formation of the new world outlook and conviction of the rightness of the new family relations, will stop the man from considering his wife, daughter or sister as an inferior creature who was born and will die in this condition.

The old world outlook, in which many views and remnants are interwoven, has exerted its influence, and has left its traces in the bad treatment of women by some men. There is not doubt that all parents want their daughter or son to be honest and hard-working. All parents want their daughter to find a good husband, but the conservative, victim of many old views, has no confidence in his daughter, and fears that the man who marries his daughter for love may later abandon her, and then the family will bear the burden of shame for the daughter would return to her parents. But it is a fact that the conservative has a different view about his son, who may divorce several women and this will be forgotten, because social opinion is not yet sufficiently formed, and does

not make equal moral demands on boys and girls.

When the Party creates a situation in which political work goes on in every family, so that the parent treats his daughter not as a creature subject to the severity of «paternal power» but as a companion, joining in discussion with her on political, ideological, cultural, ethical and other problems, then the daughter will be well able to make her own choice of a faithful life companion. Not only will such a girl be able to choose a good man, and her father need have no reason to feel concerned, but through her work and thinking she will demonstrate her real ability, and no one will dare treat her as an inferior being.

In this respect, the organization of the Youth Union should play a very great role, for youth makes up the most dynamic part of our socialist society. All that I have said will also be done by the old, but more by the young, who are less affected by backward concepts than older people. Youth itself is free from the influence of the past, but the older generation in many ways, intentionally, or unintentionally, transmits and «injects» some of its old concepts into the youth. Therefore, the youth organization should influence its members as much as possible so that each young man may know what role he must play in defending the rights of his sister and his mother. If the young men fail to understand that in life, in love and in their relations with their girl companions they should be serious and behave in compliance with the norms of proletarian morality, if they fail to uphold the new norms in their attitude towards their mothers and sisters,

then some manifestations which restrict and stifle girls will never be brought to an end, and it will be more difficult and take a very long time for some parents to acquire confidence in them.

I am speaking here of a correct understanding of the place and role of girls and women, but also of pure and sincere relations of comradeship, friendship and love between young men and young women. We are Marxist-Leninists and as such have a realistic grasp of the development of life. In the great transformation and rapid advance which is taking place both in the life of society as a whole as well as in the life of our youth there will, of course, also be some mistakes in the life of and in the relations between our young men and young women. This rare thing is not a catastrophe as the conservatives maliciously make out, because not only some young people, but old people too, despite their great experience make mistakes. There are older people, even the old communists among them, who do not understand the development of life correctly and, when an unpleasant case arises, without going into the matter make baseless generalizations, saying that the youth have gone to the bad, etc. But why throw the blame on the youth alone, when old people also make mistakes? Why should we say the youth have gone to the bad, when the old people who transmit all kinds of old ideas to them, are supposed to be all right?

The communists and patriots should realize that mistakes occur in life, and therefore, in order to have as few mistakes as possible it is necessary

to apply the line of the Party properly. We will say to him who speaks ill of the youth: «What have you done for the complete emancipation of women? Why have you considered it enough to stand up at a meeting and say a few words about these vital problems, and have not set a personal example in the relations within your own family? Why have you not severely criticized improper stands and attitudes towards women but have preferred to complain that «the youth have gone to the bad»? Then we will criticize this person, because he is conservative and makes insufficient effort to understand the line of the Party profoundly.

Our society has made great progress in making girls equal companions with boys. In contrast with the time when young people never met or got acquainted before marriage, now they work together, are good companions, and in the process of work and acquaintance, they spend time in each other's company, become friends and may fall in love and marry, thus creating a new socialist family in which sincere love and mutual respect predominate. There may be occasional unfortunate results but one or a few bitter cases cannot stain our youth.

The youth is the future of our society. Tomorrow, the young men and the young women will be the fathers and mothers of a youth much more advanced than we were in our time, or than the youth are today. Therefore, you comrades of the youth organization, together with the comrades of the women's organization, should attach great importance to the collaboration between your organ-

izations for the strengthening of the socialist family. Regardless of the fact that you are separate organizations of the masses each of which has its own specific work, in this direction you should be in very close contact. Difficulties exist both with regard to setting up more nurseries and kindergartens for children, household economy, which will disappear when a more advanced material and technological basis of socialism has been reached. We are aware of all of these, but there are things which have lagged behind not because of objective difficulties, but because of a superficial understanding of how to apply principles, thus, due to subjective causes. Therefore, the problem of the complete emancipation of women has to do, above all, with the correct understanding and application of the principles and directives set forth by the Party.

TODAY THE ALBANIAN PEOPLE FIGHT, WORK AND LIVE HAPPILY IN THE EPOCH OF THE PARTY

Speech delivered at the reception given in the city of Vlora on the occasion of the 60th anniversary of the proclamation of independence and the 28th anniversary of the liberation of the country.

November 28, 1972

Today we celebrate with great joy the 60th anniversary of the proclamation of the independence of Albania. Since 1912, the Albanian people have always called November 28 their national day, and have linked it with the hero city of Vlora, where independence was proclaimed and the red flag with the double-headed eagle raised, the symbol of the freedom and sovereignty of the homeland, and of the unity of all the Albanians who had continually fought with arms, the pen, and diplomacy for the formation of a single Albania which would include within its boundaries the Albanian territory and all the Albanian people with their habits, customs, traditions and common

mother tongue. All these natural and legitimate rights were denied to the Albanian people by the imperialist powers and the other satellite capitalist states.

Before as well as after 1912, when the independent Albanian state was proclaimed in Vlora, our sacred territories, drenched in the blood of our fighting people who never bowed to slavery, had continually become an object of barter for predatory foreign powers. Reflecting the interests of one power or another, the map of Albania had been marked with the colours of those states which had dismembered and enslaved our country.

Even after the fixing of Albania's borders by the big imperialist powers, as a result of the ceaseless liberation struggles of our forefathers, from the legendary time of Scanderbeg up to the Balkan wars against the Ottoman Empire, during which the Albanians played one of the decisive roles in weakening «the sick man of the Bosphorus», there was no security for our long suffering people.

Following the historic event in Vlora, the great patriot, outstanding statesman, and diplomat Ismail Qemali, setting out for London at the head of a delegation to defend the rights and borders of our homeland, was accompanied, among others, by the brave, wise and fiery Albanian patriot from Kosova Isa Boletini. Tradition has it that when Isa Boletini was to meet the British Foreign Minister, he was asked to remove his revolver before entering the room. When the discussion had ended and the British Minister was seeing him off, he said to Isa in a boastful way that up to that time

no one had been able to disarm him, but now the day had come when he was disarmed in London. After firmly placing in his belt the silver pistol he had handed over to the guard, Isa Boletini pulled out another revolver from the inner pocket of his gold-embroidered waistcoat, and in reply to the British Minister said right then and there: «Indeed not! Not even in London!», letting it be understood that no state can ever disarm the Albanians when it is a question of defending their rights.

Historical facts show that even after the borders of our country had been fixed, the secret London treaties had again divided Albania among its neighbours. Again in 1917, at the time of the First World War, historical documents confirm that the powers of the Entente informed Charles I of the Hapsburgs, the Emperor who replaced Franz Joseph, that they accepted the armistice proposed by the Austro-Hungarian Empire if it agreed, among other conditions, that Albania should be swallowed up by the Serbian State. And this apology for an emperor granted them this gift, as if our country were a handkerchief which he could buy in the stores of Vienna or Budapest. In history, this event is known by the name of the «Affaire Sixte de Bourbon».

Under these critical conditions, in struggle against the imperialist powers and the chauvinism of the neighbouring States, in struggle against their numerous and diabolic intrigues which prevented our people from achieving their sacred goal of liberating and setting up a free, independent

Albania, our people fought decade after decade until that November 28, the 60th anniversary of which we are celebrating today.

The entire Albanian people, as the decisive factor who have made and are making their history themselves, created the favourable conditions to bring about this great historic event. At the same time there is merit in the great Albanian patriots led by Ismail Qemali who acted with courage and wisdom at those decisive moments for the future of our homeland.

The old man of Vlora with his companions, like Luigj Gurakuqi, Bajram Curri, Isa Boletini, Pandeli Cale and others, became the soul of the liberation uprisings which broke out in the years 1910 to 1912, of the militant rallies of the Albanians for freedom and independence which flared up everywhere, in southern and northern Albania, in Peja and Jakova, in Prizren and Prishtina, in Plava and Guca, in Dibra and Skopje, in Rumania, France, Turkey, and the United States of America. It was under these circumstance that Ismail started his triumphal march from Istanbul through Bucharest, Vienna and Trieste, landed at Durrës, and then crossed the Myzeqe marshes, finally arriving in Vlora where he was awaited by representatives who had come from all over Albania for the great historic event, to fulfil the lofty mission the people had assigned to them, the proclamation of independence and the creation of an independent Albanian State. The people and the Party of Labour of Albania have set up in Vlora a fine monument to these great standardbearers of the struggle for

freedom and national independence, in the very place where the flag was raised on November 28, sixty years ago. The immortal people, the coming generations, will come wave upon wave to honour with profound admiration, respect and gratitude the titanic exploits of their predecessors and their sons and daughters who fought for the freedom and independence of the homeland.

But from November 28, 1912, to November 29, 1944, the Albanian people had to fight uninterruptedly for fully 32 years against internal and external enemies against hunger, disease and medieval ignorance. The Albanian people had to fight against local feudal satraps and the endless intrigues of the imperialist powers who were tightening the noose around their necks, they had to fight against the regime of the whip and rope of chief hangman Ahmet Zogu, who sold the whole of Albania to the Italian fascists and paved the way to its occupation. The Albanian people had finally to wage the bloodiest and most glorious war of their history, the National Liberation War, led by the Communist Party of Albania, in order to raise again in Vlora and throughout Albania the triumphant red flag of freedom with the double-headed eagle, which now had in its centre the bright star of the Party and the partisans. A new page was opened in the glorious history of our people, the brilliant epoch of socialism and communism.

What did the Albanian people learn and what conclusions did they draw from all the events which occurred during those 32 years I referred

to? Freedom, independence, sovereignty and self-government are the highest aspirations of a people, who must fight with arms and with every means at their disposal to win them, and once they have won them, must be always vigilant and fully armed to defend them at all costs against any one attempting to encroach upon and eliminate them.

The various imperialist powers and capitalist states have always been the sworn enemies of the Albanian people. They have always caused them harm, they have attacked them, bled them white, divided them, deceived, partitioned and enslaved them. Therefore, our people should have no faith in them, they should not cherish any illusions about their so-called aid, but should be always on their guard and never fall into trap of their demagoguery, they should discuss any problem with them as equals, and in no case bow to their threats and blackmail. If any one attempts to resort to force against our people, then let our people show him their force.

«Unity is strength» our people say. Therefore, in fair weather and in foul, they should preserve their steel-like unity, both in order to forge ahead towards well-being and progress, and to cope with any storm which may come. Thirty two years of fighting, suffering and toil have taught our people that in order to be united, they must settle accounts radically with their internal enemies, the feudal chiefs, the rich merchants, the tribal chieftains, religion and the reactionary clergy, with political bandits, highway robbers, usurers and deceivers, with all these attendant evils in the great

wound of the mediaeval past, and of imperialism and capitalism of our days.

These thirty two years of fighting, suffering and toil also taught the Albanian people to wage a merciless struggle against ignorance. Learning, education and schooling were indispensable to open their eyes and arm them, for they had to roll up their sleeves for the great battle to build a new life, full of happiness and dignity, in order to overtake rapidly the centuries that had left them behind.

In the great test of those years, our people felt what colossal energy they had within them, they beat big states and powers in battle, fully confident that they would cut through mountains, make the homeland flourish, and enrich their inner life, because now they had taken power in their hands, and after all these tragic trials, they would never let this power escape from their grasp.

Finally, one of the most important aspects is the great and brilliant lesson in history drawn by the people, that the real path to liberation was shown them by their Party of Labour of Albania, their glorious offspring, their heroic Party, intrepid in battle, wise, modest and honest like the people who brought it into being in times of storm and catastrophe, nourishing it in the mountains, sharing their food and shedding their blood, the Party of communists which holds and will always hold aloft and uncurbed the banner of Marxism-Leninism. The Party enlivened the people's strength of spirit and body, increased the power of their sword and rifle, and kindled their desire

to live, to be renewed and learn, in their free and sovereign homeland. The Party sharpened their mental and physical abilities to set up their own people's power and to build the socialist system.

Tomorrow, November 29, 1972, twenty-eight years will have passed since the day of liberation, on November 29, 1944. During this important historical period, our people, guided by their Marxist-Leninist Party ousted the foreign occupiers from their land by force of arms, did away with traitors and treachery, liquidated the old power of the feudal chiefs and capitalists, established their new state power, eliminated the hostile classes, tempered the alliance of the working class with the peasantry, and are building the socialist society. Today the Albanian people fight, work and live happily in the epoch of the Party.

What has this bright epoch, though relatively short, brought to our people? All good things, and nothing bad. Today, the people are masters in their own country, Albania has emerged from darkness into light, it has been completely reconstructed, with cities and villages, roads and ports; our industry has been set up and continues to grow vigorously, new mines have been opened, magnificent thermo — and hydro-power stations have been built, the electric reticulation of the entire country has been completed, the black metallurgical industry is under construction, roads and railways have been built, and agriculture, thanks to collectivization, mechanization, and the application of modern agricultural technique, has made a

great leap forward. Education has become like food to our people. There is no village anywhere, no town, no city, no factory or workshop, without schools of various kinds. Schools, schools and light everywhere, for the minds and hearts of our people. Cultural and sports centres, hospitals, clinics, maternity homes etc., have been set up all over Albania. In contrast with the pre-liberation period the living standard of our people has risen and continues to rise all the time. Bearing in mind the wretched past of our people, we know how to evaluate this rise in the standard of living correctly and realistically, for we know where we started from and, at the same time, have a clear vision of where we will get to. We have raised this standard of living, and will continue to raise it, by our own efforts and our own toil, without enslaving our country and people either economically or politically.

The Party teaches the people to be on their guard against any danger that may come from outside, be it the danger of armed aggression, or of the loss of freedom and independence that might come through economic enslavement by the imperialist metropolis, with US imperialism at the head, and the social-imperialist metropolis, with the Soviet revisionists at the head. In order to cope with these two dangers, the Albanian people and their Party must be armed and must make no concession whatsoever.

We stand for peaceful coexistence, on the basis of the familiar principles of great Lenin, not allowing anyone at any moment to encroach upon our legitimate rights.

Some one may say with a smile: «But would the imperialist powers be afraid of acting against socialist Albania?» We reply to this that the Albanian people are not afraid of them either. The imperialists and social imperialists are afraid of the people, of revolution, and of Marx's ideas, which inspire the people and lead them forward. Socialist Albania is marching in the forefront of this proletarian revolution, and it is not alone, its friends and faithful comrades are the peoples of the world, the world proletariat, who are oppressed and exploited in the most barbarous way by imperialism and social-imperialism.

We must arm our people well against the propaganda and demagoguery of the capitalists and revisionists, who claim that we are isolated from the world, from progressive science, from their «generous aid». What in fact is the aid they claim they would give us through their credits? It means selling out our country to them, allowing the imperialists and revisionists to invest their capital in Albania, to suck the blood and sweat of our people, so that we become satellites of the big monopolies and metropolises, so that we adopt their degenerate way of life, so that we establish in our country their consumer society with all its attendant evils, so that the old exploiting class together with all the evils of the present capitalist and revisionist class may be revived and consolidated in our country. The Albanian people will not swallow this, since they are well aware of all these dangers; the Party and they themselves are

vigilant and take care never to set foot on quicksand.

Where do these modern robbers get this capital with which they so «generously» seek to «aid» other backward peoples? From the terrible exploitation of their working class and of other peoples. The surplus values which goes into the pocket of the capitalists from the eight hour workday of the worker, comes from the appropriation of the greater part of this workday. What huge profits he derives from the toil and sweat of the workers! Even when, because they want to continue their savage exploitation in peace and quiet, the capitalists are compelled by circumstances to make a small sacrifice in favour of the workers, who rise in bloody strikes and demonstrations, they rob the workers on the other hand through heavy taxes, raising prices and rents, setting high school fees, high charges for medical treatment, and all other forms of extortion, including the sale of goods on credit and the withholding of workers' wages for months at a stretch, all characteristics of the consumer society. These super-profits impoverish the working class, while making it possible for the capitalists to invest their capital elsewhere, in order to exploit and oppress other peoples, to colonize further countries, allegedly for the sake of progress and supermarkets filled with commodities which cannot be bought and which were made with the sweat and blood of the workers.

No! the Albanian people and their Party will never be deceived into turning their socialist society into this hell. In our country there may not

exist supermarkets, our shops today may still lack certain commodities, but our people know that, in contrast with the past, these commodities have greatly increased, and are fully convinced that through their tireless efforts, our people will continue to increase them in the future, but in freedom and independence.

From liberation to the present day, prices of all commodities in our country have not risen as they do in the capitalist and revisionist countries, but, on the contrary, have been continually lowered. At a time when rents in their countries have skyrocketed, in our country they are extremely low; when all grades and branches of education in our country are free, school fees and expenses in their countries keep rising, day in, day out; while medical service in our country is free and treatment and medicines in hospitals are also free, in their countries hospitalization or even a minor surgical operation costs the earth; while here all taxes have been abolished, there the people suffer under the burden of colossal taxes, and so on in turn. That is what their society is like. Our socialist society is quite different.

In the capitalist and revisionist countries, the number of hippies is increasing, narcotics, degenerate music and striptease are spreading far and wide, all kinds of theories to degenerate the people and youth are being propagated everywhere. By propaganda and demagoguery, they try to introduce into our country all these evils that are occurring in their countries, but we have blocked the way, we fight them and develop and spread our own

beautiful, pure, progressive and revolutionary life. We guard and educate a sound, revolutionary, people, the high virtues of proletarian morality, we guard and educate a sound, revolutionary, happy, optimistic and serious youth, taught to fulfil its great missions honourably.

The Soviet revisionists noisily claim that is «theoretically wrong» to say that socialism can be built relying on one's own forces as the Chinese and the Albanian maintain. In this matter, the glorious Chinese Communist Party and the Party of Labour of Albania are not wrong in the least, either in theory or in practice. The main, decisive factors in building socialism in a socialist country are the internal forces, the forces of the country itself. The aid one socialist country grants to another should be fraternal, internationalist, without interest and without political conditions. Such is the aid socialist Albania receives from the People's Republic of China.

But why is the aid China gives to Albania like this? Because our two countries are true socialist states, because two genuine Marxist-Leninist parties are at the head and in the lead of our two countries, because our two peoples, two parties and two states are bound by permanent friendship, leavened and tempered by Marxism-Leninism, because we follow one course, we have the same aims and the same enemies whom, in collaboration with other peoples and the world proletariat, we must beat and smash. The Albanians and the Chinese march side by side in complete unity with one another. In the same way, Mao Tsetung's

great China helps the other socialist countries and other peoples. Mao's great China is a powerful socialist state, not an imperialist or social-imperialist superpower.

Through their demagoguery, the Soviet-led modern revisionists try to deceive their own people and the people of the world when they claim that their countries and system are socialist. This is a downright lie. The modern revisionists have utterly destroyed the socialist system in their countries, turning it into a capitalist system, while they have now turned the Soviet Union itself into a social-imperialist state. One cannot imagine the existence of real fraternal internationalist collaboration, disinterested and without any political conditions, between the countries which call themselves socialist, or between them and us, as the Soviet revisionists and others who follow them claim. Their so-called «aid», allegedly socialist, is the same as the «aid» of US imperialism: the «mutual socialist collaboration» claimed by the Soviet revisionists is the same as «the sincere collaboration» of the imperialists. The two superpowers, the United States of America and the Soviet Union, which are preparing for a hot war, are striving, through their allegedly generous aid, to enslave you, to seize you in their economic and political grip, to place you in their spheres of influence and to colonize you.

The Soviet revisionists are enraged at China's and Albania's advance. China fully paid back the credits they had given it. For years we have been paying back to the sham friends who turned into

fierce enemies their so-called credits which consisted of some repainted machinery from old workshops.

We Albanians got to know well what lurked behind the so-called internationalist aid of the Soviet revisionists. The imperialist nature of their aid is now being experienced by other peoples and states. It was these Soviet revisionists who intensively sabotaged the development of our economy, industry and mining. Their aims were long-term — to enslave our socialist country and turn it into one of their satellites.

This same heroic Vlora saw Khrushchev, too. When this renegade to Marxism-Leninism found himself before the marvellous bay of Vlora, he was stunned, and on one occasion I heard his collaborator Malinovsky whisper in his ear: «Do you see, Nikita Sergeyevich? With rockets from Berlin and East Germany we can now hit Gibraltar, while from the bay of Vlora we have the whole Mediterranean in our grasp.» But they had only the wind in their grasp, for our Party and government frustrated their plans. Vlora will never fall into the hands of foreigners. This same Malinovsky said again to Khrushchev at Butrint: «What a beautiful lake this is. If the coast is cut through nearby, a marvellous submarine base could be built, and then Greece would also be ours». I shivered, and recalled that dark night in Tirana when together with Vasil Shanto we put up posters on the walls: «Down with Italian fascism! Long live the fraternal Greek people who are fighting for freedom!» No, our Party and government would never allow evil

to come to the fraternal Greek people from the land of olives!

These false communists perpetrated these and many other misdeeds against a small country and people. They organized their blockade against the People's Republic of Albania, hoping to force it to its knees, but quite the contrary happened. Socialist Albania, guided by its heroic Party, is marching full speed ahead, successfully building socialism, and scoring victory after victory in all spheres of life, in industry, agriculture, education and culture, and in strengthening the defence of our homeland.

A few days ago, the Congress of the orthography of our beautiful language held its historic proceedings. This is an incalculable victory among all the other magnificent victories achieved by our people thanks to their struggle, efforts and ability.

We greet wholeheartedly the educated and gifted sons and daughters of our people, who in that historic convention, and following in the footsteps of the Frashëri brothers and others of our national revival, gave a greater brilliance to our language, the greatest heritage of a people!

We ardently and wholeheartedly greet, in particular, the distinguished scholars, our Albanian brothers of Kosova, Macedonia and Montenegro, who made their valuable contribution in establishing the orthography of our common mother tongue! We wish the fraternal Albanian pupils, students, linguists, professors and teachers of Kosova, Macedonia and Montenegro, further and gre-

ater success in the great progress they have made in elaborating the Albanian language, which we consider a common victory!

Dear comrades, friends and brothers,

During these great historic days, when the Albanian people celebrate with indescribable joy the 60th anniversary of the proclamation of independence and the 28th anniversary of the liberation of our country, let us faithfully follow the unerring course along which the Party guides us, let us be united and realize with success all the objectives we have assigned ourselves, in accordance with the historic decisions of the 6th Congress of our Party of Labour, and raise a toast.

to the glory of our people!
to the glory of our Party!

EVERYTHING IN OUR COUNTRY IS DONE AND BUILT FOR THE YOUTH

*Speech delivered at the meeting of the Secretariat
of the Central Committee of the Party of Labour
of Albania¹*

February 23, 1973

It seems to me that the problem has been put wrongly from the start. Instead of the Secretariat of the Central Committee of the Party being presented with a concrete, maybe brief, but clear picture of the political, ideological, moral and organizational problems of the youth organizations, of how they received the decisions of the Congress²)

1) This meeting of the Secretariat discussed the report presented by the CC of the Labour Youth Union of Albania «On certain problems raised at its 6th Congress which concern the organs of the Party and State.

2) The 6th Congress of the Labour Youth Union of Albania.

and how they are carrying them out, in this report, from beginning to end, demands are made on the organs of the Party, state and cultural institutions. I do not say that demands should not be made, but they should not be one-sided, not only in the sense that you do not talk about the youth organization here, but there should be no onesidedness in the demands themselves. You are allowed to demand but of course, demands will be made of you as well.

If you say in such a categorical way: «...apparently the worries of youth, their requirements, interests and problems are not understood» (which I find neither correct nor realistic) then the question arises: Do you properly estimate the great interest the Party and the state power show in the youth? Do you correctly evaluate the huge material means made available for the education of the youth in all spheres? Do you assess and utilize them properly? Do you assess them within the general development of the country and the needs of this development? It seems to me that to reply to all these questions you must first think about them, and if you do so, you cannot and should not arrive at the conclusion you reached.

In the report you have presented to us I have several times come across your use of the term «the worries of youth». I fail to understand to what worries you are referring. What are these problems that gnaw at the hearts of our youth? If you use this term just for the sake of using it, you make a mistake. If you are serious, then let us

discuss it seriously, because it is important for you and us to be clear.

I am of the opinion that our youth are the happiest and most cheerful in the world. Everything in our country is done and built for the youth, they live in a socialist country free from every point of view, and are educated in a sound way, they live in a democratic country where they enjoy all rights but, of course, they also have obligations.

When a child is born in our country its parents and relatives are in employment; the economic life of our families has improved a lot. In addition, the state does its utmost (and it has done no small amount) for the children, setting up creches, kindergartens, holiday homes and hospitals everywhere. Today, children in Albania are brought up well nourished and clothed, they have shoes, they go to school. Schools of all grades are open to all free of charge. When children are sick, their treatment, as for all the people of our country, is free. State scholarships are granted to many young people who attend secondary schools and university. When they start work they are paid good salaries, rents in our country are very low, and we have good state social insurance. Millions upon millions of copies of books have been and continue to be published. In addition to the central press organs, there are newspapers nearly everywhere; in every district, in cities, towns and villages there are cultural centres, in workshops and factories there are libraries, etc. Theatres, cinemas, professional and amateur variety

theatres have been set up in large numbers everywhere. Almost every city has one or even two big stadiums, not to mention thousands of smaller playgrounds. The whole country is very picturesque, among the most beautiful in the world, and our youth can and do go everywhere. They study, work, live, go on excursions and no obstacles lie in their way, for our people as a whole, our Party and state power, think highly of our youth who fully deserve this. Then the question arises: «What are the worries of our youth?»

No, comrades of the youth organization, reality is not as you say. That more and still more should be done, is true. That there are certain people who do not show concern or do not understand these matters properly, is also true. Then there are also the kind of people about whom you complain in your report, but, on the other hand, you too should look squarely at your own shortcomings and faults.

Let us take the question of the cultural front in the education of youth. You do not view this problem very correctly, you even view culture, which is a broad field, from a narrow angle. You forget its breadth, and narrow the front of culture for the education of youth, saying: «In a number of districts no plays are prepared dealing with the problems of youth», «no feature film has been made for the youth», «literary publications are few and of a low standard» and «there are no scientific publications for youth». To raise the problem in this way means to raise it superficially and, why should we not say it more bluntly, com-

rade leaders of the youth, to give the impression that the blame rests on others, not on you who make the report and are principal leaders of the youth organization.

The cultural front for the education of youth does not lie in the making of one or two films, or of presenting one or two plays, which has not been done. For this to be done (and it is right that it should be, not only this but even more), it is necessary for us all to fight, not excluding you; but the problem of the cultural front does not lie only in what I have mentioned, for these things are only a very small part of the work of this great and complex front.

The great front of culture of our youth is the school, where knowledge is acquired, where science and philosophy are taught; and when the young men and young women quit the school benches, they take their position at the work benches, at the lathe, on the land, in animal husbandry, in the struggle for existence. All this broad front of activity to produce material goods is at the same time a great front of culture. Both these fronts are wide open to our youth, who take an active part, first as students and later as educators and creators. Therefore, the youth organization should attach great importance to these two fronts of culture for the education of the mass of youth, because they are the principal ones. We have major successes to our credit on both these fronts.

In general, our youth study, are educated and work well. But they can and should work and study even better, for all possibilities have been

created for them. I say that they should work and study better because in this direction there are many gaps of a subjective nature, gaps which should not be blamed on the youth alone, but also on the teachers and lecturers, on the communists and youth leaders, on the managers of the economic and state organs.

Of course, these faults and shortcomings come under attack and continuous improvements are made, but without underestimating the responsibility of others whom the Party and the government continually advise to correct themselves, I wish to emphasize that the youth organization itself, wherever it exists as an organization, and its leaders, from the top to the base, do not, as I have already said, attach the necessary importance to the great and decisive cultural front for the education of youth but do formal, routine work, and there are even cases where they do none at all. Not once but a number of times I have talked with students of general secondary schools and with outstanding and very good undergraduates, and I have noticed that they do not know the important social and historic movements of various epochs of history, that they know nothing about some writers and philosophers who have marked epochs in human thought, not even knowing where they came from.

Can such a thing be accepted as normal? Of course the teachers are to blame for this but are the school and university students blameless? What is the youth organization doing, why does it not educate these young people to complete their

culture, either at school or outside the school? Of what importance is it whether or not there was one more theatrical performance or film, when a young man or young woman who has been through a secondary school or university not only does not take the trouble to read world famous literary works, comedies or dramas, but does not even know who certain authors are, such as Shakespeare, Molière and others like them?

The comrades of the youth organization may say: «Well, we hold meetings». You hold meetings, comrades, but I am told that hundreds of students receive low marks, many are expelled because they do not study, because of bad conduct and so on. Comrades, this worries the Party, and the concern is well grounded. Shortcomings of this nature should worry you, not the imaginary or unhealthy worries of certain young people.

Why do unpleasant attitudes and behaviour arise in our pure society? It is not only young people who behave badly, because there are also older ones, but this should not make us forget the young and make some foolish statement: «After all they are young!»

Educating people should be one of our greatest preoccupations, and this begins in the family and continues, and is later interwoven with the school, then with work and finally with society. At every stage, in every environment, there exist in our country a whole complex of forms and ways for their education. It is not enough to give your ideas, but you should also benefit from others, it is not enough only to demand but you should also

contribute, become example, be courageous, creative and not indifferent.

Therefore, comrades of the youth organization, you should consider the school as the principal cultural front for the education of youth. You should attach great importance to the acquisition of broad all-round culture during the years when young people are at school. It is not advisable to view culture for the education of youth from a narrow angle, considering how many theatrical performances are prepared on themes for youth, saying that special scientific books should be published for youth, that novels should be written about themes for youth alone, that the Opera and Ballet Theatre should prepare special ballets for youth and so on. This greatly narrows the sphere of education of the youth, isolates them from the major possibilities that have been created for them and, in the final analysis, is not even realistic. The youth themselves do not accept this framework, they have long broken out of it, and they have done well.

What does writing special novels for youth imply? I do not say that they should not be written, they should be beautiful and there should be ever more of them. The Party has inspired and will continue to inspire writers in this direction too, but this does not mean that your organization should remain with folded arms. Young talented authors exist; why do you not encourage them in this particular direction? But these things cannot be done to order. Besides, all our literature is for youth, for it has a socialist content, it is

fresh like the youth, it describes our life, sentiments, struggles, pure love, the working class and its struggle, the efforts of our cooperativist peasantry, in short, the development of all aspects of our life. There is no genre of our literature which does not speak of the life, thoughts, feelings and struggle of our youth. But do these young people live isolated from their parents and grandparents, from their comrades and friends, or from the people? Their life and feelings are interwoven. There is no young person above 13 years of age here who does not rush eagerly for the novels, poems etc. which our writers and poets continue to write.

How good it would be if we had, and we should have, some simpler publications for the very young, and some simpler and more understandable literary works for the young people up to a certain age. Such books should be published, and there should be more of them. Therefore you, the young, translate and produce beautiful and suitable works of this kind, and they will certainly be published, but do not place a barricade or division between literature for the young and that for adults. We do not live under a bourgeois regime, and therefore all the literature we publish can and should be placed fearlessly in the hands of our youth, for there is no corrupt morality in it, it is not pornographic or gangster literature, but it is precisely the kind of literature which educates all our people in a revolutionary way and in the path of proletarian morality. The same thing can be said about our theatre, ballet, folk dances,

music, radio and television. Everything in our country is in the service of the education of the new man, everything is on the correct path and generally develops well. Of course, among these things there are very good, good and mediocre books and, at times, books with mistakes. But in this field too there is struggle, there are clashes. Everything develops, the old which infiltrates is attacked and replaced by the new. The pressure of the bourgeoisie also does its work, tries to find cracks, and at times finds them, but is attacked and replaced by what is good, vigilance is sharpened and positive creativity comes to the fore. Can it be thought for a moment that our youth are excluded from participation in all this development, from this creativity, from this struggle which is waged in our country. No, certainly not, otherwise we have committed suicide.

During the National Liberation War, at the moment of the greatest difficulties and worst tragedy of our nation, during the most crucial moments of that time, our youth were on the forefront of battle, and their heroism will be sung to in legend for centuries. At those historic moments could we have said to our young men and young women: «Go home, for battles are not for you, they are for grown men!»? If we had done that, today we would not have had a free socialist Albania. So whom does our contemporary literature sing praises to? It sings to those 18 to 22 year old heroes and heroines who commanded brigades and divisions. Are there more suitable themes for your youth than those of that heroic period?

No, there are not. Our youth should know where all those girls and boys came from, with empty bellies and bare feet, with the heart of a lion, who sacrificed even their lives. They emerged from the ranks of our brave and militant people. Why, are such works as Dritero Agolli's «The Commisar», Ismail Kadare's «Chronicle On Stone» or «The General Of The Dead Army», Jakov Xoxa's «The Dead River» and others of this kind, not suitable for our youth? It is neither good nor correct to build walls without foundations on the sound culture of our youth, but we should educate them, encourage them to read, read and read again, and to draw lessons from what they have read.

By this I don't mean that no reading is being done. In this, considerable progress has been made, but let us not rest satisfied. I call on our youth in particular to read and study still more, for the country expects a lot from them. We, the old, feel the gaps in our knowledge, for other conditions existed when we were young, many tragic worries occupied our brains at that time, that is why we desire and strive that our youth may have no gaps in their knowledge, for they have all the possibilities and conditions and will have still better ones, for we will create them in the future through hard work, sweat and knowledge.

I want to tell our youth too that we can and should publish more scientific and literary books and other publications for them. We do not lack the will to do this, but it is necessary to know what possibilities our state has at present. We

are setting up bigger and more modern printing presses than those we have now, and certainly the time will soon come to print more, but I leave this matter to our young men and young women to judge with their keen minds and clear conscience, and the Party has taught me to put my full trust in our youth and their correct judgement. Are the books of artistic and scientific literature, the literary and scientific reviews, the school texts of various grades on all subjects, the political, literary and scientific newspapers, lectures and special studies that have been and are being published few in number? Or are there only a few foreign books placed every year at the disposal of our studious intelligentsia in various institutions like the National Library, the State University, the libraries of the ministries and even those of the enterprises? We say they are not few, and I am sure that our youth share our view. But they must be made use of seriously, very seriously.

All over the country there is no village without a library, let alone the cities, where libraries can be found everywhere. But are these libraries frequented? Yes and no. We were told librarians were needed and the state appointed them on a salary basis. It was said that they lacked culture, and they were replaced with educated people. The comrades of the youth organization complain that both libraries and cultural centres are being turned into warehouses. How bad, comrades! But who is to blame? Has the Party said that they should be turned into warehouses? But what are you doing, why do you allow such a thing?

Where are the communists, where are the youth? How can such things be tolerated in our socialist times?

Let me tell you something of the past of our youth in Gjirokastra some 50 years ago. With some money which our poor parents gave us from their hard-earned income, we students ourselves opened two clubs in our city, we opened libraries with our very few books, we bought some musical instruments, a mandolin or guitar, which we learned to play, and we appeared before the people to play them. Bear in mind that we ourselves took turns to clean the clubs. Some one who knew a foreign language used to read books and then gather us there to tell us the stories he had read. Now my hair has gone white, but I can never forget a certain Samuel Kofini who toiled all day carrying bales of cloth on his shoulder trying to sell a metre or two, while in the evening, tired as he was, he came to speak to us, sometimes about the old Greek authors such as Homer and Aristophanes, and now and then about Allan Pinkerton. Nor can I forget Kamber Bilali, a poor man in ragged trousers who used to work and read during the day and in the evening came to speak to us about Alexander Duma's novels and others, telling us the stories in episodes. But today, how can it be allowed that we treat books, libraries and cultural centres in this way?

Of course, we must view the question of the recreation of our youth in a broad and realistic manner. But first of all, my opinion is that the state has not stood with folded arms in this mat-

ter either. It has continually invested considerable funds and will again invest in the future, because there is a need. But all that we have built and created is for our youth, and they should consider these things as theirs, they should make proper use of them and keep them in good shape, not destroy them. In addition, the initiative of the base, especially of the youth themselves, should be more lively and more fruitful in this direction. So think more deeply about what I have said. I believe that there is no cultural centre without various musical instruments, some of them manufactured in the country and others imported, and all of them have been of great assistance in the recreation and education of our youth. In this field great progress has been made everywhere. Our youth have these means in their own hands, as we see in variety shows and festivals. This is a great pleasure, so why should we underestimate it? That more are needed, there is no doubt, and more efforts should be made, but to distort the issue and say that the shepherds who take their flocks to the Lenie and Gramos mountains in summer have no radio and watch no films, is to beat the air. Every shepherd, if he wants to, can very well buy a transistor radio, for they are on sale, and his wages are higher than those of others; the state should not be expected to do everything. Comrades of the youth organization, you ask for many separate clubs for the youth in the cities, let these be set up wherever possible, but as far as I know some were set up, fully equipped, even with billiard tables, but then they were closed be-

cause they were not serving the aim for which they were set up. You make demands but you also have duties. Everywhere our youth do many, many good things, and this is characteristic of them, but I have been told that when the trade union holiday home in Voskopoja was given to the students to spend their winter vacation, they damaged it during the time they spent there. This is not the way to do things, comrades, for the state to spend and build and for you to cause damage. In the same way, in many places play grounds were set up for children but they disappeared leaving no trace, and telephones were set up in the streets, but they were put out of order by certain irresponsible young people.

I agree that not all the youth do this, no one says that, but those who do such things are young, and therefore the youth organization in particular has responsibility for all these unpleasant things that occur. Comrade leaders of our youth, do you think we should protect what we build with the police, or by education? Are you aware that this educational work should be done to a greater extent by the youth organization, without speaking here of the major responsibility which evolves upon the Party, the school, the family and society as a whole? It must not be forgotten that our youth must appropriate that education which it is taught, at the level it is taught, with all its good aspects and shortcomings, they must assimilate the good into their character, and get rid of the bad in whatever form it appears.

Why are the funds specified for the needs of

youth not spent? If that is so, why do not the Party and you, the youth, make a big issue of it? You may say that they do not listen to you, and that is why you have brought the question up in the Secretariat. I do not say that you did badly in bringing the question this far, and we will draw the attention of the organs of the Party and those of the state which violate or fail to implement decisions, but I tell you too that the matter does not end here, it is necessary for a great battle to be waged at the base, by you in particular, against distortions, bureaucracy, routine and negligence.

Interest in developing physical culture and sports is of major importance. The Party has always emphasized this. And steps have been taken, investments have been made, and much theorizing has been and continues to be done regarding means and methods, etc. But this theorizing, however good it may be, has little effect if it does not arouse in our youth the desire and absolute need to take part in physical culture. If our youth do not understand that this has to do with their good health and is not snobbery, whatever means are put at their disposal, then there can be no physical culture and sport for the masses of youth. And the means have been provided, possibly still few as yet, but they are not used properly.

We are asked to open special shops for the sale of sports equipment in the cities. Shops can be opened, but they have to be filled with sporting goods. We must first think out in a ratio-

nal way what is needed and how much we are able to do, and not promise and do nothing.

You tell us that the government decided to set up various playing fields in every village and in the quarters of the large cities. This is a good decision although very daring in its scope. And here now you tell us that a year has passed and nothing has been done to implement this decision. I want to ask you, comrades: Have you helped the government to do these things for you, or have you waited and are you waiting for everything to be brought to you by train or truck at the appointed time? I believe this decision has not been viewed properly either by you, or by the districts, or by the enterprises. I think that the state should help in this direction, but in no way should everything be expected from the state, for there are many things that you should do yourselves on your own initiative, that the enterprises should do, that the district should do.

All possibilities exist for you yourself to set up small playing fields in city quarters, to build play grounds for young pioneers with the assistance of the enterprises, to organize excursions to scenic areas, and I do not think it is necessary to set up a special shop to make climbing boots, nor are we in a position for the time being to import thousands of skis for this sport which has not yet been developed in our country; so let us first develop it with primitive skis that our youth themselves can make.

You are right in criticizing teachers who show no interest in the out-of-school education of chil-

dren, which is an integral part of their task. He who interprets this otherwise, makes a mistake. Of course, this interest should be shared by your organization, by the family and by society as a whole.

You are also right in complaining about the lack in number and the poor quality of publications for young pioneers. Our writers should do some hard thinking about this lack, which has serious consequences. You are right, but at the same time I ask you what is being done by so many talented young people who have emerged from your ranks, who know the lives and feelings, of the young pioneers, having been pioneers themselves? What are you doing with them? How far do you influence them to specialize in this direction? Do you think that writing for youngsters is something easy, unimportant, without future or «fame»?

The Party Central Committee calls on our gifted writers not to forget to write both for young people and for pioneers. Children's literature is very important and very necessary, and only talented and passionate writers can turn out pleasing and educative books for the most precious offspring of our socialist land.

You have done well in submitting a report to the economic organs and even to the Council of Ministers on certain principal problems that our youth raise on economic matters. I am not acquainted with that report of yours, but I am familiar with a number of questions relating to youth in production. The Party is of the opinion that our youth are everywhere on the forefront and work

very well, this is their distinctive characteristic. But in their work, as in the work of others, there are also shortcomings.

You express the desire of the cooperative youth to work reduced hours and to fulfil and overfulfil the planned targets within this reduced worktime etc. This is a wish, but unfortunately it is not being realized even in factories where work discipline is stricter, let alone in agricultural cooperatives. When I speak about this in factories I speak with competence, relying on correct estimates and not on guesswork. The workers in factories, let alone the office workers who are hard to check on, instead of working a full eight hours, work six to six-and-a half hours, or a maximum of seven hours. In the countryside the work time is reduced to five or six hours. Then why do you speak of eight hours; or do you mean that the youth of the countryside should work five hours a day? I may be told that this is not the situation. Maybe, but then prove it. You should know one thing, that a youth on a cooperative does not work isolated, but in a brigade; so he should start and finish work together with the brigade. At the same time, let us not forget that the work a worker does is controlled, although this control should become stricter, but the cooperative member's use of his hoe should also be checked on, because coming late to work or leaving work early depends on the number of times he wields his hoe, and while the worker receives his pay every fifteen days, the result of his work can be seen only at the end of the year. You say lightly

that this claim of our peasant youth is not excessive, but do not forget that agricultural production has its requirements, and its strict discipline, and the method and quantity of work are calculated. Many agricultural managers begin by making pledges and high-sounding promises, but in the end, we see that many deficits arise. In agriculture there are also brigades in the same cooperative where the youth work so hard, they turn night to day and perform miracles, while there are other brigades which, though they contain many young people, lag far behind. This does not mean that the youth of the countryside should not have recreation and relaxation. But work should be better organized, the machinery should be put to better use, many work processes should be mechanized so that time may be gained, but it seems to me that it would be very difficult to do what you suggest. The young cooperativists should first complete their 8-hour work—day as they are supposed to, and in agricultural work this is not something fixed as in a factory, because in agriculture it is necessary to work even longer hours, because there are times when the cooperativists fold their arms, not that they should do so, but they do this in order to smoke a cigarette or to hold endless conversations.

It seems inconceivable to me that, because in some work centres work is done in three shifts, we should completely change the structure of our cultural, artistic, sports and other activities in them. Yet some small changes may be considered where it is possible, such as, for instance, so-

me cinemas opening in the morning for workers of the 2nd and 3rd shift, but it is difficult to make radical changes in this direction, because we lack the means, personnel etc., etc.

Excuse me, comrades of the youth organization, for it may seem to you that this speech contains a number of reproaches about your work. To a certain extent, this is true, but it must be said that, in the work of our youth there are many good things, great in number and in moral, ideological and political value, and very inspiring to all, but among all these there are also shortcomings. Can we hush up these shortcomings? No, comrades! This is not what the Party teaches us, on the contrary, we should point them out clearly so as to correct them as soon as possible.

I could have used another slightly milder form to point out the weaknesses I mentioned, but I thought that the comrades of the Secretariat of the Central Committee of Youth, regardless of their youth, are mature communists to whom the Party and the young people have given rights, and whom they have charged with important tasks. Let them listen to these remarks of ours the way we think them, because they themselves know how to find more suitable forms to present them to the youth. We understand our marvellous youth very well, and we are more than confident that the youth too understand us of the older generation.

The struggle of the Party for the education of our workers and youth, among other things, should be viewed in connection with the struggle waged

by the imperialist and revisionist enemies against our country, and the ideological pressure they exert on our people.

Our Party has spoken and continually speaks about the imperialist-revisionist encirclement. It seems to me that this realistic thesis of our Party is often interpreted narrowly by some people, it is taken merely as a geographic notion and as a warning to be always on the alert militarily to cope with the eventual aggression of these savage enemies of our socialist land. But this is onesided.

It must be profoundly understood that the imperialist-revisionist encirclement is expressed every day and every hour through great ideological pressure which aims to confuse the minds of careless people, to bring disorder into our economy and organization, to cause the political and ideological degeneration of the masses and, in particular, of our youth and intellectuals, to weaken their revolutionary spirit and encourage indifference and an apolitical attitude. It was in this way that the revisionists seized power in the Soviet Union and in many other countries. Let us never forget that bitter experience.

The hostile elements within the country, urged on by imperialism and revisionism, have adopted this tactic in various forms, and try to apply it in their campaign against the Party and the people's power. The enemy do not come out in the open against the line of the Party, for they know that the fist of the people's power will fall heavily on them, but they try to distort the directives of the Party and state power. They are afraid to come

out in the open, for instance, against the agricultural cooperatives, or to sabotage production as they would like to, for they know they will suffer greatly for it, but in various ways they encourage a lack of discipline at work, wherever they can they encourage tendencies to place narrow personal interests above everything, they try to hamper revolutionary initiatives to establish advanced norms, to raise productivity, etc. The hostile elements do not openly call for opposition to the people's power and socialism, for they have experience and know that the working masses and our revolutionary youth would grip them by the throat and bury them alive; so, to achieve their hostile objectives they try to degenerate our socialist rule and order by encouraging liberalism and indifference, by opening the way for the introduction into our country of alien influences in art and literature, in behaviour, fashion etc. Therefore, we should keep our eyes open to observe not only alien manifestations and influences which can be clearly understood, but also some disguised trends in certain writings which are published about our literature, drama and music, so that certain blemishes may be noticed in time, for if not attacked they will become more serious and obvious. It is essential for these problems to become the target of our ideological struggle on the front of literature and art, especially regarding certain things that are discordant.

One of the forms of work to raise our people's ideological and cultural level and sharpen their vigilance is discussions and debates, so

no obstacles should be placed before the confrontation of opposing opinions and the all-round discussion of problems. Unprepared, vague discussions just for the sake of talking are a mistake. To express approval of something without knowing what it is about, means to express ungrounded opinions of no value. Objective discussion, on the basis of a sufficient degree of knowledge, is always useful. While passing judgment on a literary or artistic production, you can point out its good and bad aspects with regard to style, structure, language and so on, and its political and ideological nature. Faults in style, in structure, in the beauty of expression and so on in a work are weaknesses of growth, while the problems of its political and ideological nature are extremely important. We may accept a work which has stylistic weaknesses, but in no way can we accept one which contains and upholds reactionary views. Discussion in all these fields is necessary, it is even indispensable, and should be lively and revolutionary, especially against alien views.

There are cases when some confused idea is expressed according to which we ought to follow blindly the course of European development. No, comrades, we cannot and should not follow «the European road»; on the contrary, it is Europe which should follow our road, because, from the political standpoint, it is far behind us, it is very far from that for which Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin fought, and for which our Party fights today. Of course, it cannot be denied that in Europe there are also good things, especially regarding

the development of science and technology. We do not reject these achievements, but in no way can we accept that as regards politics «we should develop according to the European way». It is quite different when we try to adopt something from non-socialist countries in the field of material development. In our daily life we sometimes come across the expression: «this is French-made». Our people have used this expression to point out the skill and ability of the producer, and it is not hard to understand that the thing which comes from abroad and which you like, is not the work of the corrupt bourgeoisie but of the working class and technical intelligentsia of the country where it is produced, who exert all their energies, are barbarously exploited by capital, and live in suffering and misery. When we have all these things clear in our minds, then we will be able to oppose and settle accounts with those who, for definite political objectives, recommend that we should follow «the European way of development».

There are people who think that the struggle against alien manifestations and influences will retain its impetus for a month or six weeks and will then wane away, giving way to some other slogan. No, comrades, our Party has worked, works and will continually work so that in our country the revolution in the field of ideology and culture which is characterized by class struggle against all forms of alien ideology, is not carried on either for one month or for two but for a much longer time, for decades and decades.

Manifestations of bourgeois and revisionist

ideology have appeared especially in these recent years, when the Party is waging an intensive frontal battle to revolutionize itself, our youth and all the broad masses of the people. Have you noticed this phenomenon, you comrades of the youth organization? In this respect we come across certain contradictions which may be thought to arise from our growing revolutionary situation, but these manifestations are not purely of this nature, therefore, the slogan of raising the revolutionary level which is mentioned on this occasion should not mislead us. We are continually improving the living standard of the population, education and culture are being extended by opening new schools and cultural institutions all over the country, in our shops the citizens have what they need to buy, and so on; then why should there exist theft and robbery and some other ugly manifestations? We should go deeper into these things in order to find out the real causes.

It is essential for the Party to consider well, from the ideological standpoint, these manifestations which have arisen as a result of liberal attitudes, and where they stem from, for bad conduct comes both from blindly copying things from abroad, as well as from distorting the line of the Party.

It is essential to fight persistently first of all against anti-Marxist philosophical views which have been brought in from abroad and are talked about here and there on street corners, and in every case they should be gone into profoundly, and those who propagate and, openly or surreptitious-

ly, uphold them in the field of art and culture and in our daily life, should be attacked. Then our brave youth, who have never lacked courage, will become clear, and when they come across such views will be able to reject a wrong viewpoint or a worthless literary or artistic work, they will pass their own judgment, and will have the courage to oppose everything that is not in accord with the line of the Party, which is distorted by certain individuals.

It is up to the Party to educate all the working people and the masses of our youth correctly, to keep raising their revolutionary vigilance towards the great danger posed by the continuous imperialist-revisionist pressure against our country, and by the activity of the class enemy. No one is allowed to take this struggle lightly, to live in a state of euphoria, on the contrary, it is the duty of every one to fight in close ranks, bearing in mind the danger which now faces us from the present all-round efforts of the enemy against our country which are, so to say, a kind of calculated preparation on the part of the imperialists and revisionists for still more provocative and aggressive actions against socialist Albania. Our youth in particular should not take this struggle lightly; because of their nature and their age, because of their lack of experience, they are the target of this great ideological pressure by our enemies who continually try at any cost, and will keep on trying, to set the younger generation against the older generation.

In your comments, comrade First Secretary of

the Central Committee of the Youth Organization, you mentioned the work you will do on a series of problems. Very good in regard to what you will do, but I advise you not to be satisfied with speaking in general terms about the directives issued by the Party. When you say «we should put the finger on the wound» you should truly put the finger on the wound, justly, without being either harsh or liberal. Explain to the youth who are in the wrong where these errors lead them, and advise them to take the right course. If anyone fails to change despite the individual work of the comrades and what has been done in the organization, criticize him before the masses; and if he still does not listen, then take other measures of an educative character. I do not believe that the party organization, the youth organization and all the other bodies have failed to speak against alien manifestations, but the bad thing is that they have spoken about them in very general terms, things have not been gone into carefully, and therefore the results are not satisfactory.

I have already said that this struggle should be waged in close ranks. This means that every communist, every young person and every patriot should always bear in mind that we are building socialism under the conditions of an imperialist-revisionist blockade. However, this fact is often underestimated, and people think that the blockade can be coped with without sacrifice. This erroneous view is also expressed in the demands, without basis or criterion, that everything should be done by the state, and in the tolerance shown not

only in the ideological and moral field, but also in the economy. It is a fact that in our country, in work centres, in the countryside, in schools and everywhere, work discipline is not always at the height it should be, low quality products are often turned out, work norms are exceeded because they are not well-founded, people learn just enough to receive a pass mark, and so on. And it often happens that people say very little against these negative phenomena, not enough is done to call people to account, while if something is lacking in the market, they do not hesitate to write even to the Party Central Committee or the government. For the market to have commodities in abundance, we ourselves must first produce in abundance. Also, the Party has always emphasized that in order to be ready for the unexpected, beside regular market supplies, we need reserves. But how shall we create these reserves? Only through conscientious work, through strict proletarian state discipline, through leading a simpler life and not by being lavish, or by nurturing inclinations to satisfy the petty-bourgeois tendency to luxury of certain people.

Therefore, we should do more to educate our workers, peasants, intellectuals and youth with our communist world outlook. We should establish strict discipline everywhere in production and in all work, based on a sound proletarian education. In this way we will also fight liberalism which is evident in many cases.

The fight against alien influences and manifestations, the fight for the revolutionary education

of the masses and especially, of our youth, should always be conducted according to the teachings of the Party, without going to extremes. We should all take this into consideration, otherwise any unwise or overhasty act will be exploited by the enemy for speculative purposes, interpreting the correct revolutionary ideological, political, administrative and economic measures the Party takes as restrictions and repression, and claiming that the situation in our country is unsound.

The comrades should think deeply and reflect well about these problems, because only in this way will they be able to make the necessary criticism of the weaknesses they observe. But criticism should not come only from above, it should come especially from below, because criticism from above, besides its very good side, since it reflects the greater political experience of the leading comrades who have the opportunity to have access to information from various sources, etc., also has its bad side, because those people who make mistakes and are criticized only from above may pose as victims in the eyes of others.

The Party and its leadership require that opinions about anyone should be expressed openly, and therefore people should be spiritually cleansed, so to speak, and a situation created in which the person who criticizes justly may feel happy and arouse in the person who is criticized not a feeling of indignation or desire for revenge but in the first place of great love for the Party and its leadership. If we attain this objective, we shall have scored a major victory. We should do a lot

in this direction, otherwise, we will not achieve what our Party aims at, and what we would achieve would be a formal fulfilment of its high aims, a kind of doubtful respect, which is of no use to the Party of the communists.

What I have said should be well grasped and should be taken continually into consideration by all the party comrades and by our youth who are the future of our Party, who will take the torch into their hands. The cleaner and the more courageous our youth are, the more enduring will be the work of our Party. We must always keep our conscience clean, just as we work every day to keep our homes and bodies clean; so let us work untiringly to reach the point where the people and the Party see that their strength lies in themselves, in the correct line of the Party, in the people, in the cadres at the centre and at the base, in collective leadership, in unity of thought and action.

Having said all this, having reprimanded some of our comrades, leaders of the youth, I wish to emphasize again that, regardless of how they raise these problems, in form or substance, it is not permissible for us comrades of the Party, or for those of the government, those of the state power at the grass roots, or the managers of economic enterprises, to bypass the requests of our youth, not to give them serious consideration and not to make efforts to see that decisions are implemented.

Therefore, let us agree with the proposal of the youth that meetings should be called on these problems in the districts with the members of the

executive committees and other responsible persons around the bureaus of party committees, and in those meetings the comrades of the youth organization should put forward forcefully and correctly the opinions they have on these matters, discuss them, take clear-cut decisions and see to it that the decisions of the Party Central Committee, the Government and the Central Committee of the Youth Union itself are properly carried out.

**HOW WE SHOULD UNDERSTAND AND FIGHT
THE IMPERIALIST-REVISIONIST
ENCIRCLEMENT OF OUR
COUNTRY AND THE EFFECT
OF ITS PRESSURE ON US**

*Speech delivered at the general meeting of the
communists of the apparatus of the Central Committee
of the Party to render account and hold elections*

March 15, 1973

We have spoken many times on these questions of vital importance at party meetings and with the people, in various forums and with individual comrades, whenever the problem was on the order of the day or when it was linked with other problems. We raised this problem again, with the comrade secretaries of the Central Committee in particular, so that we may have it in mind at every moment, and raise it in the Party time and again in a concrete way, related to life, to the situation, and not merely as a political and ideological slogan.

Our Party fights a lot in this direction and

that is why our internal situation is sound. But it is right to say, and we must look squarely at the situation, that there are comrades and citizens who do not go deeply into this reality. Some underestimate it with amazing unconcern, saying: «We are very strong, there is nothing they can do to us». Some others think that by using these merely as political formulae in a few of their speeches and talks, they have done their job, they have fought the encirclement, they have weakened and eliminated the enemy influence, and may put their minds at rest, for they have enlightened the masses.

Some understand the struggle against the capitalist encirclement in a onesided way and not in its complexity. These people speak and argue approximately like this: «We Albanians are courageous and brave and, if danger comes upon us from outside, we will make short work of the enemy who attacks us. It is enough for us to be militarily strong, to have a strong army; these two things we have, and we develop and temper them. These therefore constitute an armour impenetrable by the enemy». This is by no means the whole matter, but even if we rely on these two factors alone, the armour will still be penetrated by the influence of bourgeois-capitalist-revisionist pressure, if we fail to combine the question of bravery, defence, and the army with the whole development of the country.

A man is brave if he is taught and succeeds in understanding why he is brave, what he must defend, why he should defend it, that what he is

to defend he has created himself through bloodshed, sweat, hard work and effort, and that he does all these things of his own free will. These aims have guided and inspired the Albanians in the past, and therefore they have been brave. These sacred ideals of the Party and the people should also guide us today.

During our history there have also existed traitors who have fought against these ideals, the class struggle has existed and continues to exist, there have been brave men but there have also been cowards, there have been people who understood matters aright and fought to the death, and there have been others who wavered, hesitated and lagged behind. Some of these developed well and were educated, others fell away. This process is going on now, favouring the positive side, but let us not forget that it goes on and will go on, for people are not all cast in the same mould.

At present the Party is in the lead, the working class is in power, we are building socialism and educating the new man. But does this new man we are educating and tempering understand properly the question of the military defence of the homeland? In general we can affirm that he does, and we have scored much progress in this direction, but it is not permissible for us to close our eyes to the shortcomings that are observed in this matter.

In this state of encirclement, we have to fight many enemies who are equipped with more modern and numerous weapons than ours. So our

People's Army should be trained to perfection in modern military art, should master weapons well, know how to use them properly, be disciplined, brave, politically and ideologically enlightened, and backed by a sound rearguard, etc., etc. But in this direction there are weaknesses, leniency, negligence, in teaching, in organization and in education; there exist liberalism, bureaucratism and routine.

Do we fight against these defects? Undoubtedly we do, but let us not forget that it is precisely these manifestations that make the armour of our defence penetrable. What are these manifestations? Are they hostile and deliberate, do the external or internal enemies have a hand in them, etc.? Call them what you please, but you are never wrong if you call these manifestations totally alien to us; we should put them right, wipe them out, because they also endanger the true concept of bravery and the defence of the homeland.

In all this process of educating, correcting and purging, we will distinguish between what is done with hostile motives and what is done unintentionally, but equally brings grist to the enemy's mill. The aim of the enemy is first to know the terrain, to feel your pulse, to lower your vigilance in a thousands ways, to disorganize, and then to attack.

In the present circumstances the enemies use the tactic of crying out loud that «peace» and «peaceful coexistence» exist. Later comes the attack, and we must prepare to oppose and fight

off this eventual attack. At no time can we say lightly: «Oh, we're strong, they can't do anything to us!» but we should really become strong. Nor can we ever say lightly: «Oh, when war comes, then we'll show them!» We must prepare ourselves for this war, if it comes. The enemy exerts great pressure to convince us that «no danger exists for socialist Albania» and therefore, «sleep peacefully!» The enemies call us conservative and want us to be liberal.

I say to some of our people: «Yes, we are conservative towards our external and internal class enemy, because we want to conserve the freedom, independence and sovereignty of our homeland, which have cost a lot of bloodshed to our people, generation after generation. We are conservative because we want to conserve and develop for our people the great achievements we have attained. We are also conservative towards the liberalism which makes socialism, the youth, women, art and culture degenerate, which the imperialists and revisionists have adopted and are advising us to adopt.»

Some comrades like Fadil Paçrami and some others were eager to know which was the main danger today, conservatism or liberalism? The Party has long said that both are dangerous, and that we should fight on both fronts, and the Party has followed this course. The history of our revolution which is developing is alive, continuous and tangible. But do these shortsighted comrades want us to assert that the main danger at present is conservatism? They must excuse me, but

this is the line of the enemy. And we ask these comrades: «Are you for the line of the Party or for that of the class enemy?» These comrades want us to assert that liberalism is not the main enemy. But this is the line of the enemy. We ask them: «Are you for the theses of the Party or for the theses of the enemy?»

No! You will never catch our Party unawares, it will never deform its theory either in a conservative or a liberal direction, but it will uphold the purity of Marxism-Leninism and will always fight with this correct compass, just as it is, pure, creative, pointing to the right course, and revolutionary.

The bourgeoisie, reaction, the imperialists and the revisionists apply a thousand and one epithets to our Party and our internal and foreign policy: «Stalinist, iron curtain, cold war, conservative, destroyers of religion and old traditions, etc.» Recently voices are heard saying: «Albania has begun to open its borders, Albania has begun to liberalize, Albania is turning its face towards the West», etc.

Regardless of the slogans they use, we should know why our enemies use them, what their aim is, and what they want to achieve. Imperialism, revisionism and the reactionary bourgeoisie want at any cost and by every means to break the resistance and struggle of our people in defence of political, economic, ideological and cultural freedom, in defence of independence, sovereignty and socialism, they want to break, first and foremost, the Marxist-Leninist stand of our Party

which is the decisive factor in all these achievements of our people.

We are the only country in Europe and the only communist party which fights with heroism and resists with success such great pressure which is exerted day and night. All the former communist parties of Europe, including that of the Soviet Union (we will confine ourselves to Europe and not extend to the whole world) have betrayed Marxism-Leninism, the cause of the proletariat, of the revolution and of their own people. They betrayed the cause of socialism and turned their countries into capitalist ones. The Party of Labour of Albania did not betray, it stood its ground fearlessly, unyielding; it upholds principles and defends socialism, its own country, and revolution. Neither the imperialists nor the revisionist traitors could expect or conceive of this.

Socialist Albania is a small country, the Party of Labour of Albania is a small party, some may say. No, that is not so, because the ideas they uphold are great, they are the future of the world, and the torch which keeps burning in socialist Albania not only throws light on the treachery and harm plotted against the people by the imperialists and revisionists, but scorches them too. Precisely because the People's Republic and the Party of Labour of Albania are small, they serve as a great example of a mighty fighter against a many-headed monster. Viewed in this realistic light, it becomes the task of the imperialists and revisionists to oppress us; the task of the Albanian people and of the Party of Labour of Al-

bania is to resist, not to be broken, and to win this battle.

But are the names which the imperialists and revisionists and their overt and covert lackeys call the Albanian people and the Party of Labour of Albania well grounded? Can we call conservative a people and a Party like ours, who in a few decades did away with centuries of darkness and slavery? Can we call conservative a party and people like ours who fought with arms in hand and beat powerful foreign enemies and age-long internal enemies, who seized power and established the dictatorship of the proletariat in their country, who carried out a number of extremely progressive, major reforms, who enacted agrarian reform laws and built socialism in the countryside, who liquidated the class of feudal landlords, capitalists, kulaks and usurers, who abolished the exploitation of man by man, set up modern industry, brought forth a whole working class which is the master of the destiny of the country, set up and worked out an appropriate administration for a socialist country, and modernized it as they modernized industry, agriculture, the army and all the other sectors of the country's life?

Can we call conservative a party and people who made such a profound, progressive revolution in social life, who brought women out of obscurity and gave them all their rights and equality with men in all the spheres of life, who broke, for all time the cruel chains which had made the women slaves of men and of society, who did away with the savage canons, laws, habits, and

bad customs, who opened to women the broad field of a dignified life, opened the way to work, learning and knowledge?

Can we call conservative our Party which brought happiness to the youth, which opened schools all over the country to equip them with knowledge, culture, and high proletarian morality, which provided everything to enable them to grow up healthy, to become capable and worthy to take up the torch handed to them, and to work with a high sense of duty so that when they in turn hand over this torch to the coming generations, it may be intact, not rotten, but sound, a testimony to further successes attained only through the honest Marxist-Leninist course of our people and Party?

Was not the crushing blow dealt in our country to religious dogma, this ancient plague, this poisoned black cobweb, the most heroic, the most daring, the wisest, the most successful act? Was the abolition of the power of religion, with its apparatus and personnel an insignificant and conservative act? This was an age-old spiritual and material structure. Our Party and people destroyed this structure within a few decades, but the fight to root out this cancer from the mentality of the people, is still far from ended. A cure for cancer has not yet been discovered, but for religion it has been, and if a consistent and persuasive battle is waged in this direction, it will no longer take centuries but a few decades, a few generations. The fight against religious ideology is closely connected with the fight against imperi-

alism and revisionism, with the fight for socialism and communism.

The same questions as I asked before, we can ask about every field, about every activity of our new life. So, it is not we who are conservative, but those who call us conservative, the imperialists, the feudal lords, the bourgeoisie, the capitalists, the clergy and all their followers. They aim to seize back from us what our people and Party won and what belonged to our people and Party. They want to deprive us of our freedom, democracy, independence and sovereignty. They want socialist Albania to be no longer socialist but to be totally dependent on them.

So that Albania may cease to be socialist, these conservatists, reactionaries and bandits want us to return the land to the kulaks, to the big landowners or to a new generation of capitalists, and thus, to destroy the socialist system in the countryside and return the peasant to his former enslaved condition, only this time, with long hair over his ears and down to his shoulders like women, clad in extravagant synthetic clothes, they want the factories to become the property of a new bourgeoisie, and the working class to work in chains for them and their foreign bosses, they want the Albanian women to become spiritually and physically corrupt, to be worn out with work, they want the youth to become degenerate, dance crazy dances and use narcotics, they want the schools to be closed, hooliganism, crime, unemployment and emigration to flourish and religion and the church to dominate our minds, and help in

this degeneration, which they call «modernism», and «liberalism».

These sworn enemies of progressive mankind seem to be «modern, progressive-minded and civilized» while we are «oldfashioned, barbarians, savages, backward, upholders of what is old» and are allegedly outdated. We are allegedly «the anachronism of the century.» But of which century? Obviously, of their century of filth, degeneration, shame and slavery.

But it is we who are modern in the real sense of the word, because we fight in the century during which revolution has triumphed, we fight for revolution, for socialism, for communism, because we are guided and inspired in everything and at every moment by the immortal ideas of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin, because revolution is progress, advancement, and the future of mankind.

But how is it that dark, conservative world reaction accuses us of being conservative when we are not, how can it identify us with itself? Is there not a contradiction here? In appearance there exists a contradiction, but viewed from the proper angle, there is no contradiction. World reaction makes out with loud propaganda that «it is not conservative in anything, that it is progressive». It alleges that capitalism is not the same as it used to be; it has supposedly changed, become more progressive, more liberal and more humane, it is no longer oppressing and bleeding the people, or hindering progress, it is no longer warmongering, it is no longer a murderer and specula-

tor on the sweat and toil of the people. According to it, times have changed and people have changed too, capitalism has developed the forces of production, has allegedly given the people much freedom and many rights, even over the capitalist enterprises; the structure of classes has changed, class antagonisms have been reduced and are being eliminated, class struggle is being eliminated, and is no longer the motive force of history. Other factors have appeared on the stage of society, like the technical-scientific revolution, etc., etc.

In other words, according to them, the theory of Marx and Lenin is out-dated, it has lost its value, and not only that, but as such it has become a theory which restricts progress and well-being, it has become a conservative, anachronistic theoretical concept. Therefore, according to them, all those who remain faithful to the theory of Marx and Lenin are conservative». In their view there are «dogmatic conservative communists» and we are among them, because we remain loyal to the theory of Marxism-Leninism and fight, for its triumph. There are also «liberal communists with a human face», who are the traitors to Marxism-Leninism of every hue and category, headed by the Soviet, Titoite and other revisionists.

The taking of power by the modern revisionists in the Soviet Union and in many people's democracies is a major victory for imperialism and world reaction. Modern revisionism was a variant of the reactionary bourgeois ideology, and it aimed at and brought about the transformation of the Marxist-Leninist parties in their coun-

tries which were building socialism into reactionary bourgeois fascist parties, and of their countries into capitalist countries. This treason caused the outbreak of a chain of betrayals in a very large number of communist parties on all continents.

The Khrushchevite revisionists, through their 20th Congress and their slanders against and condemnation of Stalin, through their rehabilitation of traitors to the revolution and socialism, allegedly his victims, with the wide-scale liberalization of the life of the Party and of the allegedly oppressed masses, paved the way to capitalism in the Soviet Union. This process of transformation proceeded rapidly in the Soviet Union and in many well-known people's democracies. The Soviet Union was quickly transformed into a big social-imperialist power, partner and ally of US imperialism in dividing the spheres of influence, dominating the world, and suppressing people's national liberation wars and revolutions.

We have lived through all this process, our Party has analysed it in all its details, and, at the head of our people, has waged and continues to wage a very fierce and successful battle against the traitors to Marxism-Leninism and their allies, the various imperialists, led by the US.

I will not enlarge here on this analysis, but from what we have done, and have not done badly, on the basis of those genuine documents we have been able to have access to, and rejecting the trumped up charges, slanders and falsifications of the Khrushchevite revisionists, the re-

visionist betrayal was able to triumph because after Stalin's death, the Communist Party of the Soviet Union was not in a sound revolutionary position. It has lost its revolutionary spirit of the glorious period of the Great October Revolution, of the civil war and the struggle against intervention, of the period of the struggle to accomplish the tasks of the great five-year plans, of the correct and fierce class struggle against the Trotskyites, Bukharinites, Zinovievites and kulaks, against treason in the army, and of the Second World War.

After the war the Leninist norms in the Party and the State were maintained, but they were not properly implemented, there was a lack of revolutionary discipline, not enough was done to fight against bureaucracy, routine, conventionalism and a series of other vices which weakened the structure of the Party and Soviet state. Here, in the darkness, the Khrushchevs arose and flourished, on the one hand singing praise, and on the other making concessions and preparing for the future.

The most dangerous enemy is the one who is forgotten. It was this enemy which the Bolshevik Party forgot, and that is why the Soviet Union suffered this catastrophe, that is why international communism suffered, this great injury.

The whole leitmotif of the Khrushchevite traitors was their ideological reconciliation with US imperialism and capitalism, peaceful co-existence, the suppression of revolutionary wars, the assumption of power along parliamentary lines, broad and sincere economic collaboration, the free ex-

change of experience, taking and giving economic credits, promoting tourism and the exchange of ideas, the whole range of unbridled and degenerating liberalism. All this is done under the slogan of «protecting peace», of «a world without armaments and without war», of «the prosperity and progress of mankind», of «the triumph of socialism with a human face».

It is clear that a big market was opened for the spread of reactionary bourgeois ideology; revisionism became a zealous apprentice in spreading them, a worthy partner of US and world imperialism in spreading, backing and upholding the American way of life, the western way of thinking and all the evils they bring in their wake, with the degeneration of society, the women and the youth.

Decadent music, radio broadcasts, literature, dancing and music, narcotics, murder, prostitution, the selling of countries on the auction block, the influx for US capital, buying secrets, people and brains, became the fashion, the prevailing currency, to the extent where whoever it may be, an individual, an enterprise or a state which refuses to act in that way «is not in his right mind, has lost his senses, is backward, is not modern». The sea has turned into yoghurt, and such people have lost their spoons. «Come on!» some say, «let us live in euphoria, in gaiety, let the young amuse themselves, the young want what is new and modern! Who are these conservatives who hinder us from doing what we please? We want freedom, we want democracy, we want to sleep with women

in the streets and parks, we boys want to let our hair grow long like women, to wear crosses round our necks, to go to church, to have our pornographic clubs, to have a private car, and we hope to have even an aeroplane at our disposal!» This is what life is like there, this is how it is understood in the capitalist and revisionist countries. There are people who are amazed at the Albanians, but let us not forget that there are many who are not only amazed, but are bitter enemies, and have the barrel of their gun pointed towards us. We do not lag behind either, we have our artillery pointed towards them.

Old and young in our country should be well aware, and the Party should make it to them, that socialist Albania is a thorn in the side of the imperialists, revisionists and all the capitalists of the world, and not one of them, at any time, has wished her well. As regards their activity against us, it can and does differ in intensity, kind, method and circumstances. We should always be prepared to cope with, avoid and do away with this activity even temporarily, fight against it with the same intensity that they show, and never make concessions to the detriment of the cause, the interests of our homeland, and our principles. It is necessary to be vigilant, not only we, the leadership, but all our people, every individual.

The imperialists, the revisionists and the reactionary bourgeoisie calculate in this way: «Albania is a small country, and at any moment we can change the face of the regime through our intervention; even though the Albanians are obstinate

and brave and will fight, nothing can resist our force, especially now when we great powers have reached an understanding between ourselves.» «However», these eventual aggressors say, «we have tried all the methods of force and subversion, even using arms and economic blockades against Albania, and the truth is that we had had no success. Now, for the time being, let us resort to another tactics which has yielded such good results in certain countries: degeneration by peaceful means, infiltration by other means, by a smile, by some trade exchanges, by publishing a few of their books, making a film, etc. This was the way we broke the «Stalinist» in the Soviet Union, we achieved our aims in other socialist countries, so why should we not achieve this in Albania, too? Lastly, let us wait for the day when these old people who are hindering us die. We have time, let us work from within, and of course we should catch those who are unformed, get to know their inclinations, encourage them in one way or another, and let the situation ripen so as to take the fortress from within, because it is no use beating our heads against a wall.»

In broad outline, this is the reasoning of the external and internal enemies of our Party and people. What should we do? Set forth the opposite reasoning, make a realistic analysis of the situation and act correctly and energetically to frustrate the plans of the enemy. But can these plans be frustrated? They certainly can if we fight. If we don't, and fall asleep, then socialist Albania will be doomed; if not today, tomorrow. Let us not

forget the tragedy of the Soviet Union, which should serve us as a lesson.

At present the external enemies aim to weaken our internal front, that is, to weaken our socialist regime, and first and foremost, its leading body, the Party of Labour of Albania. Our external enemies always coordinate their visible and unseen activities with hostile internal elements, who act in various ways and forms to weaken the regime of the proletariat which suppresses them, and they link all their activity with the propaganda, action and political circumstances of their external allies. This alliance may be organized with secret threads, or it may not, but the alliance and collaboration exist, and they grow stronger the more careless we are and the more we lack revolutionary vigilance.

People should not think that we alone wage the class struggle against our enemies; they wage it against us too. Of course the balance of forces and victories on the battlefield of the class struggle is in favour of the dictatorship of the proletariat, with its allround potential, which is in power in our socialist country, but the class enemy, precisely because he wants to emerge from this struggle alive, so that later he may hit harder, has learned to fight in this situation which is difficult for him; he acts illegally while being legal, he throws the stone and hides the hand that threw it, he beats his breast and swears that he supports this regime which he hates, he has learned to disguise himself and guard against storms and lightning, he has the umbrella of those «good»

but very naive people who, when the Party and the government raise acute problems, say «oh, it is only a wave which is forgotten in a month's time», he utilizes, inflates and spreads all things coming into his hands or reaching his ear, he takes advantage of people's weakness, uses self-criticism in his own interest, shows confusion, chaos and indiscipline, encourages exaggerated desires, stealing and hooliganism, and does this not in the open, for he guards himself, but lets others, often possibly the «good people» do it, in order to compromise them and in this way, swell his ranks.

Cast a glance at the statistics of people who have committed crimes and we will see that the overwhelming majority of them come from poor strata, from those who have experienced suffering, whom everything binds to and nothing separates from the socialist regime. In these statistics you will see a large percentage of young people, who nothing separates from our regime. Why does this happen? There are many reasons. They have not been spurred to commit crime only because a certain enemy has urged them to do it. That is one aspect, but they were not born criminals or thieves, they have gradually slipped into this road at variance with proletarian morality, with the laws of the dictatorship, with the norms of the Party, with the state discipline and rules at work. They have passed through several stages to reach the road of crime. Where is the culprit? Who is the culprit? Only the one who faces the prosecutor? Some say yes, condemn him! But there is a

judge, a still more severe prosecutor than those who mete out punishment for penal offenses, and this is the conscience, the clear conscience of an honest man, communist or non-communist, the collective socialist conscience, which should condemn the parents, the family, the school, the enterprise, the mass organizations, public opinion, as a whole, which let this person take the road to crime, and let him swell the ranks of the enemies of our socialist homeland.

Comrades, should we be conscience-stricken at these unpleasant things that happen? Do we bear the principal responsibility for them? Or should we say as comrade Fadil Paçrami and certain others do: «I have no responsibility for this!» Is it permissible for us to close our eyes to these unpleasant and dangerous things, even though they are few in number? No, certainly not! If they are few today, and we leave them, they will become many tomorrow.

Some think very wrongly. They say: «Why should we raise these problems, we should not make a fuss about them, we should not spoil the joyful atmosphere which exists, we should not spoil the reputation of our youth, our peasants, our workers; we should not do such a thing, for the people will say: «What has the Party done, why has the Party allowed it, let us take measures quietly,» etc.

Such an idea is not revolutionary, and should be fought against. The people have never reproached the Party when it has said things, as it has always said them, bluntly, openly, just as they

are; on the contrary, they love and would lay down their lives for the Party, precisely because it speaks out openly. Why should the Party not boldly cure certain diseases that appear in the healthy body of our socialist society? Or should it let this beautiful body become gangrenous? Certainly not, for then we should have committed the greatest crime.

Openly pointing out defects and dangers, criticizing and fighting them has indeed always characterized our Party. Has the Party lost its honour by acting in this way? No, its honour has risen to the skies and shines like the sun.

Why should our youth, our peasant, our workers and others lose their reputation when we speak of their defects and mistakes? Can they be faultless? There is a wise saying: «He who does not work, does not make mistakes». If it is the workers and peasants who work, it is they and no one else who err. Then should we cover up one another's mistakes, and create a false situation? Neither the Party nor the working class has allowed or will ever allow us to do this.

Our Party should mobilize the public opinion of the whole country and create an iron front against the front constituting of the external and internal enemies, and people should understand correctly and profoundly that this enemy front, this pressure of the enemy, is neither imaginary nor hypothetical but real and concrete, and therefore the fight against it should be real, concrete, political, ideological and practical. Self-conceit and

arrogance in this key problem lead you to forget the enemy, and underrate their danger.

Groundless euphoria creates difficult situations and serves as a blanket to cover up shortcomings and faults, resembling the quilt used for protection from the cold which is of no use to some one who has a high fever. This creates disillusion, discontent and discouragement. We should not be afraid to look reality in the eye, and to take steps in accordance with this reality.

The struggle against petty-bourgeois survivals in people's consciousness is often thought of lightly and reduced to an ideological struggle through lectures and conference, and since it is a protracted struggle and these survivals are manifested in our people and not only among the rank-and-file of our people, but also among the working class and its vanguard-the communists, it is thought that we have time to tackle them slowly and in a mild way instead of seeing that this is the biggest, most complicated, most harmful and most dangerous front of our struggle, which requires the greatest attention of the Party, the state power and the masses, and the greatest militant strictness.

Let us not underestimate them because we call them «survivals». The word survivals gives the impression of insignificant, transitory, speedily cured things without serious consequences, let alone dangerous ones. There are many people, communists as well, who interpret in this way these manifestations which are so dangerous to the formation of the new man and the construction of the socialist society; they take a very liberal

stand towards these manifestations, and they do not go deeply into their essence, into their consequences in practical life. This is the broadest front of enemy work, because these survivals, as we call them, are manifestations of the ideology of the enemy which fights us with our own weapons, with our own men, who intentionally or unintentionally bring grist to the mill of the enemy.

We call these manifestations «survivals» only with regard to the people who are loyal to our people's state power and our Party, because among ten good qualities they also have some manifestations of this kind. But for the enemy elements these have never been and will never be «survivals», but their genuine ideology and the direction of their action. However, these petty-bourgeois survivals are not only one or ten, nor the same in kind, intensity, or the way they manifest themselves. They have only one thing in common; they are dangerous, very dangerous.

Our Party and all its levers are engaged in a colossal, persistent and successful struggle against them. Everywhere there is heroism at work, there is a sense of duty, there is honesty. People are tempered and educated with proletarian morality. This is undeniable, evident and tangible. Innumerable difficulties are overcome with heroism and maturity, because this is a daily battle which is not, and cannot be, waged smoothly. It is very positive, real, encouraging and inspiring. It constitutes the unbreakable strength of our Party, of Marxist-Leninist ideology, of the dictatorship of the proletariat.

But this sound situation should not make us underestimate the extent of the danger of these survivals, and deal with them and their consequences in a liberal way, for we must admit that there is also liberalism in the way they are dealt with, which may cause these «survivals» to turn into bourgeois philosophical concepts, resulting in dangerous social ills.

I have the impression that some people have a narrow understanding of the class struggle the Party wages, as if it is directed only against the class enemy as a person, as an individual, and they do not have a deep grasp of its ideological essence, the ideological struggle of the working class against bourgeois and petty-bourgeois ideology, which includes the famous «survivals» and number of others which we currently call «errors, mistakes, distortions, indiscipline», and so on. The bearers of all these are the people who live, work and struggle in this land of ours where socialism is being built, where the new clashes with the old, where class struggle is in fact being waged. These manifestations in life and work should be fought using all ways and means, at all times and in every class or stratum of the population where they appear, but they appear to a greater extent and more often among intellectuals, then among peasants, and less so among workers. This is the case in general, but this categorization should not lead us to the conclusion that we will find the source of these manifestations only among intellectuals and the peasants, while our working class is free of these dangerous manifestations.

There are breaches of discipline at work, in study, in the civil conduct of a citizen of a socialist country, at school, in the university, among pupils, students and teachers, there are such breaches of discipline in work and in life, of course, very often varied in nature, but not less dangerous. Among our cooperative peasants there are serious and dangerous breaches of proletarian discipline. In factories and enterprises where the working class militates, there are cases of impermissible nonfulfilment of plan targets, unbelievable reports of overfulfilment of norms, the 8-hour worktime is not always observed everywhere, there is misuse and theft of socialist property, arrogance, favoritism, career-seeking among a number of important and minor employees, and so on and so forth which the Party and the government come up against every day.

Are all the bearers of these alien anti-socialist views enemies of socialism? No, certainly not, for if it were so, socialism would be in danger in our country. Does the external, or even the internal enemy go and whisper into the ears of pupils and students: «Violate discipline in school, why rack your brains in studying, leave lessons without permission and go for a walk»? Or do they tell the teachers and lecturers of these students: «Why do you need to extend your knowledge, why should you be interested in educating your pupils out of school»? Or do they tell the peasant not to carry out the regulations of agricultural technique, or tell the workers «instead of eight hours, work only six, don't worry about the quality or range,

try your hardest to exceed the norm in order to profit for yourself». No, certainly not!

Then, why do these things happen? «External pressure», it is said, and everything is explained. But it is not exactly like this. External enemy pressure is great, and it is not permissible for us to underestimate it, but we should be well aware that there also seems to be «internal pressure» deep down in ourselves, which we do not fight as we should in our minds through sound education, nor do we fight as we should when this pressure appears at work and in life, with all its evil consequences.

Capitalism has its laws, its work discipline, which it enforces with the greatest strictness, of course, for its own benefit and to the detriment of the working class which it oppresses and bleeds white. Socialism, which is the state of the workers in alliance with the peasant class, has its own laws, its own work discipline, which it should implement strictly for the good of the class and the broad masses of people, for the well-being of all, and hence of each individual. Often this is not what happens in our country. Is to the credit of our working class that a German technician from West Germany, who had come to Albania to instal a factory which we had bought, should teach us a lesson? He started work at the appointed hour. Our workers who were working with him not only came late, but whenever they felt like it they left work, came in and out, took a break, or smoked a cigarette. The German technician criticized our workers in a friendly way once, twi-

ce, but finally lost patience, locked the door and put the key in his pocket, saying, «We have come here to work, not to amuse ourselves; if a worker in our country acts like you, the boss throws him into the street and lets him starve».

Precisely in our socialist country, people do not starve, they do not suffer from unemployment, they have material and spiritual benefits which they increase and will and should increase day in, day out, with their work, their toil, struggle, sacrifice and education. It is precisely the vital teachings of our Marxist-Leninist Party, the laws of the dictatorship of the proletariat, which have created this situation, and therefore our working people should study them and grasp them thoroughly, and do their utmost to carry them out and uphold them in life. The laws and norms of the Party should not be violated at any time by anybody, the laws of the dictatorship should not be violated, freedom and proletarian democracy should not be abused. Every toleration, every abuse, every form of liberalism, every underestimation of mistakes and errors, causes incalculable damage, and worsens the situation. None but the enemy want such a thing to happen. But it may happen, if we do not fight as one body around our Party and government against these manifestations.

These manifestations are not new, and they did not and do not emerge in one day. There are circumstances which serve as a spur to some. The Party reacts and points out their danger and the way to fight them on all fronts. Certain people,

and leading cadres, consider these reactions as «campaigns», as unexpected things and ask «how did they happen, how did we fail to see them?» This is a wrong, unrealistic view. The Party saw this in time, gave warning, mobilized and fought against these manifestations. But people who express such opinions should rather be bolder and say: «We have waged campaigns, sometimes superficially, we have left one and taken up another, we have seized up one problem and have underestimated another, and what is worse, we have been afraid to speak out and express our opinion». When you ask them: «Who were you afraid of?» they reply: «We were afraid we might be accused of being conservative.» But what sort of a reply is this!? These comrades need to analyse their consciousness and their work.

The question of television, radio and the festival was raised; in short, of alien manifestations in literature and art. Some people opened their eyes wide, and pretended to be amazed, some others said Italian television was to blame, while some minimized the correct reaction of the Party, reducing it to the issue of long hair. There is no doubt that Italian television has had an influence in this direction, but the masses of the people have not been watching it for long; the directors of television and the arts have long been watching television, listening to music of all kinds, and reading foreign books. We will analyse this, but the Party is not raising these problems of art and culture for the first time, it has constantly fought against deviations from the party line, for

there are people who have deviated from the line, and specifically have deviated towards liberalism, towards «modernism», imitating what is ugly, what corrupts and degenerates, and doing this because allegedly it is what the youth want, because the youth want what is new, because the youth want to amuse themselves, etc. This will also be analysed.

Why did certain leaders of the youth organization adopt these slogans, going so far as to distort the party directives which aimed not at weakening but at strengthening the organizational, political and ideological work of our youth organization? What made these youth leaders commit right opportunist errors, and allow such unpleasant things to appear among our youth? We will also analyse this.

But we must understand that at work, in factories, in the fields, in schools and offices, a mild stand, an opportunist and liberal stand, is maintained towards survivals and evils, towards shortcomings and faults, as well as towards their bearers. Then an unsound environment is created at school, in society, in the family and in the street, people do not lead a genuine proletarian life, parents hesitate to give advice to their children, or spoil them, meeting their whims easily, because they themselves easily exceed their norms by even 40 per cent. Then «let the child go and enjoy himself, let him go to the cinema every night or every day, and go to every football match. What does it matter if he does not come home on time and study?» Mothers and mothers-in-law dare not say

a word, or discuss what worries them with their sons or daughters-in-law, because they are likely to be turned out into the street or scolded, for they are conservative while the latter are modern.

In such a situation love and respect for one another are lost; when they are lacking towards good and honest close relatives, then towards others, towards society, they are certainly formal and ungrounded; for such people there can be no proletarian norms in society, just as there can be no proletarian norms in exaggerated, premature and unreasonable wishes and demands of working people and the less so in those of incapable cadres.

We can say that the economic situation of our country is not bad, but satisfactory. This is due to the correct line of the Party, to the tireless efforts of the producers, to the development of these forces according to the scientific laws of Marxism-Leninism, to the correct administration of the national income, to the constant increase of investments, and so on. Our markets have been supplied with everything, prices have never risen, but have been lowered, while in revisionist and capitalist countries, prices rise everyday, and those countries are in the grip of a great economic and monetary crisis. We know that the purchasing power of our population is high, and wants and needs are growing. We all wish for these wants and needs to be fulfilled, and strive for this, but not all understand and act correctly in this direction, because they view these things from their personal angle, from the angle of their tiny world.

In order to have more, you must produce mo-

re, in order to have good, beautiful and cheap things, you must work well, be disciplined at work, acquire technical training, work eight hours, and even longer sometimes, turn out good quality products according to the specified range and in the specified time, and deliver the goods, that is, fulfil contracts, obligations and plans. Do we do all this as we should? No! Then is it right to make unwise, unjust requests, when we do not take strong measures to fulfil plans properly in agriculture, industry, mining, transport, education and trade? These are all linked.

But should we not make request? Of course we should make them, but we should not smash windows and doors in order to get a television set. These, and even the instruments with which they are produced, come from abroad; therefore there is a limit. Regulations have been established for their sale, which you should observe, and not begin to criticize the government, while you yourself do not produce enough chromium, shoes etc.

The same is true of refrigerators. Some say that we have factories, so we should manufacture refrigerators and washing machines to make the work of women easier. We have done a lot of things to make the work of women easier, and we should do a lot more in this direction because what we have done is not a great deal, but to demand these things right away, without stopping to think what they will be made with, saying only «they should» then you would be talking nonsense just as a reporter wrote one day in the newspaper «Bashkimi» attacking everybody, the government,

the ministries, for not opening in every city quarter in Gjirokastra restaurants with «appetizing» and almost free meals, so that the Gjirokastra housewife may not get tired, at a time when there are one or two food shops in every city quarter, and a number of dining-halls and restaurants in the city centre, when there are state-subsidized dining-halls serving many dishes in every enterprise. And this man, supposedly working for the state, engages in anti-state work, and tries in this way to create dissatisfaction among the Gjirokastra women. The Gjirokastra mothers and sisters, whom I know well, disregard such people.

But among these exaggerated, groundless, unrealistic requests, which are harmful to our economy, the most harmful are those of the district leadership, which we have seen and still see in working out the five-year or one-year plans. If an individual can be excused ten times for the requests he makes, a leadership cannot be excused an inch, for its members know why the plan of their district is not fulfilled, and are well aware of the material and financial difficulties; not only at the district but also at the Republic level. Nevertheless, they make requests saying «if we manage to get away with it» or merely arguing that «we need them»; but they do not say «cut your coat according to the cloth» and the length of this cloth has been made clear to them.

All these things and others like them should seriously draw our attention, and we should take correct and radical measures, and not confine ourselves solely to the problem of the long hair of

some young people. This «hair» has deep roots, and is not on the surface; it is not easily got rid off by going to the barber's once in three weeks as we can do with real hair. These evils, these survivals, should be uprooted by skilful and intensive ideo-political work, especially during work, during activity. It is only in this way that theory is implanted in people's minds, that they are corrected, and advance in the full meaning of the word, along the correct road indicated by the Party.

Earlier I said that socialism and the dictatorship of the proletariat have their own laws. These laws should be strictly observed. Any spirit of liberalism should be absolutely prohibited. Strict proletarian discipline should be established everywhere, and punishment in accordance with the law should be meted out without hesitation to all those, whoever they may be, who violate this work discipline in production, in education, in offices, who infringe discipline and the plan in all its range and aspects, who violate the party norms and state laws.

Work is an honour for the people of our country, and therefore, one cannot conceive or accept that people, especially the youth, should fold their arms and stroll up and down the streets without working. The best sons and daughters of our people shed their blood for this land and for this freedom we enjoy today, while individuals who loaf and do not want to lift a finger for their country are doing nothing but abuse this freedom. I tell them to go to work tomorrow, and

be quick about it, not where they feel like going, but wherever the country needs them. Let the iron dictatorship of the proletariat hit hard at and have no mercy or hesitation towards parasites, for they are among the most dangerous enemies of our socialist homeland.

The dictatorship of the proletariat and its organs should consistently protect the rights of citizens, but, at the same time, it should demand that each citizen carry out his duties to the letter. There is not and cannot be onesidedness in this matter. Everyone has rights, but at the same time he has duties as well, therefore no one is allowed to demand his rights while neglecting his duties. If someone fails to fulfil his duties and tries to put on a mask, this means that good advice and educational and political work are having no effect on him, he is abusing them. Then any one who breaches or evades the laws, ordinances and regulations issued by the working class and the Party should be punished without hesitation, and any one of the appointed or elected working people, who does not properly carry out these laws, ordinances and regulations should unhesitatingly be charged with penal responsibility, and turned over to the court.

Strict proletarian discipline should be established at work, coming to work at the specified time, fully observing the eight-hour day, taking breaks only at the time set and for the length of time specified, observing the discipline of production and of the plan, and so on. Against those who do not implement and abide by these essen-

tial requirements, measures should be taken ranging from cautioning them (and this should not be abused) to dismissing them from their jobs. These disciplinary measures should be clearly recorded in the work record of such undisciplined workers who commit abuses, and they should not think that they can go out through the door and come in through the window. The state of the proletariat will not leave them without work, but this time they will go to work where the state considers it necessary.

All those working people who damage common socialist property will have to compensate for it out of their salary. If the laws in this respect are inadequate, measures should be taken to amend them. We cannot tolerate any longer what has been happening up to now, that some irresponsible individuals should take advantage of what has been done to educate them.

The dictatorship of the proletariat and its organs should show no mercy towards those who steal public and private property. No mercy or leniency should be shown towards the enemies of the people and of socialism, who include thieves. There should be no pardon for those who commit such offences nor for those who try to moderate their punishment.

I propose that we re-examine the law and assign much greater responsibility to the parents of those under-age children who take to hooliganism.

The Ministry of Education and Culture has allowed abuses of the correct proletarian demo-

cratic line established in schools, and, therefore, it bears responsibility for this leniency. But this does not lighten the responsibility of the Party and youth organizations in the schools, nor the teaching staff. Therefore proletarian discipline should be established among pupils and students everywhere, both in regular attendance with no unexcused absences, and in learning their lessons well.

At the same time our teachers and lecturers should be faced with the serious responsibility of giving their lessons at the required level, and in order to do this they must make continual efforts to raise their own level of learning. They also bear great responsibility to educate their pupils and students not only in school but outside it as well.

Today, thousands and thousands of workers attend part-time courses throughout the country. This is a very good, necessary, and indispensable thing both for them and for society. The state grants them many favours, which, translated into monetary terms, amount to large sums. But it happens that at the beginning many register and profit from the favour granted, but at the end of the school year the majority fail to turn up for their exams. This is called misappropriation pure and simple. These people should feel conscience-stricken, but the time has come for them to feel it in their «pockets» too. I think that the government should reconsider this matter so that any of these people who have profited from these favours but fail to pass the exams should pay all that they have taken by fraud from society.

With what I have said, and other things I have not mentioned, but which we should go into in more detail in every sector, is the line of the Party changed? Not at all. The Party has said these things and continually repeats them. We will find them in every directive of the Party and at all times. They have become laws, rules and regulations, ordinances, habits. We work and fight, and they inspire us. We will never give up our policy of persuasion, of intensive and continuous political work with the people. First and foremost we must work to educate our people ideologically with the Marxist-Leninist theory of our Party. In no case do we abandon this course, which is the principal and decisive one, in order to turn to the course of administrative measures. Ideologically immature people may easily make this mistake. Naturally these people will now wake from their opportunist and liberal sleep, and take up the «whip», and then return to their opportunist sleep again. These matters should be viewed aright and a correct attitude taken towards them.

It must be acknowledged that there is a lot of liberalism and leniency in these matters. Some lead an easy life, not putting themselves out or making much effort. Some others think that the great, difficult and glorious battle the Party has been waging for decades in order to revolutionize people and life has been achieved, that it has been won on all fronts and in all the vicissitudes of life, and they come out all the time with communiques full of slogans which put people to sleep, precisely when some are breaking laws, rules

and regulations, stealing, and adopting the disgusting, reactionary bourgeois way of life.

Good advice, political and ideological education, are for all the masses, while punishment is only for those who deserve it, and not for good people. The bad are a minority, the overwhelming majority are good, and where there are bad people, there is education, but these are also measures to be taken when the educational work has no effect. This is what the Party teaches, and we should never forget it. So we should carry out the line of the Party in full and not half-heartedly.

We should educate our people to have a deep ideological and political understanding of problems. We should never give up the policy of persuasion and clarification, but at this bitter stage of the class struggle, in this capitalist encirclement, the dictatorship of the proletariat and our ideology do not permit us to confine ourselves solely to this form of education for those who break the laws, for those who do not hesitate to leave work when they please and return when they please, because nobody asks them where they were, or who produce what they feel like while receiving full pay, or damage common socialist property and escape with only a self-criticism. This liberalism and condemnable leniency should be ended at once. The Party and the government should be strict in their justice on these matters, and the people's courts should also be strict. Formalism and bureaucratic concepts should not be allowed in our courts; the revolutionary spirit

should develop in them. The rights of the individual must be guaranteed, but at the same time, he should be required to fulfil his obligations.

Social insurance for the working people should be protected and implemented, but the latter should consistently fulfil their obligations towards work, otherwise they should not benefit from it.

In other words, the laws of the dictatorship should be put into operation properly and not be covered with rust which, in this case, is called liberalism, indifference, bureaucracy, favouritism, nepotism, familiarity and friendship. And often this is covered up by saying, «We are doing political work, they are young and inexperienced, they will grow up». The people say «Make your way through thick and thin», therefore the dictatorship of the proletariat and its Party, alongside educational and persuasive work, should whenever necessary use all measures, with patience and discretion and without hesitation, because they are for the good of our people, they are for socialism and a better future.

So let us all set to work with multiplied efforts, with heroism, wisdom, and the revolutionary spirit which characterizes our people, firmly relying on and inspired by the correct Marxist-Leninist line of our Party, to accomplish each and everyone the tasks which fall to us, in order to make our socialist homeland ever stronger, more prosperous and more beautiful!

INTENSIFY THE IDEOLOGICAL STRUGGLE AGAINST ALIEN MANIFESTATIONS AND LIBERAL ATTITUDES TOWARDS THEM

*Report submitted to the 4th Plenum of the Central
Committee of the Party of Labour of Albania.*

June 26, 1973

Comrades,

This Plenum of the Central Committee is dedicated to a major and vital problem for our Party and the cause of socialist construction, the problem of the struggle against the influences of alien bourgeois and revisionist ideology, in order to implant proletarian ideology on all fronts and at all time, and in particular under the present conditions of the hostile imperialist and revisionist encirclement of our country.

Recently, these problems which we have continually faced have become more acute, and have therefore attracted the particular attention of the Party and of all the working masses. The Party

criticized with courage and in a principled Marxist-Leninist way many alien manifestations which had appeared in certain spheres of our social life as a result of the influence of the old society, and especially of the pressure of the capitalist and revisionist world. The measures that have been taken to fight these negative phenomena mark a further important step in the intensification of the process of revolutionizing the whole life of the country.

Although a relatively short time has passed since the Party raised these problems before all the people, we notice with satisfaction that good work has been done and very positive results have been attained in all fields. The first thing to point out is the deep grasp, unanimous approval and readiness which the communists, the working class, the youth and all the working people expressed on this occasion. Now a lively atmosphere of debate and confrontation has been created everywhere to criticize shortcomings, to expose weaknesses and alien manifestations in work centres, cultural and artistic institutions, schools and the family, and to determine effective methods of overcoming them. In town and countryside a sound spirit of mobilization is being created to fulfil the plan and carry out tasks, to enforce proletarian discipline at work, and to protect the property of the people. Ideological and political vigilance towards internal and external enemies, and military training to defend the homeland, have been raised to a new, higher level.

In this revolutionary atmosphere, a series of

valuable initiatives have burst forth in the sphere of production, ideology, culture, etc. They are a concrete expression of the correct understanding of the internal and external situation in which we live and an expression of the high moral qualities the Party has implanted in the working people, their steel-like unity round the Party and its correct Marxist-Leninist line.

All these are a premise and guarantee for even greater successes in the future. But we cannot rest content with what has been achieved, nor can we think that the problems recently raised by the Party have already been fully solved. On the contrary, we must stop and go still deeper into certain important aspects of the class struggle, in order to smash all influences of the alien ideology of the past and of the present, bourgeois and revisionist, in order to strengthen the dictatorship of the proletariat still further, and to advance the revolution and our socialist construction unceasingly.

Comrades,

The struggle against alien ideology to implant the socialist ideology in the consciousness of all our working people on all fronts has always been one of the main preoccupations in all the activity of the Party. It has always considered this struggle as one of the fundamental conditions for the ceaseless development of the revolution and socialist construction, for the formation and tempering of

the new man of the new society. It has also considered it as an essential condition for its very existence and development as a Marxist-Leninist party, to enable it to fulfil its national tasks and its internationalist duty.

The emergence and advent to power of revisionism in the Soviet Union and certain other countries, where the underestimation of the struggle against the influences of bourgeois ideology became one of the important causes of the degeneration of the socialist order and of the Party itself, strengthens still further our correct conviction that, without a persistent struggle to uproot the influence of alien ideologies, be they old feudal and petty-bourgeois or present day bourgeois and revisionist ones, and without achieving the decisive triumph of socialism on the ideological front too, its achievements on the economic and political front cannot be ensured.

We are all witnesses of the major, historically important successes which have been achieved in the determined struggle waged by the Party, at the head of the working masses, against bourgeois and revisionist ideology, against religious, patriarchal and feudal ideology. A great qualitative leap has been taken for the complete emancipation of women, important measures have been taken to revolutionize education further, to uproot bureaucracy, etc. Great results have been attained in the revolutionary education of the new man, and profound socialist ideological convictions about work, property, society and the family have been created in our workers. The Party's

slogan «Think, work, fight and live like revolutionaries» inspires and mobilizes all our people.

In further deepening this process of revolutionization, the 6th Congress of the Party placed greater stress on the need for a frontal battle not only against the conservative survivals and traces of the past, but in particular against the dangerous influences of the present day bourgeois, revisionist and liberal ideology which exerts ceaseless pressure on us. It very rightly called this battle on two fronts a decisive condition for winning a stable victory in the struggle against alien ideologies.

We have scored great victories in the struggle against alien manifestations and influences. But we cannot fail to take into account that, under the actual conditions of encirclement and all-round imperialist and revisionist pressure, we are far from thinking we are immune to danger. The successes our Party has achieved in its struggle to unmask imperialism and revisionism on a political and theoretical plane, especially through the great polemics with modern revisionism, should not lead us to think at any moment that they constitute an insuperable barrier against the penetration of alien ideology into the various fields of the life of the country and into the thinking of our people. It is a fact that our enemies have never given up their fight against us. They have changed only their tactics, concentrating their efforts especially on the ideological front. In order to pave the way for the degeneration of our people and of our socialist order, they more and

more frequently and with greater zeal exploit the lingering vestiges of the old ideology in the minds of our working people, especially petty-bourgeois, individualistic concepts and habits. Our internal and external enemies encourage and support one another in various forms and ways, coordinating their activities against our people's state power and socialism.

Moreover, there are situations in the world which prompt one to a greater mobilization to heighten vigilance and muster all efforts against the ideology and politics, attitudes and activity of the enemy.

A pacifist wind of capitulation is pervading the atmosphere. The US imperialists and Soviet revisionists are trying to spread a spirit of reconciliation and compromise in Europe, Asia, Africa and America. Now the war in Vietnam is coming to an end, and it is being said that the situation in the Middle East can be settled in a peaceful way, there is talk of some sort of security and reduction of troops in Europe, the results of the improvement of the relations between the big powers are being proclaimed far and wide, the frequent contacts and talks of statesmen are greatly publicized, etc. Such situations may create a spirit of lowered vigilance, they may create the opinion that war is far away, that «the world is becoming calm».

The tactic of spreading this false peaceful psychosis, as a means of carrying out military and ideological aggression better, is now supported by a host of theories and doctrines which the impe-

rialists and revisionists have concocted especially for this purpose. They talk much about «peaceful coexistence», about «détente», «negotiations» and so on. All these are not simply propaganda slogans, but also ideological devices, means to create a general fatalistic psychology towards the events which take place in the world, attempts to prepare the people ideologically to accept the arbitrariness of the superpowers and the destiny mapped out by them.

The imperialists and revisionist try to inculcate this pacifist spirit in us too, through honeyed words, through proposals to «normalize relations», trying to persuade us that no danger threatens us and that we can live unguarded and carefree. This diabolical and very dangerous tactic aims at stifling our vigilance and at inciting and encouraging liberalism and disarray. It should be clear to us that even if some sort of détente actually exists, this can be true only between the imperialist superpowers, but there is not and will not be a détente between them and us, between the peoples on the one hand and the imperialists and social imperialists on the other. We are fully aware that the imperialist and revisionist strategy to suppress revolutionary struggles and movements and every resistance against their hegemony, to crush and suppress by force states or parties which oppose their domination, has remained unchanged. Only the tactics and means they use have changed, and are now more numerous and more sophisticated.

The agreements and collaboration between

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the big powers, and first and foremost between the United States of America and the Soviet Union, which are extending, cannot fail to be expressed in their pressure on the small independent countries, and to result in the increase of this pressure, the increase of their attempts to interfere in the internal affairs of sovereign states, the intensification of their struggle to force others to accept their dictate in matters of international relations, and the extension of their activity to force their way of thinking and way of life on other peoples and nations. It is natural that in this new situation the all-round imperialist-revisionist economic, political and military pressure on our country will become greater, with the aim of stifling the only voice in Europe which is raised boldly against their aggressive, expansionist policy, and which boldly tears the mask off the dark plans, demagoguery and deception of the superpowers against the peoples and the revolution.

The imperialists and revisionists have wanted and still want to do away with socialism in Albania. We know that. But what we should keep better in mind is that for us there exists not only the direct military danger, but also ideological aggression. Moreover, the enemy's ideological pressure and struggle against us is a preparation for and forewarning of an eventual military assault. We should not forget for a moment that we are a small country, and because of our principled revolutionary stand, we are at the centre of the all-round ideological pressure of the capitalist and revisionist world. On the other hand, we cannot

live isolated from the outside world, the influences of which penetrate into our country and our people through many channels, through various means of information and propaganda, which today have become more widespread and sophisticated than ever before, and through contacts which cannot be avoided. Therefore, the Party has often emphasized that side by side with serious military and economic preparations to cope with any eventuality, we should take all measures and mobilize all our forces to crush the ideological aggression of the enemy. In this life and death struggle, we should bear in mind that the ideological pressure is permanent, that we cannot fight against it and win only once, but that we must fight against it and win every day, every month and every year.

The essence of this ideological aggression, and the main objective of the class enemy under the present conditions for the degeneration of the socialist order and the internal and external policy of our Party and state, is to encourage liberalism on all fronts.

This is precisely the way in which counter-revolutionary results were brought about in the Soviet Union and in certain other countries, results which imperialism had not been able to bring about either by armed intervention or fascist aggression. Under the slogan of liberalism, Stalin and his work were smeared, and the dictatorship of the proletariat was destroyed. Under this slogan, the road was opened to revisionist economic reforms which led to the elimination of socialist relations

in production, and to their replacement with new capitalist relations. In spiritual life, liberalism became the key which opened the door to the influx of the degenerate western culture and way of life. And it was again under the same slogan that the determined struggle against imperialism was rejected, and replaced by the Khrushchevite policy of opening towards the West and of all-round collaboration with US imperialism.

Liberalism may appear in the most various fields and forms. But however and wherever it appears, in essence it is the expression of ideological and political opportunism, the rejection of consistent class struggle against external and internal enemies, against the blemishes of the old society and the present influences of alien ideology, it is the acceptance of peaceful co-existence with the enemy ideology. By encouraging liberalism, our enemies want us to give up our principled stand and our struggle against modern revisionism, to give up our determined struggle against imperialism, and to open our borders to «the free circulation of people, ideas and cultures». They seek to spread a liberal and anarchist interpretation of socialist democracy, with a view to disrupting proletarian discipline at work, and undermining the dictatorship of the proletariat. They want our people of culture and the arts to abandon proletarian partisanship, to pave the way for all sorts of decadent bourgeois and revisionist trends to flourish. They want our people, our youth and all our working people, to adopt the

degenerate modes of behaviour, taste and life of the rotten bourgeois-revisionist world.

Characteristic of the present ideological diversion of the bourgeoisie and revisionism against socialism is the unification into a single front of the basic counter-revolutionary trends, ranging from classic bourgeois ideology of an open anti-communist nature to the old traditional opportunism, from modern revisionism to the present so-called «leftist» opportunist trends. All these, regardless of the positions from which they attack Marxism-Leninism and socialism, regardless of what slogans and «arguments» they use against them, are united in their main objective, in their purpose to show that capitalism has surmounted its contradictions, that bourgeois society has improved, that capitalism and socialism are converging towards one society, that there is no longer a place for class struggle, there is no longer a place for revolutionary upheaval, there is no longer a place for communist ideals, etc.

In order to propagate this thoroughly reactionary thesis, in order to confuse people's minds, to disorientate their thinking and to bring about their degeneration, the bourgeoisie and the revisionists have set up a very powerful industry to poison public opinion which, in terms of the capital invested and the people employed in it, exceeds even the biggest branches of the economy. At their disposal there are the numerous media of mass communication, and closely linked with them are literature and arts, fashion and advertising, the press, radio, television and films.

This huge propaganda wave also breaks against our shores. It is closely interwoven with many survivals of the past in the consciousness of working people, especially with manifestations of petty-bourgeois individualism. These two aspects encourage each other, and the old and the modernist merge into a single front of battle against socialism and the dictatorship of the proletariat. Consequently, our battle against these two evils also constitutes a single complex and indivisible front. It is our task to muster all our efforts and means to cope with the pressure of alien ideological influences, which is exerted precisely under these new external and internal circumstances, and to actively counterattack. We should consider this struggle as one of the most important aspects of the class struggle for the triumph of the socialist road over the capitalist one.

The broad discussions in the Party and among the masses about the struggle against alien influences and liberal manifestations confirmed that the concerns of the party and those of the working people were fully justified. During these discussions there emerged a considerable number of ideological problems which have to do with the development of our arts and literature, education and culture, in a correct way, with the education of our youth, with the enforcement of discipline, with the further improvement of the activity of the Party itself, and with the growth of its leading role. We should analyse all these problems at this plenum in a spirit of criticism and self-criticism, and determine the course and

measures to keep alive the revolutionary atmosphere that has been created, and to carry the struggle of the Party further ahead on all fronts.

Strengthening proletarian partisanship — an essential condition for the development of literature and the arts on the correct course

Our Party has shown constant concern about the development of literature and the arts on the correct course, and has always considered them as a powerful means for the communist education of the masses, especially for their ideological formation. Our literature and arts have kept pace with the whole development of the life of the country, with the deepening of the ideological and cultural revolution, and have made a valuable contribution to the formation and education of the new man, and to the raising of young socialist culture to a higher level.

Guided by the teachings of the Party, and loyal to Marxism-Leninism, our writers and artists have created inspired works with a sound content. Our art with its socialist and revolutionary content bears the national seal, expressing the consciousness of our people in the great historic moments we have experienced and are experiencing. This art is liked by the masses and is spiritual nourishment for them. The people love and respect their own writers and artists.

The successes of our literature and arts clearly show the liveliness of the method of socialist realism, of its fundamental principle of proletarian partisanship, its harmonization with the people's national spirit and sound realistic tradition. Our arts, like all the spiritual life of our society, have developed in struggle with alien ideological influences, old and new, conservative and modernistic and especially bourgeois and revisionist. The orientations of the 15th Plenum of the Central Committee held in 1965 have been of special importance in this struggle.

But in recent years, as a result of the pressure of alien ideology, and especially of subjective weaknesses, some overt influences of bourgeois and revisionist ideology have appeared in literature, arts and culture, and a liberal attitude has been taken towards them. They have harmed the development of our literature and arts. All the discussions held have pointed out the danger of these alien influences as a means of imperialist-revisionist diversion to divert our literature and arts from the correct revolutionary course of socialist realism, and from the sound national basis, and to lead them away from the party line and its correct orientations.

In the spread of these influences, a primary role has been played by the imitation of alien models, of old and new decadent and modernist trends, openly and mechanically copying the present bourgeois and revisionist artistic mode, as well wrong conceptions of the processes of our internal development, the roots of which lie in the

inadequate political, ideological and professional formation of certain artists.

Reality has been distorted in certain works of literature and arts, drama, poetry, stories and novels, in certain films, etc. The various contradictions and the battle the Party and people wage against negative phenomena, obstacles and difficulties have been portrayed not from the position of the Party but from the opposing position. Thus, in a number of cases, the essence of the struggle against bureaucratism is wrongly presented, the organs of our state power are presented as stifled by bureaucracy, and the working masses as entirely powerless to fight the bureaucrats. In some dramas and other literary works, the contradictions among the people are also treated in a distorted way. In the name of the «new», the present is denied, and the struggle between the old and the new is presented as an inevitable struggle between generations. Alien influences have reached the point where the greatness of the National Liberation War and the heroism of the partisans are obscured in certain stories.

Another consequence of alien influences is a departure from great social problems, and excessive treatment of insignificant intimate themes, the theme of the loneliness of man, the transformation of people into snails, figtrees and other absurdities, phenomena which are connected with the influence of existentialist philosophy and aesthetics, as well as the influence of literary trends like symbolism, etc. These phenomena, which are met with in certain poems and stories, in texts

of songs, in some paintings, etc., are at variance with the revolutionary militant spirit of our literature and arts, with their lyrical feeling and their epic character.

In poetry there has appeared an inclination towards using obscure figures of speech, which is contrary to the tradition of clear Albanian poetry. A few young poets began to adopt a hermetic style in their poems. This is entirely alien to our literature, to our people of a socialist country with a proletarian democracy. Writings obscure in content and form are the offspring of the confused minds and feelings of people where the regime of capital, of oppression and of exploitations of man by man, of national oppression and the lack of freedom to express ideas dominates.

Such phenomena have also been met in our light music, especially in rhythmic music, where the clear melodic line has been deformed, and the way opened to unrestrained beat. This appeared especially at the 11th radio-television festival. All our public opinion indignantly rejected that vulgar music, those worthless songs and the snobbish stage presentation at the festival. Public opinion rightly considered it to be an insult to our best national traditions, to the popular spirit and partisanship of our art, and condemned it as such.

Such alien manifestations have also appeared in some pictures, in the stage presentation of some theatrical and opera performances, in book covers, etc. Such shortcomings have exerted a direct in-

fluence on both the form and content of our literature and arts.

These distorted inclinations are at variance with the partisanship of our literature and arts, with their formative and educative role, with their popular and national character. They place a barrier between art and the people, they obscure the democratic nature that our art should have and distort the taste of the working masses.

The fundamental cause for the spread of these alien influences is the failure to implement consistently, and the departure from, the correct guidelines of the Party on waging a frontal ideological struggle on two sides, both against conservatism and against liberalism. The danger of the current influences of bourgeois and revisionist ideology has been underestimated by certain working people and leading cadres in the sector of culture, literature and the arts. Certain old manifestations and traditions of a conservative nature have been considered as the only actual practical danger, while the danger of liberalism has been viewed only as a possibility. The simplification of the danger of bourgeois-revisionist influences, especially when it is done by «learned» intellectuals, is not a lapse of memory, but an inclination, a tendency which if it is not fought will grow and become dangerous. The disintegrating liberal modernist influence is not a potential danger but a real one.

Certain elements contaminated by decadent modernism, posing as «competent» people, under the guise of fighting against conservatism, tried

to open the door to anti-proletarian liberalism, to alien bourgeois-revisionist currents. In body they were here, but their hearts and minds were elsewhere. They viewed the life and development of our country in an inverted way, and tried to adapt decadent trends to our situation. These elements launched the divisive thesis that genuine literature allegedly begins in the 60's, thus disparaging and negating previous artistic creation. In the name of criticizing conservatism, they turned the spearhead of their fight against certain individual writers, especially against the older ones, seriously impairing the comradely atmosphere in literary-artistic circles.

Theorizing against so-called conservatism has appeared in various forms in the different genres of art. In the figurative arts, often under the slogan of fighting against scholasticism, an academic approach, naturalism and so on, old and new works with alien modernist influences and even borrowings from impressionism and cubism were not only legalized, but were often taken as models of bold creativeness and innovation. In music, the predominance of melody has been called a manifestation of conservatism, just as reliance on the people's musical creativity was called archaism and folklorism. This so-called folklorism has often been presented as a bogey and as the main obstacle to the development of cultivated music.

In recent years, there has been an underestimation of the best traditions of our folk music, which also appears in its inadequate performance by our best artists and, especially in the lack of

serious work to train new talents. This underestimation cannot be taken apart from the preferences some people have had for so-called dynamic and rhythmic music, which is allegedly the last word in modern music and the only music which responds to the «demands of the time and of our youth». No, we do not need such music. Only the bourgeoisie and the revisionists need it as a narcotic to disorientate the masses, especially the youth. Our youth need pure cultural nourishment, really of the times but imbued with high ideals and a sound spirit. And our gifted composers have created many beautiful and original works with a revolutionary, national spirit of the times. They sing with inspiration and love to our country and people, to Albanian nature, to the socialist life and pure sentiments of our people.

In the speculations about archaism, folklorism and so on, we have to deal with an openly scornful stand towards folklore in general, towards its great artistic and social values, and towards its relation to cultivate art. It is precisely such stands and speculations which were one of the causes for the departure from a sound national background, and served as arguments to legalize this departure. These pseudo-theoreticians attached disparaging labels to everything good and beautiful in folklore, labels which were often incomprehensible even to them, because they were bourgeois terms and currents in literature and arts which the passage of time had long discarded. These so-called modern aesthetes attached importance to form and not at all to ideology, politics, or content.

Elements with liberal inclinations have often identified conservatism with tradition. In a mechanical way they divided present literary-artistic phenomena into «traditional» and «innovative». Such confusions and divisions open the way to the negation of the sound aspects of tradition. Alien influences spread more easily against this background. These people, of course, could not rely on tradition which they called regression, but on so-called innovation, which they called progression.

The Party has continually stressed the need to base ourselves on sound traditions and to cultivate them further. It has pointed out the great values of our best cultural traditions, their patriotic, democratic and popular spirit. Tradition for us is not only the powerful tradition of the patriotic literature of our national revival, of the revolutionary democratic and progressive literature prior to liberation, but also the tradition of the very rich and variegated literature and arts of our socialist realism, which is already thirty years old.

Do the valuable works of our best known poets ranging from the songs of the National Liberation War, Shefqet Musaraj's «Epic of the Balli Kombëtar», Lazar Siliqi's poems etc., as well as the rich and sound works of many young poets, not serve as a clear example to contrast with the aberrations which have recently been observed in poetry, and which we are rightly criticizing strongly? How high our poets have raised the value of the ever powerful and marvellous

message of the best Albanian poetry! Not very long ago I read the latest collection of poetry by Dritëro Agolli. Is not the work of this poet a new tradition, an example of the harmonization of the revolutionary socialist spirit with the national popular spirit of rich content and clear form, of partisanship and high artistic skill?

Many other outstanding literary and artistic works have appeared in recent times. The best novels of Sterio Spasse, Ismail Kadare, Fatmir Gjata, Jakov Xoxe, and other prose writers, reflect with true epic grandeur the people's war for liberation from foreign oppression and age-long exploitation, the construction of the new socialist society, and the formation and education of the new man. Our playwrights and film-makers, together with talented artists of the stage and screen, have depicted these colossal transformations very beautifully in their best dramas, films and performances. We also see this grandeur and this heroic spirit of struggle in the best works of our talented sculptors and painters such as Odhise Paskali, Kristaq Rama, Guri Madhi, etc. Composers like Çesk Zadeja, Tish Daija, Fehim Ibrahim and others have also produced very beautiful works of various major and minor genres of music, with sound content, educational value and a high professional level. We are justified in being proud of the best works of our literature and arts, which stand out both for their militant spirit and for their truly high artistic workmanship.

While stressing these major achievements in

these fields, we cannot but accept that our literary and artistic criticism and science are behind in analysing this new experience of socialist artistic culture, these successes and the new and powerful traditions of the literature and art of socialist realism. We should strive to make these traditions the property of the younger creative artists and the broad masses of art lovers, so that it may be popularized by publications and republications, by recordings and reproductions, and so on. Our young creative artists should learn and be taught to rely on the results of our new experience, to follow this rich socialist tradition. The elimination of any vacuum and neglect in this domain is also a means to block the way to the spread of alien influences and imitations.

Our Party has been and remains in favour of innovative art, firmly based on sound old and new tradition, and on proletarian partisanship. But on this question too there have been distortions and speculations of a liberal character. Often, everything that appears as new is automatically called innovative, without analysing from a class angle and in a scientific way what it represents, thus giving rise to theoretical confusion, as is the case with the «famous» discussion on the positive hero in literature conducted in the newspaper «Drita». Sometimes innovation is considered as the property solely of the young. At other times, it is not seen mainly and primarily in content, but only in form. It is precisely in the name of such «innovation» that those formalist and modernist creations which I have just referred to

were legalized in poetry, light music, painting, stage management, scenography, etc. In particular there has been speculation for the alleged purpose of supporting the young, of maintaining a generous and tactful stand towards them. An attitude of this kind has only harmed the young, since they are helped not by flattery but by encouraging them where appropriate and by criticizing them where necessary.

What is new for us Marxist-Leninists is that which helps destroy everything outdated, regressive and reactionary, everything alien to our society and ideology, it is that which serves the affirmation of everything progressive and revolutionary, the development of the socialist society, the base and its superstructure, production and spiritual life. We always view what is new first and foremost in content and then in form. This is also the way we view it in literature and arts.

Our Party, which is a great and courageous innovator, and undaunted revolutionary, which has crushed and continues to crush one outdated thing after another, which is leading an unprecedented revolution in the material and spiritual life of society, will never allow itself to be deceived by false innovation, by the outer layer of attraction on bourgeois and revisionist art and culture with which they cloak the poison of their reactionary ideas, or by their noisy acclamation of the so-called innovations of that culture. Our Party is in favour of truly modern development in all our social life, our economy and culture, literature and arts. But this has nothing in common with

the disintegrating modernism of the presentday capitalist and revisionist world.

Many deviations which we are criticizing have arisen from a departure from the national spirit, from ignoring and denying it. In the name of what is new, of the demands of the times and of the fact that we live in Europe, the supporters of liberalism began to distort the party orientations for a differentiated critical attitude towards alien culture, and to serve up to us as new and innovative the monstrosities of the present decadent modernist bourgeois-revisionist culture.

Through many storms of the times, through endless bitter battles, our people created a culture and art with clear national features, which constitutes an invaluable wealth. For us, these values of the progressive art of our nation are an object of legitimate pride, they are our contribution to the treasury of progressive world culture. If our people guarded and further developed this culture through the centuries, then it falls to us, the generations of the socialist society, to strive with the passion of communist militants, to keep it pure and to develop it further.

The imperialist bourgeoisie has always tried to denigrate or eliminate the cultural traditions of small countries and the national features of their art and culture. This is one of the ways to carry out their cultural aggression and to subjugate the people. The reactionary bourgeois concept of the «internationalization» of culture and art, the idea that «the stage of national schools has already been superseded» aim to eliminate

the cultures of other peoples. Under these conditions it becomes even more imperative for us to fight to guard the national features of art, the cultural wealth of the people.

While fighting to defend the national spirit of literature and arts, we always emphasize strongly their revolutionary and socialist character. Socialist content is the distinctive and most essential feature of our literature and arts. This content has a clear proletarian class character. As such it must be achieved in unity with national form, which we also see in the practice of our literary and artistic creativity.

Our Party has spoken at other times too about our critical revolutionary stand towards alien culture, of both past and present. We are obliged to return to this problem once again because, in spite of all the Party's correct guidelines, in practice there have been misunderstandings and distortions which have been one of the cause of the revival of alien influences.

Today, the phenomena of decay and degeneration of bourgeois culture are becoming more and more pronounced. Its «isms», which grow like mushrooms, are the clearest symptoms of this decay. Every day «new» major and minor schools of thought appear like innumerable religious sects and heresies. Nevertheless, they have a common philosophical basis, idealism, with all its endless refinements. It is also the root of those trends which at first sight appear as leftist, radical protests against official bourgeois society, against its culture and ethics.

Under the guise of an art which claims to be free of social prejudices and ideological commitment, the cult of empty substance and the ugly form, of what is base and horrible, is created. The principal themes and heroes of decadent modernistic art are murderers, prostitutes, immorality and social pathology. Its banner is irrationalism, liberation from «reason». Its ideal is the primitivism of the caveman.

It is precisely this culture, coated with a shining veneer, accompanied by pompous advertisement, created in the most commercial way and financed by the bourgeoisie, that inundates the cinema and television screens, magazines, newspapers and radio broadcasts, all the mass information and propaganda media. Its objective is to turn the ordinary man into a passive consumer of poisonous bourgeois ideas, and to make this consumption a habitual need. We have nothing to learn from this culture, we have no reason to impart it to our masses and youth, but should discard it contemptuously and fight it with determination.

We have valued and we value only revolutionary, progressive and democratic foreign art, be it of the past or of our century. We will continue to make use of it in a critical way, because this is necessary for the cultural development of the masses, for their ideo-aesthetic education, as well as for the formation of tastes which resist the degenerating and vulgar bourgeois-revisionist influence.

All this requires careful, intelligent and gra-

dual work on our part, it requires the elimination of extreme attitudes based on xenomania or xenophobia, liberalism or sectarianism, the lack of a critical stand, or the desire to be on the safe side.

Our Party has always been opposed to any kind of distortion or underestimation of its guidelines for a consistent ideological struggle on both flanks, against liberalism as well as against conservatism. It has been and continues to be opposed to every kind of speculation which, for the sake of fighting against one side, neglects or forgets to fight against the other. Therefore, it would be very wrong for any one today to think that the correct criticism which has been made of manifestations of conservatism is groundless and that conservatism is no longer a problem for our literature and arts. In fact, in the process of their development, literature and arts, parallel with the influences of presentday bourgeois and revisionist ideology, have clashed and continue to clash with various conservative and restrictive legacies and trends which appear both in content and in form. The conservative or progressive, regressive or reactionary character of a literary or artistic work depends first and foremost, on its class tendentiousness, on the ideas it bears, on the ideals for which it militates. Conservatism in this field has its own specific features and is manifested in various forms and ways which critical, theoretical, historical, and literary thought should discover and fight ceaselessly.

The Party has continually pointed out the

broad political, social and ideological basis of conservatism. For us, a conservative stand is one which justifies, supports and upholds everything old, which is opposed to progressive changes, to the new, which obstructs the revolutionary drive of the masses and their all-round emancipation, which hinders our march ahead on the road of socialism. Viewed from such a revolutionary class position, from a broad political and social viewpoint, not only do the old ideologies emerging from the depths of the centuries have a conservative character, but also the present degenerate bourgeois and revisionist culture, and all their liberalism and modernism.

Literary and artistic criticism and serious scientific debate about fundamental ideo-aesthetic problems, play a very great role in the correct development of literature and arts. But our literary and artistic criticism has not always maintained a clear-cut stand on these problems, it has not discovered and duly fought negative phenomena, especially, formalist and modernist influences, and on some occasions has tried to give theoretical justification to these alien manifestations. At the same time it must be stressed that there has not existed always a suitable atmosphere for literary and artistic criticism to speak freely.

We need qualified scientific criticism which also has the necessary revolutionary spirit so essential to the discovery of the outstanding values of literature and arts, and the spirit of irreconcilability with any distortion, or with alien manifestations in their development. We need criti-

cism which will speak with courage and competence about every literary and artistic phenomenon. But professional literary criticism is not the only judge of literary and artistic activity. In the final analysis, the opinion of the readers, of the public, the opinion of society as a whole, is the best judge of these works. Both the creative artists and the critics should always bear this truth in mind.

In order to develop critical and ideo-aesthetic thought, it is necessary to take measures to broaden scientific research work in the domain of the theory and history of literature and arts, of aesthetics, strengthening the existing nuclei and creating new ones. This work cannot be done successfully without taking immediate steps to systematically train new scientific cadres for aesthetics, the theory and history of literature and arts, and literary and artistic criticism.

Criticism like all our literature and arts, should always be guided by the principles of the method of socialist realism, which have emerged from the world experience of the revolutionary art of the proletariat, and have been elaborated by Marxist-Leninist aesthetics and confirmed by the literary and artistic practice of our country. These principles are unshakable and to abide by them is essential, for otherwise we fall under foreign influences and depart from revolutionary traditions. Innovation does not violate principles, but applies them in the correct way.

The creative development of socialist realism has also come up against some misinterpretations

and speculations arising from various sources. These have appeared especially in the treatment of the problem of contradictions and of the hero in art. It has happened that the contradictions of our society have been presented as having no way out, with a dark feeling of pessimism which is typical of the bourgeois-revisionist way of thinking. The superiority of the socialist forces and ideal has not always been properly pointed out. There have been also cases of confusing the contradictions among the people with the contradictions between us and our enemies. This leads to serious errors of principle into which Fadil Pargrami tried to lead our art when he said that we had already dealt enough with the struggle between «us and the enemy» and that from now on we should talk mainly of the struggle «among ourselves». Thus, we should leave the enemy in peace and treat our people as enemies.

The Party has stressed that the discovery of contradictions and their reflection in art, including the criticism of negative phenomena, should be done correctly, from the position of proletarian partisanship, so that they may be overcome and society may advance and not remain in the grip of contradictions.

On the other hand, that theorizing about the positive hero, dissecting him, identifying him with everything, and making an artificial separation between «the traditional hero» and «the innovative hero», etc., are nothing but views which lead to anti-heroism in literature and arts, to divorce from life and from man. And stereotyped theories

of the hero, conceived in an idyllic and sentimental way, are also harmful and lead art away from truth and realism. While criticizing the stereotyped treatment of a hero idealized in a bookish way without relying on our reality at the same time, we can in no way accept the new type of a wavering hero which is, in fact, an open bourgeois-revisionist influence. These views and attitudes have nothing in common with our principles, but show theoretical confusion.

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These were some of the problems that have concerned our Party, our workers and authors, in connection with the correct development of our literature and arts in struggle with the influences of alien ideology. In the recent discussions held among literary and art workers in a sound spirit of criticism and self-criticism, they forcefully expressed their conviction and determination to do away with the faults and shortcomings that have been observed. The task of the Party is to help the writers and artists to fulfil honourably their high and noble duty to the people.

It must be admitted that the insufficient interest of the party committees and basic organizations in so important a field as literature and arts is another reason that alien influences have not been fought right from the start with the necessary force and consistency. The party organiza-

tions do not deal with problems of culture, with the all-round education of literary and art workers, in the same way as they deal with other fields of our social and economic life. They should always keep in mind that literature and arts indeed do not give direct material benefits, but their influence on the masses is great and is strongly reflected not only in the psychological condition of the working people, but also at work and in production.

Those organs charged with the specific task of seeing to the implementation of the line of the Party in the domain of literature and arts have not fought persistently and consistently. The ideological sectors of the Central Committee apparatus have not done as much as they should to help our literature and arts cope with alien influences. To a certain extent they have succumbed to liberal pressure and theorizing, and have not reacted with the necessary force against deviations from the party line and directives.

Deviations in literature and arts are also linked with the inadequate work of the Party Committee of the Tirana district where most of the writers and artists are active and the principal artistic institutions of the country are located, and in which the spirit of liberalism was more widespread than anywhere else. A very dangerous influence in this direction has been exerted especially by the former propaganda secretary, comrade Fadil Paçrami, who had succeeded in imposing on the Tirana Party Committee and the artistic

institutions of the city his views on literature and arts.

On these problems, Fadil Paçrami has had alien views opposed to the party line, which have also been manifested in his own literary works. With his pronounced liberal inclinations, and his alien theorizing, he denied and fought against the sound traditions of literature and arts, encouraging an artificial division among the generations of writers and artists, advocating conflict between them, encouraging and supporting the spread of alien modernist influences and manifestations. Through his liberal-anarchist inclinations, expressed in a rightist conception of problems and in the use of aggressive methods, displaying conceit and arrogance, he has exerted a very negative influence on the Writers' and Artists' League and on the literary-artistic life of the capital. Fadil Paçrami's anti-party views have been manifested not only in his failure to carry out the party line of struggle on two fronts, but also in openly opposing it, fighting from an alien position against conservatism alone. In fact, as a rightwing deviationist, he has fought to pave the way to liberalism. In his work he has violated the norms of the Party. He has arrogantly ignored criticism made time after time by communists and by the apparatus of the Party Central Committee. Being opposed to the party line and to the Party itself, he has displaced the basic organizations of the sphere of culture and has carried out his own cadre policy, trying to replace leadership by the Party with leadership by people who suited him. Fadil

Pagrami and Todi Lubonja, as anti party elements, in fact have had the same aims and have followed the same course in order to strike at the Party and its leadership.

Major responsibility for deviating from the party line in literature and arts lies with the Ministry of Education and Culture, because it underestimated the danger of liberalism and yielded to liberal pressures. Therefore it should re-examine its work in this direction, and take steps to carry out fully and precisely the tasks assigned to it to direct all the cultural and artistic life of the country, making no concessions to any one who violates the party line in matters concerning our socialist literature, arts and culture.

In particular, the Writers' and Artists' League, and its main leading comrades bear great responsibility for the deviation from the party line in the field of arts and literature. Many concepts and theories which have been criticized above have found shelter in the activities of the League, in its press organs, and especially in the newspaper «Drita». Claiming that they alone are aware of the problems of literature and arts and their peculiarities, the leading comrades of the League, far from fighting alien influences, have often encouraged them through their stand.

The Writers' and Artists' League should thoroughly analyse its work, detect any distortion of the party line in literature and arts, and take serious and responsible steps to prevent any further manifestations of bourgeois and revisionist ideology within the sphere of its activity.

In order to fight successfully against alien influences and manifestations, our Party should do a great deal of work with writers and artists, not only to further develop them ideologically and aesthetically, but also to have them lead an intensive ideological life, live close to the masses, in contact with their preoccupations and struggle, and take an active part in the great economic and social mass actions of the working people. Building contact with the masses is absolutely necessary for the people of arts and culture, but this should not be interpreted as simple slogans, as writing or sightseeing, but as work on which they will base their creative activity which should be positive, in compliance with the party line and norms. In this process the creative artists are educated and tempered in a revolutionary way, and a fight is waged against intellectualism and megalomania, against individualism and petty-bourgeois pride, against mistaken views that «we are above others», that «we are free to create what we want when we want to», above every social requirement and discipline, beyond all control, and outside every norm. In this way mistakes are corrected not only in words, not only through self-criticism, but through creative activity, through work, through willpower and through multiplied confidence in one's own efforts and the correctness of the party line.

The party organizations should do serious work to create a sound atmosphere of activity and comradesly relations among the literary and art workers. They and the writers and artists

themselves should fight with determination against unhealthy passions, against bias in judging one another's work, which leads to gossip, and to dangerous divisions and groupings among the artists. There should be no division between «the young» and «the old» just as now we should not allow the spread of the view that «you were wrong we were not», «you accused us of being conservative, how it is our turn to accuse you of being liberal». Of course, mistakes and faults must be discovered and admitted, they must be criticized. But, as the Party teaches us, it is essential that the criticism should always be right, constructive and never denigrating. Wherever mistake have been made, they should always be viewed from a party angle, and corrected by joint efforts. We communists do not correct mistakes by taking revenge and showing petty-bourgeois spite, but in the spirit of communist principles and partisanship. People should be helped and encouraged, especially the young writers and artists, towards whom we should show warmth, tact and care along the correct party course.

Our Party demands a lot in this direction, especially from the communist writers and artists, who should set an example of partisanship, of principle, of communist ethics and social discipline. For the communists there are not two kinds of attitude, one within the basic organization and another outside. The norms of the party line are binding on all in work and in life and no one can be allowed to violate or evade them.

We are fully confident that while fighting

against alien influences, our writers and artists, and all the creative workers in the field of culture and art, will further tighten their ranks round the Party, to which they are bound like flesh to bone. With the aid of the Party and by their own revolutionary efforts, they will clean out those noxious weeds which have appeared in our literary, artistic and cultural life, and will courageously advance the great cause of our socialist culture, literature and arts.

While discussing at this Plenum alien ideological influences and their manifestations in literature and arts, it is essential to point out once again that, in general, our literature and arts are sound, that they have developed along correct lines, and have been inspired by the line of the Party and the interests of the people and socialism. This is verified by the living reality of the development of our literature and arts in general, and of the recent period in particular.

The good works of our writers and artists are greatly liked and followed with great interest by the masses, and have made and are making a valuable contribution to the general education of our youth and of the people as a whole. These works which have increased the golden treasury of the new socialist culture are a very valuable reflection of the spiritual creativity of the Albanian people, with its patriotic, progressive and democratic content. Portraying the glorious epoch of the National Liberation War, the great revolutionary transformations and the construction of socialism, and taking an active part in these mag-

nificent battles, our present literature and arts will certainly be a source of inspiration for the younger generation and those of the future.

We are certain that just as up to now, in the future too the creative activity of our writers and artists will be inspired by our marvellous socialist reality, by the heroic struggle of our people, the working class and our labouring peasantry, by the high revolutionary ideals of the Party; They will always receive their nourishment from the age-long struggle of our people for freedom and enlightenment, from their powerful democratic and progressive traditions, from the inexhaustible spring of their artistic experience and genius. Guided by the great principle of communist partisanship, our writers and artists will certainly turn out even worthier works about this heroic struggle our Party and people are waging today for the cause of revolution and socialism, works clear and understandable to the masses, with high communist ideas, clear national features, and an ever higher artistic level.

We should form revolutionary concepts about taste, conduct and the way of living

The socialist revolution has brought radical changes in the spiritual life of society and of our people, in their thinking, psychology and way of living. Our Party has devoted continuous attention to the formation and tempering of the

new man with a Marxist-Leninist world outlook, with a high spirit of patriotism, proletarian internationalism and socialist collectivism, with the spirit of sacrifice and heroism, with new concepts about work and life, and with high revolutionary ideals. Today, we can speak of the rich spiritual life of our people, a pure life that develops impetuously, displaying devotion to the cause of the revolution and socialism, heroic deeds, high moral virtues and sound tastes. This is an intricate and constant process taking place through an ideological class struggle against every alien influence. Our Party has always waged a frontal battle against all the ideologies of exploiting classes.

But in recent years when a hard blow was dealt at the old, religious, feudal, patriarchal and conservative concepts and prejudices, the struggle against the present influences of bourgeois and revisionist ideology and their manifestation in our life were somewhat neglected and underestimated. Liberal concepts and attitudes appeared, giving rise to certain harmful phenomena among some people, and especially among some of the youth.

Those influences to which we referred in literature and arts cannot be viewed apart from certain alien manifestations which have been observed in the tastes of some young people, in their conduct and unseemly behaviour. These, and the continuous pressure from outside, account for the spread of certain vulgar alien tastes in music and art, the adoption of extravagant and ugly fashions, and improper conduct in defiance of the socialist ethics and the positive traditions of our

people. Our social opinion was justified in forcefully condemning the bastardized «importation» of long hair, extravagant dress, the hullabaloo of jungle music, arrogance, shameless behaviour and so on. If the influences and manifestations of the bourgeois-revisionist way of living are not nipped in the bud, they open the way to the moral decay and degeneration of the people, which is so dangerous to the cause of socialism.

The all-round spiritual development and the moral image of our new man cannot be conceived without the formation of sound ideo-aesthetic tastes for what is beautiful in art, in nature, at work and in life. The problem of tastes is not a purely personal problem of individuals, which allegedly cannot even be discussed. Despite the presence of the individual element in them, tastes always have a social character, being formed under the direct influence of social and economic relations, ideology and culture, and social psychology. Hence their class character emerges clearly. Therefore in essence our tastes are entirely opposed to bourgeois-revisionist tastes. Our communist taste is imbued with the revolutionary ideal, with proletarian simplicity, with noble sentiments and pure moral virtues.

While fighting against the penetration of low, commonplace bourgeois-revisionist tastes, we have at the same time fought and continue to fight against outdated and anachronistic tastes inherited from foreign occupations and the old feudal-bourgeois society, interwoven with the old way of living and backward patriarchal customs and tra-

ditions. We support every natural evolution of taste under the conditions of rapid socialist development, in compliance with the requirements of this development, in the spirit of our Marxist-Leninist ideology and our sound national traditions. We are opposed to conservative attitudes of some who fail to understand this process and consider it as a negative phenomenon and an alien influence.

The formation of sound tastes with a clear socialist content also requires the all-round cultural development of the new man, and especially systematic efforts to educate him ideologically and aesthetically. This objective is also achieved through a continuous fight against a superficial, narrow cultural horizon, for a deeper appreciation of the valuable heritage of national and world culture.

Major opportunities have been created today in our country for the continuous uplift of the cultural and ideo-aesthetic level of all the working masses, and of our youth in particular. Along with schools, a broad network of specialized cultural and artistic institutions has been set up and consolidated, along with other means of mass propaganda, which play a role of primary importance in this process. But these means, which have been spread to the farthest corners of the country, are not utilized in an intensive and qualified way.

The party committees and state organs should strive continually to raise the ideo-artistic level of the activity of the cultural institutions, and

fight against any tendency to consider this activity as merely entertainment, depriving it of its basic educational objective.

We must also draw attention here to the fact that alien manifestations have penetrated especially into our cultural and artistic institutions. Alien liberal and modernist influences have passed from literary and artistic works to the stage of dramatic and variety theatres, to the cinema and television, and to the various activities of clubs and cultural centres. The tendency to underestimate and not rely on the sound national and popular tradition in cultural activities has also been met with in many cultural institutions which have been set up at the base.

The work begun to rid the programs of alien influences and to invigourate and intensify the activity of cultural and artistic institutions should be continuous and carried out more intensively. It is essential to increase the demand for the expansion and improvement of the quality of all our mass cultural work, to place it better in the service of the communist education of the masses.

We have also met with disturbing phenomena in ways of behaviour and living. Many breaches of social discipline have been observed, at work and in school, as well as disregard for the norms of socialist ethics and the state laws, infringement of public order and personal rights, cases of immorality, and the ignoring of the social obligations people have as workers, citizens, parents and family members. Especially among a number of young people, certain very negative phenomena have be-

gun to appear, such as giving up school, remaining without work, hooliganism, theft and so on. All these have nurtured inclinations towards parasitism, individualistic and avaricious inclinations to the detriment of society, and unjust claims. The bearers of these alien manifestations, staying aloof from the struggle of the people, have been the contingent most susceptible to acts of hooliganism and crime, since it is well known that parasitism and avaricious inclinations are one source of people's moral degeneration.

Of course, if we take into account what happens in the capitalist and revisionist world, in our country these phenomena are very limited. But for our healthy society such phenomena are and should be a matter of great concern, even if they are few or isolated individuals, for we fight to keep the thinking and moral image of every worker pure and healthy, in order to keep our socialist society as a whole pure and healthy.

A great share in enlivening these phenomena have had certain distorted theories of an openly liberal nature. Their roots lie in the biased and entirely erroneous understanding from a bourgeois-revisionist position of the broad democracy which exists in our socialist society, of our efforts to emancipate the people, and especially the women, of the relationship between rights and obligations, between the freedom of the individual and social discipline.

For us Marxist-Leninists the way of living is an integral part of our whole socialist social life, which develops in close connection with our who-

le revolution, in conformity with our socialist ideology and the norms of communist morality. This is how we conceive the material well-being and the spiritual world of man, the assertion of his personality, emancipation, personal happiness and family life. The revolutionary communist ideal is the one and the only one which guides us in all our activities and life. Totally alien to us is the bourgeois-revisionist conception of life, the most typical manifestations of which are individualism and unbridled egoism, aimlessness and vanity, running after luxury and fulfilling all whims, dissipation and degeneration, parasitism and criminality, which have become incurable moral and social ills of the present day capitalist and revisionist society.

We see the way of living in constant development, conditioned by all the social, economic and cultural transformations, and by the raising of general wellbeing. In particular, the rapid social and demographic changes, the expansion of the existing cities and the construction of new dwelling centres, the growth of the working class, the all-round development, especially social and cultural, of the countryside, the break-up of the patriarchal family, the great development of education and culture, and the evolution of social psychology have led to radical transformations in the way of living.

A very important role in this respect has been played by the great ideological actions against religion, backward customs and outdated traditions, which have dealt a heavy blow at anach-

ronistic concepts and practices. These positive and revolutionary developments have also been accompanied by the emergence of new problems, by increased demands of the masses in material and spiritual life, and especially for culture and education. In order to respond to these demands and fulfil them gradually according to the actual conditions and possibilities, it is necessary to broaden our concept of cultured life in all its aspects, from the intellectual development of man to the environment where he lives and works.

Our Party also strikes heavily against all those who, in the name of fighting conservatism, and in the name of meeting the demands of the times and of youth, of freedom and democracy, attempt to introduce among us the spirit of bourgeois corruption and degeneration. Now, our working masses and our youth have launched a campaign against this degrading influence, against any liberal stand that paves the way to its infiltration. This struggle is being waged by revolutionizing public opinion, by raising its vigilance and sensitivity. Liberal attitudes towards alien influences cannot be rooted out without fighting against manifestations of indifference in public opinion, against passivity, toleration and negligence. These are open and typical petty-bourgeois practices, and have nothing in common with the revolutionary spirit of communist irreconcilability with all negative phenomena and alien manifestations.

But it is a fact that we come up against indifference not only among the ranks of workers,

but also among communists and cadres. How can our people keep silent and look on when they see that the norms of communist morality and state laws are being broken, and public property is being damaged and misused, when they see some young people who do not work but try to live off their families and society, when they notice acts of vandalism, immorality and hooliganism, manifestations of alien fashions and ways of living? Ideas that «there are others who can deal with this», that «it is none of my business», «why should I get on bad terms with my friend or my neighbour?» are entirely alien, and should be firmly fought against.

We should create an atmosphere which stifles any breach of our ideology, morals and laws, by setting up an unified front of education merging in a single whole the joint efforts of the school, all the means of mass culture and propaganda, social organizations, the family, and public opinion as a whole.

The results achieved in the struggle our Party and the masses are now waging against alien influences and manifestations are an important step ahead. But the Party has the task, relying on these results, of continuing to fight against liberalism on all fronts, of implanting revolutionary concepts deep in the consciousness of the masses, and making them part of their world outlook.

We view and should always view the work for the communist education of the working people, for the formation of their communist tastes and conduct, for the triumph of socialist moral-

ity and the new way of living, as a very important aspect of the class struggle on the ideological front. It is through this prism that we should assess all the educational activity which is conducted under the direction of the Party, all the activity of its levers and of the various educational and cultural means.

A particularly significant role in the communist education of the masses is played by the press, radio and television which have made an outstanding contribution to the political, ideological and cultural education of the masses, and to organizing and mobilizing them in the struggle for the socialist construction of the country.

Ideological purity has been and remains the fundamental principle of our popular and partisan press. But in recent times, in certain organs like the newspapers «Drita» and «Zëri i Rinisë», the magazines «Nëntori» and «Ylli», in certain books issued by the «Naim Frashëri» Publishing House there have appeared a series of literary and artistic works and critical writings with alien ideas, concepts and theories, with liberal modernist tendencies and other decadent manifestations incompatible with our ideology and culture. These have created confusion in the minds, sentiments and tastes of the working masses, and especially of the youth. The concessions made in various press organs cause great damage, because through them the alien bourgeois revisionist influences which have infiltrated not only gain, so to speak «the right of citizenship», but spread speedily and on a mass scale into all categories of the population.

The line and directives of the Party should be implemented with intransigence and consistency in the organs of the press. Marxist-Leninist ideology should run through every writing and every material published in the columns of our newspapers, magazines and books, to serve the general communist education of the masses, and the formation of the new man of the socialist society. The press, as it has done to now, should inspire the masses in the noble task of building socialism and protecting the homeland. It should promote the revolutionary militant spirit and strike strongly at alien influences of every kind, from whatever side they may come. It should expose the bourgeois and revisionist order, their anti-popular and aggressive policy, their decadent ideology and culture, revealing their social ills and pointing out the allround rottenness of their system.

We know the special place radio and television occupy in the Party's propaganda system. Under the guidance of our Party our radio and television have made progress from one year to another. As a whole its work has been characterized by the endeavours of the communists and of all the working people to enhance the role of this institution in the political, cultural and artistic life of the country, to propagate the Marxist-Leninist line and stand of our Party, and the progress of socialist Albania.

In spite of this, it should be pointed out that, especially last year, the revolutionary spirit, the socialist substance and national character of the

musical, cultural and artistic programs of our radio and television were gradually weakened. These deviations were reflected in the copying of alien forms of structure and presentation of various television programs, in the transmission of foreign songs without a political and ideological-aesthetic criterion and in the encouragement production and propagation of modernist songs imitating western music. Thus, the radio and television programs began to ignore the spiritual requirements of the broad working masses, especially the youth, and to become a vehicle for alien tastes and morality which were liked by only a certain kind of elitists. This manifestation, alien to our life, ideology and culture, was expressed in condensed form at the 11th festival of Radio-Television.

A major responsibility for these deviations from the party line in Radio-Television is borne by comrade Todi Lubonja, former director of this institution, who as a rightwing deviationist has displayed and supported pronounced liberal opportunist views and modernist aesthetic tastes, and has applied alien methods of management. He tried to give radio and television a purely informative and cultural-recreational direction, quite at variance with the orientations of the Party on their political, ideological and cultural-educational character. Both formerly as secretary of the Party Committee of the Korça district and as director of Radio-Television, Todi Lubonja stood out for his arrogance. Being on the same anti-party road and following the same anti-party

aims as Fadil Paçrami, he was opposed to the party line and strove to distort it. He deprived the basic organization of Radio-Television of the ideological, political and organizational leadership of the institution, pursuing a personal policy of cadres, gathering round him persons he himself judged to be suitable to apply his views and tastes. In this way he did great damage to the activity of this important institution and, in general to the Party's work for the ideological and aesthetic education of the masses, especially the youth.

Our Party has taken steps to do away with alien influences in Radio-Television. The situation there has improved but much still remains to be done so that radio and especially television may fully carry out the tasks the Party has assigned to this great propaganda and cultural centre for the all-round educational uplift of the masses and for the formation of the features of a revolutionary, socialist and Albanian television.

Our young television will not create these features by imitating and copying the programs and forms of presentation of foreign television broadcasts. A clear line of demarcation must separate our television from that of the bourgeois and revisionist countries. The course of its development is that of the Party, of the people, of socialism and of revolution.

The Party and government will back and encourage, as always, the efforts of the working people of Radio Television to promote the new, the beautiful, the variegated, and programs which will really portray the rapid dynamic development

of our society, programs which will respond to the ever growing educational and cultural demands and aesthetic tastes of the working masses, especially of the youth.

The allround improvement of the communist education of our younger generation is closely bound up with the work of the schools, the teachers and lecturers. In recent years, our schools, fighting to apply the orientations of the Party for their further revolutionization, have taken important steps ahead. Parallel with an unprecedented extension of education, attempts are being made to introduce the Marxist-Leninist ideological axis into all teaching and educational work, to combine classroom teaching with productive work and physical and military training, to revolutionize the methods of teaching and education, and to further democratize school life. Really good work has been done and continues to be done in compiling and improving new school texts.

In spite of this, the general result of the teaching and educational work of our school does not yet meet our requirements. In the schools and the university there are pronounced weaknesses both in the teaching staff and in the pupils and students. The Ministry of Education and Culture has not properly done its duty in this direction. Heavily burdened with the great work called for to re-organize education in line with the decisions of the Central Committee, it forgot and failed to follow up properly the principal objective of this re-organization, namely, the consolidation of the educational aspect of education. There is still a

lot of formalism in the activity of the schools, and this discrepancy is striking particularly in their educational activity.

The ideo-aesthetic and ethical formation of pupils and students is one of the fundamental aspects of communist education, which is being carried out with some weaknesses in the schools. It is not a question only of those weaknesses observed in this field in the teaching of various subjects, but especially of the inadequate work being done during and outside lessons for the development and extension of the cultural horizon of pupils and students, for the formation of their ideo-aesthetic tastes, and a critical stand towards different cultural values, and for the cultivation of new moral features and civic education.

We cannot but notice that the struggle for the democratization of school life, for the greater activation of the pupils and students, for correct teacher-pupil relations, has not been conducted in close connection with the enforcement of proletarian discipline in the life of the school. Here there have been many concessions, a pronounced spirit of irresponsibility and liberalism. The youth organizations have often placed one-sided stress on «the rights» of youth without viewing them in unity with their obligations. At the same time, the organs of education have also greatly weakened the correct requirements of school rules and regulations, and many teachers and lecturers have maintained a passive and conformist stand. Placing the accent one-sidedly on fighting conserva-

tive tendencies in the methods of educational work, they did not fight with the necessary force against indifference and liberalism. All these serious factors have their influence on the still low level of scientific and pedagogical discipline in the work of the school.

Now a fight is being waged in the schools against these shortcomings and weaknesses. But we should never be content with those correct measures which have been taken for the immediate regulation of the situation. We should guard against these measures which have only simplified administrative character. Without giving up the correct organizational and administrative measures to enforce discipline in school, but fighting insistently for them to be carried out in full, it is also essential to work towards a more profound solution of these problems in the future. The Party's program for the further revolutionization of the school cannot be carried out in full without intensifying the struggle to raise to a higher level the results and quality of all its activity, without a radical improvement of the whole system of its educational work. The most acute and relevant problems in this sphere are: strengthen ideo-aesthetic training, civic education, communist taste and conduct, and the spirit of communist social discipline.

I want to speak rather more extensively on the work of the youth organization. As a lever and militant reserve of the Party, throughout its existence it has played a very important role in educating and mobilizing the younger generation

for the reconstruction and defence of the homeland. The Party has always entrusted the youth organization with responsible tasks, and it has always fully justified this trust with its struggle and tireless work in the service of the people and of revolution.

Nevertheless, it is not permissible for us to fail to see the defects in the work of the Labour Youth Union of Albania, the distortions and faults that have occurred especially during these recent years, which are directly connected with those alien liberal modernist manifestations and phenomena which the Party is criticizing today.

The youth organizations, particularly in the schools, but also in the villages and work centres, have not been on top of the situation as they should have been, due to the weakness of the leadership of the youth, including the former First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Youth Union, comrade Agim Mero. Comrade Agim is a young cadre, a good comrade, who slipped into liberalism, who became swelledheaded, promoted wrong views about youth, and weakened the norms which governed the organizational life of the Labour Youth Union of Albania. When he was appointed to the university, he retained certain erroneous liberal concepts with regard to the rights of students, without putting the proper stress on their obligations. But it is a positive thing that comrade Agim acknowledged his mistakes at a number of party meetings, and is now working to put them right.

The exposure by the youth organizations of

the mistakes made and their self-criticism, are a very good sign, showing that under the guidance of the Party they will soon improve their situation, and will stand at the head of the youth's impetus, as their militant detachments. But our Party as a whole, and the cadres and militants of the youth organization, should draw lessons from the mistakes that have occurred, and not allow them to be repeated.

The leadership of the youth organization did not properly understand and apply the directive of the Party to fight on both fronts at the same time. This was the source of many of the mistakes in the work of the youth organization. While correctly fighting against patriarchalism and conservatism, which cramp and hinder the development of the creative energies of the youth, they failed to assess correctly the danger of the influences of bourgeois and revisionist ideology. Many evil manifestations and phenomena have been justified and minimized, saying «there's nothing to worry about» and that «they are transitory and are connected with the age of youth». Although the saying goes «don't judge by words but by deeds», the leadership of the youth organization has not been disturbed by poor educational results in school, by the fact that thousands of young people repeat a year or leave school, that young workers and cooperative members are often absent from work, that crimes committed by young people keep increasing and so on.

In the leadership of the youth organization there has been a tendency to deal more with the

rights and demands of the youth, which the Party has always stressed should be carefully attended to. But, at the same time, it was not seen or stressed sufficiently that the youth must also carry out to the letter their tasks at school and at work, that they should not expect everything on a plate, but that they themselves should also work and toil to create the conditions for an active cultural, sporting and recreational life, and that they should guard and try to utilize the means which the state has placed at their disposal.

Our youth should be educated so that they themselves are active and militant, so that they do not blame their weakness in school, for example, on the «inability of the teachers», or blame their failure to reach the plan targets in mass actions on «technicians and managers», and so on. They should fight against self-satisfaction and conceit, which lead to noise and show.

Another serious mistake has been that of undervaluing educative work with youth, even of discontinuing the study classes organized for the education of the masses of youth after finishing the cycle of lectures on the History of the Party, thinking that the school does this with the pupils, that in work centres the youth are educated in the trade unions, and in the countryside in the Democratic Front.

Manifestations of liberalism also affected the internal life of the Youth Union and its forms and methods of work. The very correct directive of the Party to fight officialdom, bureaucracy and rigid forms in order to apply flexible forms of

work with youth was interpreted in a liberal way. It was interpreted as freeing the organization from necessary rules, which led to the violation of certain fundamental norms stipulated in the Constitution of the Youth Union. In fact, meetings began to be held in frequently, while absences from them became more frequent, and the life of the basic organizations and the ties among them began to weaken.

In addition to the leadership of the youth organization, great responsibility for the weaknesses that have appeared in its organizational work also lies with the party organizations and committees, and with all the communists.

The Party Central Committee has always rightly stressed the need to allow the youth organizations more initiative and independence of action. But does this imply that the Party should care less about youth, that its constant supervision of the organizations of the Labour Youth Union of Albania is not necessary? Our youth find in the Party their strength, guidance, and inspiration. The best cadres of the Party should be charged with the task of speaking to the youth, of explaining to them clearly the directives issued and the decisions taken by the Party. And it should not happen that a candidate who has just been admitted to party membership from the ranks of youth leaves the youth organization, or, when he does take part, gives no assistance there.

We should never forget for a moment that the youth have been and always remain a target

of the activity of all our enemies. Therefore the youth must be continually tempered and molded as revolutionaries, both by speaking to them about the past, about the struggle and the difficulties that have been overcome, as well as by launching them into actions making them work seriously when they are pupils and students, and when they leave school, in production work or wherever they are appointed. In the work the Party is doing today for the general consolidation of the situation, a special place should be occupied by the strengthening of the Labour Youth Union of Albania, and the strengthening of the work with youth in general. We must see to it that our schools, artistic and cultural institutions, all the means of propaganda, sport etc., are better placed at the service of the revolutionary education of our youth.

As always, this time too our youth have understood aright and are applying with all their strength the advice and teachings of the Party. This is another proof of the close links of our youth with the Party. The question now is to intensify our work with youth so that these problems may be better understood from the ideological standpoint, so that they may be involved more broadly and actively in the class struggle, in studying to master Marxist-Leninist theory, science and technology, in work and mass actions to build socialism, and in physical and military training to defend the homeland; and on this sound basis, to temper them further as an insuperable revolutionary force in the struggle the Party is leading for the construction of socialism in our country.

For a correct understanding of centralism and democracy in the management of the economy

So far we have spoken of the problems of arts and literature, as well as of the ideo-aesthetic and ethical education of the masses. But, as the discussions have shown, the front of the struggle against liberalism is much wider. We also come up against such manifestations in the important field of the economy.

The general characteristic of our economy is its rapid, ceaseless development. During the last two years industrial production has increased at an average rate of 10.5 per cent, hence at a higher rate than envisaged in the five-year plan. A dynamic increase in production has also been maintained in agriculture. The successes attained so far, and the mobilization and enthusiasm of the working people, are a clear indication that the tasks set for this year will also be accomplished.

The victories achieved so far constitute a sound basis to accomplish the tasks which arise from the historical necessity of building socialism, and to cope with the consequences imposed by the imperialist-revisionist encirclement. But, viewing our work with a critical eye, in the practice of management and administration of the economy there are also anomalies and faults which are neither new nor unknown. Thus a onesided attitude and leniency towards obligations, responsibilities, and state laws, has often been noticed, as well as weakening of checking up, and demanding account.

and the slackening of revolutionary vigilance and the class struggle. Such liberal manifestations cannot but have a bad effect on such important issues as the discipline of the plan and of work, the self-supporting system, monetary control, setting norms and wages, the administration of collective socialist property, etc.

Of course, anomalies and faults in the field of the economy do not stem either from our system of management or from the economic policy of our Party, the basic principles of which have always been and remain correct, as time and our reality have proved. But they stem from the influence and pressure which the capitalist-revisionist encirclement exerts on our people, from the old petty bourgeois mentality, and a narrow interpretation of the Party's directives.

In some of the issues related to the management and administration of the economy, we observe a kind of liberalism of a more or less voluntary and subjective character. We often come across an underestimation of economic laws, and the failure by the relevant economic and state organs to take properly into account the requirements of these laws. No sooner was labour productivity defined in our new planning method as an index for accounting, than attention towards it slackened. As a consequence, in a number of enterprises, districts and ministries there appeared signs of inflating plans for manpower, considering it a normal thing to maintain and to request extra workers above the plans. Hence another negative phenomenon appeared: while the wage fund was

exceeded, the production plan in certain enterprises was not fulfilled, or not fulfilled properly, thus causing inequality between the increase in purchasing power and the fund of goods required to cover it. The failure to pay sufficient attention to the requirements of economic laws accounts for the weakening of the self-supporting economic enterprises, for inefficient control over the use of the basic funds and means of circulation, and inadequate concern taken to calculate in detail the economic profitability of every product, and of every expenditure and investment, following the idea «let us first produce, then the other things will fall into place.» The underestimation of the economic levers accounts for the temporary lifting and the weakening of control over the wage fund, and over investments.

The Planning Commission, the Ministry of Finance and other departments must re-examine in a thorough and critical way the practice of their work so far. The organs of finance should intensify their financial control on the expenditure fixed in the budget for the economy and every other field, with a view to raising their efficiency. The central departments should also specify concrete measure for a further consolidation of self-supporting economic enterprises, and for the increase of productivity in general, especially in branches and enterprises which are backward or which operate at a loss. Last year 208 enterprises came short of realizing the planned targets of profits or exceeded the planned losses. During the last three years, from 100 to 110 enterprises on

the average ceased to be unprofitable, while from 90 to 100 others fell behind. At the same time the ministries should intensify their demands for the increase of labour productivity and for a rational use of manpower, especially in the auxiliary sectors of production and in the social and cultural sectors, by constantly improving the rigorous setting of norms and the organization of work.

Ours is a small country, but one which has taken upon itself major tasks and objectives for the complete construction of the socialist society. If we also keep in mind the wellknown political and economic factors arising from the capitalist-revisionist encirclement, then the necessity for that high norm of accumulation which we apply in our country will become even clearer, as well as the necessity for the very large investments which we are obliged to make, for the high rates our socialist construction must maintain, and the need for a strict all-round program of economization.

Many facts and figures indicate that survivals in people's minds, and the alien bourgeois-revisionist tendency to take a narrow view of the momentary personal, departmental, local and group interest, even when it is in opposition to the general and perspective interest, have paved the way in our daily practice to many distorted activities which hinder the correct revolutionary combination of these interests.

Viewing local and departmental interests narrowly and not in a political way has encouraged some cadres to make demands for investments,

manpower and materials which our economy cannot meet, or which are not justified by a corresponding increase in production, labour productivity and income.

At the time when plans are drawn up, many enterprises in the districts and at the centre present numerous arguments and calculations about the alleged necessity of this or that investment. But before the ink dries on the approval, they begin making requests to alter funds or to replace one project with another not envisaged in the plan at all. Last year, 9 districts, including Tirana, Durrës, Korça, Fier and Gjirokastra, asked for a 30% addition to the funds that had been initially approved, in order to complete a number of planned projects. During the last quarter of last year, the Peshkopia and Gramsh districts alone demanded an increase or reduction of funds for 65 projects. The investors, designers and administrators cannot be allowed to go on trampling the approved plans underfoot, and changing the funds allocated to each project, as well as their financial limits.

Other things also occur. A project is begun with the best intentions and pledges that it will be carried through by the enterprise relying on its own resources, and then requests pour in and pressure is exerted even on the government for imported materials and equipments, placing before the state the alternative of either meeting these requests or accepting as an accomplished fact the blocking of monetary funds and materials for an uncompleted project.

There are enterprises, regional executive com-

mittees and central departments which irresponsibly demand or keep to themselves more materials than they need or have planned for. Who gave the Ministry of Industry and Mining the right in 1972 to use, without the approval of the government, more crude oil for its enterprises than planned for, at a time when many enterprises of other departments were not supplied with their planned quotas. These activities and practices are not only a flagrant violation of the discipline of the plan and of the requirements of economic laws, but they also indicate a liberal interpretation of the internal and external political and economic situation under which we live and strive to build socialism. Therefore, these things should be thoroughly looked into from the political point of view of the Party. The phenomena we are criticizing not only bring damage and disorder to our economy but also have a bad effect on the minds of our people. Therefore, an end should be put once and for all to these harmful practices, and the necessary steps should be taken to prevent them from being repeated in the future.

Our working class works and accomplishes its tasks with ever greater inspiration and enthusiasm, with an ever higher sense of duty. And these marvellous qualities which it has are seen in the magnificent results which our country has achieved and is achieving in its socialist industrialization, in the advancement of agriculture, in the development of culture, in the uninterrupted increase of well-being and the continuous improvement of the standard of living. These qualities are

a general characteristic of most of our working people. But there are also backward working people who, because of their social origin, limited length of service in production or some other reason, are not yet free of many petty-bourgeois concepts and have not yet acquired the true attributes of the working class. It happens that certain managers of the economy maintain a sentimental attitude towards these people, an attitude which is incompatible with a principled revolutionary spirit. Many criticisms and observations have been made about this during the discussions held in work and production centres. Why should we maintain low work norms which are easily exceeded without much exertion, so that then individual workers and cooperative members take from society more than their share, and more than they have really given it? To whose advantage is it to raise job categories in an artificial and groundless way, allegedly so that there will be no pronounced differences in pay between workers of enterprises and branches? Although clear-cut decisions have been taken not to allow salary increases for people working in administration until a study has been completed, there are ministries which, with a view to raising the salaries of people working in the administration, submit proposals to the government to raise the categories of some of their enterprises. Such tendencies should be attacked as harmful to our economy, and unacceptable to our socialist society.

Not uncommonly, alien manifestations in the economy are the result of a superficial interpreta-

tion and application of the relations between centralism and democracy, between unified management and the line of the masses. This has led to the weakening of the demand to render account, and of the strict supervision of the performance of tasks, and to a flagrant breach of discipline. These are also the most obvious and wide-spread consequences of liberalism in the economy.

The Central Committee has more than once insisted that plans should be fulfilled not only in quantity, but also with regard to range, and in full conformity with the requirements of technical standards and conditions. In general now from year to year there is a perceptible improvement; greater efforts have been made to conform strictly to the state plan and its requirements, and a more correct understanding of the need to fulfil completely all the indices of the plan and production is evident. But in practice, it happens that production is aimed at and carried out only in overall figures while thousands of tons of chromium and coal, thousand of metres of textiles, several thousand pairs of shoes, and many ready-made garments, have been produced contrary to technical conditions and standards, burdening our economy with stockpiled goods, surplus products, and rejects. Although there are also shortages in the range of consumer goods, at the beginning of this year the trade enterprises had about 250 million leks of goods above the norm. The unsold textiles, clothes and shoes on the market have a tendency to increase. Even though over 46 million leks worth of goods have been priced

below cost during these last two years, certain enterprises and branches still continue to turn out low quality goods.

Taking advantage of our socialist democracy certain unconscientious people gravely violate work discipline. They go to and from work whenever they please, stop work whenever they like, and hang around the enterprise having no regard for the rules and regulations of work. Last year an average of 3,000 workers were absent without reason every day; thousands of peasants did not report to work, while a quarter of all cooperativists completed less than 200 work days, at a time when much of the work in agricultural is not done in time and is not of good quality. The worktime is not fully utilized in the state administration either.

There are people who, in the name of democracy and the line of the masses, oppose the attempts of the leaders of the Party, the government and the economy to establish order and discipline. Democratic centralism requires, as Lenin explained, and as our Party has continually emphasized, that decisions should be taken jointly after discussions and free exchange of ideas in the most democratic way and in a revolutionary spirit. But once they have been taken, each person should be fully responsible for the tasks assigned to him, and carry out and respect the discipline of the plan, technical and work discipline. In demanding this account, democratic centralism is expressed in the constant implementation of unified management, and obedience to

the orders of the superior, the director who has been charged by the state, by the class in power, to see to it that the economic policy of the Party is carried out consistently and without errors. Any lenient or sentimental attitude is harmful and alien. The greater rights and competences become, the greater become the tasks and responsibilities of every one to carry them out.

During these recent months, when the working class rose up and sharply criticized the faults and shortcomings observed, better order was established everywhere, work discipline was considerably strengthened, control and the demand for account increased and in general mobilization and determination to reach the planned objectives increased. Does not this indicate that all the possibilities and all the objective and subjective conditions exist for the speedy and determined elimination of all difficulties and obstacles, so that all our work may be raised to a higher level, and our economy always forge ahead incessantly at a fast rate?

From every point of view, the working class constitutes the foundation of our socialist construction, and its decisive factor. It is up to the working class to direct, to exercise its control and influence on the general framework of the state as well as directly at all levels of the economy and state administration. The results achieved in this direction are evident. The struggle of the Party against bureaucratism would not have had such breadth and depth if the working class had not risen up with revolutionary courage, if its mass, direct con-

trol had not been exercised everywhere and over everybody. Therefore it is absolutely essential for us to extend and enforce this control over all the manifestations of liberalism in the economy. As the Party has emphasized, worker control should cover all spheres of our social activity. But it should also be exercised as self-control within the ranks of the class. The more powerfully and irreconcilably the class struggle is waged within its own ranks against liberalism and any other manifestations of alien ideology, the more effective will be worker control from the bottom up, within and outside the enterprise.

Placing the stress on direct worker control neither excludes nor replaces state control, which is an inseparable attribute of the leading organizational activity of the dictatorship of the proletariat. In recent times, however, there have appeared at various levels of the state and economic apparatus a number of indications of underestimation of the need to demand account, and a failure to face people with their responsibility. This tendency, both harmful and dangerous, has opened the way to alien stands and activities in economic administration, and to a spirit of concessions and weak discipline in the performance of tasks, and to a certain extent has encouraged these.

Practice shows that anti-state economic activities are not only rarely denounced to the relevant organs, but even when they are, the culprits get by unscathed, no administrative measures are taken against them and a mild, opportunist stand is maintained towards them. Why does an econo-

mic manager turn a blind eye when unconscientious people damage socialist property, receive more than their share and appropriate the people's property? Does he not understand that through such leniency and liberal attitudes, he causes great harm to the interests of socialism and to those who perpetrate such damage and abuses?

It must also be said that the organs of justice themselves have not always carried out well their duty of applying economic legislation against any anti-socialist activity. They have made concessions and have shown themselves to be sentimental and indecisive, opening the way to repeated actions which harm our economy and our society.

The Party has always instructed us not to forget for one moment that our socialist construction develops in the course of class struggle, of contradictions, and of various difficulties and obstacles. To overcome them requires without fail the strengthening of the dictatorship of the proletariat, organization, order, discipline and responsibility. Therefore state control, combined as well as possible with worker control, should be enforced at all levels, from the centre to the base, in all its forms — administrative, juridical, financial, banking, etc. It should be systematic, thorough and effective, in order to fight alien manifestations and prevent shortcomings and faults.

A fundamental principle of our socialist construction is reliance on our own resources. This principle has deeply penetrated the spirit and heart of our working people, who are characterized by their boundless faith in their own ener-

gies, and in their revolutionary initiative and activities. Boldly applying the principle of reliance on their own efforts, our workers, cooperativists, engineering cadres, technicians and economic managers have honourably carried out difficult and complicated tasks, and have surmounted many difficulties. This great principle and this revolutionary spirit are also being forcefully expressed during the accomplishment of the tasks of the 5th five-year plan. From the major undertakings down to the smallest workshops, the workers have multiplied their efforts to simplify designs and work processes, to set up new machinery and equipment in the country, and to reduce imports. Reliance on our own resources is expressed especially in the general growth of the creative spirit of rationalizations and savings, in the increase of emulation for the purpose of building and producing quickly, well and cheaply. There is no doubt that the experience gained in this direction will be further enriched, and will be taken well into account, especially during the working out of the draft-plan for the 6th five-year period from 1967 to 1980.

But we would be overcome by an unpardonable sense of self-satisfaction if we failed to see, behind what has been attained, those alien manifestations which have appeared in the question of the correct interpretation and application of the principle of relying on one's own efforts.

For the sake of overfulfilling the production plan, raw materials and other materials are consumed above the plan, by using security reserves, contrary to the regulations laid down. In spite

of the instructions issued by the Central Committee and the government, according to which the efforts of the working collectives should be centred, in the first place and above all, on overfulfilling the plan for those articles of which the raw materials are produced in the country, and are not scarce, in many cases this is not done. Why should the possibilities created by the lower consumption of scarce or imported materials be allowed to be used for the purpose of exceeding plan targets and not for the purpose of adding to and strengthening operative reserves, as the Party has repeatedly emphasized? It goes without saying that those economic managers and party organizations which allow such acts have not grasped the essence of the principle of relying on one's own resources and the special conditions which the capitalist-revisionist encirclement imposes on us.

It is from this angle that we should view those cases and individuals who, for all equipment or machinery needed, for every problem they have to solve in the enterprise, in the cooperative, in the district or in the ministry, do not rack their brains, but resort to the easier course, turning their eyes abroad and have on the tip of their tongues the request for hard currency or to go abroad, allegedly for the purpose of getting acquainted with advanced experience, instead of turning to the possibilities of local experience, instead of multiplying their efforts to solve with their own resources the problems which arise. It is especially disturbing when such inclinations are

supported without profound study by certain cadres in the leading organ of the economy and state. In addition to the economic harm, to the spending of hard currency without a criterion, they wittingly or unwittingly cultivate erroneous concepts among people, spread a spirit of inactivity, a spirit of turning our eyes towards imports and of being free when it is a question of the money of the state.

The government has taken steps and set aside funds so that our people may have the possibility to get acquainted in one way or another with the achievements of science and technology outside the country. But these funds should be used in the most efficient way, to acquire and learn first and foremost those things which our economy needs most, which can be applied under our conditions and which have a speedy and considerable economic effect. In this sense it is necessary to block the way to the initiatives of people who, without a knowledge of our reality and possibilities, only because they have seen something somewhere in some book, submit reports and «big projects» without stopping to think that to carry these out would require hundreds of thousands and sometimes even millions of dollars.

An analysis of these faults and shortcomings shows that to a considerable extent they are also the results of concessions on the part of many leading cadres, from the base to the centre. Everyone is punishable for violation of the laws and norms which regulate all the activity of our society and are firmly based on our Marxist-Leninist

ideology. But when these laws and norms are not respected and applied to the letter by the cadres, great harm is caused to our economy and to the whole work of the Party. Therefore our cadre coming from the ranks of the masses, imbued with Marxist-Leninist ideology and tempered on the anvil of the Party, should properly understand and assess their role and responsibility, draw correct and rigorous conclusions and duties for themselves and for the masses, and weigh up all their day to day activity in the balance of class consciousness.

Establishing order and proletarian discipline everywhere and in everything is primarily a question of the consciousness, education, conviction and tempering of the working masses, a question of organization and the strict application of state laws and norms. In this direction, the need also arises for the trade unions to review and further improve their work. Progress in this direction is evident. But the shortcomings that have been observed must also be faced squarely, assessed aright and fought against without hesitation.

In the activity of the trade unions a sense of self-satisfaction is evident, and this has fed some manifestations of formalism in their work. The fundamental duty of the trade unions is to educate the working class, to raise its political and ideological awareness, to organize and mobilize the workers in the struggle for socialist construction, and to involve them actively in the running of the country. The trade unions should not yield to various pressures to deal with current economic

issues on a technical and administrative level, for that would alienate them from their fundamental task, as has occurred in some cases. From this standpoint, the trade union organizations should not be content merely with the general results the working class achieves in production but should be seriously concerned and fight even better against alien attitudes towards work and property, such as breaches of discipline, damage and misuse of collective property, low quality products, the maintenance of low norms etc., which also express a lack of effective educational work.

On the other hand, the trade unions should not view the worker only in his work relations, but also in his social and family life, as a citizen and parent. A worker should set an example not only in the factory and at work but outside it too, at home, in the street, in society and everywhere.

The accomplishment of this task requires careful and specific work. It does not tolerate either formalism or ostentatious work. In their struggle to integrate themselves with the masses, the trade union organs should in no way yield to the petty-bourgeois pressures of workers or individual groups of ideologically immature workers, but should strive to raise the masses to be at the height of the mission of the working class. The Party has emphasized that the working class must be taken as it is. Within its ranks there are also people who have not yet acquired the real features of the class, who violate work regulations and the norms of society. Therefore, without giving up in any way their method of persuasion and education as the

only method in all their activity, the trade unions should fight to enforce respect for and strict application of the state laws and established regulations. On the other hand, they must also protect in a better and more determined way the basic interests of the working class. In this context, they should fight against any bureaucratic distortion which violates the rights of workers, rising up determinedly against any one who violates state laws, be he a director or a worker.

In particular the trade unions are called upon to eliminate their deficiencies and further improve their educational work to temper the working class ideologically and politically. Parallel with strengthening the system of worker's education, the political life of the trade union organization should be further invigorated, educational work should be more closely linked with the problems that arise from practice and the spirit of irreconcilability with shortcomings, criticism and self-criticism should be developed broadly within the organization. All this work should help develop socialist emulation, and strengthen initiatives and political, ideological, economic, cultural and social activities, using a variety of forms.

The discussions that have recently taken place about these problems have been a new stimulus for the organizations of the Party and of the masses, for the organs of the economy and of the state power, for all the working people of town and countryside, for those who think deeply and denounce in a sound spirit of criticism and self-

-criticism alien manifestations and trends of liberalism in the economy, and take steps to intensify the battle against them.

Throughout our country, in town and countryside, within the ranks of the working class and the labouring peasantry, criticism of shortcomings has turned into a mobilizing force and has aroused enthusiasm and optimism. A general rise has been observed in all sectors of the economy. A perceptible improvement in work and in the performance of duties can be seen everywhere. The results attained so far are very encouraging. The state plan is being fulfilled successfully. While substantial deficits had been created during the first two months of this year in many enterprises, by the end of May the industrial production plan for five months was fulfilled by 101 per cent, while for six months it is expected to be fulfilled by 101.4 per cent. All these results testify to the high political awareness of our working people, of our working class and cooperative peasantry, who are carrying out in their work the correct line and stand of our Party. But all these and other results achieved should be viewed only as a new, encouraging advance in the continual struggle which the Party and all the working people should wage incessantly in order to advance the economy and the whole socialist construction of our country.

The party organizations and the communists should stand on the forefront of struggle against manifestations of alien ideology.

Our Party has never concealed shortcomings and weaknesses, it has not been afraid to denounce them openly and courageously before the communists and the people. It has acted in this way in the past, and it is acting in this way today. Our criticisms in no way obscure the magnificent successes the Party has scored in all spheres of the socialist construction of the country. They are further proof of the seriousness of our Party, of its strength and its close ties with the people. The authority of the Party and the people's trust in it have never been higher or stronger than they are today.

The party line has been and is a correct, revolutionary and Marxist-Leninist one, but its directives on certain important issues dealt with in this report have not always been interpreted and implemented aright, but have even been distorted. All this has happened before the very eyes of many communists, cadres, and party organizations and committees. But why has it been allowed to happen? Why have certain comrades tended towards a onesided interpretation of the party directives? Why have many alien manifestations been disregarded and the struggle against them slackened? The principal source of the evil should be looked for in the liberalization of concepts and attitudes on a number of important issues. And this evil should be rooted out.

Liberalism does not fall from the sky, it is the product of the ideological pressure of internal and external enemies, who aim to undermine the people's state power and socialism. But the appearance of this phenomenon and especially the extent to which it spreads, depend a lot on the work of the Party, on the understanding of its danger, and on the struggle the Party wages for the revolutionary education and tempering of the communists and working people. The fact that this phenomenon has not become a widespread disease in our Party is a clear indication of its vigilance and the correct fight it has waged and continues to wage. Nevertheless, the manifestations of liberalism in the life of our society which we are criticizing today must be viewed in close connection with those manifestations of liberalism which have appeared in the life and activity of the Party itself. It must be stressed that this problem has been dealt with only very little in the meetings of the basic organizations.

Where is liberalism expressed in the life of the Party?

In the first place, in the fact that in many basic organizations there does not always exist a full sense of responsibility, both on the part of the organization as a whole, and in each individual communist, in applying the party line in all the spheres of life within its jurisdiction. In certain sectors like that of art, culture and education, the party basic organization have not always played their leading role at the head of the work. They have not dealt with the fundamental problems of

the content of the activity of these institutions, and have not exerted their influence and control to see whether the party line is being correctly interpreted and applied. Harm has been done in this direction by erroneous concepts according to which the problems of art and culture are questions which mainly concern specialists, and the party organizations have no need to bother much about them.

Undoubtedly the opinion of the specialists should be listened to and respected, for they have emerged from among the people, they are people of the Party, educated with its teachings. But the basic organizations bear full responsibility in all cases for the correct application of the party line. The communists cannot be required to know in detail the technical and artistic aspects, but it is their fundamental duty to protect the line. Every communist should be a specialist of the party line. And it is a fact that when the party organizations of the cultural-artistic institutions seriously involved themselves in analysing the work of these institutions, they showed that they are fully capable of treating thoroughly and solving correctly the problems of the ideological-artistic content of the activities of their sectors.

It is essential for it to be thoroughly understood in principle and realized well in practice that the consolidation of the leading role of the basic organizations is a permanent and vital task of the Party, for its leading role is realized through them. The improvements are great, but there are still many organizations which lead a lukewarm

party life. Routine and daily practice cause certain basic organizations to engage in current issues, like the agricultural calendar, and not become involved as they should in the fundamental ideological and political problems, in the education of the people.

Then there are basic organizations which, even when examining problems, be they ideological and political, or economic, often do not treat them politically, do not go deeply into ideological causes when faults and shortcomings appear, do not specify the right measures to eliminate them, and do not do enough to open up opportunities for the working people.

Liberalism in the internal life of the basic organizations also has its source in the failure to implement the norms of the Party. Not all are well acquainted with the Constitution in which the norms and principles of the Party are synthesized. Precisely here lies the source of the absence of militant criticism and self-criticism, the inadequate concern about and responsibility for party meetings, weaknesses in calling for account and so on.

In many cases very little has been done in taking decisions. There are even basic organizations which take no decisions whatsoever, while others take them in general terms. This prevents the communists from being active and drawing up tasks, and as a consequence discipline in the Party leaves much to be desired. In this way too the control over the performance of tasks is greatly weakened.

A perceptible positive change is evident now that the basic organizations have discussed the recent party materials. Many important problems have been raised and a thorough analysis of the work has been made at their meetings. The communists spoke openly, and with courage made self-criticism for their faults and shortcomings, and forcefully criticized alien phenomena and manifestations. This stirred up many party organizations and placed them in a sound revolutionary position.

But one thing should concern us here. Why are so many problems allowed to accumulate, why is a meeting needed for everything to come pouring out, why should we wait for a stimulus from the top in order to grasp and deal with the problems that preoccupy us? Many communists have noticed alien manifestations in literature and arts, in schools and work centres, and even in their own families. But some have maintained an indifferent attitude, they have not spoken out, they have not come to grips with them, but have waited for someone else to solve them, just as there have been others who have reconciled themselves with these manifestations.

These are not revolutionary attitudes, and they do not conform to party norms. The Party requires that not only every communist, but every working person should say his word openly and without fear, not be an onlooker but react and take action when he sees that the directives of the Party and the laws of the dictatorship of the proletariat are violated or distorted, when freedom and proletarian

democracy are subject to abuse and speculation.

Liberalism in the work of the Party is also manifested in an incorrect understanding of the vanguard role of the communist in carrying out his task. In many basic organizations, the communist is not called upon to render account about how he carries out his task as a political militant and social activist, or how he does his duty in the job assigned to him, whether he stands out among the non-party workers, or whether he sets a personal example and inspires the non-party workers round about him so that they too work as they should to carry out their tasks fully.

The communist, whether a worker, peasant, soldier, employee or intellectual, should be an ardent fighter for the defence and implementation of the party line. No communist, whatever his profession may be, can be different from others, nor can this be justified by any kind of specific features of a job or sector. But there are communists, especially in the sectors of arts and culture, who allow themselves all kinds of pretensions, who, unlike others, do not render account for work done, feel offended when criticized, and become revengeful. There are also some communists employed in central institutions who reduce the work of the Party solely to their participation in the meetings of the basic organization, and think they have done their job merely by fulfilling their state functions.

It is not enough for a communist to be correct and in the vanguard only at work. He should be

so in all his activity, in all his life. How can communists whose children turn into hooligans, vagabonds, and purveyors of extravagant bourgeois fashions and tastes, be in the vanguard and set an example for others? The image of a communist is unified and indivisible, and as such it should be manifested everywhere and at every time.

Within the ranks of the Party, due to alien influences, to admissions sometimes made without a sound criterion, and to inadequate educational work, there are inactive communists who do not carry out the tasks of the Party, and who by their conduct exert a bad influence on the masses, and lower the revolutionary moral image of the communist. These communists should be shaken out of their lethargy, criticized, and assisted to correct themselves through struggle and work, and steps should be taken against those who keep lagging behind, going as far as expelling them from the Party, for they infect the life of the Party and hinder its revolutionization.

Our Party has brought up and educated a whole army of cadres devoted to the cause of socialism and revolution, loyal to the people and to Marxism-Leninism. Cadres make up a great treasury of the Party and of the people. They bear heavy burdens on their shoulders, and have successfully solved and continue to solve major problems of socialist construction and the defence of the country. In the future, too, the Party should continue to show concern that the cadres should always be politically and ideologically pure, closely attached to the masses, and firm fighters for the

progress and strengthening of our socialist homeland.

The bitter experience of the Soviet Union shows that the danger which comes from a weakening of the revolutionary spirit of cadres is very great. It also proved that the possibility of the degeneration of cadres comes from two sides, both from bureaucratism and from liberalism, two phenomena which are closely related and influence each other.

It must be admitted that in the discussion of the recent materials of the Party, the basic organizations have not attached the necessary attention to the analysis of the work of our cadres in connection with all those manifestations of liberalism which have been denounced. Alien phenomena in the economy, art and culture, in the life or the Party and of society, etc., have rightly been criticized. Are these connected with the work of the cadres? Can responsibility fall only on the worker who showed himself to be undisciplined or who tried to keep the norms low, or only on the peasant who did not turn up to work, and the pupil or student who abandoned school and studies? No, the cadres who have permitted these alien manifestations and have not fought against them are also to blame. And this has happened because the spirit of liberalism, leniency and toleration has also appeared among the cadres themselves. This is what should preoccupy the Party most, because the views, attitudes and activities of the cadres subsequently have serious consequences among the masses. When a cadre makes one con-

cession, when he shows himself to be liberal on one issue, others allow themselves ten. If a cadre, whatever reasons urge him to it, violates the law or the written and unwritten norms of the Party, shows favoritism, or treats the property of the cooperative as though it were his own, then he cannot be surprised when others also carry out such harmful activities. Facts show that alien influences also affect cadres, that their consciousness also becomes dusty. Therefore, this dust must be got rid of. The best thing is not to do it once with an upheaval, but by brushing it every day, just as we brush our clothes every morning.

Our cadres should always abide by the state laws and party norms, they should be exemplary at work and in their personal life, listen to the voice of the masses and live among them. The Party has always demanded that cadres render account for their activity regularly to the masses, and that the latter should exercise constant control over the work, conduct and attitude of the cadres.

Taking into account the important role the cadre plays in the advancement of work in all fields and at all levels, it is necessary to fight firmly against those manifestations of liberalism and subjectivism which are often met with in the selection and appointment of cadres, when judgment is often made about them on the basis of an occasional contact or a discussion at a meeting, when the tastes and personal inclinations of certain directors predominate, directors who want to have subordinates in their own image, prepared to do whatever the person in charge orders, and cadres

are selected on the basis of nepotism, family relations and friendship.

Special attention should be devoted to the strict application of the party directives on the circulation of cadres and their participation in production work, because manifestations of liberalism have also been met with here. We must reject all those justifications, obstacles and difficulties which are brought up to hinder the circulation of cadres and their participation in production work under the pretext of the specific features and particular nature of certain jobs, or of the alleged impossibility of replacing some people, which are in fact expressions of intellectualist and technocratic concepts.

In this report we have already spoken of the weaknesses and shortcomings in the work of the mass organizations, and especially of the youth and the trade unions. Of course, the mass organizations and their leading organs themselves have responsibility for these shortcomings, but greater responsibility falls on the Party, which guides and directs these organizations. In reality no party organization or committee has submitted to the Central Committee any report or information about the situation in the youth organization. Since the directives of the Party about work with the youth have always been correct and clear-cut, why have the party committees and organizations allowed them to be violated and distorted? Why have they allowed a situation where many youth organizations do not meet for months at a stretch, meetings of plenums and conferences fail, admission into

the youth organization becomes formal, and the ideopolitical and educational work becomes weak?

Lessons should be drawn from this. The fact that the mass organizations have their own leading forums from the base to the centre, in no way excludes the duty and the responsibility of the party organizations and committees to direct and guide these organizations. The Party is in favour of the development of initiative and independent activity in the mass organizations, but this should be done according to the line and under the leadership of the Party. We are opposed to tutelage and to dictatorial methods, but at the same time we are opposed to any weakening, however slight, of the Party's leadership in the mass organizations. Just as in the whole life of the country, the leading role of the Party should also be enhanced and strengthened in the mass organizations.

Apparently there still exists a wrong idea in many party organizations and committees about the place and role of the mass organizations, about the problems that concern these organizations and the various strata and categories of working people that they represent. Therefore the care and aid given to them by the party organization is often below the necessary level. Horizons are not opened to them, the party directives are not fully explained and the necessary control is not exercised over their activities.

During the discussion of the recent materials of the Party, many comments were made about activating the communists in the mass organizations. Many communists are absent from the meet-

ings of the Democratic Front. Many young people sever their relations with the youth organization once they have become members of the Party. We have thousands of women communist, but they do not militate as they should in the women's organization. There are also communists who try to avoid being elected to the leading organs of the mass organizations.

Here we have to deal with a serious phenomenon, with a manifestation of indifference and with a kind of feeling of superiority and conceit which is created among certain communists once they have been admitted to the Party. Apparently the need for the Party to be linked with the masses and for the communists to be outstanding social activists is not thoroughly understood. Social labour as an unpaid job is an element of communism, and it is precisely here that the communists should distinguish themselves first and foremost.

The Party should take a special interest in educating the activists of the mass organizations, on whose work the activity of these organizations greatly depends. They make up a great army of social activists who work tirelessly and with devotion for the cause of the Party, and who constitute an inexhaustible source for the extension of the ranks of the Party and for the training of its cadres.

The party leadership, as we have stressed at other times, is primarily a political-ideological leadership. This means that the Party must engage in broad ideopolitical work for a correct understanding of its directives and to make workers conscien-

tious in carrying them out. This is a very wide field of party work, with decisive importance. Many weaknesses and shortcomings which we are criticizing have their source precisely in the weaknesses of this work, in its superficiality and onesidedness, lack of contact with life, formalism, and frequently general character. If there have been narrow and onesided interpretations of the capitalist and revisionist geographical encirclement, of centralism and of democracy, of state control and worker control, of rights and obligations, of the emancipation of women, if there have been misunderstandings and distortions of certain issues in the field of literature and arts, education and culture, this shows that in many cases the directives of the Party have not been analysed in a full and all-round way, theoretically and practically, and hence they have not been properly embodied in the daily activity of the communists and working people, and there have been vacillations from one side to the other, taking up one aspect and neglecting the other.

In our country these onesided interpretations and attitudes, the passage from one side to the other, from conservatism to liberalism and vice-versa, also have a real basis in the petty-bourgeois character inherited from the past, which we cannot say has been totally eliminated.

The petty-bourgeoisie is inclined to leave one problem and take up another, to seize upon one aspect and neglect another, and to pass from one extreme to the other. Petty-bourgeois ideology and psychology, which are deeply rooted in our count-

ry, are a basis of support for both the old patriarchal, feudal and religious ideologies, and for the present bourgeois-revisionist ideology, and the bridge which connects conservatism and liberalism, and nourishes and encourages them.

This means that the party committees and organizations should delve deeper into ideological problems and deal with them better, for we see that in practice the party directives are not explained and understood properly, problems and phenomena are not deeply analysed from the ideological and political point of view, few issues of this nature are taken up for discussion, and often the committees and organizations are overwhelmed with the daily routine of minor issues. It is here that we should see one of the main faults of the work of the Party regarding the problems we are discussing. If this fault is not properly understood, it is difficult to correct the defects and weaknesses we are criticizing, and to have our affairs run smoothly.

It is necessary to form a more correct understanding of the work of the Party in general and of its educational work in particular. Despite the great role education plays, it cannot be made an absolute. In fact, overestimating educational work and the level of consciousness has led in many cases to the weakening of organizational, administrative, technical and economic measures which became the cause of various liberal manifestations in attitudes toward work and property, towards learning and carrying out duties, towards organization and control, demanding account and so on.

The work of the Party is very complex, because the life which it directs and leads is complex. This means that various problems cannot be solved by appealing only to people's conscience, and even education cannot be achieved only through lectures and conferences. In life problems are solved through a complexity of political, economic, educational and cultural, organizational and administrative measures. It is in this complexity that the people are educated, and their revolutionary consciousness is tempered.

The duty of the Party is to raise the masses to its level of consciousness. But we should be realists, taking into account the degree of consciousness reached by the masses, and not confounding it with the consciousness of the vanguard, or demanding of them what we can and should demand of the most advanced section of the class and of the masses, which is organized in the Party. This should never be forgotten when we set new tasks, otherwise the vanguard marches very far ahead, and detaches itself from the masses, which in turn leads to serious consequences.

Like all the work of the Party, its directives form a single unity, and should never be taken apart from each other. It would be a mistake to think that previous directives of the Party on the struggle against bureaucratism and the development of democracy, on worker control and the fight against arbitrariness, on the correct relations that should exist between the Party, the class and the masses, on the revolutionization of the school and the army, etc., have been left aside and are

no longer valid. The stand of the Party is consistent, and there are no contradictions in its directives. It would be an entirely erroneous practice in the methods of our work if, when a new directive is issued, a new decision taken or a new speech delivered, all the previous ones are left aside. This leads both to work by campaigns, and to a onesided view of problems.

Therefore, the struggle against liberalism and conservatism too must be waged in a correct way. Conservative elements would like to wage the struggle against liberalism from their position, just as the liberal elements tried to exploit the struggle against conservatism in order to spread liberalism. The only right stand on this issue is that both the struggle against liberalism and that against conservatism can be waged successfully only from a principled Marxist-Leninist position.

If this problem is not rightly understood, there is a danger that now when we are fighting against manifestations of bourgeois and revisionist ideology and against liberal attitudes, we may make mistakes and maintain an inflexible, sectarian and extremist attitude. We emphasize this because there are certain people, including cadres, who think that the time has now come to tighten the grip, who are inclined towards administrative measures, who want to revive arrogance and arbitrariness and to substitute them for the persuasive educational work of the Party.

In talking about the weaknesses in the work of the Party, important tasks also emerge for the apparatus of the Central Committee, for all its

sectors. In its work, the apparatus has made perceptible improvements and achieved good results. But the manifestations of liberalism and the spread of alien influences show that it also has many weaknesses. Often engrossed in current affairs, the apparatus of the Central Committee has not shown the necessary concern to see broadly how the party policy is being implemented in various fields. The lack of deep, all-round analysis of the party directives, especially in their political and ideological aspects, has had an influence in this, as well as the failure to organize systematic and qualified control over the implementation of the decisions of the Party. The task of effectively improving the method and style of work lies before both the party organizations and committees, and before the different sectors of the Central Committee.

The issues we are raising at this Plenum are closely related to a major cardinal problem, of the correct understanding and development of the class struggle. The Party has long made it clear that class struggle is one of the principal motive forces of our socialist society, that it is a very broad struggle which is waged in all fields, both against external and internal enemies and within the ranks of the people and of the Party, and that under the actual conditions the class struggle on the ideological front assumes great importance.

In our country the class struggle has developed correctly, and that is why all the plans of the enemy have failed and our revolution has always forged ahead. It is in this struggle that the Party has been strengthened and tempered, that the dic-

tatorship of the proletariat has been consolidated, that the solidarity of the Party with the working class and the working masses has been further strengthened, and that the revolutionary awareness of the people has been raised. But this does not mean that there are not faults and weakness in the understanding of class struggle and in its development. In practice we have come up against many superficial, narrow and onesided interpretations, moderation of the class struggle, underestimation of the enemies, an inadequate knowledge of their present tactics, and indifferent and opportunist attitudes.

A lot of carelessness has been noticed in the work of military training. Many absences from training occurred, and it was very formal, both on the part of those who participated, and of the officers who directed military drills. Now this primary duty must have been better understood, for in recent drills participation has been over 90 percent. In a number of districts defence work which had been left undone for years on end has been completed through mass actions within a few days. This interest and mobilization must be kept up in the future, and raised further.

In some cases there have been quite unpardonable occurrences in the field of vigilance towards internal class enemies. From the discussions it emerged that opportunist attitudes were maintained towards elements with a bad political attitude. There have been cases when even communists have gone «to congratulate» a person who has just been freed from jail after being imprisoned for hostile

activity! Formerly, especially in the border regions, every foreigner who came in was asked to produce documents, while now in many cases now no one is interested to do this, etc.

To adhere or not to adhere to the class struggle, to have a full or superficial knowledge of it, to wage it frontally or in a onesided way, to wage it in a correct revolutionary way or to weaken it and make concessions, is a vital problem on which the future of socialism depends. Our enemies want us to weaken our vigilance, to relax our class struggle. But what should we do? The opposite. We should intensify our vigilance and consistently wage the class struggle in order to protect the victories we have achieved, and to make our homeland, socialist Albania, even stronger and more invincible, for the good of the people and the cause of socialism.

* * *

The Party did not invent the problems it has raised, but they were the preoccupation of the working class and of all the working people. The Party did nothing but analyse these preoccupations which the class and the masses had expressed in various forms, and bring them before them, showing both the danger and the way to overcome the negative phenomena which had appeared in the healthy life of our socialist society.

During these months, great work has been

done by the Party. The discussion of these problems has become a veritable school for the education of communists and of the masses. But let us not think that now everything has been settled once and for all. If we were to judge in this way, we would make a grave mistake. The struggle against the manifestations of alien ideologies is not a campaign, but a continuous protracted struggle. Our Party, the working class and all the working people should never stop this struggle. If our vigilance is weakened, these or other alien manifestations will crop up again tomorrow. There is not nor can there be an ideological vacuum. If our ideology fails to fill it, the vacuum will be filled by alien ideology.

The struggle we are waging against manifestations of alien ideology and liberal attitudes towards them, is further enriching the experience of our Party, and the method and style of its work. In the future too, we will lay openly before the masses the problems that preoccupy us, and solve them together, just as we have always done. We should by no means stop at long discussions, but should take concrete steps and exercise strict control over their implementation. We should arouse the masses and subject the activity of the Party to the open criticism and self-criticism of the communists and the working people.

All this experience should serve us to keep always high the revolutionary spirit in the Party and among the masses, their vigilance and military preparedness, their drive and mobilization at work, in order to accomplish successfully the major tasks

that lie before us, to consolidate our independence, to protect our homeland, develop our economy and our national culture, and always promote the cause of the revolution and socialism.

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