

ENVER HOXHA

SPEECHES

1967 - 1968

WORKERS OF ALL COUNTRIES, UNITE!

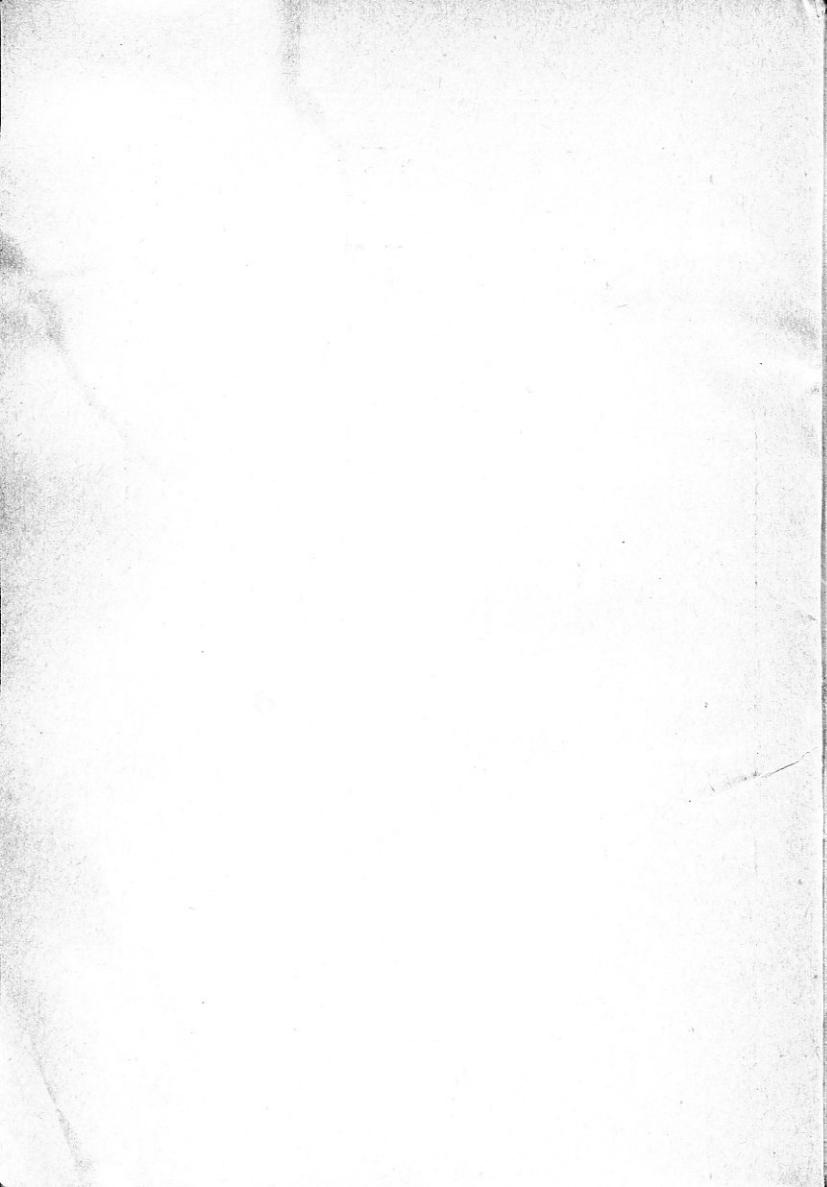
ENVER HOXHA

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

(Speeches 1967-1968)

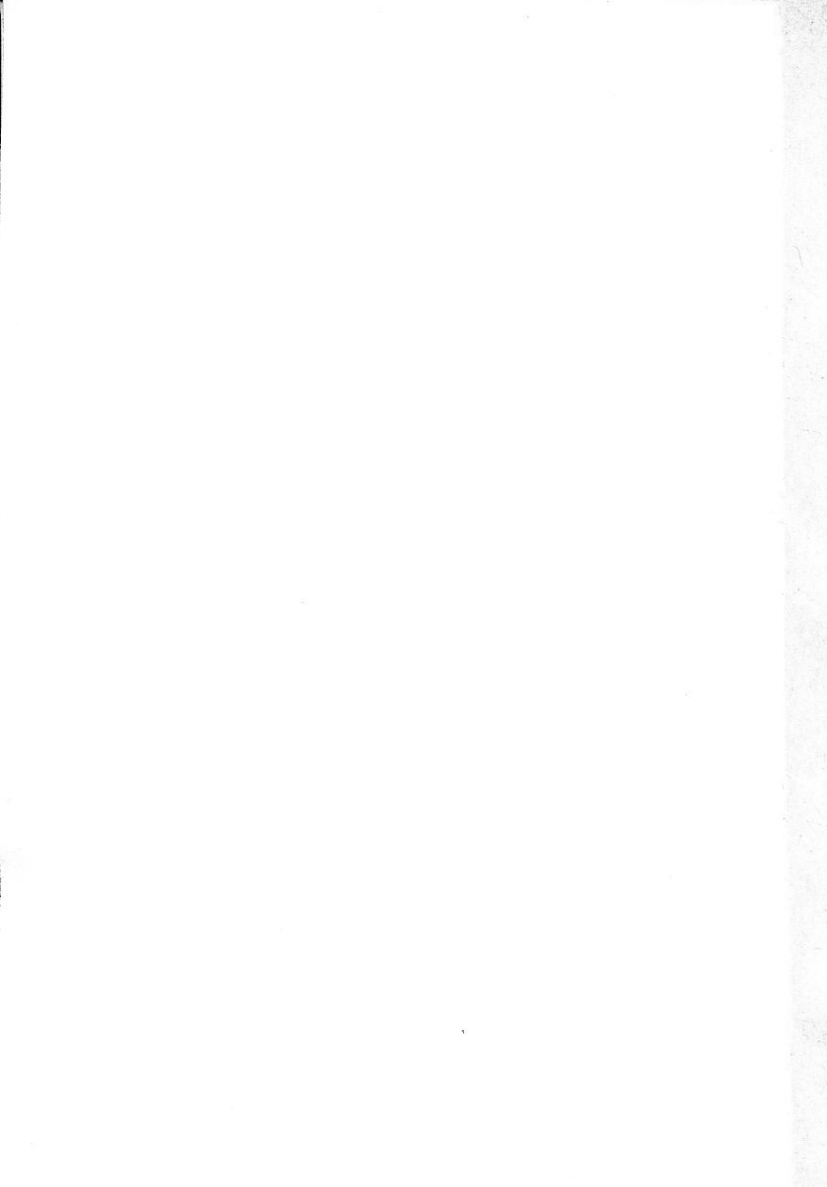
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ENVER HOXHA



THE FURTHER REVOLUTIONIZATION OF THE PARTY AND GOVERNMENT¹⁾

Comrade Communists!

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

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

Meetings of local organizations for rendering

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Now that the Party organizations are prepa-

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Secondly, about a consistent and determined fight against bureaucracy.

On the implementation of the norms of the Party

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

We teach and want the broad masses to speak

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

We are all well aware of the importance of

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Again on Bureaucratism

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

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

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

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

We may have reduced the number of persons

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

An end should be put to very restricted, very

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

NOTES

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

TOWARDS FURTHER REVOLUTIONIZING OUR SCHOOLS 1)

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Moreover, it is not enough just to make 8th

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Any fear of lack of comprehensive erudition,

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

be hustlers and draw revolutionary philosophic conclusions.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

These three main roads should be well combined.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

NOTES

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

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

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

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

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

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

change or break through the established framework.

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

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

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

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

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

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

Is not there an unprecedented revolutionary

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

«Directors lack initiative»

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

is making great efforts and achieving big successes.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Let us take Lek Dukagjini's Code — a collection

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

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

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

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

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

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

We are filled with just indignation when we

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

When we speak of further revolutionizing our

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

NOTE

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

ON SOME ASPECTS OF THE PROBLEM OF THE ALBANIAN WOMAN ¹¹

Comrades,

In winding up the first item in our agenda I wish to air a few ideas on this problem.

Our Party has continually attached major importance to the problem of women, to this exceptionally great social problem which the destiny of our people, socialism and communism and the future of our country are linked up with. The problems of women do not stand all by themselves, isolated from and unrelated to other problems of our society, they are not problems that can be delved in or solved easily, or, what is worse, that can be ignored. The problem of women is not merely a problem of sentiments that can, therefore, be treated in a sentimental and romantic way. It is a great problem of life, of the materialist dialectical development of the history of mankind.

It is for this reason that Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin and all their disciples have attached primary importance to the problem of women, to their liberation and emancipation, to the formation of their personality in a free society without oppressors, without exploiters.

The Party, far from ever neglecting or under-rating the problem of the Albanian woman, has, during all the days and at every aspect of its struggle, given special care to stressing, and not in a sentimental way, the decisive role of women both in the struggle for liberation and in that of building socialism. Our Party did this with full Marxist maturity, and, being well aware of the obstacles that lay in the way, (by advancing, at the same time, the unshakable principle that in the struggle to liberate the people from every kind of bondage, the emancipation of the Albanian woman was urgent and a condition of first rate importance) it scored the major successes which we are multiplying and deepening every passing day. That is why this special session of the plenum of the Central Committee, devoted to the problems of the Albanian woman in our socialist regime, assumes major significance.

The scrutinizing study of the social phenomena in their process of growth, of the relations of people in production, the growth and application of the new ideas our Party inspires, the classes in our society at different stages and the changes they undergo during this continuous process, all this is of extraordinary importance to our Party since it confirms the accuracy of principle, enrich the theory of socialism with practice, afford a great opportunity to the Party to sum up and carry this summing up to the masses creating new opportunities, new situations, new values, which will ensure uninterrupted development and progress.

Socialism is the work of the Party and of the

masses, therefore, its directives cannot be made known and carried out without our being acquainted with and preparing the ground where they are to take root and be transformed into objective reality. Correct application of the directives of the Party depends, first and foremost, on how correctly and thoroughly they are understood by the masses. Therefore, the masses should be able or be enabled to understand them thoroughly. This depends on the level of the political, ideological and organizational work of the Party, and in order that this work be done well, it is absolutely necessary to do what I said before: to study social problems and know the ropes well.

I think, this is the concern of all and not only a certain number of specialists in philosophy, in social problems or in political economy, not even of only the writers, playwrights or artists. This is, first and foremost, a Party problem, a problem of a line of action, a problem without which the work of the Party can make no headway, and as a consequence, no writers, scholars and artists can be inspired aright, delve deep into studies, or turn out works of socialist realism and of Marxist-Leninist science.

Thus, therefore, should we tackle the social problems of the countryside and urban centers, thus, therefore, should we tackle the specific problems of youth and in the same way should we deal with the major social problem of our women and family which we are taking up today at this plenum of the Central Committee.

Our proletarian revolution guided by our Mar-

xist-Leninist Party had to overthrow, as it did, the old feudal and bourgeois system and had to defeat, as indeed it did beat, the attempts at fascistizing our country during the Italian fascist and German nazi occupation as well as the organs of their rule and their superstructure. Our proletarian revolution was bound to establish, as it did establish, develop and enrich, under the guidance of our Marxist-Leninist Party, the socialist system, the dictatorship of the proletariat and its new proletarian organs and build a genuine socialist superstructure based, inspired, guided and enriched by Marxist-Leninist theory and socialist practice.

It was within the framework of this great revolutionary upheaval, when the old world was smashed and the new beautiful socialist world was set up on its ruins, that the emancipation of the Albanian women, who make up one half of the population of our country and are of incalculable importance to the destiny of our country and of socialism, was effected.

Proletarian revolution accompanied by economic and social revolution, by the destruction of the economic and political rule of the feudal-bourgeoisie, created the true groundwork and necessary conditions for the liberation of the people from exploitation of man by man and, particularly, for the emancipation of Albanian women.

Our socialist society is in the process of development; great qualitative transformations are taking place among us through our people's revolution. These qualitative transformations lie in the materialist transformation of our society and have

been establishing new social ideas and theories which come to grips with the old ones and replace them. The new ideas are a great force representing the changes of the material life of the country and lead it forward to progress.

It is essential to explain and have these new ideas understood, for our society cannot do without them. Our country stands in need of these ideas, for they mobilize and organize the masses against old, idealistic, mystic and bourgeois ideas and prejudices which the old society has left to us as our worst heritage.

The Party is opening up the way to the progressive forces of society, women being one of them. The Marxist-Leninist ideas of our Party reflect the objective need to further develop the material and moral life of our society. It is, therefore, essential to unfetter the Albanian woman from all shackles of the past, from every reactionary idea, opinion, or prejudice, which have their roots in the mentality of the feudal and bourgeois society. Emancipation of the Albanian woman should be guided by the Marxist-Leninist theory of the economic development of society, by the laws of development of production. Looked at through this prism, one can see how urgent becomes the participation of women in production, how speedily and correctly the Party should build its new relations in production. The economic development of socialism is in battle with the moral and material backwardness of women. The law of materialist dialectics is in force here as in everything.

Therefore, the tasks the Party outlines con-

cerning the problem of women coincide in full with the material conditions of the country created by the Party.

The establishment of the people's common socialist property in industry and in agriculture in place of that of the feudal-bourgeoisie, and the appropriate revolutionary laws that govern, enrich and consolidate it in the interest of all the laboring masses have brought about a gradual progressive change in the minds of men regarding the concept of property, from that of private to that of common property.

Thus, through intensive ideological and political work of enlightenment, always in an organized way, on the part of the Party based on these material changes, the old bourgeois idealist concepts on these fundamental problems of our economic and social life have begun to change. It is clear, of course, that this change has not been completed, that it is and will always be in the dialectical process of development. The dying old will always be in battle and at loggerheads with the new, which is being born, reborn, and consolidated. We have still a great deal to do and a hard battle to fight against reactionary idealist concepts which lurk in the minds, consciousness and feelings of men, which are manifested in life and act at times with virulence, at other times less so, but which always hinder progress. Marx has it somewhere in his writing that all the prejudices of the dead weigh heavily on the living. Such is the strength of the past.

Herein lies the importance the Party is at-

taching to the problem of further revolutionizing itself and the people as a whole, for it is in this way that we shall have a deeper insight into the transformations of the material and spiritual life we are bringing about, we shall understand more correctly and more thoroughly the laws that govern these economic and social transformations in socialism, we will be able to understand and master them better and more efficiently in order to build socialism more quickly and on steel-like foundations and to pass over to communism.

Excuse me for deviating a little from the topic we are treating, but I am doing this precisely to lead up to the point under discussion. The capitalist system with its sacredness of private property, its exploitation of man by man, its economic and spiritual enslavement of man has weighed heavily on all, but it has weighed in a more barbarous way on women. Women were the first slaves even before slavery in the history of mankind. During the whole of this historic period, not to speak of prehistoric times, whether in the period of the Hellenic civilization or of the Roman epoch, whether in the Middle Ages or the epoch of the Renaissance, whether in modern times of the contemporary bourgeois so-called «refined civilization», women have been and are the most downtrodden, exploited, and spurned human beings in all respects. Laws, customs, religion, the masculine sex, have kept them oppressed, have kept them underfoot.

«The first conflict of classes in history», says Engels, — «occurs at the same time as the antago-

nism between husband and wife in monogamy, and the first class oppression occurs at the same time as the enslavement of the feminine sex by the masculine sex.» *

«I found woman more bitter than death» says the Ecclesiastes, while St. John Chrysostom holds another opinion about women. He says: «Among wild beasts you cannot find one that is more harmful than woman.»

St. Thomas D'Aquinas, theologian philosopher who was one of the most prominent philosophers of mediaeval obscurantism, held the opinion and prophesied that «the destiny of woman is to live under the heel of man», and finally, in winding up these barbarous quotations, «Nature has made women to be our slaves», said Napoleon.

Such were the views of the Church and the bourgeoisie on women. Among the bourgeoisie they continue to be such to this day. In Europe and throughout the world there are innumerable philosophers and men of letters who have made a myth of the superiority of men over women. For them man is wise, strong, courageous and a fighter, therefore, predestined to dominate, to direct, whereas woman, on her part, is by nature weak, defenseless, timid, therefore she must be ruled and directed. Bourgeois theoreticians like Nietzsche and Freud uphold also the theory that the male is active while the female is passive. This reactionary

*) F. Engels. «The origin of the family, private property and the State». K. Marx and F. Engels. selected works, vol. II, p. 210. (Albanian edition).

antibiologic theory leads — as it did — to nazism in politics and to sadism in sexology.

Our mothers, grandmothers and great-grandmothers have languished under this harsh bondage, they have borne these corporeal and spiritual pangs on their own sore shoulders. Now when the revolution has triumphed, when socialism is being successfully built in our country, the Party sets before us the complete and final liberation of woman from the fetters of the bitter past as a major, as one of the greatest tasks, it sets before us the complete emancipation of women.

Marxism teaches us that participation in production and deliverance from capitalist exploitation are two phases of the emancipation of women. Through war and revolution, our Party, which pursues and carries out faithfully the principle of Marxism-Leninism, liberated the people and, particularly, the women from capitalist exploitation and led them to production.

We can, therefore, say that by completing these two phases, by getting rid of capitalist exploitation and by intensifying participation in production, we have attained major successes in emancipating the women, which emancipation should be developed and carried further ahead. In addition to their participation in the very fruitful work of production, the women, this colossal progressive force, are participating in the great educational and cultural revolution, they are breaking through all barricades, surmounting every obstacle and prejudice, manifesting in all domains their creative, physical and mental force, their spiritual and moral integrity;

they are and will be taking a more and more active part in running the affairs of the country, in managing industry, agriculture, education, and culture. Lenin's directive that «every cook should be taught to run the State» is being successfully carried out everyday by our Party.

Therefore, the Party should thoroughly understand the problem of the mass participation of women in production, in running the economy and affairs of State, in acquiring learning and culture not only as a progressive economic factor of importance, but because of its being so, it is, at the same time, of major ideological, political and cultural importance. It must understand that nothing can be done correctly and properly without the enlightenment of women and their active and conscientious participation.

It should be brought home to everyone that the emancipation of women, the support and assistance we should give them to occupy the place they deserve in socialist society, should not be considered as a boon but as an imperative obligation; this should not be considered as a gesture of pity of the so-called «strong» sex towards the so-called «weak» sex, or as some kind of concession, as some sort of leeway to women from men who are allegedly endowed with superior intellectual power and physical strength and predisposed to lead and command. People, therefore, should carry out this teaching of the Party not just because the Party said so, but should delve deep into the ideological, political, and economic reasons that prompted the Party to insist on this major problem.

I re-emphasize these things because many Party comrades understand them only superficially, certain others do not understand them at all or understand them wrongly. Let us take the problem of admittance of women comrades to Party membership. Some progress has been made and is being made in this direction but there still exists some lack of understanding of its principled importance. The fact is that the overwhelming majority of Party members are men. Why is this so, particularly after liberation? I think that this is due to the imperfect ideological understanding by some Party members of the role of women in revolution, in socialism, to the backward, feudal and bourgeois views lurking in the minds of communists on the so-called superiority of the physical and mental capacity of men over women, to the views I pointed out before which are, of course, attenuated but which still exist, that men are to run State affairs and that they should, therefore, be in the lead in the Party. We should fight and uproot these erroneous views, we should understand their danger and place admittance of women to Party membership on a absolutely equal level with that of men. Admittance to Party membership for both sexes should be guided by the same conditions and rules of the Constitution of the Party but, first of all, by the ideology of the Party which runs through every word of its Constitution and its activity. This is the crux of the problem.

Women should actually feel that they are members of their own Party, that they direct through their own Party, that they take active

part in working out the laws of their own Party and that they carry out and supervise them by their active revolutionary participation in life, in production and in management.

The great problem of the complete emancipation of women cannot be thought of and cannot be attained without the active participation in it of the women themselves not only in practice, in carrying it out, but also in directing this great work which makes up one of the decisive factors in forming and tempering the new socialist man, in creating the most appropriate conditions for the coming generations which will perpetuate socialism and communism.

Let us take advantage of this very fruitful discussion we are taking part in at this session of the Central Committee on this so important a problem, in order to delve deeper into and make this problem clearer from the philosophical and ideological point of view, based on the immortal teachings of our classics and on the objective reality of our own society.

One of the major scientific deductions of Marxism-Leninism is that which says that «bondage of women is connected with the appearance of private property». This major theoretical deduction is found in Engels' famous book: «Origin of the Family, Private Property and the State». In order to properly understand these problems from the Marxist-Leninist theoretical and philosophical point of view, in order to properly understand the dialectical materialist development of our Albanian society in the past and at present, in order to grasp and

interpret aright the phenomena of life developing at full speed before our own eyes and to define the line that should be pursued to build the new life in a correct Marxist-Leninist way, every communist should strive to study this book or its selected parts which, if not in existence, should be prepared in an abridged form so that they may be understood by all.

If we scrutinize Father Shtjefen Gjeçov's work,²⁾ the Canon of Lek Dukagjini and, especially, the chapters on property, on inheritance, on family, on women and marriage we will recognise in our own reality the great truth and genius of Engels. We will see how **private ownership** holds woman under unbearable bondage, how she is in reality turned into a simple marketable commodity. In it we actually read:

«The husband is entitled to beat his wife, to bind her in chains when she defies his word and orders... Whereas the father is entitled to beat, chain, imprison and kill his son or daughter. The wife is obliged to kneel obeisance to her husband, ... A woman's blood costs 1500 grosh... etc.»

We are, of course, centuries removed from the integral application of Lek Dukagjini's Canon. We are, likewise, far removed from the period in which Father Shtjefen Gjeçov summarized it. But this does not mean that its spirit and routine in carrying out many of the customs we meet with, especially in the social life of our mountain regions, do not exist to some extent, of course not so acutely as before.

The trouble with our Party in the North and

with our theoretical and social students in general is that they have not turned their attention as they should to the social reality and its development in these regions, nor have they taken the trouble to study Father Shtjefen Gjeçov's work which is of historical and social significance. A study of this work should help our scholars to make a good diagnosis of the present situation in social and private relations in the North in order to detect the upheavals, evolutions, and to reinforce our ideological, organizational and propaganda work.

Colossal changes have been made in the social life of our country, in the social and private relations of the people as well as in their philosophical world-outlook and not only by comparing them with Gjeçov's Canon, not only by comparing them with Zog's feudal-bourgeois regime. All these changes make it incumbent upon us to re-examine our civil code drawn up during our regime and of which, if seen in the light of the great revolutionary transformations our Party is bringing about, many chapters and articles may have become obsolete.

Let us take, precisely, the question of private property, the source of so many evils. The Party is in the process of upsetting it, uprooting it materially and theoretically; it is no longer the material basis of our socialist regime, which is based on collective ownership of the means of production. In line with our materialist philosophy we are now in the process of overturning, both private property and its superstructure and philo-

sophy, and replacing them with our own superstructure, with our own materialist philosophy. Herein, especially, lies the mainspring of our success in the problem which interests us today at this plenum, in the problem of the complete emancipation of women.

But we should not consider the question of the elimination of private property as totally achieved physically and much less ideologically. Marx says:

«Private property has made us so foolish and so narrow-minded that a thing is not ours if we do not possess it, i.e. if it does not exist for us as capital, if we do not possess it in an immediate way, if we do not eat, drink and do not wear it, if we do not live in it, etc., in short, if we do not consume it!»

And Marx continues:

«Therefore, all physical and moral sentiments were replaced, through a simple deterioration of all these sentiments, by the sense of ownership»^{*)}.

It is precisely this terrain occupied by the sense and sentiments of private, personal ownership, which Marx refers to, that we have not yet tidied up, — a piece of work demanding big, long ideological and political efforts on our part in order to achieve the material reforms in the physical transformations of property and of many other matters.

Guided by our Party, our proletarian revolu-

^{*)} Karl Marx, Political Economy and Philosophy (1844 Manuscript).

tion has created all the material and moral conditions to clean up survivals of idealist ideology from the consciousness of people through a constant dialectical revolutionary conflict of opposites. We are duty bound to always carry the revolution ahead, to inculcate the new world-outlook into the heads and hearts of the people who should live and think like revolutionaries, who should explain the phenomena of life, develop and settle relations among themselves, between them and society, no longer according to the idealistic, religious, bourgeois, but to the materialist, atheist and socialist world-outlook. In this field, in addition to the material development of our socialist society, the Party will, for a long time, wage a major struggle to achieve the moral development of our society in the Marxist-Leninist way.

Our Party has not left nor will it ever leave the Marxist-Leninist education of our people to spontaneity. But this requires a strengthening and intensification of the organization of education of the Party and of the masses.

Everything we construct, transform, create, is done according to Marxist-Leninist laws, nothing is done contrary to the objective laws of nature and of proletarian ethics. But everything is to be explained and understood, for it has the old side which crumbles, which dies away and the new side which is born and waxes strong. And the old dies with much ado and, because of this, the new, too, is born through struggle and battle. In order that the new may grow up quickly and healthy we, of course, should have a good grasp of the

laws of development and laws, so to say, of hindrance, for only then can education be considered complete.

In the case of the problems of women, as the Report of the Political Bureau submitted by Comrade Ramiz Alia and the valuable discussions of the comrades pointed out very well, we should take also special steps of an organizational nature on the lines pointed out by the Report which, apart from seeming special, are part and parcel of the development and consolidation of the general socialist economy, since they set up further conditions for a broader participation of women in production, make their burden of household chores lighter, and are not less effective in all fields. They help to fight petty bourgeois ideological survivals which still keep women in a kind of bondage or status of inferiority to men.

If we study carefully the development of our society, and not of ours alone, we will find that this idea is deeply rooted, for the women themselves consider their inferiority to men as something right, as something entirely natural. This custom is the result of the social conditions under which our mothers and sisters have lived their physical and mental lives. This custom we should strive to do away with, since we are changing our social conditions. These social changes our proletarian revolution is bringing about are intended to do away with the antagonisms between the two sexes, that is, with the submission of women to men, as well.

The antagonism of sexes, Engels teaches us, may be considered as the first manifestation of

the class struggle in the history of mankind.

Proletarian revolution does away with this antagonism between sexes, just as it does away with capitalism, the bourgeoisie and its ideology, just as it does away with exploitation of man by man and leads mankind to a classless society. It does this by liberating women from everything that hinders their freedom and their equality with man.

Marriage, this very important event in the life of man, is connected with many backward rituals which, even if not existent today in so acute a form as formerly, still contain some very burdensome traditions.

Engels says that marriage based on love is moral, and it is only where love exists that marriage exists, too.

In our socialist society we should be guided by this principle in this major event in the life of man.

It must be acknowledged that erroneous and backward ideas about love are manifested among us. Love is considered as something shameful, impermissible and abnormal. Very often, if not entirely so, love is stigmatized as something amoral «which leads women to prostitution and men to degeneracy». These are erroneous concepts. If there is something which has nothing to do with prostitution, that thing is genuine love. There is no love in prostitution. Fortunately enough our country has not been afflicted with the terrible plague of prostitution which we should fight to its minutest manifestations which might come

about as a result of a wrong anti-Marxist-Leninist approach to the question of love and marriage, of our failure to fight, in practice and theory, the bourgeois and idealist views on this matter.

Our country has been plagued with marriages by violence, with the enslaving and torturing polygamous canons of the «Sharia»³); it has been plagued with the laws of Catholicism, of the Vatican, which not only enslaved and degraded women but also tortured them spiritually. The segregation of the State from the Church, the enactment and application of the civil code, the National-liberation War and socialist construction have set down as a law for our country not to recognize any marriage other than that contracted with the consent freely expressed by both the bride and the groom-to-be before the State registrar, doing away for good with the social practices of the past. But in spite of this reality, although many prejudices have been removed in practice, we would be erring if we thought that we have set everything aright in these problems and that we need not worry any longer or leave it to time to correct deficiencies. We should strive to make efficient use of time in creating socialist customs and the appropriate public opinion for the present and future generations.

Despite socialist construction, despite the great economic, political, ideological, cultural and other advancement made in our country, among the people and even the communists not only do erroneous patriarchal opinions still exist but the barbarous practice of infant betrothals and

purchase marriages are still in force. It was this that awakened us to the fact that we should no longer neglect such important and, at the same time, dangerous questions.

Marriage is an act, a social fact, and should not be considered as a philosophic conception. But this social fact has its own philosophy both in our society as well as in that of the bourgeoisie.

For the bourgeoisie marriage has become a market where a man and a woman are mutually sold. These marriages are based not on pure sentiments but on the savage sentiments of ownership and private interest, on sentiments of riches, inheritance, prostitution of man and woman. In capitalist bourgeois regimes appearances of freedom are a fraud, modernizing airs intend to show what actually does not exist at all, namely, the freedom of the individual, the liberation of woman from capitalist enslavement and pure sentiments. In countries where capital rules, these social phenomena are to be found only within the ranks of the proletariat.

While among us, where the emancipation of woman is guaranteed, conditions have been achieved to contract marriages based on love. We are crossing over, as Engels has put it, «from the realm of necessity to the realm of freedom».

Pure sentiments should be further worked out and tempered by our Marxist-Leninist ideology. We have a lot to do in this direction. What does Engels tell us? Referring to the repercussions of the communist regime on the family, he says that the communist regime:

«will transform the relations between sexes into entirely personal relations... This will be achieved when private property is abolished, when social education is provided for children, destroying in this way, the two fundamental bases of the present (bourgeois) marriages, that is, the submission of the wife to the husband and that of children to their parents.»*)

This is a major working program for us. We have to give a lot of thought to these teachings of Marxism-Leninism.

Is it not one of the most important tasks for us to keep reviewing with a Marxist-Leninist eye the nature of parent-child relations, to place these relations on the right road and to cleanse them of everything that is outworn, idealistic and petty bourgeois? Of course it is.

Very often in these so broad and delicate matters, the pure mutual sentiments of parents and their just advice to the children and, vice-versa, of the latter to their parents are confounded with the bourgeois and petty bourgeois concepts of ownership and of idealist views connected with it.

I am not referring here to the pure sentiments of love of parents towards their children, to the care they take to bring them up and educate them, nor to the deep love, respect and gratitude children

*) F. Engels. «The Principles of Communism». K. Marx and F. Engels. Works, Russian edition, Vol IV, p. 336-337.

should cherish towards their parents through all their living days. Far from abolishing them, Marxism-Leninism tempers, consolidates and develops them into a grand harmony not confined to the family alone but extending throughout society. I refer here to those manifestations and trends in our social relations which are created and develop seemingly as a «normal process», but which, under the pressure of custom and faulty opinions, turn gradually into barbarous under-age marriages, selling off girls in wedlock, beating and maltreating women and children. All this reflects the laws and philosophic views of bourgeois society in practice and in theory, in production and in ideology.

Let us take the manifestation of a custom, of a sentiment which has existed and exists still. We do not think much of it now, but tens of years ago there were many husbands and even now there are some husbands who leave their wives because of the birth of a boy or girl to the family. This is a biological law of nature which neither the will of parents nor science itself can change. However, in this matter there exist striking preferences with, at times, very dangerous and grave consequences. These preferences are for boys. There is great jubilation when a son is born to the family. It was not so when a daughter was born and it often became a cause for lamentation. A distinction is thus drawn between the sexes, an antagonism is formed right at the time of birth and this antagonism is nourished by the parents themselves.

There is something in this which works against the natural feelings of parents towards their

offspring of whichever sex they may be. But what can this something be which is so deeply rooted in the subconsciousness of people as to make them have such flagrant preferences towards their own offspring? This something is none other than the character of property which has forged also the character of parent-child relations and the bourgeois and petty bourgeois prerogatives of parents towards their children.

The bourgeois world-outlook, based on private property, carries with it also the idea of maintaining the rule of parents over their children, of depriving the latter of their rights and freedom. Thus, there is no freedom beyond the limits of private property interests and of inheritance. Man is the guardian of these interests, and, consequently, the son, not the daughter. This gives rise to the idea that the son is «the pillar of the house-hold» while the daughters is «somebody else's», therefore, she can also be sold off, liable to betrothal at any age, so long as this «income» contributes to strengthening economically, or raising the standing in society of the parents' private property.

Economic interest gives birth to the «superiority» of the male over the female, to the patriarchal authority over children, to love-less marriages authorized by parents and impermissible without their consent. This leads towards placing sentiments in the service of private property, instead of abolishing private property, a course which the Party follows with determination.

Establishing, therefore, correct Marxist-Leninist relations between parents and children gives

a full and great meaning to the unity of the family based on noble feelings and full liberty. The husband can no longer claim: «My wife must kneel obeisance to me, for I have bought her» or «a woman must work harder than a donkey, for the latter feeds on grass while a woman lives on bread».

Our Party should engage in intensive ideological work to temper the Albanian family, which is only possible to be achieved when correct, equal relations blended with lofty sentiments are established, doing away with submission and survivals or private property and its concepts, for we must acknowledge that alien concepts exist in our heads.

Among some intellectuals there exists the idea of not marrying with enlightened women even if their origin or status is that of a worker, an idea prompted by petty bourgeois views to dominate them, to be superior towards them, to keep them within the four walls of the house for household chores. There is no gainsaying the fact that such views alien to our society should be combatted.

At times there is no harmony in the family. I will not analyze all the causes but, if I am not mistaken, the real reasons may be found only in property interests. Their source lies there, regardless of whatever garb they have on. The people express this in such terms as, «poverty begets discord». From the viewpoint of our philosophy this should be expressed as: the poor do not quarrel among themselves but raise their voice against those who possess economic power and political power, so to speak.

In the family there exist disagreements and,

at times, open conflicts between the young bride and her husband's parents. We might say that both are to blame. Possibly so, but we should not forget that there exists (especially among the generation of our parents and even among ourselves, however less acutely than among the former) the tendency of parents that their son and his bride should obey them in everything. They have not cleansed their world-outlook and this is understandable. Having been brought up in a patriarchal bourgeois society they find it hard to fully understand that bride is not bound to obey them in everything. They view everything done by the bride, an alien come into their family, with skepticism lest she wean their son, «the pillar of the household», away from the authority of his parents and thereby affect their personal economic interests. This happens somewhat oftener when our elderly parents have no other economic support than the income of their son. They often quarrel also with their son when they see that he loves his wife. This gives rise to jealousy, bickerings and, at times, to lack of good feelings between the bride and her husband's parents.

The bride, on her part, entertains just aspirations to free herself, to win her position in the family, not only towards her husband's parents but towards her husband himself as well. The mother-in-law is well aware of her daughter-in-law's inclination, for, in her time, she had the same instinctive inclinations but, since she failed in her legitimate attempts at her time, she does not consider it right that her son's bride should win.

Herein lies the contradiction which is up to us, old and young, to do away with, but I think that the heaviest burden and the greatest responsibility lies primarily on us, the younger ones. The Party has imbued us with the ideology of the class which should render us more understanding and more patient towards our parents, towards whom some people, and even communists at that, posing as people of «modern principles», err at times and leave their parents at the crossroads even if they bear part of the blame. This is not right, this is neither Marxist nor humane. We should understand our parents, we should understand the time when they have lived and help them keep pace with our new times. The Party builds up brilliant times.

The coming generations of our country will be fully freed from many prejudices and survivals of old precepts under which our own generations have languished. Our daughters, the worthy mothers and citizens of the future, will no longer feel under constraint as our mothers did, they will no longer suffer from ignorance and will no longer depend economically on their husbands, sons or daughters as our mothers do. Their complete economic independence, education, socialist culture, the merited place the Albanian woman will occupy in production, in the State and in society will contribute to a large extent to the perfection of this new world the Party is forging, in which the material and spiritual life will flourish as never before, in which the exalted sentiments of man for man, of husband and wife towards each other, of parents towards their children and vice-versa, will find full,

natural expression totally freed from backward, idealistic, religious, patriarchal and bourgeois survivals which still foster harmful and restrictive opinions among us.

We are well aware that all this great work that lies ahead for the Party to do will come up against all kinds of difficulties and will not be accomplished within a short period of time. This is the work of whole generations, but of great importance is the course, the method of the Party to guide the coming generations along this road. Each generation will accomplish its own task of development and perfection. To our own generation the Party assigned the task of laying the sound foundations and taking the brilliant road to socialism. The Party is wisely and boldly leading us along this clear road. In a huge harmonious complexity and through great efforts characterized by a deep revolutionary spirit, all the masses of people are engaged in transforming the country, in transforming themselves, in strengthening the socialist economy, in developing culture and education, in further revolutionizing the new man of our country who, in battle with old views, is being imbued with new ideals worthy of socialism. Along this brilliant complex course, which constitutes our proletarian revolution marching vigorously ahead, we are fully convinced that the sooner, the better and the more fully cognizant of their role, of their rights and of their obligations the Albanian women become in the society of our country, the greater will be the achievements of our revolution, the shorter will be the time within which that happy

period will be reached, which the generation coming after our own will further build and embellish.

Our Party has considered and considers the great battle for the emancipation of women as part and parcel of revolution and socialist construction, as a «conditio sine qua non» to development and progress in genuine freedom and democracy. Our Party never loses sight of the teachings of Marx who regards the development of a given historical period as always determined by the degree of the progress of women towards freedom, the triumph of human nature as manifested most clearly in the relations between husband and wife.

Thus, so long as there is no true freedom for women in the society of a country, there cannot be genuine freedom in that country.

In this major problem our Party has not been content only to enact laws on the equality of man and woman and then have these laws remain a dead letter, but it has applied, applies and is enforcing them deeper and deeper into practice, since Lenin advises us: «this equality of man and woman by law is not yet an equality in practice». And in the rapidly changing tableau of our socialist life, we see the truth of Lenin's penetrative thesis, for, in spite of laws we have enacted on this matter, we come up against many difficulties and obstacles and feel we need to take many further measures to finally reach our goal.

Our Party and people as a whole should in no way under-rate the major role of women in life and in revolution. Therefore, open up all the portals of work, of learning, production, management

to the women and girls, protecting them from sources of retrogression, helping them to create their own personality of sound foundations, to acquire self-reliance and courage in everything, which is not the monopoly of one sex but is established, earned and tempered in life by work and study.

«Education, culture, civilization, freedom», Lenin says, «all these words heard so laudly in all the bourgeois capitalist republics of the world are associated with frightfully base, shocking, dirty, savagely brutal laws of the inequality of women, like those on the rights of marriage and divorce, on the inequality of children... on man's privileges, on debasing and insulting women!»*)

Therefore, in the emancipation of women, our country pursues neither the methods nor the aims pursued by the bourgeois capitalist countries. We should work for the emancipation of women at such a speed as to make up for time lost. The emancipation of Albanian women has nothing in common with that which goes by the name of «emancipation of the coquettes of the bourgeoisie». We realize the emancipation of our women along the lines of proletarian revolution, through the Marxist-Leninist spirit and the marvellous qualities of the women of Albania in history.

Despite social oppression and the state of ignorance in which they were kept (within the general

*) V.I. Lenin. «The Soviet Power and the status of woman». Works, vol. 30, p. 120.

ignorance in which foreign invaders and the local feudal-bourgeoisie have kept our people) the role of Albanian women has not been slight and insignificant in consolidating the Albanian family, in consolidating our nation, in safeguarding the traditions and virtues of the Albanian people.

«In the history of mankind,» Stalin has said, «no important liberation movement has been effected without the direct participation of women.»*)

Despite oppressive conditions, the Albanian women, particularly those of the countryside, have been an important factor of economic and social development, consequently, a progressive factor of outstanding freedom-loving and patriotic sentiments bound to work and the land which made them skilful and awakened heroines indeed.

«Our present revolution», Lenin has said. «rests in the countryside, and it is here that its importance and strength lie. The experience of all liberation movements has gone to show that the success of revolution depends on the degree of the participation of women in it.»**)

When speaking of the liberation battles of the Albanian people in history one cannot separate

*) J.V. Stalin. «Greeting to the Ist Congress of women from the Republic of Upland». Works, Vol. 5, p. 75, (Alb. Ed.).

**) V.I. Lenin. «Speech delivered to the Ist Congress of Russian working women.» Works, Vol. 28, p. 196 (Alb. Ed.).

from them for one moment the great struggle and resistance of the Albanian women side by side with their husbands, brothers and sons, both in the field of battle, as well as through passive resistance against the enemies of our people and of our land. We understand well also, that under the social conditions before liberation, the contribution of women was not made public, but this major contribution was substantial, incontestable, powerful, moral and material. During our National-liberation War this contribution and the participation of the Albanian women side by side with their husbands, sons and daughters was massive, powerful, tangible, in the countryside and in cities. Their strength, valor, wisdom and patriotism after liberation burst forth with a great force which kept flowing like a huge river.

What colossal changes have come about in the life of Albanian women, what great progress has been made in all the domains of activity of our new life which, with all due efforts, the Report submitted today to the plenum of the Central Committee was unable to do justice to! Only actual life with all its grandeur can give a real idea of what great vital force the Party set free through the emancipation of women, what progressive creative force lay hidden in this great part of our population, what marvels it is doing and will be doing hereafter, and with what incalculable moral and material values it will enrich our socialist life!

The emancipation of women led by the Party, in our country is far from being a «feminist movement» as in capitalist countries, but is the

advancement of women to a higher level, it is the rise of women to the level of equal rights with men, it is a shoulder to shoulder march of men and women in a harmony of the purest and highest sentiments, aims and ideals of humanity, it is a march towards communism.

NOTES

1. Speech delivered to the 2nd plenum of the CC of the PLA in June 1967. This plenum listened to the report of the Political Bureau «On further deepening the struggle for the complete emancipation of woman and the promotion of her role in socialist Albania», submitted by Comrade Ramiz Alia — Member of the Political Bureau and Secretary of the CC of the PLA.

2. Mediaval norms, customs and habits, formerly wide-spread in the Mirdita and Dukagjin regions of Northern Albania cropping up here and there even today. These were summed up by Father Shtjefen Gjeçov in his treaty — «The Canon of Lekë Dukagjini». Religion wielded this canon to safeguard its exploiting order and to keep the inhabitants of these regions in the dark of ignorance.

3. «Sheria» is a special collection of religious and juridical norms of the Muslim feudal law, compiled in the Near East during the period from the 7th to the 12th century. «Sheria» sanctions the power of the rich over the poor and encourages open hostility towards the non-Muslims. It imposed barbarous laws on woman. The norms of the «Sheria» were carried over and applied in Albania during the five centuries-long Ottoman occupation.

THE IDEOLOGICAL EDUCATION OF THE CADRES AND MASSES ¹⁾

THE IDEOLOGICAL ORIGIN OF CONSERVATISM IN THE POLICY OF PROMOTING NEW CADRES

The care for the education of new cadres (and in speaking of new cadres I do not mean only the directing officials of all levels and sectors, but also the masses of people in general, in whose ranks are marked and distinguished the talented persons who are promoted to various responsibilities), must be one of the continuous preoccupations and an everlasting care of the Party. This care must appear in the massive moral, political, ideological and technical education of the cadres. On the basis of this massive education, capacities are noticed and cadres are promoted in accordance with the correct criteria followed by the Party, such as political trustworthiness, political-ideological and technical-professional qualification, origin, proletarian moral behavior, etc.

The training of the cadres must not be separated from the education of the masses, otherwise our correct philosophical concept that the masses come first and then the individuals, degenerates. These

latter cannot do without the masses, but, imbued with the correct philosophical concepts of the Party, they place their knowledge, abilities and talents at the service of the masses and the general interest. When the question of the importance of cadres, of their origin, their education and promotion to posts of responsibility is correctly conceived, then many concepts alien to Marxism-Leninism — bourgeois, capitalist, idealistic and, therefore, antisocialist concepts — are combatted and eliminated.

Such concepts, alien to our ideology and to the formation and tempering of the new communist man, we are as yet far from having got rid of, not to say from having eradicated, because, in order to achieve this, many generations of communists will have to be tempered by the Party, in an intensive revolutionary manner, generation after generation.

As in all other things the Party's work for tempering the cadres with the Marxist philosophical world-outlook must not aim at including only an elite, but all the masses, all the people. In particular, the tempering of the communists must not be understood as tempering an elite for itself, but as a means for educating the vanguard of the working class, which is in leadership, and putting it at the service of the revolution, through the Marxist-Leninist education and tempering of the masses. If this question is understood and applied in this way, the detachment of the cadres from the masses is avoided, the individual is placed in correct relations with society, all the people are educated through theory and practice to understand what is meant

by socialism and communism, what is meant by private property and socialist collective property, what is meant by the role of the masses that make history, or how our Marxist philosophy construes the role of the masses and the role of the individual in society.

Hence also the need of sifting and doing away with bourgeois-idealistic concepts in people's consciences. I say sifting because not everything in the world-outlook of the masses is bourgeois or idealistic. The superstructure of the past regimes, with its philosophy, its culture, its way of living, its laws and oppression, has left deep imprints in the consciousness of the masses, therefore it has become the Party's duty to tell right from erroneous concepts and to do away with the latter.

By its enormous efforts and its correct line of many decades, the Party has attained great successes in awakening the masses, in educating them politically, in spreading culture and scientific and technical knowledge among them, in revolutionizing them. Under the Party's guidance the masses carried out the revolution and are now successfully building up socialism. In the massive transformations that have taken place in our country, there have been accomplished a series of revolutionary processes, sometimes visible and sometimes invisible. These processes — the latter under the direct influence and as a consequence of the former — have both of them followed the Marxist dialectic path of quantitative and qualitative changes, always in motion, in development and in progress.

During these processes, the new has fought with the old, it has blazed its trail forward beating the old though not completely. The process of crushing the old world, especially in ideology, is a long one: it is a fierce struggle against the old world-outlook, against its regressive concepts and their remnants, against the possibility of its resurrection in the consciousness of the individual, and against the danger of a massive comeback of idealistic and anti-scientific concepts.

Therefore, it must not be thought that the massive revolutionary development in our country has not met with impediments and difficulties of every description, objective and subjective, with the political immaturity, with the ignorance and backwardness of individuals or groups of persons, with the obstinate resistance of harmful and dangerous old concepts which had been converted into modes of living, with customs coming into contradiction and antagonism with the development of the new society, whose danger was not easy for everyone to be understood.

I do not wish here to dwell at length also on the material hardships with which we have met through the different processes of our country's development, but in general — both as regards objective and subjective difficulties — the Party has achieved great successes: it has surmounted numerous obstacles through a profound political, ideological and economic-material revolution, it has laid strong foundations for socialism and is successfully constructing it.

The socialist revolution is irresistible, it must

be deepened in every field and, in the first place, in politics and ideology as fields which must preoccupy us incessantly. The consolidation of the victories achieved and the passage to new victories strongly demands it. And this, the Party teaches us, must be carried out in accordance with the line of the masses. Let us draw some conclusions from the results of this brilliant revolutionary line of the masses which the Party is implementing.

If we keep in mind the revolutionary development of our masses in building socialism, in tempering the socialist consciousness, we will also witness the great leaps forward of this development — both quantitative and qualitative. The Party has always relied upon the masses, it has roused the masses to ever greater actions at war and at work. In this «crescendo» of the impetus of the masses, a decisive role has been played by the correct and consistent line of the Party in all directions of the political, social, cultural and economic life. The Party has always kept in evidence, in both theory and practice, the vital role of the line of the masses and the decisive role of the masses in transforming society and the individuals that make it up. It is to this great role of the masses led by the line of the Party that we owe our vast transformations which rest on solid bases and have a great future. Had not the line of the Party been understood and carried out in this manner, socialist construction would have been endangered; and if our line does not continue to be thus understood and further revolutionized, the complete construction of socialism may be endangered.

Let us have a glance at the speedy development of our industry. How many difficulties we have encountered, and not only such of a material and professional nature, but political difficulties, too. We must not forget the old concepts about work we had to do away with, the difficulties we had to face in creating our working class, in introducing social collective work, in dealing with conservative petty craftsman attitudes, with sluggishness and indolence, with lack of discipline and of a socialist conscience at work.

An entire complex of measures were taken which helped in surmounting all these difficulties, but we must never forget that the decisive element for this turn has been the irreplaceable role of the masses who, gradually understanding the Party's line and its prospective aims, educated themselves through war and work, achieved a high conscience of their tasks and a deep confidence in their own capabilities, aroused and encouraged by their own example and achievements. Schools and courses have also played their role, they have contributed to the development I mentioned above, being instruments conducive to the great leap which has by now become irresistible. Nobody now shirks work, all wish to work, to acquire professions, to go wherever necessity calls. Every obstacle or prejudice in this direction has, in general, been broken down.

And now we see what we ought to have expected: the revolutionary impetus of our Party-led masses turned into a colossal lever, into a brilliant

educator, into a great regulator which deepens the respiration of our socialist society.

Everything — the further strengthening of industry, the massive perfection and qualification of the cadres of this sector will henceforth march with an unprecedented speed.

Let us take agriculture. We see the same process, indeed an even more complicated one, and yet how many and great results have been achieved! From broken private property, to the Agrarian Reform laws, from individualistic concepts on private property, from strongly patriarchal concepts on family and clan, from old methods of work, from the speculations of the free market, we embarked on the glorious, though complicated and difficult, road of the collectivization of the countryside. It was a veritable epic of the triumphant Party line. We succeeded in completely collectivizing our agriculture, in draining up large areas of marsh land, in reclaiming virgin soil, in putting an undreamt of acreage of land under irrigation, in cutting down privately-owned landplots and cattle. Our peasantry grasped the high socialist meaning of collective property, the importance of advanced methods and ways of work, the necessity of changing their ways of living, of fighting prejudices, religious superstitions and regressive customs. An evidence to this was the aid given on a national scale by the developed agricultural cooperatives of the plain to those of the mountain areas.

Only our Party, only the broad masses educated in the Party spirit could accomplish these profound revolutionary transformations. It is precisely this

that I want to emphasize. We know that in the conscience of individuals goes on, and it will continue to go on, an unceasing struggle against the survivals of the old bourgeois and capitalist ideology. In many a worker, peasant or intellectual, young and old, man and woman, communist and member of the Democratic Front, these remnants do exist more or less; they are fought against, they reappear and are still fought against. Without a correct line, without a colossal anvil like that of the Party and of the masses the Party puts into motion, these results could not have been achieved. The line of the masses, the masses roused to revolution, the Party with its Marxist-Leninist line, are the real educators of the individuals who ought to melt with the masses, get tempered and cleanse their consciences from every sort of rottenness in their common struggle with the masses.

Massive revolutionary heroism is the greatest educational example to our people. Individual heroism, too, has got educational value when it is realized within the framework of this massive heroism, when it is a component and indivisible part of it.

Therefore, the underestimation of the line of the masses, of their decisive role and of their massive revolutionary heroism is a most dangerous thing. To replace this with individualistic standpoints, with all their moral, political and ideological evils, is anti-socialistic, anti-Marxist and very dangerous. The individual has his own role in society, because it is by single individuals that the masses are formed. Marxism-Leninism does not propose to under-

value the role of the individual in society, but to imbue him with proletarian ideology, with correct social and philosophical concepts, with socialist concepts about life, work, property, family, production, politics, about the relations between the people and between nations, etc. Here is a question of contradiction, a question of diametrically opposite world-outlooks. The Party aims at liberating man, whereas the bourgeoisie wish to keep him in secular bondage.

The ideological and political education of the people is of great importance. Therefore, the Party has paid and pays great attention to this question, it has used and uses a great variety of forms in order to achieve conspicuous and solid results in the matter.

Survivals in men's consciences are to be detected and fought against incessantly, unhesitatingly and with patience. We may sweep away these survivals, but they may reappear in other forms and circumstances. This work and this struggle have to go on for decades, but the fight for their complete eradication will, each year and each decade, better consolidate the Party's great deed. This is the path leading to communism. But in order to arrive there for certain, we must of course carry on an uninterrupted struggle against alien manifestations and always look reality in the face: with all its goods and evils, its successes and failures, overcoming the failures and consolidating the successes.

The bourgeois and petty-bourgeois survivals in people's consciences are individual and different in kind, intensity and dangerousness. **They** may appear

in various ways, with varying intensity and may not be the same in every place. They have a common origin — the idealistic, bourgeois and capitalist philosophy — but the revolution, the Party's work and struggle are liquidating them. Somewhere they have remained, somewhere they are successfully fought, somewhere they endure, somewhere they appear and damage society and the individual, somewhere they lie dormant but are reborn under special circumstances. Many of these survivals have become habits with some strata of people, impeding them in their forward march. That is why our Party conducts, frontally and in detail, this extensive education of the masses.

Let us take some big examples, such as the consolidation of collectivization from the ideological and political point of view, not to mention the economic one. We have made here a qualitative leap forward, but we would be mistaken and shortsighted were we to think that our peasant has got completely rid of many of his old concepts. How much more we have got to fight for this education! A great program of incessant work and relentless struggle lies before us in this direction.

Let us take the question of religion. We have made a big qualitative step forward in the struggle against it. But have we, perhaps, uprooted religious beliefs, superstitions and practices? No. We are still very far from that, therefore we must not entertain illusions, nor be self-satisfied and sleep on laurels. Religion is a fuel kindling fires of all evils.

Let us take the question of the emancipation

of woman. We have made a great qualitative step forward, but the Party's struggle is far from being ended in this direction. An anonymous letter has come to me from Shkodra, in which the author — pretending to be a patriot — reproaches me saying that «we do not do well to elevate the woman in this way and to slight the honor of man». But are we perhaps, to suppose, comrades, that there are only one hundred or one thousand other people that think like this fellow? No. Assuredly there are many more who speak or do not speak, that act against or resist the emancipation of woman in different forms.

The same may be said in general about the problem of the new family, of the protection of socialist collective property, etc.

Let us take some questions raised in the report of the Shkodra District Party Committee. I approve of the work of the party comrades of Shkodra: they are on the right path, they act vigorously and correctly, and they must be congratulated for the understanding they show for and the aid they give to the Highland people with Party and technical cadres.

The petty-bourgeois survivals in people's consciences, as I mentioned above, are combatted by the Party through a constant struggle, through ideological-political education and revolutionary work. Organized and massive education as well as education imparted to individual groups have a positive effect on tempering the people and have achieved good results. Many of these results appear to us

as natural, as if they had come about spontaneously. But it is not so.

Let us take, for example, the question of training the workers for different professions, or the question of training the peasants for using modern agrotechnics, as well as that of educating all the laboring people in general. In these directions many barricades have been pulled down; many old petty-bourgeois and regressive concepts, such as conservatism, the tendency to keeping one's craftsmanship secret, backward concepts on work quotas, profits, etc, have been done away with. These concepts existed, to a greater or lesser extent, in individuals but then they overstepped the bounds of the individual and became standpoints of whole groups and strata, too. Thus, there existed a danger on two sides and, therefore, an education on two sides was necessary — on the individual and on the massive plane.

We may again repeat that the Party, by its tireless efforts, has achieved great results in these directions, that the existing old concepts regarding the massive training of people for various professions, the widening of their knowledge, etc. have in general been done away with. This does not mean that we meet no more with many difficulties on our way, both objective and subjective, but still we are very far from the time when a thousand obstacles hindered the solution of this great problem. This is one side of the question; the other is that of their promotion. When arises the question of promoting this vast mass of people who progress, learn and distinguish themselves, it meets

with numerous impediments. In most cases, for this state of affairs are to be imputed precisely those concepts and petty-bourgeois survivals which are alien to our Marxist-Leninist ideology; and — what is still more dangerous — these concepts show themselves also by some Party and State cadres of a wider experience and a better political and ideological training than the broad masses of workers.

The necessity of educating the new cadres, of promoting them according to their merits, the problem of the circulation of cadres and many other problems connected with it, are in general grasped aright by Party and State cadres and, likewise, they are in general correctly solved. But there are many cases demonstrating that, not always and not by everyone, are these principles rightly understood and carried out. There are flagrant violations of the Party's correct policy concerning the promotion of new cadres to responsibility posts and these, in the majority of cases, are promptly corrected, as soon as they are noticed, so as to become, just as they ought to, a lesson for everybody. These flagrant cases are better caught up by the Party and the finger is put on the causes which led to these mistakes, i.e. the anti-Marxist survivals in the conscience and style of work of the guilty person (such as egotism, conceit, arrogance, favouritism, longing for personal profit, personal glory, etc., etc.) are exposed and analyzed. This is a good thing which, properly deepened, will become still better. This practice is very fruitful for the correct application of the Party's

line and for a rigorous control over this application; it is useful in both improving the individual and serving the education of the masses.

But mistakes in the policy of cadres are not always of a flagrant or isolated character. Often, mistakes of this sort are mixed and covered up, willingly or unwillingly, with many other causes, objective and subjective, founded or unfounded. Although not flagrant and occurring only in isolated cases, such errors may also grow into an incorrect line, which is the more dangerous as it is muffled up and justified with many data supposedly objective and subjective.

In the report of the Shkodra District Party Committee (this problem does not concern Shkodra only) which we are analyzing we see that in the policy of cadres there exist conservatism, patriarchalism, nepotism, favoritism and other alien manifestations. Certainly, these are harmful and punishable concepts. The Party fights them, but, in my judgement, it does not do it to the extent required so as to do away with their danger once for all time, because from the individuals they may spread out and grow into a trend and a whole world-outlook alien to our Marxist-Leninist policy.

Individuals not well tempered politically and ideologically contribute to the aggravation of this situation, as they are under the influence of the petty-bourgeois survivals existing in their conscience, and they justify this with the genuine «preoccupation» and great care the Party should allegedly show for the education and promotion of cadres

in general. Such individuals cover and infect the Party line with all the evils I mentioned above, such as: egotism, over-estimation of one's personal abilities, the tendency of preserving at all cost the post one holds, the longing for personal profit and prestige etc. Realizing the dangerousness of these manifestations and fighting them only when they crop out in individuals, we do not carry out our ideological war against these symptoms to the required extent: i.e. to nip them in the bud and not allow them to grow into trends and currents.

What is meant by being conservative in the policy of cadres? It means not keeping pace with the impetuous development of our revolution, not understanding this development, not following it or just creeping along, thus arresting its development. This, naturally, means not to have a clear idea about the Party line, to have reservations, not to have confidence in creative development, to undervalue the role of the masses, their political and organizational capacities, and to overestimate and be satisfied only with what has been done, to be afraid of everything new, novatory and promising, to fear mistakes and, therefore, to call a halt, believing that, by so doing, mistakes will be less. Hence diffidence towards new cadres, a sickly love and friendship for the old comrades and collaborators is awakened under the pretext that they have shown their best at work: they possess experience, they have irreplaceable merits, etc., etc. Naturally, in support of these viewpoints the individual tries to find other individuals who think

more or less like himself and so, from one, they become many: it becomes a trend, a line which, if not fought by the Party, dresses up in the supposedly founded «arguments» of «preoccupation, care, lack of experience, of that which we must prove», which in themselves are reasonable but which are not seen by these individuals in the proper light, as the Party teaches us.

What is familiarity at work, in the policy of cadres and in every sector of the Party activity? Familiarity derives from the word family. The Party does not condemn the family, on the contrary, it protects and strengthens it by cleaning it from the old bourgeois and petty-bourgeois world-outlook which regulated and governed it before. These old anti-Marxist concepts existed and still do exist, with more or less deep roots, among the members of the family, and also as usages and laws of this cell of the society.

What are these remnants that appear in both family and society? Besides other things, they are the «family, clan and tribe spirit», the «aspiration to protect the interests of the family against those of society and often to the latter's detriment», the «efforts to protect and defend, justly or unjustly, every member of the family», to «keep everything secret within the family, to weigh and judge everything according to and in the interest of this entity, the laws of the family allegedly standing above those of society». In such families exists patriarchalism which means the authority of the father. It can be imagined, therefore, what wild and poisonous weeds can germinate and grow in such a soil infected

with these anti-Marxist and anti-social concepts. From a disgustful feeling which links everything with one's self, with the individual, egotism becomes a massive vice, private property assumes a wild meaning, personal interest predominates in everything. It is evident how detrimental it is to the work of the Party and State when these things are treated only superficially and briefly, when this tendency is not fought but is allowed to grow into a policy.

We deprecate familiarity at work, but the danger caused by this evil to the Party and to socialism is not taken seriously enough and comrades who err continue to be protected because «we are friends, we have fought together, we have worked together». This sickish spirit passes from the platform of the «friend» over to the platform of the department, the enterprise, or the Executive Committee; the spirit of a morbid companionship is born, which we all mention but which so very often we let pass with a smile, remarking «never mind, it does not matter». This appels great dangers. Anything that does not stand the test of the infallible thermometer of Marxism-Leninism, is sick: the body has got fevers, and other more serious diseases may be transmitted to the man, to the Party, to society, to socialism.

Maybe I dwelt too long on these questions, furthermore, I repeated many things which the Party has continuously raised and successfully solved, but I availed myself of this occasion to emphasize a little more the necessity of carrying on a still deeper political and ideological work in

connection with these problems. We must delve deep into problems, analyze them clearly and in such a way as to make them understood by the cadres and by the masses. We must keep away from formulae, dead quotations. I believe that everything must be utilized in a clever, simple and popular way if we are to bring out deeply principled things with a rich ideological and political content, which will be of concrete service to the cadres and masses in their work and in life.

I think that the work of imbuing people with communist ethics should consist in properly arming them, in these life questions, with the teachings of Marxism-Leninism and in creating, tempering and rooting in them, from childhood to old age, the concepts and the world-outlook of socialism and communism. Much has the Party done in this direction and much is it doing, but still more are we called upon to do. We are passing from an epoch to another, from one stage to another: needs increase, demands, too, people grow and develop, new conditions are created, therefore new methods of work, struggle and education are required under different circumstances and in actual life. Only the Party is able to do correct assessments, to determine the most suitable orientations, to make generalizations, to find out the most proper and most fruitful forms and methods. All these, all this work of the Party — clever, alert, dynamic and principled in everything — will strengthen the Party line, will strengthen the cadres and the masses, and we will achieve such victories we are unable even to dream of today.

Our Party, especially now that modern revisionism headed by the Soviet renegades is attacking our revolutionary theory and restoring capitalism in the Soviet Union and in the countries where revisionists are in power, is faced with a great mission and an arduous task: to keep high up and unbent the banner of Marxism-Leninism, which means to be exemplary both in an internal scale, constructing socialism and communism, and in an international scale, being a beacon for the correct application of the Marxist-Leninist ideology and proletarian internationalism.

The Party must never forget that, being the organized vanguard of the working class and safeguarding this great principle like the apple of the eye, it is charged with the lofty mission of not only guarding but also of tempering each day the unity of the people around itself, because this unity is more than ever of vital importance in the conditions of capitalist and revisionist encirclement in which socialist Albania finds itself. Only along this path, only through the line pursued by our Party, can this unity be safeguarded and tempered. Any deviation would amount to a catastrophe.

The Marxist-Leninist line of our Party is the summing up, along the path of the materialistic Marxist dialectics, of the struggles, aspirations, realizations and revolutionary deeds of the masses. This correct line of the Party is daily enriched by the experience of the masses and materialized in further material and moral benefits.

Hence, the masses create, the Party leads, sums up, educates and again creates. Thus, through this

continuous process, the Party and the masses not only create and accomplish, but through this great and fruitful creativeness, get educated, gain experience, improve their knowledge, increase their ability and deepen their determination.

It is in these great revolutionary movements, broad movements of the masses inspired and led by the Party, that our Marxist ethics is born and tempered. It is founded on historic materialism according to which social evolution is subjected to economic evolution.

Thus the real norms of the new socialist ethics are born and affirmed in the process of the great creative activity of the masses and of the Party and in the process of the economic development of our country along socialist lines. It is on this revolutionary path that we became Marxists and were tempered along the line of the masses and through the proletarian revolution. We were formed neither by the social principles of Aristoteles or Spencer nor by the ethics of Spinoza or the theories of Jean Jacques Rousseau. We even did without these philosophical theories, indeed so much the better that we did not learn them because they would have led us astray. We would have had no life, we would have made no step forward, we would have felt our way blindly and slavishly through the centuries had we not got acquainted with Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin, with our glorious Marxist-Leninist theory. Some one might say that, in order to understand and apply the teachings of Marx, it is indispensable to study the different philosophical trends of human thought, as Marx did.

This is not necessarily so. The genius of Marx and Lenin did this for us, they illuminated our way, put everything in its place and forged for us sharp weapons for marching forward. Let scholars and philosophers study in detail the ancient idealistic philosophical, social and ethical trends of thought, if they want to, but only let them never forget one thing: to guard against getting confused themselves and confusing others with sophisms and all kinds of false idealistic and revisionist theories and interpretations, as is happening with many revisionist «philosophers» and «aesthetes», who pretend to be Marxists but who in reality may be anything else except Marxists.

This does not mean that we should not study the development of human thought and its evolution, it does not mean that we should not study the economic and social development of mankind. It would be a mistake to think thus, but in this study one must be strongly guided by our Marxist-Leninist theory, having each dark corner illuminated by its light. But even this does not suffice in case the person who studies does not take an active part, does not hurl himself completely into the waves of revolution, in case he does not become an active fighter in this revolution where our theory springs from and is enriched and where the principles of our materialist Marxist-Leninist philosophy are attested.

In my home library I have Rousseau's works, among which his «Emile» in French. But «Emile» did not fail to come to me translated into Alban-

ian, too. Now I ask: What is the use of «Emile» in Albanian that it should be published and given to our masses to read — it being a philosophical book of the eighteenth century bourgeoisie altogether out-of-date not only for us, who are buiding socialism and rearing and bringing up a fiery youth openly at war with the social principles of Rousseau, but even for the bourgeoisie itself who have abandoned this book to their library shelves, for it is anachronistic even for the education of the present-day bourgeois youngsters? They who waste their time translating such books have got cabbages in their heads, and we — seeing no harm in the matter — irrigate these cabbages for them by publishing books like this only for «the fame of Rousseau».

We are living in times of decisive historic importance, comrades, when the Party is brilliantly leading the revolution. None should remain an outsider to this great revolution. Old and young of all professions should contribute to it all their abilities, they should think and work for it in all directions. Everybody's thoughts and actions should be closely linked with our revolution, everybody's activity should be inspired by the revolution of the masses led by the Party and should strengthen this revolution. From here should draw their inspiration pedagogues and teachers, writers, poets, composers, singers, artists, professors and scientists; by this, by the proletarian revolution, by the massive heroism of the people building socialism and creating material goods, should be led and inspired all our people in their various occupations, and every

action and every creation of theirs should be dedicated to revolution, to socialism.

Only by following this line we shall be able to clear our way from the evil weeds of the past, affirming and tempering our Marxist-Leninist ethics and developing our Marxist-Leninist social science. Only in this way and not through morbid day-dreaming or useless bookish studies we shall forge our new communist man, the builder of socialism, whose political, ideological and technical capacities should enrich the revolutionary development of our country and not lag behind it because otherwise a halt would ensue.

Party, people, cadres, as one man are marching with determination along this road. Reviewing the period elapsed from the Party's 5th Congress up to now, we can notice what a great and unprecedented revolutionary impetus the Party has sparked out, what colossal energies are being thrown into the struggle, how many reserves are being made use of and how many more lie still dormant, how massive heroism has been aroused and with what speed mass actions follow mass actions. Great optimism is felt everywhere, pleasure is derived from good work and from wellmade efforts a great desire is felt to learn, to correct one's mistakes, to be freed from the evils of the past. Evil weeds are uprooted once for all time if, after being done away with in the conscience of the individual, they are destroyed in the conscience of the collective. Therefore, everyone must respond to this impetus with all the energies of his soul and body.

Letters full of feelings from common men and

women have filled the hearts of our people with elation. What should in this case do our writers of all genres? Should they produce novels, plays and poetry in their cabinets, squeeze and twist commonplace facts, find out inexistent and artificial «psychological» features, or go and struggle together with the masses and reflect their impetus, their philosophy, portraying the genuine features of real proletarian psychology?

We have still much to do, in schools and everywhere, but winding up I want to say a few words about our philosophers and scholars, especially about those of the historical and social sciences.

If I am not mistaken, I think they must seriously reconsider their work both from the point of view of form and, especially, from that of contents.

Form is important, it is important how we present our work, but it is much more important to ponder to whom it is destined - to a few learned men or to the masses? If you destine it to just a few people, then you have produced a «scientific» work, but it is not read and understood by those who ought to read and understand it, and they are the majority.

If you abide by the principle of destining your work to the majority, then you are on the right path, so go on and find the simple and suitable forms with which even profound ideas can be expressed and great things can be done. These forms can only be found among the people and not in academic books, to which you may refer but always keeping in mind your purpose.

I always follow with attention the articles of the Bulletin of Historical and Social Sciences issued by our University. There is a host of all possible articles about the ancient history of our country, about the men of our National Revival. Is this bad? Not at all, it is very good, but they should take their proper place as quantity and quality. Whereas but a few problems of our socialist epoch, whether problems of the National-liberation War or of economy, history, class struggle and social problems, are to be found. This is not serious work. It means not keeping pace with time, it means not enriching social development with this great material and spiritual experience for which stands so much in need the new man of socialist Albania. Naturally, our new man may also read what the Venetian Consuls of the 15th century say about us, but that important actual problems, at which our worker daily bumps his head, should be forgotten, - this is not the right and balanced road for our men of studies.

Therefore, as in everything else, in these sectors, too, a positive turn should be **effectuated**, giving priority to the indispensable while not forgetting the other thing that may also be necessary.

While criticizing our scientific workers on this question, the comrades of the Ministry of Education and Culture have their own shortcomings, too, just, as those of the Institute of **History and Philology**, of the University, of the various Chairs. If they are to redress their errors more aid should be given to them by the Propaganda sectors of the Central

Committee, the Party School and the Institute of Marxism-Leninism.

It seems to me that the reconsideration of the orientations and the actual practice in the study of many problems should be taken up as a matter of great importance. We cannot say that nothing is done in these directions, but for various reasons measures are not properly carried out. In my opinion, the main reason is that, in handling these difficult and complicated problems, the apposite directives and orientations issued by the Central Committee are not delved deeply into, are not analyzed thoroughly and extensively. This is of great importance since we have to rectify many practices and methods already established, which cannot be done away with easily, the more so as in these questions intrude also old forms and methods, acquired from the different schools in which many of our people have been educated. It is difficult for them to detach themselves from things and forms which they have been used to for years on end.

Among the intellectuals in general (and ours, too, cannot make an exception) there exists a feeling of intellectual conservatism and egotism, a sort of pride in their intellectual capabilities and the forms and methods they use, not to speak of established ideas and thoughts which constitute the chief question of the problem. Therefore, it is indispensable that the directives and orientations of the Central Committee be profoundly studied so as ideas get clarified and forms and texts be cleaned of all rubbish; new and just criteria of work be set up, and work be carried out in an organized way through

concrete measures. When the Party says that exaggerations, cumbersome and often erroneous things should be done away with from school texts, it raises a major and difficult problem from the ideological, pedagogical and technical angles. What is being done with this problem? I do not know how seriously the Ministry of Education and Culture has taken it up, but I see only in the Youth Union's newspaper some column and in the periodical «Mësuesi» (The Teacher) casual and superficial opinions of some teachers dedicated to this question. The problem cannot be solved in this way.

I raise these questions here because they must not be considered as matters restricted only to one sector, as things which can be solved by mobilizing only certain persons of the educational sector, but they constitute a key problem having for its great object the education, along Marxist-Leninist lines, of entire generations who are to be endowed with a new ethics, with a new world-outlook through new forms and methods which we must not take over from others, saying that such they are here or there, but must instead judge how they ought to be with us: whether they are suitable for us, how much they serve us and how they must serve us better under our concrete circumstances and situations. These are, first and foremost, Party questions because to the Party falls the heavy load and the great duty of educating the cadres and the masses.

And when I say that it is the Party's duty to take this question seriously in its hand, this must be rightly understood, because it is not properly

and adequately understood by all. The regional Party organs — from the grass root organizations to the Party committees — think only how to carry out (of course, with many shortcomings, too) and not to create, to suggest, to criticize, in a word, to give a more efficient help to the center in its endeavours of moulding and remoulding the new man of socialism and communism.

When we say that our writers should go down to the grass root levels, because it is there that they will find a fresh and pure fount of inspiration, then what must we say of the hundreds and thousands of comrades who live there together with the people? Are they not builders of new souls much more qualified than some writers or poets? But if such a task is to be accomplished well by the communists, people, work, realizations, decisions, directives, all of them must be looked into from all angles, must be delved deep into always drawing prudent conclusions and generalizations, which are so very necessary. This task is the more important as it is relying on these numerous and correct generalizations that the Party will make its efforts with respect to what I said above: to build and instruct in conformity with our reality and serving our reality.

Let us take for example a very important and acute problem facing the Party: the awakening and progress of the mountain regions and, in the first place, of the Highlands of the North. This vast economic and social problem cannot be solved in the way others have solved it, but we must solve it ourselves under our own actual circumstances,

taking into account our peculiarities, our concrete possibilities, utilizing our own experience and carrying out experiments in our conditions. Every good thing acquired from the experience of others is to be welcomed, provided that it serves as aid and not as a cliché.

We must root and temper in our northern highlanders our new world-outlook, our new ethics, our new socialist methods of construction and production in an enlarged socialist economy. In order to achieve this in the shortest time possible, in order to do away with the backwardness in these regions, the Party is utilizing and must utilize all the means, forms and methods it disposes, and even work out new ones from the experience it has gained.

We follow many paths and we must find out many more new methods for the education of the masses in general and the highlanders in particular who are to be imbued with the principles of the new economy, of the new ethics and the socialist education and culture. In these regions the Party must first educate itself and then educate the cadres and the masses, and this must be done in various forms — in individual and massive forms of all kinds.

If these educational forms are to give the desired result, the Party must be clearly acquainted with the mentality and conditions in the Highland regions, and upon this first-hand knowledge of the situation must be built every action and form of work.

The mountaineers possess many valuable and

noble qualities which the Party must preserve while, at the same time, cleaning them from old survivals which often smear them. The other task, just as big, if not bigger, is that of endowing our highlanders with features to be added to their former qualities, which, because of many economic and social circumstances, they have not been able to develop and polish.

The mountaineers, both men and women, are clever, sharp and brave people; they are faithful, loyal, prudent and silent, they have been heavily tried by the economic difficulties of the past and by feudal and clerical oppression. These are problems of great social importance and the Party must delve deep into them because these features of the mountaineers were created precisely under the specific economic and local conditions in which their social condition developed in the past leaving its imprints in the character of the people, in their world-outlook, in their way of production, of living, etc.

In the pride and self-respect of the mountaineers we will detect also the influence of feudal lordism, of the patriarchal and tribal authority established by the Code, the pronounced vestiges of the vainglory and self-conceit of grand seigniority. In the «calm and reserved nature of the peasantry» we should detect the feeling of the isolated life, shut within its own shell in the highlands, the limited development of social and family life in bitter battle to protect themselves from the feudal-bourgeois social order. All this and others have left deep impressions which is up to us to uproot from the mentality of the peasants of our

highlands, for only in this way will we clear the road to socialist progress.

We are faced with the task of carefully re-educating the old communists in the mountain regions because the poor work done when these regions were still not collectivized has left them with many shortcomings and alien concepts, such as patriarchal concepts about the Party and the notion that being a Party member is compatible with the bourgeois ideas of authority, of property, of commandeering, of exploiting Party functions for personal interest. Being charged with this great task, the Party must see to the massive training of the mountaineers through schooling and their radical political and ideological education, aiming at fighting and doing away with conservatism, archaism, patriarchalism and chieftainship in their ideology and family life, at systematically fighting religion, mysticism, liturgy and the routine of religious practices in their overt and covert forms.

The Party has established and uses a series of forms and methods for this struggle and education, such as schools of general instruction, the development of culture through the use of different mass media, which we must deepen and perfect in all directions. Courses of various nature are, likewise, a very good means of educating people.

All this is good work and we must persistently perfect it, but we must work out such forms as to include all the masses in this great revival. General schooling is an example of the massive education of the young people. The participation of the youth in general and of the mountain youth

in particular in national mass actions is, likewise, one of the best forms of mass education which we must continue to develop, especially for the young people of the Highlands.

We witnessed to the great effect the participation of the Highland lasses in railroad building produced not only in the girls themselves but in their villages and their families as well. Therefore, we must continue these practices and organize them always better. But we should not think that we have thus left nothing unaccomplished and that our mountain boys and girls have done away with all evil survivals in their consciences, have broken down the open or silent pressure exerted by and the prejudices existing with the people of their village and their family. The resistance of the old world is strongest in the Highlands. This must be broken down. But the greatest resistance comes from old people. Then let us use for them also the methods and forms that we use for the young: mass actions — not on a national scale but within each of their agricultural cooperatives. Cooperation permits mass actions and mass education. We are running seminaries of cadres, we are sending cadres to the Highlands (indeed we are, as yet, sending but few of them), we are making them acquainted with the experience of the advanced cooperatives. We must continue these undertakings, but they are insufficient; therefore, let us initiate the following experience and utilize it as a form of a many-sided massive education, especially in mountain regions.

Let us organize squads of grown-up men and

women and send them from the Highland cooperatives to work for a month or two in the most advanced cooperatives in our Highlands or Lowlands, in Middle or South Albania. Other squads of the same number of men and women from the latter should go to work in mountain cooperatives. In this way, we suffer no economic losses, because work-days are reciprocally registered, and the expenses for the daily feeding of each cooperative member are duly compensated since both parties concerned will eat and live in each other's families.

But which is the major profit of the action I propose? First, the exchange of agricultural experience on a massive scale. Our northern highlanders get acquainted with the South and southern people with the North, they will strengthen their brotherly and friendly ties among them. The mountaineer, who is in greater need of such an experience, will see and lead a life which in many respects is altogether different from his own, will learn how his southern brothers think about many life problems and, as a consequence, will reason and will begin to think differently about many things. On their part, those from the South will not only learn from the highlanders, but will teach the latter, in a massive way, many things about life, many new customs and agricultural methods. Taking only the mountaineers, their education through this form will achieve two objectives: what they themselves will profit in the South and what their southern friends will impart to their families in the North. The people of the South and of the North will be more deeply educated ideologically, will become

more conscious about their prospects of development and the benefits of collectivization on a broad national scale.

Thus we break down many obstacles: we break down the resistance that may be offered to the progressive innovations in the Highlands, we do away with their feeling of solitude and isolation, we strengthen the love of our people for one another, we open new horizons to our Highland people, because from these travels they will not only learn, sharpen their minds, but, at the same time, they will come to know the majesty and force of their Party and their Homeland. Emerging from their small world into the big World, they feel and understand the great creative force of the Party, the force and ability of the working class, their leader and ally. If the Party understands this question well and organizes to the smallest details the work of the northern mountaineers in the families where they are going to live, their political and family life, so that the time passed there be turned into an actual school for the guests, then the benefit derived from this practice shall be inestimable.

The Party, illuminated by Marxism-Leninism, must dedicate all its energies and capabilities to the cause of elevating the people to a higher political and ideological level, so that they may successfully shoulder the construction of socialism and communism. We must never forget that we are a small island, but on a granite bedrock in the midst of a vast ocean with mad billows, which we must breast through and triumph over. We must

not forget what happened with the Soviet Union and the other countries where the revisionists rule. After half a century the Soviet Union, the country of the Soviets, was overrun by counterrevolution. Tens and hundreds of thousands of cadres (I speak here of the best ones) were stunned and fell under the heel of the counterrevolutionary modern revisionists. The others betrayed the revolution. The Soviet people, who made the revolution, who built up socialism, who won the war against nazism, are today under the yoke of their revisionist rulers, in general perplexed and silent. This must never happen to us, and that it may not happen, the Party must be tempered continuously, it must temper its men, the cadres, all the people *en masse*, it must lead them incessantly into struggle, into revolution, it must keep them on the alert, sharpen their minds, their courage, their faith, their initiative, their responsibility, it must train them to fight fiercely against any enemy, against any trend hostile to the Party and socialism, it must not let people slumber on laurels, it must not let their consciences get rusty but it must make them able to face any situation endowing them with a pure conscience and with the most modern notion of technique and culture. This is the surest guarantee for our forward march along the trail blazed for us by the Party.

NOTE

1) Speech made at the meeting of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Party of Labor of Albania on January 13, 1968.

WORKING CLASS CONTROL¹⁾

In the article of March 24, 1968 published in «Zëri i Popullit»*) concerning the counter-revolutions unfolding in the revisionist countries, stress has been laid on the question of the working class in the Soviet Union and in the other countries where the revisionists are in power. Among other things, that article intends, first, to show whence comes that apathy, that sluggishness of the working class in these countries in the face of that tragedy, of that treachery to the working class and its party, and, second, to call the attention of our Party to the dangerous situations it maybe involved in case it does not prove to be vigilant, in case it is not on the forefront of the revolutionary struggle and in case this struggle is not led by the working class and its party.²⁾

I will not repeat these questions today, but I call on the Party and the working class to reflect deeply on them and not to think that, inasmuch as

*) Organ of the Central Committee of the Party of Labor of Albania.

these things happen in the revisionist parties, «they have no relation whatever to our Party and our country, that no danger whatsoever threatens our Party and our country», etc.

At the end, the same article points out in brief also the measures that our Party has adopted, the method and style of work it resorts to in order to prevent the revisionist diseases from spreading, striking root and jeopardizing the construction of socialism and communism in our country. This conclusion about an actual situation should not create a sort of sickly self-satisfaction and the conviction, that inasmuch as we have found the remedy, we are fully immunized and everything will go smoothly, without brain-raking, without struggle, without efforts. Let us not be surprised, for there are people who do think in this way, and there are also such who do not only think in this way but act accordingly and, in one way or another, distort the Party directives. But the overwhelming majority earnestly think about and concern themselves with these vital problems which deal with the defence of the revolutionary line of the Party and with barring the road to each and every manifestation of revisionism. Among this majority, there are politically and ideologically-minded persons who deeply understand that the political and ideological uplift and the class consciousness are the principal, most decisive questions, and thus, having correctly understood it, devote special attention to this problem. But there are also people who, in face of other problems, forget this thing, and pro-

ceed from the principle that this job is someone else's concern.

This decisive question, for everybody, this key to the settlement of every problem, with which everybody must be concerned, must deeply reflect on and take an active part in, is divided by such people into special compartments, into commissions, sub-commissions and the forms of work are not considered by them as means, but as special separate sectors, like the card sections of libraries. This is a dangerous practice because, inadvertently, they reach the viewpoint that the first and the last persons responsible for good or evil, whether things go well or badly in this or that sector, are those persons, committees or commissions that have been charged with responsibility for that job. Such a thing leads to detachment from the masses and to failure to discharge the duties properly.

The comrades of the Trade Unions are raising certain problems today at the Secretariat. I have always been of the opinion, and I again stress it, that it is not necessary to submit to the Secretariat generalized reports which explain nothing, with repetitions of the directives it has itself used and, only after all this, submit to it a really important problem.

What we want is to have an open report about one or even ten problems, to have the situation fully explained to us, to have a clear opinion expressed about problems so that we, too, can profit by the experiences, reflect on them, and be able to contribute some thought or advice.

Dealing with the worker control in general,

the Trade Union comrades arrive at the conclusion that «the worker control commissions³) that have been created yield no results; not only this, they have become bureaucratic elements, they have eliminated the grass root control, they have **replaced** the Trade Union committees; people from the administration have entered them, even as heads of these commissions» and, consequently, the spirit of bureaucracy has entered these commissions **which** pose to be commissions of workers. In such a situation there are marked manifestations of revenge towards the workers' criticism, which are expressed in a refined manner in everyday life. **This** is a serious problem which we must analyze. The Trade Union comrades could have gone straight into the subject and left out the unnecessary preamble.

According to what the Trade Union comrades tell us about these commissions, and considering the way they act in practice, as well as the request of these comrades to give our opinion as to whether they should be permanent or not, I think that far from being permanent, they should even be replaced by direct worker control.

If we were to accept the existence of commissions made up only of workers and did **not** introduce into them administration officials, **this form** would be better than the form which is criticized, but again the working class should not rest assured that, inasmuch as it has assigned to the commission 5 or 10 workers, everything will go smoothly. If it thinks in this way, this will lead to what I said above, to forms of compartmentilization.

The various commissions we set up may be

changed, may be improved. Their good functioning, however, does not depend only on their form but on the correct understanding of the aim they serve, on the persons employed in them, on their political and ideological uplift and their class consciousness. And, finally and above all, whether these commissions will work well or badly depends on the control of the masses on them and on the assistance given to them by the working class itself and the Party.

But, I think, this problem is vaster than the question of the workers' commissions. The leadership and control exercised by the working class and the Party on everything and everybody, on the cadres, forums, administrations, commissions, must be complete, without any loopholes; it must be decisive. This requires, in the first place, the greatest care and attention so that the working class and its Party should rise to a high political and ideological level, that their class consciousness should be constantly tempered. It is not sufficient just to say or to learn by heart some known theoretical principles confirming the great truth that «the working class and its Party are in power», but this should be effectively realized in everything. Such a thing becomes a reality only through revolutionary struggle, through a deep revolutionary education and, these two, properly interwoven, should repel and defeat all danger. The Party and our working class that are in power are resolutely advancing on this road. We have scored successes, but we have also many shortcomings, there is yet much to do. We have to make still greater efforts

so that the Party organizations and the Trade Unions thoroughly understand these problems and inculcate them into the heads of the masses and, first of all, of the working class.

The worker control, if I am not mistaken, is understood narrowly by the Party and the Trade Unions. The principles I mentioned above, namely, that «the working class and its Party are in power», that «politics are in the forefront», are being pointed out in theory, but in practice, in actual life, they are not sufficiently understood and comprehensive measures are not taken to enable the working class and its allies not only to properly understand them, but also to carry them out in practice, as they should do, so that they and their Party should become the real guarantee of the implementation of these principles.

In the first place, it seems to me that there is something amiss in the work of the Party organizations, in their concern for the cause of the working class, for the guidance of its political and ideological education, which I consider as their main duty. I do not mean that the Party does not concern itself in general with the political education of the working class, but that it does not concern itself sufficiently and in a special manner. The Party is doing good work with regard to the organization of training-courses, schools, seminars for the Party members, although there is still much to be done. In a word, the communists are educated in different forms, politically and ideologically. Thus, particular concern is shown for the education of the working class leadership and of the

cadres. This is of primary importance, for it is a fact that the more politically-minded and tempered the Party and its cadres are, the better they discharge their duties, the stronger and more tempered our working class will be. Without the Party, without its cadres, we shall be unable to carry out properly the political and ideological education of the masses. However, if not properly organized also within the ranks of the working class, if left to its own fate, or, worse still, if we rest content with having fixed some forms or having appointed some propagandists, who are not assisted and controlled in their work, then this education becomes formal, without sound foundations, and the discrepancy between the ideological and political levels of the cadres and the bulk of the working class is not diminished.

The Party organizations are not doing this job well, and we have criticized them many times. This is reflected in the fact that the Party member does not give his maximum in organized work in the Trade Union organization. The communists there do not distinguish themselves as an organized body acting for the systematic, planned, and programmatic education of the working class. The District Party Committees, in most cases, consider this class education as if it were not one of their great tasks, because, allegedly, the Party has created the Trade Unions, has charged them particularly with this job, has given them some cadres, some forms of organizations and competences and has let them go. This is true, and the Trade Unions and their cadres bear a great responsibility if they

do not perform their duty (and I am of the opinion that they do not perform it as they should), but this cannot relieve the Party of its responsibility. And it is a fact that as long as the Party members do not attach importance to the Trade Unions, which is required to properly carry out their great tasks, they only confirm the insufficient concern shown by the Party organizations in such an important question as that of the political and ideological education of the working class.

Although criticized, the Trade Unions, too, organize training courses, seminars and lectures which in spite of their shortcomings are not inefficient. But I think that, if the Party is to make a closer approach of these forms, it will certainly arrive at the conclusion that they are not precisely the ones we want, and in this direction we must seriously help.

The question of the education of the Party in the spirit of our ideology is under our constant consideration. We correct it, supplement it, and we are quite right in this. The same thing we do for the education of youth, whereas, as far as the working class is concerned, although we keep saying on every occasion that «it is the class», «it is the basis» we do not sufficiently concern ourselves with the question of its ideological and political education. It must be said that even Trade Union comrades, on whom this is especially incumbent, are but slightly concerned with all this and do not sufficiently raise their voices in the Party and in State organs not just asking for one or two cadres to be sent to them, but demanding a radical change in

the existing state of things. And such a situation has to be changed without fail.

I propose to the Party and the Trade Union organs in the center, districts and at the grass root to take into due consideration both content and forms of the political and ideological education they import to the working class and to establish, as far as the seniority at work and the schooling of the working class allow us, the same criteria as we have established for the Party. The Party cannot advance without the masses just as it cannot be raised ideologically leaving the working class at a low level. Should this happen, then many evils lie in store for us.

We must never feel satisfied with the fact that in general our working class knows that it is in power jointly with its Party, that the dictatorship of the proletariat is its dictatorship, that socialism is its social order. No, we must make sure that it understands these questions thoroughly and delves deep into them, grasps them aright, integrates them with actual life, carries them out in practice, struggling always in the van to defend them.

In the analysis of the present state of the ideological and political education of our working class, we shall detect many shortcomings, much formalism, and even lack of perspective. We must not proceed from the principle that things are going well and as a result, education and tempering without making any great efforts, should go well, too. We cannot solve our problems in such a way.

Our working class stands in great need of being imbued with its class ideology, with its class norms,

with its class revolutionary vigor and courage. Here we must not nurse any illusions, for this would damage us badly. We must take our working class just as it is and not as it should be, but we should make the present working class as it ought to be. It is not, therefore, sufficient to say that «the working class is in power», and thus think that it has all its class qualities tempered from every point of view. True, our working class has seized the power, it is in power, it has in its hands every means and every possibility to build up a classless society, to build up socialism and communism, but, to succeed in this, it must, in the first place temper itself and then temper the masses after its own example. This is the great task of our Party and our working class.

But we must not forget our reality. Our working class is comparatively young. We must always bear these facts in mind in our work, for only in this way shall we see the importance of the tasks which the Party must accomplish. In our country, the working class, as such, was formed and grew up only after the liberation of the homeland and during the gradual creation of our socialist industry. A small part of our working class comes from workers or small craftsmen, who have experienced the oppression of the bourgeoisie and exploiters. Its other overwhelming part comes from peasants and poor town-dwellers who, too, have experienced the capitalist and landlord oppression and exploitation. A considerable part of our working class, whether of worker, peasant or town origin, has participated in the liberation war, under the leadership of the

Party. Herein lies one of the main features of our working class. The other great supplementary tempering is the whole period of the struggle for the construction of socialism. But while the younger generation of our working class has this good origin, which is its great asset, this younger generation is born, brought up and ushered into the ranks of the working class under the socialist regime, it has not experienced capitalist oppression and exploitation.

Through these few remarks I do not intend to make a deep analysis of the composition of our working class, but I want to point out that this make up or this formation of the class in development has brought with it into its ranks also many petty-bourgeois vestiges and viewpoints which damage that cohesion, that consciousness and discipline of the class which we want to create. These vestiges in the consciousness of the workers cannot be liquidated without the political and ideological struggle of the Party, without a deep and manysided struggle, without a very persistent political and ideological education.

We must bear in mind also that our workers do not only carry over vestiges and preserve them, if we do not eliminate them, but they constantly get other vestiges from society, if we do not systematically educate this society, too, with the real features of the man of socialist society, with the class features, with the class ideology, with the healthy features of our Party. Hence I want to stress that ideological and political education is a big, vast

problem and, therefore, we should take hold of the whole chain and not only one or two of its links. We must know how to get hold properly of the main things, but we should not throw into oblivion and fail to coordinate, to help or check the other things as well. Headed by the Party, which must keep an eye on everything and give concrete help to all the mass organizations, we must center our attention, in the first place, on the ideological and political education of the masses, of men and women, and cadres.

It is a major fact that we have a heroic working class, with a great revolutionary spirit and courage, we have a working class closely connected with its Party and its people, we have a working class which is making marvellous progress in the field of technology. In this sense, it has a high political consciousness. These are its positive aspects. But we should not forget the negative aspects which I mentioned above. The first danger lies in the fact that the working class, knowing that it is in power jointly with its own Party, feels itself safe or does not place politics in the forefront and engages itself only with economism, with its particular problems, or attaches main importance to these alone. The second danger comes from the fact that the masses of workers might shut themselves up in the shell of their own enterprise and of those with which the enterprise maintains economic ties, and might fail to attach sufficient importance to their decisive role as a leading class, destined by history not only to work in the factory, but, by working in the factory, to direct all sectors, and

have everybody follow its road and that of its Party, in factories, in fields, in the administration, in schools and everywhere else.

The working class must understand its tasks and role both in and out of the factory. Within the factory we have much to do, for there, too, we are slaves to some forms of work and education which do not yield the required results, and we continue to preserve them. The flash bulletins, which are a form of education through public criticism, have remained largely formal. When a criticism is made by some worker, it is considered as a personal question, and it is not ardently discussed so that, from a personal problem, political conclusions may be drawn for education purposes. The director, the official, or the worker who are criticized take offence and prepare to wreak revenge in various ways. All this is considered on a petty-bourgeois personal plane (sometimes it may be such a thing), and this opportunity is not seized to develop political and ideological debates so that the collective can be tempered. Such questions should become problems, not only inside the enterprise, but also outside it. They should cover all the manifestations of life where the strength of the working class should unite and the latter be everywhere in the forefront, distinguishing itself by its courage and maturity, its modesty and toughness when Party line and norms are violated.

Of course, in a collective of workers, such as that of the briquetting factory in Tirana, where, failing to eliminate bureaucracy, they embarked on an anti-economic practice for lack of coal dust to

turn into briquettes (the factory was erected for this purpose) they took coal and, after having crushed turned it into pieces of coal again. It is self-evident that the political work there is not up to the mark, that economism and the narrow interests of the enterprise reign supreme there.

I insist on the main point that the Party should ensure and steel its unity with the class, and this must be concretely and firmly based on our Marxist-Leninist ideology and policy. The Party cadres, who are its great asset, must thoroughly understand this major problem ideologically and politically, for, if they understand it in this way, there will never be any danger of detachment of the Party from the class or of the cadres from the masses.

It is not sufficient just to say that «the cadres educate the masses and they learn from the masses». This must really happen and not the contrary. There are many obstacles in this direction. In his feelings and tastes, man is a complicated being, he is a wonderful and, at the same time, a complex creature. Therefore, the Party, which carries the heavy but noble burden of forging the new man, must do very, very careful, thoughtful and principled work for this purpose.

In a conclusion, the Party and Trade Union organizations which we are taking into consideration today, must, in the first place, concern themselves especially with the ideological and political uplifting of our men and women. This will properly resolve every problem, inasmuch as it is closely connected with the work and achievements, with the creative work of our people. Man compre-

hends and creates, therefore, the more ideologically and politically-minded he is, the better will all our affairs go.

I think the Trade Unions, aided by the Party, must reexamine still more deeply their activity and make it conform better and more correctly with the Party line and with the new conditions of the development of our society. In our Trade Unions there may exist many erroneous and out-dated vestiges from the old Soviet experience, vestiges which, with the laps of time, have been clad in our clothes, so to speak, and which persist and continue to impede.

If we take the question of the concern of the Trade Unions about the economic problems of the workers down to the tiniest details, if I am not mistaken, these economic problems in the Trade Unions have pushed aside their great concern about the ideological and political uplifting of the working class. Let me explain, it is not that the Trade Unions must not concern themselves with the economic problems of the State, of the factory or the workers, for without concerning themselves about them, without knowing them, they cannot do their fundamental ideological and political work. But it seems to me that their tendencies are in the direction of concern about these questions alone, while the political work is allowed either to turn into mere formulae or be weakly integrated with life and practice, and does not venture at all outside the spheres of factory production. The cadres working in the Trade Union organizations, if I am not mistaken, have adopted these tendencies as their

own. They are not without experience, but they should reflect about their work and, without forgetting the work and struggle in the economy, should turn their face more towards politics and ideology. They should think about how to prepare themselves on a firm basis in this direction for their own education, so that in their turn they will be able to educate the working class and really become a transmission belt of the Party line.

What I said about the working class, that the latter should not understand only in principle that it is in power, is still more true of the Trade Union cadres, who must be purged of the dangerous vestiges of arrogance and detachment from the masses, of the morbid familiarity with the individuals of the District Party Committee, or with the management of the enterprise. Those comrades, too, whether or not of worker origin, with a long worker record, be they chief engineers, masters or middle technicians, are not rendered immune from these diseases and are protected only when they live and work with the masses.

It happens many times that we say these things in principle, but when it is a question of raising the voice against the leadership of the enterprise or of the Government department about mistakes, about violations of laws or orders, the Trade Union leaders take up these things among themselves, in their own circles, never raising them properly before the workers, simply saying, and indeed they claim by this to have discharged their duty, that they «have raised the question one or ten times with the director, the vice-director, the committee».

But because measures were not taken at the Poligani plant, for example, we had two workers killed. Had they raised the question before the workers and had the working class banged its fist on the table, the barracks would have been built in due time, the bureaucrats would have been given their due and the workers would not have been killed.

But why do they not do this thing? Because they have no correct conceptions about bureaucracy and about how it must be fought against; they have no correct conceptions about the working class and its strength, they have incorrect conceptions about the Party, etc., and they think that, if they tell the working class to bang its fist on the table against the bureaucrats, whoever they may be, the working class is rising against the Party. Indeed, they reach the position of confusing the Party and its line, with one or one-hundred persons who are not good and who do harm to the Party and to the work.

Only a thorough-going political and ideological work by the Party, by the Trade Unions and by all the other mass organizations, tempers the man, tempers the Party and the class, strengthens socialism and scores continuous successes in every field.

The only problem raised in the report presented to us by the Trade Union comrades is the question of the «workers commissions», which, although called «workers commissions» are a bureaucratic form. Much is said about the fight against bureaucracy, which the Party has raised forcefully, but this fight is badly understood. Precisely at a time when it is being said that the fight against bureaucratism is understood aright in principle and in

practice, bureaucratism is being fostered by the State apparatuses, Government departments, etc., and this state of things is simply approved even by the District Party Committees. In the economic enterprises there have been created not only one but many superfluous commissions. The management of the enterprises must be keen, operative and take its competences and duties well in hand, doing the work with a limited administrative personnel. It creates the technical council. The very title determines the aims of this council, which are correct. But in fact, this so-called technical council has been turned into a bureaucratic one. This council has taken into its hands the appointment and transfer of cadres, the remuneration of the workers, the approval of annual holidays, the appointment of the personnel, even up to the adoption of administrative measures against the workers. From the one management we had, we have now two of them; instead of one bureaucracy we now have two bureaucracies.

But this is not all; there is more. There has been created also a «threefold» form of work, as it is called, consisting of the director, the secretary of the basic Party organization and the Chairman of the Trade Union Committee. In partnership, this trio violates democracy, the rules, the line, alleging that it acts in an operative way, but to be more accurate, there are three persons making the law and carrying it out all by themselves. This form of work has reduced the Party guidance in the enterprise into guidance by the secretary of the basic Party organization, who is everywhere but at the head of

the basic Party organization; he is in the «trio», he is in the technical council⁴) where he has brought with him one or two members of the Party organization bureau, and it is self-evident why he has brought them there, for he has passed the Party competences over to the technical council. This is the more true as the secretary of the basic Party organization and its bureau most of the time hold their meetings jointly with this technical council.

Allow me to dwell on this question, for I think that it is not a mere record of facts but a result of some unclear viewpoints that the comrades have on the Party line.

Why should the secretary of the basic organization or of the Party committee and the factory, at the enterprise or the cooperative be appointed also a member of all the commissions, which are created for the proper advancement of the work? Why does the secretary duly or unduly convert himself from a person elected by the Party as a Party leader and worker, into a State official, into a man of office? This draws its source from the incorrect understanding of the role of the Party, of its guidance and control; from the incorrect understanding of the secretary's duties and competences. How does this happen? Quite simply, but very wrongly. They put the secretary in all these positions, for they think, and think mistakenly, that without the presence of the secretary in them the Party is not in the lead in practice. This means that the secretary is the Party, the secretary is the line, the secretary is the control, he is everything and should be everywhere. That is why it is often

requested that the secretary should be freed from all other work, for he is allegedly **very busy**, and in fact he is in the places where he should be and also where he should not.

When a comrade is elected by the organization as secretary, he is vested with such a great authority that he forgets his duties towards the Party and the electors; in many cases he becomes conceited and thinks that he is more capable than anybody else, inasmuch as the Party elected him as secretary. He forgets that the Party has in its ranks men still more capable whom it has assigned to various jobs, not less trusted than he is politically. Such a wrong viewpoint about the secretary, incites him to think as follows: «As they have elected me secretary, I am the main guarantee of the Party line; therefore, I must be everywhere, to control anyone»; and he forgets that the main guarantee and the only reliable one of the correct implementation of the Party line is the Party itself, the working class, the communists, and the workers, and cooperative peasants. The Party ranks count not only the secretary, but also the manager of the factory or enterprise, the chairman of the cooperative, the men of the executive committee, etc., and all of them have just as much as, if not more, responsibility than the secretary before the Party and the State for the correct implementation of the Party line and for its control. It may be said that they may err. But the secretary may err, too, while the basic organization of the Party, the collective, do not err, or can err very little, perhaps a few times and for a certain period, but not for long.

In this way it must be understood that things go well in the factory not because the secretary is good, but because everybody, ranging from the sweeper to the manager, is good, because the Party organization and the working class are good, and a contribution has been made to this by the communist and non Party worker, by the manager and the foreman, and by everybody else.

Such ideas about the secretaries and among the secretaries, underestimate the Party, the class and the mass, cause the secretaries or the bureaux to forget and neglect their real duties, which are precisely the following: they should aid the Party and the class to be strengthened and educated. But even in regard to this great function, these comrades elected to the Party forums should never think that they do everything and that without them nothing could be done. They should always consider themselves below the experience and the great capacity of the Party, of the working class and of the masses.

Therefore, secretaries of basic organizations addicted to to such practices, who feel themselves entitled to intervene in all the State or technical organs of their enterprise, although the Party has comrades both competent and politically trusted in these organs and to set up closed groups of three or four persons, or all sorts of commissions with a morbid spirit of familiarity among their members, being vested with power and Party functions, go so far as to think that they can settle everything, that they are at the same time technicians, organizers and Party leaders and therefore their decisions must be valid and the masses must obey them, or they

take their decisions to lower levels for approval, they do this just for the sake of form. Thus, it is they that make the law in the factory and not the Party and the working class, one cannot criticize them, otherwise they would wreak revenge. The workers, seeing the members of the «trio» etc. tête-à-tête, in intimate relations among themselves, feel frustrated and slacken their spirit of unity, their vigilance, their revolutionary drive. They begin to think of themselves as individuals and say: «Don't speak up, don't criticize, otherwise they will do away with you».

Look, comrades, how dangerous they become, these erroneous viewpoints and these wrong practices of work, if they are allowed to strike root, as if it were nothing wrong. We must radically purge ourselves of these viewpoints and erroneous organizational forms. At the present stage, we should neither confuse nor identify the control by the state organs with the control by the Party, by the working class and the masses. It is still necessary that they should act in parallel.

It is necessary also that the secretaries of the District Party Committees, the persons of these committees should keep in touch not only with the secretaries of basic organizations or the members of their bureaux but, I think that in all contacts with them they should also invite rank and file communists workers and cooperative members, to solicit their opinions and have talks with them and not necessarily with those the secretary chooses. These contacts should not necessarily be conducted as official meetings. It is very necessary to use this

form of work and strengthen the ties between the leadership and the basis of the Party not only in the forms of work we have established but also in such forms which give no opportunity to secretaries of the Party basic organizations to be infested with the malady of settling matters tête-à-tête and behind closed doors. Through this practice we give them to understand that the problems are solved and should be solved together with the masses of the Party and of the class and in order to do this they should earnestly keep them informed, to discuss with them, solicit their opinions and then to decide. We should learn that it is not we, the leadership, alone who decide but it is the Party, it is the class that decides. As its members, we also discuss, we draw conclusions and take decisions but never to suit our whim and disregard the wishes, will and line of the Party, of the working class.

In this way we shall avoid the emergence of bureaucrats, of megalomaniacs, of prepotent and arbitrary individuals. Principal Party cadres in districts also fall into such errors as did, for example, a district Party secretary who, when two communists had a fight (although, their case should, of course, be analyzed) ordered imperatively the basic organization to hold a meeting within 24 hours in order to expel them from the Party and the court of justice to meet and pass a sentence on them.

In a word, there are cadres who speak against bureaucracy, who speak of inner Party democracy, who speak of the voice of the masses, of Party rules, etc, etc, but who simply forget them, violate the Party directive, badly

distort them and establish, in incorrect ways and forms, a group of bureaucratic leaders, lords of and above everything, who tell the Party and the working class: «Do as we tell you, for directives and lectures are only gargle to clear your throats».

Is such a thing done for hostile purpose? No, I am sure that it is not. But it means committing grave mistakes, committing errors encroaching on the Party line, which must be immediately mended.

Why, then, do certain people commit such errors against the Party line while they are not enemies? They commit them because they do not reflect, they commit them because they neglect their own political and ideological development, because they become conceited and think foolishly that, as they have become leaders, they should also be politically and ideologically more enlightened than others. In their studies these comrades do not delve deep into the directives of the Central Committee and the Congress of the Party; they think that those are easy understandable at first reading, and they are even prepared to deliver windy lectures, with no feeling of responsibility and doing nothing to discharge themselves of the obligation they have to thoroughly study the great experience of the Party. These comrades act in this way since they not only do not understand the importance of politics and ideology, since they not only understand this education as something detached and a thing in itself, but because they go so far as to think and act in fact as if politics and ideology had nothing to do with their enterprise or the factory. And so they freely call for the setting

up of all sorts of commissions, for giving them all kinds of competences, thus divesting the Party, the working class, the Trade Unions of their roles.

We must consider, comrades, whether all these commissions and committees we have in our enterprises or factories which, including also those of youth and women, may also amount to tens, help the work, help the direct activization of the masses, of the class and the Party, or do they curb it and give rise to the opinion that everything is settled by commissions or committees, provided that they are elected in «democratic forms»? Do all these out of place commissions promote the real proletarian democracy of the Party, the conscious class discipline of the working people, or do they give rise to a false situation, a situation of coercion, to a discipline and democracy purely formal and administrative?

Comrades, we must be very careful regarding these problems, for they are political problems. An exceptionally great solicitude must be displayed especially by the central administrations, such as the Ministry of Industry and Mining, etc. At the same time, it is very bad that District Party Committees do not take immediate measures, I say to take immediate measures and not only signalize, so that such things may be avoided.

We are a country of the dictatorship of the proletariat led by the Party of Labor of Albania. This means that the working class headed by its Party is leading the construction of socialism in alliance with the laboring peasantry. In glaring contrast with the modern revisionists who say that the

dictatorship of the proletariat no longer exists, that the State is dwindling away, that the Party of the proletariat in these circumstances can no longer have either the class make-up or the functions of a proletarian Party, due to the withering away of the dictatorship or to the transformation of society, that, consequently, the party has become a party of the entire people and the State a State of the entire people, in our country the dictatorship of the proletariat exists and will exist, the Marxist-Leninist class Party exists and will exist in the lead, and the working class power will exist. The real socialist State cannot be identified or mentioned in the same breath, as the modern revisionists and, especially, the Yugoslav revisionists want it to, with the capitalist bourgeois State which has to face the working class, or with the «new bureaucracy» allegedly created in socialism and which also has to face the working class. Prattling about such anti-Marxist theories, they have arrived at the «worker self-management» theory, which means smashing centralized planning allegedly to fight this «new bureaucracy», allegedly to have the working class of a given enterprise directly administer the profit surplus, which means accumulation. With this anti-Marxist theory they embark on the true capitalist road of giving rise to and strengthening the new capitalist class. This process of transformation of the former socialist countries into capitalist countries began in Yugoslavia and is extensively and rapidly developing in the Soviet Union, Czechoslovakia, Poland and elsewhere. Our Party is courageously fighting against this treacherous trend,

defending and consistently implementing Marxism-Leninism.

The harmonious development of socialism in our country, led by our Marxist-Leninist Party, confirms the indispensability of the existence of the strong and undeviating dictatorship of the proletariat, of the party of the class definitely in the lead, of the existence of the socialist State. The road mapped out and pursued by our Party with great consistency in the direction of socialist economy, in its progressive and centralized development, in the expansion of social production, always taking account of the needs of society, in general, and of the working people, in particular, has resulted in achieving great successes. The Party, by its correct line and revolutionary vigor, sees to it that the process of the country's socialist development should not change into a bureaucratic process, that the working class and the laboring masses should always and at every stage have their say in it, for it is they who act, who transform, who create. The active participation of the working class and of the working people in everything is one of the greatest concerns of our Party, and this is the aim of the whole revolutionary struggle of the Party for the political and ideological uplift of the class and of the masses, for the ever greater democratization of the State Power, which means a broad and active participation of the working masses in everything and in solving every problem, in the struggle against the bureaucratization of the State, administration and Party apparatuses, or of the people who work in them.

This is a vast and complex work that everyone, I say everyone, must exert great efforts to thoroughly understand and carry out correctly, for hereon depends the successful construction of socialism. In particular, the Party and State cadres must thoroughly grasp from the ideological viewpoint these problems which are neither simple nor detached from one another.

If you do not understand the leading role of the Party in its full scope, in all its shades, in all the aspects of the activity of the Party, then you may lose your bearings both to the right and to the left. The comrades who are not ideologically tempered and connected with the masses can easily fall into such errors in their everyday work and struggle. The organization of the work of the Party and of the State apparatuses for the correct implementation of the directives of the Congress and of the Party Central Committee is of great importance, it should be carried out down to the smallest detail, even to the creation of forms of work or commissions which, at first sight, could seem trifles. How dangerous it would be, for example, if the great Party directive «Politics and ideology on the forefront» were understood as detached from everything, from economy, education, culture, State organization, etc., if it were carried out as something in itself and the Party were to renounce the direction of the whole national life or of the various aspects of life. Likewise, the opposite becomes dangerous, when the Party concerns itself with economy alone, when it is turned into a mere techni-

cal and economic apparatus and forgets its great, numerous and manysided tasks.

Precisely here we can establish how Tito and Khrushchev, the two worst traitors to Marxism-Leninism proceeded from these two extremes converging to the same point, namely for the liquidation of the Party. Tito, with his reform of the Communist League of Yugoslavia, assigning to the Party the alleged «role of political and ideological educator»; while Khrushchev, with his «famous» organization of the Party, aiming at divesting the latter of every other function and turning it into a mere economic organ.

It is neither the first nor the last time that the Party raises these problems, but I think that we do very well to raise them constantly, and the more we thoroughly study and understand them, the better we shall put them into practice and the greater will be our success.

NOTES

1. Speech delivered to the meeting of the Secretariat of the CC of the PLA on April 9, 1968, in connection with the report submitted by the Central Council of the Trade Unions of Albania on the activity of the Trade Union organizations concerning the working class control.

2. It refers to the article «The working class in the revisionist countries should go down to the battle field and reestablish the dictatorship of the proleta-

riat», published by the «Zëri i Popullit» daily — organ of the CC of the PLA.

3. Reference is made to the permanent commissions of the workers' control; after Comrade Enver Hoxha's speech of April 9, 1968, only the provisional commissions of the workers' control were to function wherever the need arose to tackle special problems of the enterprise. These commissions are made up of politically and ideologically trained workers. The results of their control are discussed at the meetings of the Trade Union, under the auspices of the Party grass root organizations to find the solution to the questions.

4. In order to do away with the shortcomings so far observed and to have a clear idea of the technical councils, in April 1968 instructions were issued to apply the following criteria: technical councils should preserve their quality of consultative organs attached to the directors of enterprises bearing in mind the principle: collective discussion — personal responsibility; they should study technological and scientific problems of production. These commissions should be made up of workers, specialists, technicians and engineers; the Chairman of the Trade Union organizations and Secretaries of the Party grass root organizations should attend only those meetings they deem necessary.

CARRY OUT THE TASKS OF REVOLUTIONIZING OUR PARTY AND THE LIFE OF OUR COUNTRY WITH PERSISTENCE AND IN A CREATIVE WAY ¹⁾

Comrade Communists of the Tirana Regional Party Organization!

I am very happy to be here among you today, at the Tirana Regional Party Conference, of this great, always militant and revolutionary organization of our Party, and to convey to you, on this occasion, the warmest greetings of the Party Central Committee.

I listened attentively to the Report Comrade Manush Myftiu ²⁾ submitted here on the activity of your organization as well as to all your discussions. While appreciating very highly the work of the Party organization of the Capital, I think that the proceedings of this Conference will be of major importance to the Tirana organization, but, at the same time, they will be of great assistance to our whole Party, because your organization possesses a rich experience and because your work will be radiated throughout the Party through the comrades who are in contact with other districts.

Therefore, the Tirana communists should feel and assume all responsibility to be exemplary communists. This responsibility for us, Tirana com-

munists, is not a privilege but an obligation to our Party and people. Therefore, we must be exigent and strict towards ourselves in carrying out the tasks of the Party. It is true that good results have been achieved in this direction, but there exist also shortcomings and weaknesses in our work. The Report and discussions pointed out both the successes and shortcomings and subjected them to a Marxist analysis. Such a Marxist and revolutionary analysis maps out and guarantees the way to further consolidate the Party organization of our Capital.

You acted aright at this Conference by laying stress, first and foremost, on «intensifying the ideological struggle» in all sectors, since this is the masterkey to the successful performance of all the work people are engaged in on the ideological and political front, as well as on reaching the planned targets of the 4th five-year period before schedule, on advancing technique and promoting the initiative and self-activity of grass root organizations. You are taking the right course by planning to adopt corresponding decisions on each of these three cardinal problems raised for discussion by the Conference.

The 5th Party Congress and the directives and instructions issued by the Central Committee have laid before us a big program of work. We will realize this program successfully, for this is the way our glorious Party has blazed for us, as always.

Allow me also to raise a few problems. You will excuse me if I reiterate things that have already been said or you have touched on in your discussions at this Conference. Through your discussions you

helped our Party and me as the Secretary of its Central Committee. We go to Party conferences to draw lessons and to help. It is for this purpose that I also came to your Conference. I will speak, therefore, on some matters that emerge from the struggle and experience of our Party.

I

CONSTANT REVOLUTIONARY TEMPERING, REVOLUTIONARY APPLICATION OF MARXIST- LENINIST NORMS ARE THE MAINSPRING OF OUR PARTY'S STRENGTH

Conferences are of special importance, for they are the highest forums of the Party in the districts, but this time their importance is so much the greater because the elections to the Tirana Party organizations, just as throughout Albania, have taken place in the atmosphere of the great frontal drive to further revolutionize the Party and the life of the country on the whole, to further deepen our socialist revolution.

The elections to the Party organs, ranging from the grass root organizations to Party conferences, at working centers and Army units, became a large-scale ideological, political and organizational mass action of our communists and workers. They were conducted on a higher level than ever before, characterized, especially, by a prompt and active participation of all the communists on the most important problems that preoccupy our Party and country at present, by a revolutionary passion and determination to carry

out any tasks that deal with the protection of the historic achievements which have been attained under the guidance of our heroic Party, tasks that deal with the building of socialism in our country.

The recent elections to the Party organs were characterized by a further development of criticism and self-criticism. Throughout the Party organizations, the overwhelming majority of communists in grass root organizations took more active part than at any time before in discussing the problems which preoccupy each of them. Proceeding along correct Party lines and in the interests of the great cause of the Party and people, they, as communists and revolutionaries who do not reconcile themselves with the shortcomings and weaknesses in their work, opened their hearts and subjected themselves to self-criticism and pledged their word to take concrete steps to resolutely do away with these shortcomings and weaknesses in as short a time as possible. At the same time, at the grass root or at regional conferences, our communist comrades have courageously criticized with due impartiality those communists and cadres who have manifested alien tendencies, weaknesses and mistakes, pointing out to them also the way to get rid of these shortcomings. All this is a great victory for our Party.

In particular, the elections at the grass root organizations of the centers of production were held on a higher level. On this occasion, too, our heroic working class has manifested, as always, a good grasp of the ideological meaning of this great mass action so vital to our Party. At the Party grass root

organizations in agricultural cooperatives they have also been conducted well. At the grass root organizations in the administration and in the Ministries they were also conducted in a more lively way than at other times. Nevertheless, we must say that the work of the Party in these organizations, especially those of the Ministries, leaves much to be desired as yet. There exist some weaknesses and shortcomings which should be fought against more earnestly and persistently, such are the tendency to criticize others below more than oneself, the tendency to commandeer and feel superior both as a Ministry and as cadre, the concept of intellectualism which attaches more importance to orders to be carried out by others, without taking stock of the objective conditions and the difficulties arising from these conditions. Special work should be done in these organizations to imbue the communists and workers with sound, revolutionary, ideological and political concepts.

This year, our Party conferences assume special importance also because, in compliance with the directives³⁾ issued by the Political Bureau to improve the social make up of the leading organs, hundreds and hundreds of comrades of worker origin and status, of long or recent seniority in the Party, men and women steeled in the storm of revolution, have been promoted to leading posts in grass root organizations and committees. This is a logical consequence of the growth, consolidation and tempering of the Party along revolutionary Marxist-Leninist lines. This corroborates the correct political and organizational line of the Party in

its revolutionary dialectic-materialist dynamism, a line which responds to the exigencies of the times, to the conditions created in battle and at work, to the present and prospective needs to ensure, uninterruptedly and along Marxist-Leninist lines, the leadership of the Party, the consolidation of the dictatorship of the proletariat and the completion of socialist construction in our country.

Hard tasks of great responsibility await the comrades of long and recent seniority in the various forums of the Party. But our comrades have never recoiled nor will they ever recoil before hard jobs or heavy responsibilities. That is not my point. In the future, the work in our Party will run even more smoothly, its line will be further elaborated more wisely and with fewer mistakes, many problems will be taken up and studied and solved aright in practice. But I want to say a few words here about the importance of promoting new comrades to leadership, about the new vigor they bring to it and about the task incumbent on the comrades of longer seniority to profit from the younger, on the one hand, and to temper them, on the other.

The newcomers have worked at the lathe, in deep mines and on farms. They bring to the leadership their new vigor, their revolutionary drive, courage, class and Party grass root discipline. They bring along with them the unaffected naturalness, maturity and creative thought of the rank and file of communists and of the class. Their hands are callous, their hearts fiery, they speak little and do much, they are not versed in rhetorics and express

their thoughts bluntly, without high-flown pretentious language, not worrying whether the others like it or not, so long as what they say is to the benefit of the Party. And these so lofty qualities have been imparted to our people by our Party, and, when we say our Party, we imply also the leaders of long Party seniority who are exemplary, revolutionary and indomitable communists.

Therefore, our Party calls on us, who have longer experience in leadership to see to it that the newcomers are not stunned and led astray by their new tasks. We ourselves should get some stimulus from their pep, shake off any bit of dust that may have been collected at some nook of ours and, by joining our energies into one effort, march always at the tempo of the newcomers.

The newcomers to leadership stand in need of our help and experience just as we stand in need of theirs. If they are to forge ahead, they must be assigned to responsible jobs so that they may think, create and see things through. This is one of the most important problems we should continually have in mind. If we fail to do this, if we put on the brakes, then we will have allowed bureaucratism, in the first place, to develop and flourish and smother and block the way to progress and socialist construction.

We should impart a higher degree of revolutionary creative initiative to our people, to the Party and State organisms. This initiative cannot be developed unless we allocate the necessary responsibility to people and to organisms that have been set up. Sound creative thought should be allowed

freedom of action, experimentation and supervision. Otherwise, if we set up one barricade after another (and these are bureaucratic barricades of various kinds, «argumented» or not argumented), people's thoughts become numb, stifled, commonplace, sterile, lose revolutionary courage, giving rise to routine and indifference. Through its visible and invisible network, bureaucracy bedims the horizons to creative thinking, deprives people of the sense of socialist responsibility, confines them to bureaucratic rules and regulations, to automatic responsibilities to be on the safe side, to conform to bureaucratic laws.

It is, therefore, indispensable for all our people, Party or non-Party adherents, to get a good grasp, first and foremost, of the meaning of assuming socialist responsibility. This should help develop creative thinking and assumption of full responsibility by all the Party and State organisms at all levels so that each of them may fulfil the tasks assigned to it, without the higher level smothering and hampering the lower one.

It is of major importance for us to see to it that things are not muddled but simplified, made tangible, understandable and realizable by all the masses of people, and not by a selected elite or by certain higher forums only, which seemingly want to be continually consulted about everything! In doing this, we will have fought against one of the most dangerous and abominable manifestations of bureaucracy, be it in the Party or in the State, against the tendency to raise the value of the few and belittle the great values of the majority.

Our decisions should be couched in clear-cut, understandable language to enable them to be carried out by all. In carrying out decisions properly, our people and forums should not be encumbered by all kinds of bureaucratic formalities, but should be encouraged to think in a creative way, to assume full responsibility before the Party, and not to be asking time and again about everything. It is in this way that the application of decisions becomes more certain and the control of their implementation becomes lighter. Thus, control becomes the concern of the broad masses of people and not of certain distinct «specialists», who come now and then from higher levels, compile reports and flood us with correspondence, which are the product of bureaucracy.

Let us have it well understood that decisions should be checked to see whether they are carried out or not. Leniency in carrying out Party directives and State laws is the offspring of bourgeois ideology and carrier of all the evils that ensue from it in practice, ranging from minor violations of Party discipline, State laws and regulations to most nefarious crimes. Therefore, it is of importance that persons appointed to administrative jobs, particularly, at the Party and Government apparatuses, and to the management of economy should be men of the class, should have all-round revolutionary training. Otherwise, if these persons, be they communists or non-Party, delight in correspondence, in theorizing and not in real, tangible work, if they do not divest themselves of the spirit of commandeering, leaving no responsibility to

others but concentrate everything round themselves, if, in the style of their work, they do not take into account the creative thought of the masses, do not coordinate control from above with control from the grass roots, from the masses, they are no good for our socialist administration, even if they are our men, because they have pronounced bureaucratic inclinations. And such inclinations among the people of our apparatuses are extremely dangerous. It is precisely such persons that nurture such inclinations and exert pressure on swelling our apparatuses.

In order to run the administration as well as possible, it is necessary to have the revolutionary principles of the Party inserted firmly into the method of work. Our method of work is revolutionized by the revolutionary practice of carrying out decisions and directives. It should be a method opposed to bureaucratism, routine, stereotyped relations filled with petty bourgeois phraseology, which polish, lull to sleep and bedim every revolutionary activity and every perspective. In order to run the administration well, it is equally necessary to have a good grasp of technique, of the laws which help develop productive forces and improve relations in production and in society, that is, one should acquire scientific knowledge.

An important step the Party has recently taken is that of eliminating the superfluous link of the general grass root organization and turning the Party organization of the sector into a grass root organization. This measure should be taken up, grasped and carried out well. This brings about

a more direct link of the Party grass root with the Party Committee. In order to attain this end, it is necessary to do away with bureaucratic administrative routine, the old method of work. I say this because, in spite of major improvements made in this respect, the old practice of work has not yet been done away with.

Party members and, first and foremost, Party leaders and apparatuses should grasp the importance of this measure, which aims at making the Party grass root organization a real revolutionary center, so that it may pass judgment on, study, solve and carry out with determination and initiative the directives of the Central Committee, the decisions of the leading organs of the Party in districts, in other words, making it a self-active organism both as to carrying out as well as to supervising the implementation of decisions, on the basis of the principles and norms of the inner life of the Party.

In spite of successes, we still have a great deal to do in this direction. It is not a question of thinking that, once a form has been decided on, everything is done with. No, the form should pass the test in life, in practice. And this test may be done accurately, but it can be done also in a slipshod way. All depends on explanations given, on the correct understanding of the directive, as well as on how this directive will be applied in practice. If the leaders and apparatuses find this directive feasible, but again think of solving it by old methods of routine work, then nothing will come out of it. The problem will not have been solved correc-

tly. The Party Committees will begin to reckon that they cannot keep in touch with all the organizations, will consider themselves detached from the grass roots and, as a consequence, they will arrive at the conclusion of increasing committees, apparatuses, of swelling them so that they may have the organizations «under tutelage», «under supervision».

If we return to these forms of work, then there are no revolutionary initiatives in grass root organizations, they are not turned to self-active organisms, everything is expected from above, everything is given from above. Thus, we prefer reports from a number of inspectors, their contact with organizations, because in this way we think we are in order, we hold the reins in our hand, but we let the grass root organizations and communists lose vitality and turn to robots. Where there is tutelage, where there are stereotyped bureaucratic forms of work, there is no vitality but acquiescence, there are no creative discussions, sound criticism and self-criticism on work and on people, there is no communist responsibility. Therefore, of what use are long and dry reports in comparison with the vitality of the organization, of what use is the contact of an instructor with twenty grass root organizations in comparison with the revolutionary struggle, in comparison with the efforts of these organizations themselves, in comparison with the direct, on-the-spot inspection of their work by the leaders and employees of the Party apparatuses? In order to have this work done as the Party bids, it is essential to keep

studying in practice the question of relations with the grass root and not to be a slave to out-dated forms, which might have been good during former periods.

For us Party workers, here lies a good part of the fight against bureaucracy. Let us not get our Party used to a lot of correspondence, to many prolonged, repeated directives, which are difficult to digest and to control, because they are wrapped in the web of verbosity. Let us not think that it is the control by the leadership alone that wards off mistakes in the Party. This control, by the way, should be, first and foremost, a revolutionary, not an administrative one, but it cannot be the only control. This would be very insufficient, feeble, not along revolutionary lines unless it is supported by the control of the masses of communists and workers from below, giving even priority to the latter.

Therefore, everything should aim at setting well in motion the grass root organizations and communists. Every directive, every form of organization should aim at making the grass root organization a living, revolutionary organism. The communists should grasp this matter and apply it correctly. This should be grasped above all by all the leading organs of the Party at all levels. It is not permissible for the comrades of these organs to neglect studying thoroughly the life of the Party in all its dynamism and dialectic, to study the state, development, forms, method and style of work these situations and the development of our new society demand.

One other ugly form of bureaucratism we

have not yet been able to wipe out is «disregard for the time element». Our people say «time is gold». For us it is neither gold nor silver but, so to say, bronze. We are inclined to speak at length, to write at length, to discuss at length. Three-fourths are vain, stereotyped phrases. If we did not enlarge on this or on that topic, we feel we have not said anything. This is how time is lost, how valuable thoughts are drowned in water, how verbosity flourishes. Those who say little and do much hesitate to discuss, while the intellectuals outshine. Therefore, we should put an end to such un-fruitful and even dangerous practices.

Frequent calls of communist workers from production on the leading organs of the Party make it necessary for us to thoroughly re-examine and further revolutionize the work in committees, secretariats, bureaux, and regional Party apparatuses. Let us not forget that the new comrades our Party has appointed to the leadership are people of production and will remain people of production. Their time is reckoned, therefore, it is impermissible for them to waste their spare time on unnecessary matters. Part of their spare time will certainly be occupied. They themselves should think up efficient ways of organizing their work as leaders. But from now on the work in committees, secretariats and bureaux of Regional Party Committees should be organized on a different basis.

Lengthy meetings, frequent reports and endless discussions must be seen to without fail. There should also be put an end to the practice of summoning people from their jobs at odd times and

the work should be organized better than heretofore.

The new comrades who come from production to the leadership should not be baffled by the multiplicity of problems the leadership has to face. They should be patiently and wisely informed. It is the duty of collective leadership and, first and foremost, of the First Secretary and the Secretariat to see to this.

The new comrades ⁴⁾ elected to the leadership of our Party will soon acquire the practice of work. The Party is deeply concerned to give them this practice as quickly and in as clear terms as possible, so that they may carry out their tasks as well as possible. The collective leadership of the Party and its Secretaries should devote great attention to this matter; they should organize tangible aid for the new comrades, to keep them informed of all problems in all forms and ways, especially, of the problems of the sectors to which they are assigned and for which they have direct responsibility.

The Central Committee set up also secretariats in Regional Party Committees precisely for the purpose of consolidating Party work at the grass roots, of directing the apparatuses more efficiently and of giving more aid to their committees and bureaux in the districts. Therefore, this new organizational form, which is being added to the Party Committees, should be made correct use of and in a more fruitful way, the competences of committees, bureaux and secretariats should be correctly defined and carried out in practice.

All these new measures and orientations along

the lines mapped out by the Central Committee and successfully analyzed by the Party in meetings to render account and hold elections, are a major qualitative step towards revolutionizing and further tempering the Party. They aim at strengthening the Party, at making it strong, revolutionary, unflinching and endowed with Marxist-Leninist steel-like unity.

The unity of our Party has always been based on principles, it has never been an opportunist unity, a «unity for the sake of unity», a kind of rank, superficial unity. Our great experience has shown that sound Marxist-Leninist unity is attained when the norms of the inner life of a proletarian party are carried out in a revolutionary way in its ranks, when opposites are at war with one another, when there are fiery discussions on all problems, when opportunist and revisionist degeneration in politics and ideology are not allowed to its members, when petty bourgeois arrivists and bureaucrats are not allowed to find shelter or vegetate within its ranks.

We should always guard our Party from career-seekers, charlatans, demagogists and serviles who know how to advertise themselves to and conceal their true features from the credulous naive. It is only live political and ideological work as well as manual labor in production that can either cure or expose them. Either of these forms of work is a remedy for this category of people. We should keep waging a principled and concentrated class struggle, especially in the Party.

When we say this is necessary for the Party,

we should first of all consider also the leadership at all levels and not think that, since the best comrades of the Party are elected to the leadership, they are immune from petty bourgeois risks and diseases. The leaders carry a heavy load of responsibilities on their shoulders, therefore, all efforts should be made to keep them from being infected with this disease. If we harbor any such non-revolutionary notions that the comrades elected to the leadership make no mistakes, we might very well throw up our hands. One should cherish and hold in high esteem the leadership our Party has elected in a revolutionary, not in an opportunist, bureaucratic and purely hierarchical way. It is necessary that the Party should continually keep a member elected to the leadership under revolutionary Marxist-Leninist supervision, to educate, correct, control and, when he is incorrigible and continues to make mistakes, hurl him overboard.

A party which forges and secures such a unity on the basis of a principled and irreconcilable class struggle uses the same basis in building and consolidating round itself the political and ideological unity of the people, in raising the economic and defensive potential of the country. Our Party should hold this key fast in its own hands.

All along its history our Party and its leadership have shown to be devoted to principle, vigilant and revolutionary. Our Party has not tolerated career-seekers, opportunists, Trotskyites, deviationists, revisionists and agents of the enemy to vegetate in its leadership. When such elements have succeeded in penetrating in its ranks, it has mopped

them up, has exposed and laid bare their anti-Party and hostile work. It is precisely this major revolutionary battle that has always tempered our Party, that has always kept its ranks clean, that has raised it to such a high ideological, political and organizational level, that has endowed it with such steel-like unity, with a stable monolithic leadership made up of tested Marxist-Leninist revolutionary comrades.

The continuous revolutionary tempering of our Party through the class struggle both within and without its ranks, the revolutionary application of Marxist-Leninist norms is the main reason, the main source of the strength of our Party. It is hard today to find a party which can preserve such a revolutionary Marxist-Leninist compactness and tempering. The revisionist parties degenerated precisely because they pursued a line of conduct at variance with that which our Party has pursued and continues to pursue. Today, the world revolutionary forces and the new Marxist-Leninist parties find a great example, a brilliant positive Marxist-Leninist revolutionary example in the Party of Labor of Albania. They find also the terribly negative example in the revisionist parties which betrayed Marxism-Leninism.

Comrades!

Many correct principles of our Party should be further deepened and carried out better in practice. It is not enough to get power, but it is necessary to keep and improve it on the basis of the

revolutionary experience accumulated, on advanced science and technique.

In our country, it is the people who are in power, who exercise their prerogatives through the dictatorship of the proletariat, it is they who make law under the leadership of the working class and their Party of Labor. But there is a lot to do yet, so that this great principle may be fully realized. If we think in narrow terms, as some do, that this problem is fully solved once we elect the representatives of the people to the various posts of political power, then we err. We err because we forget the major and decisive role of the masses and of their control, we look at things from the administrative side allegedly to preserve democratic forms. There are people who think that, in so far as these forms are kept and that in various forums there are loyal and patriotic communists that have been tested, capable and chosen, the principle is carried out in full. No doubt, such a way of thinking has its flaws, not to say that it is erroneous.

First of all, the State organs stand in need of new blood, new people, resolute revolutionaries, which emerge from the struggle to build socialism and to defend the achievements of revolution. The constant re-invigoration of State power with loyal people emerging from the ranks of the masses, who have experience of working and directing, should always be made in full harmony with old and young revolutionaries, not only as far as seniority but also as age is concerned, with men and women, with people from urban and rural centers, from all the walks of life of the country.

Secondly, revolutionary power should rely, first and foremost, upon the working class, for it is the working class which represents the dictatorship of the proletariat. It should remain a dictatorship of the proletariat not only in theory but more so in practice. In theory, it is easier to be admitted, but in practice it comes up against many difficulties and obstacles which, if left to grow, distort the character of the dictatorship of the proletariat.

Therefore, as an organized vanguard of the working class, our Party should have it clear that our power is the dictatorship of this class and, therefore, should be firmly based on the class, which is to be educated in theory and practice to become thoroughly capable of leading the peasantry and other strata of society, never allowing that the leadership of the working class be replaced by the leadership of the administration.

Therefore, the mass line, its thorough understanding and its correct and persistent application are of major importance. The mass line cannot be conceived without self-criticism and open, principled criticism in the Party and among the masses towards the shortcomings and weaknesses of whoever it may be. We should fight against baseless and short-sighted optimism. Viewing problems and results always from a critical Marxist-Leninist angle brings the Party and communists closer to the masses. How to exert influence in breadth and depth among the masses is one of the most decisive and most essential problems for our Party. Our problem is to make the life of the masses run parallel with our line, with our ideology and,

together with the masses, to forge ahead and on the forefront of the political, ideological and economic battle of the working class and of all the masses.

It is this, the realistic propaganda of our Party should also aim at. A well organized propaganda which never loses sight of this primary objective, which is thoroughly understood and which arouses the feelings of the masses and sets them in motion, binds the Party with the masses, educates them in a revolutionary spirit, enhances the great vanguard role of the working class and makes it not to recoil for one moment from difficult situations which may be created for it and its Marxist-Leninist Party along their revolutionary path.

Establishing close and lasting ties with the masses is not at all something superficial and can never be done by official parleys or by simply being with them. Ties of this sort are not long lasting and do not give the desired results. Real steel-like ties with the masses are established only through daily contact with them in the heat of revolutionary activity, through vivid and tangible demonstration of the Party line, through working out and applying this line in practice, through overcoming obstacles and reaping the fruits of strife and endeavors.

Real Marxist-Leninist criticism and self-criticism of the work in general and of the people in particular, runs also through the same process as that which constitutes the main link with the masses. Real ties with the masses are wrought in the same way as water and flour which, when

kneaded together and baked in the oven, forms bread which, of course, is good bread if clear water is used and if the flour is sifted and rid of bran and if the dough is properly leavened and baked in the oven.

Of major importance here is the control exercised by the working class. This control should not be formal and we should not be content with certain pallid results in the application of laws and ordinances which are often of no use because of being out-dated. No! The Party should make workers' control such as to revolutionize and stir up the Party organizations, their leadership, administration, laws and ordinances on all occasions when the need arises. If we conceive this key-problem of the revolution, of the dictatorship of the proletariat and of the party of the working class otherwise, then we will be erring, we will not be carrying out the norms of the Party in a revolutionary, clear-cut Marxist-Leninist way, we will not be imparting Marxist-Leninist education to the Party and to the class, we will be trumping up all sorts of excuses and circumstances to explain events which should not have taken a wrong course.

Workers' control in or out of the work-site should be exercised under the motto of the hegemony of the working class and of the application of the line of the masses. This control should be consciously accepted by everybody and should be turned into an ideological world view, it should be considered an objective necessity, to be substantiated not only in theory, but also in practice. It is

one of the highest forms of class education which the party of the class should make use of, one of the surest means which the party of the proletariat resorts to to make the workers fully aware of assuming the major responsibility that pertains to them, the responsibility of directing and educating the masses.

Workers' control is the surest means through which the working class holds the dictatorship of the class in its hands and guarantees the application of the line of its own party, of its program.

In its capacity as an organized vanguard of the class, the Party of Labor of Albania is and remains the organizer and promoter of workers' control. It should not allow this control to be exercised in a haphazard, disorganized and chaotic way but should educate the class in a special way so that it may organize its control properly, sticking fast to the norms, laws and regulations established by the Party and the dictatorship of the proletariat. In the first place, the working class should know these norms and laws well, should know them in theory and in their practical application, for it is in this way that they can ensure their implementation, that they can educate the masses they lead and deal a hard blow at any individual or institution which tramples underfoot and distorts them.

The Party should train groups of workers to be sent to control everything, not only within their own centers of work, but also outside and even Party grass root organizations and Party Committees if they deem it reasonable. This is a big revolutionary education of the class which

aids its party to see to it that its Marxists-Leninist line may not be violated, may not be degenerated. The Party educates the class to establish order and class discipline without the least hesitation. Not only in theory, but also in practice the Party educates the class to intervene firmly and have the last word when bourgeois and revisionist elements try to deviate the Party from its correct Marxist-Leninist line. The tragedy that befell the Communist Party of the Soviet Union is a bitter but, at the same time, a grand lesson for our Party and our working class.

When I raised the question of workers' control I had precisely in mind the bitter experience of the Soviet Union, so that our Party may always stand unwaveringly on Marxist-Leninist positions, so that modern revisionism may never succeed in penetrating into our ranks, so that we may nip it in the bud.

The idea of workers' control was enthusiastically acclaimed by all the communists and workers of our country and was successfully applied everywhere. Many evils were brought to light and done away with. But when steel is tempered and coal is burned, soot is also formed which must continually be wiped off. Workers' control is not a campaign but an ingredient of our Marxist-Leninist revolutionary ideology and practice, it is an integral part of vital importance to our socialist and communist life.

Some have not yet succeeded in getting a good grasp of how the workers' control can be carried out in practice, without discrepancy. They

pose as if they have a good grasp of this matter in theory but, inasmuch as they do not properly understand its practical application, we should imagine that there is a gap also in their theoretical understanding.

These people confine themselves to the narrow bounds of established convenances and, therefore, cannot understand how State and workers' control can co-exist and work together. They will get entangled, they say, when applied in practice. Not at all! State control is an agent of the dictatorship of the working class; it is specialized but, on the other hand, limited in number, whereas workers' control is the direct control of the class, which is exercised through thousand commissions emerging from the ranks of this class. These commissions give added authority to the State Control Commission, clean the terrain of impurities beforehand, take prophylactic measures. Far from eating off its bread, the workers' control sifts the flour of the State Control Commission. And how well it will be for socialism when the day will come that, through worker's control, the Party will make the new man so healthy and so well tempered as to leave nothing for the State Control Commission to do and thus make its existence unnecessary. The prospects point that way.

But there are people, as I just said, who cannot understand how a group of workers from one center of work can go to control another work center. And, moreover, these people find it difficult to understand how a group of workers can be sent to control a grass root organization or Party Com-

mittee to give their assistance and put order. Our Party has its own organizational norms and regulations and allows no one to violate them. But when these are trampled upon, it also asks the assistance of the class from which it has sprung and for the interests of which it lives and strives. Our Party has its own elected committees, its own instructors though limited in number; it has the bureaux of its grass root organizations and their secretaries, all of them elected, all of them ready to strive, in the lead of Party members, to carry out its line. But it may occur that one of the grass root organizations has failed to come under control and has been thrown into confusion. Endless disputes and bickerings may take place within it. Then, an organized group of revolutionary workers of the vanguard are sent there to put order on behalf of and on orders from the Party, in conformity with its norms and line. The Party attaches hundreds of groups of revolutionary workers to certain qualified instructors to help them. It thus teaches its own class how to live up to, work and be inspired by the norms of their own party. What evil is in this? What Party norm or organizational rules are violated? Not even a single one. Everything is done for the good. When we have tempered the working class in this way, then we have tempered our Party, for the Party belongs to the class and its ranks should include the best men of the class. Iron is turned to steel in the heat of the furnace; thus, the working class, too, in order to be tempered and temper its Party, should courageously take up the tasks pertaining to it and we should give

it these undeniable prerogatives not only in theory, but also in tangible practice.

The idea of workers' control should be developed in breadth and depth creating various forms along the Party's Marxist-Leninist line. Let us listen carefully to the valuable proposals of the workers on this matter, so we can draw correct conclusions, so we can draw valuable principles from this great practice of the class and apply them in ever newer revolutionary forms, so that we may not be victims of the old, stereotyped forms.

It is a known fact that the Party keeps drawing a considerable number of vanguard people for its central and regional organs, for the administrative and State apparatus. All this large number of qualified communists should in no way be detached from the masses of the people. They should consider the functions they fill as an integral part of the struggle of the masses. This is the expression and practice of our Party's policy towards the masses. It is for this purpose that we keep saying that the communists should betake themselves to production. This is indispensable. To be a communist does not mean to be an official. It is not by being an official alone, but by taking direct part in production that a communist can work like the class, like the masses, that he can teach and educate the class and the masses through the teachings of the Party and the personal example he sets.

We have not succeeded in solving this major problem as we should. We are victims of the old. Earlier days required that we should have many

communists in our offices, but now not; therefore, in the days to come we should make a study of establishing proportions of Party and non-Party workers in offices.

A good number of the workers of the State administration should come directly from the ranks of the working class. This will bring about a better application of the directive of the Party to strengthen the class character of the administrative apparatus of our People's Power. But, at the same time, we should always keep in mind to raise many others to the level of those we take away from the working class for our administration. We should never lose sight of this, never neglect this. The purpose of this work should be a two-fold one, namely, to strengthen our Party and our Regime with men of the class who are trained, tempered and revolutionaries, as well as the working class itself, on which our Party and Regime rely from all points of view, not only as far as numbers are concerned, but, above all, from the point of view of quality. We should never allow our working class to be weakened qualitatively.

From all these and other considerations, it becomes necessary for us to be continually concerned about the make-up of our Party. The working class should lead. Therefore, it is necessary to continue to temper it, for there is great danger for a part of it to become petty bourgeois (in its ranks there are also elements who come from the urban and rural petty bourgeois strata).

Let us not forget also that our cooperative peasants are of petty bourgeois origin. It is neces-

sary, therefore, to carry on intensive educational, revolutionary, Marxist-Leninist ideological and political work with it, particularly, now that this working class is improving with each passing day its economic life and raising its cultural level. Neglecting Marxist-Leninist education in rural areas may create, among the peasantry and from there, eventually, in the Party, elements with petty bourgeois tendencies who are susceptible to submit to the influence of modern revisionism. These elements may become dangerous for the Party in the future just as dangerous as the office employee, especially, the young of intellectual and urban origin. Therefore, a sound and constant Marxist-Leninist ideological education is called for to be imparted to all, particularly, to peasants, employees and intellectuals.

We should always keep in mind one other matter. As time rolls on more and more people of the State administration and Party apparatuses will be pensioned off. We are justified in thinking that, since they have experience, they can be appointed to all the various posts of the State Power organs. Thus, there will be little opportunity left for the broad masses of the people, for workers, youth, women who may not have that great experience, but who may easily acquire it. Herein lies latent another danger of bureaucratizing the State, the dictatorship of the proletariat, of pushing to the side the role of the masses.

Of course, when a worker reaches the age for retiring fixed by law, he is awarded a pension and

the State guarantees to him an annuity, to live on, proportionate to the pay he has received before retiring. This pension in cash is reckoned to provide for the means of subsistence of the pensioner. But this pension should be rightly understood politically and ideologically, for very often it occurs that retirement from a State job is not so understood. It is thought that when a person is awarded a pension he need not work any longer, but stroll around and bask in the sunshine. A judgment of this sort is incorrect and non-revolutionary.

All these people of great experience should not choose between the alternative, namely, to either occupy a post in the People's Councils, Courts of Justice, etc, or to bask in the sunshine and do nothing. In an organized way, they should mix with the masses, ingratiate themselves with the masses, educate the masses without necessarily filling effective functions in the organs of leadership and of administration. They should get used to working not as officials, as bureaucrats, but as social activists of the masses.

It is true that a pensioner is no longer capable physically to make the same efforts he used to, that is why he is exempted from hard manual labor, from intensive work, from certain norms and rules and from former discipline at work, leaving his place to another, to a younger person:

It is true that a pensioner is not physically young but, on the other hand, he has a rich experience and maturity of judgment. And to learn from the experience of others is just as necessary as to learn from your own experience. It is both of

these experiences that help one advance. Of still greater importance is the experience of those who have worked all their lifetime and finally are pensioned off. The question arises: Can we afford to neglect, to lose this precious human capital, and not assess it as a big heritage of the people and not place it in the service of the people? This matter is not sized up as it should either by the Party and State people or by the pensioners themselves. The major mental power and experience of the pensioner is under-rated. The pensioners themselves think that, once they have been pensioned off, they have completed their duty to the Fatherland, while the State and Party organizations, on their part, think in a bureaucratic and automatic way, that, by abiding by the stipulations of the law, they are all right with the pensioners. But neither in the first nor in the second case are their thoughts and acts correct.

The pensioners without exception should bear in mind that they are never too old to serve the people and the Party, because, even when they are physically old, the Party and the people stand in great need of their advise and creative thinking gained all along their life filled with efforts and self-denial. It is not enough for our Party and State to assess these values in idealistic terms but to see to it that this major mental, moral and social heritage be put to the full in the service of society and socialism. Cases should not be excluded either when the State, production, the sciences, culture and others stand in need of mobilizing the pensioner for a given time and a given task. And

in such cases, let not staff, payroll and other considerations become barriers. Organizational structures are, of course, necessary limits which should not be overstepped, but we have many possibilities and can think up many others to make society benefit as much as possible from the experience of pensioners!

Not only should the Party and State create appropriate conditions for work for many outstanding pensioners to give their valuable aid and experience, but all the pensioners themselves, without exception, should maintain their spiritual, moral and political ties with their work center. They should maintain their connections with their old collective, go when they are invited (and they should be invited, since we notice that this is not done) and when they wish to go of their own free will. Many work sessions are held at all levels but very few or no old workers are called to them. No timetable and no work quotas can be fixed for pensioners for the work and aid the Party and State solicit from them. One thing should be especially kept in mind, namely, that their advice should be listened to carefully and with respect.

We will incur a great loss if we fail to understand and solve aright this important problem. Ours is a new State. A number of years ago this problem was not raised, for our men were young, but now it is different. As years roll on, this problem becomes increasingly important. Therefore, it is high time for us to give more thought to this problem than heretofore both from a political, ideological and organizational standpoint.

II

ART AND LETTERS SHOULD KEEP STEP WITH OUR REVOLUTIONARY MASSES, WITH OUR WORKING CLASS

Art and letters are one of the important domains of the ideological activity of our Party. It is of major importance whether art and letters will line up at the forefront of battle of the laboring masses to promote nonstop our socialist revolution or whether they will mark time and delve in endless discussions devoid of any criterion and lacking real substance.

In art, as in all domains of ideology, there is class struggle. This struggle is the expression of the battle between proletarian ideology and bourgeois ideology, between socialist realism and reactionary bourgeois trends of art which exert pressure in various ways on our men. The class struggle in this field should be steered in the right direction since it is fraught with many and major risks, since it is waged on a delicate and subtle terrain which is made up of an overwhelming majority of elements from the intellectual strata highly susceptible to feelings, thoughts, to their ego, their work. As everywhere, this struggle should be led by the Party but, at the same time, by mobilizing our men of letters and art and placing them on warlike footing. A critical, principled stand towards literary and artistic productions should characterize the leading organs of the Party, the leading organisms of writers and artists and all our artists and writers.

Discussions and even debates are carried on in our writers' and artists' circle. They are earnestly concerned about the destiny of our art and letters, about their revolutionization. They want our art and letters to keep pace with our revolutionary masses, with our working class. They want our art to be always young, vigorous, fresh just as the deeds and life of our Party are.

Apparently, the question of the ratio between the new and the old, between innovation and tradition occupies a place of prominence in the discussions and debates of our writers and artists. This is an important problem about which an ideological battle is being fought today in the field of art and letters on an international level as well.

The ratio between the innovatory and tradition should be grasped aright, in a dialectic way. This is, above all, a matter dealing with the substance of art and letters, therefore, it should never be detached from the struggle to delve deeper into reality, to portray the heroic struggle of our Party and our laboring masses to bring about the socialist transformation of our country and of our man himself, in a true way and from the revolutionary class angle.

As products of human endeavor, as objective social phenomena, art and letters keep developing, are always growing, just as human society itself is developing and keeps growing. Some of the literary and artistic productions grow old and are forgotten, others flourish, develop and hold their ground as long as they are capable of filling a function in society and in the life of the people.

The new in art does not spring from the void. Just as in nature, no qualitative change can take place in society without quantitative accumulation. In art, too, the new is not the result of the experimentations of individual artists, but a logical consequence and constant enrichment of literary heritage, of the endeavor of all writers and artists to give a true picture of objective reality. The novatory in art should not be taken to mean negation of tradition. Innovation and tradition are not opposed to and do not exclude each other. It is a mistake to consider innovation as a fight against tradition. The Marxist-Leninists maintain a dialectic stand towards tradition. From the art and literature of the past we cherish, preserve and develop everything which is good, which stands close to the ideals and aspirations of the workers and serves them. In the heritage of art and letters, we separate the positive, progressive aspects from the negative ones.

We are opposed both to the simple, un-dialectic negation of tradition as well as to deifying and kneeling obeisance to it. Negation leads to metaphysical, nihilistic positions. On such positions stand today the modernists, these champions of bourgeois art and letters. Deification of traditions is also dangerous, for it leads to conservatism and detachment from reality. We are also opposed to biased, «original» assessments of literary heritage. We are not at one with those who over-rate an artist's worthiness to the detriment of all positive literary heritage from subjective considerations, individual artistic tastes and concepts. If we find

in a writer of the past results worth appreciating and mastering, if his work is permeated with ideas and sentiments close to ours, this does not imply that he overshadows all others and that he should be given a vanguard post in the revolutionary movement of the laboring masses.

It is right to require that the treatment of historical themes should comply with the spirit of the time, that historical events should be viewed from a Marxist-Leninist angle. But in this, too, it is necessary to be careful, to show Marxist-Leninist maturity. Don't start from the idea that this task is accomplished by perfecting the artistic form alone and by declaring war on all the tradition which has been created in this field by our art of the past and by international art. We should likewise be careful not to distort historical facts and reality for the sake of innovation.

Principled, frank, well-thought-out criticism which is not prompted by egotistic, career-seeking and subjective considerations is what is called for when ideas are expressed about literary and artistic works as well as about any problem in general. This is the only constructive, comprehensible, just, acceptable and educative criticism.

The degree of culture, professional skill, artistic taste and creative capacity is not the same for all writers and artists and, therefore, the works of each have their own peculiarities which improve as time goes on and experience is accumulated.

To start criticizing prompted only by your own individual wishes, only by concepts of your possible production, only by your tastes and inclinations,

which assume dangerous forms if you are infected with the petty bourgeois feeling of setting too high a value on everything you do, then your criticism will not be unbiased and may be insulting and harmful.

Discussions of unwholesome character, at times, with ulterior motives of defamation, setting up or siding with factions for the purpose of fighting each other, are punishable by law. Free exchange of opinion on a principled basis is a kind of necessary preparation of organized meetings to which people go not to lull themselves to sleep, not to keep silent but to discuss always in a principled and constructive way, not to assail and pull down old «idols» and replace them with new «idols».

In literary production we often find the reflection of the author's own inner life rather than the living, combative, revolutionary life of the laboring masses, of those who strive and do. Therefore, in many works there is a lot of subjectivism in treating themes, a lot of subjectivism also in the author's defense of his own production.

We find a thing of this kind in both the works by those advanced in age as well as by the younger ones. We find positive values also both among the young and among old. This should not lull us to sleep and lead to the conclusion that there does not exist, there does not manifest itself the tendency of the young and of the old. We should root out every artificial effort to form different «clans», «trends» and «currents» according to the fashion of the decadent world among the ranks of our men of arts. If we allow a thing of this kind, we will be

doing a great disservice to ourselves. In our virgin garden of letters and art, though far from the degree of perfection, we plant weeds very often by our own imagination and, at times, there grow sprouts which we can easily uproot but instead of uprooting we make them look like «age-long trees».

I am of the opinion that our writers and artist who have given worthy works to our Fatherland, are capable of giving it still better works treating actual themes. They are capable of doing this. Therefore, I do not agree with those who say that they are not keeping up with the times. If in their works there are some discrepancies, some mistakes, in them there are ninety good things with which they have educated a whole generation. These writers, artists, musicians have much experience. If there are mistakes in their former productions, I pose the question: which one of us can say that he has not erred at work? But we forged ahead, corrected our mistakes, made mistakes again, corrected them again and are again forging ahead. Tomorrow we may make mistakes again, our Party puts us on the correct path, educates us, tempers us, and we keep making fewer and fewer mistakes and more and more good and valuable things. This is so also with the writers advanced in age but also with the younger ones.

If our literary and artistic productions of socialist realism are not keeping pace with reality, have not been placed on the forefront of battle of our Party and our laboring masses to keep deepening the revolution, this does not mean that

they have fallen out of the ranks of this battle and should be discarded, that every new production which will reflect reality to the letter will emerge from naught. Nothing new, novatory, can come to life apart from the existing literary and artistic heritage.

The present qualitative changes in our reality, which have led to the further revolutionization of the Party and of the life of the country as a whole, are a further qualitative leap towards the socialist development of our country. This leap does not mark the negation of what has been done so far; on the contrary, it is the logical result of the development and deepening of the Party's correct line, of its revolutionary activity. Even before, our letters and art lagged behind when compared with the high rate of development of our reality; it is self-evident that this gap has been deepened as a result of the present qualitative development. But this should and must be overcome. Lost time must at once be gained, many qualitative changes must be made in our letters and art. These changes must not be made by negating our artistic heritage of socialist realism, just as the qualitative changes in our reality were not made by negating the activity of our Party and people in building socialism. Innovation outside our own socialist groundwork, outside our own reality, is sham innovation.

Efforts to revolutionize, to re-invigorate our art must not be taken to mean that it is the task of certain individual artists and writers alone. It would be equally erroneous to think that this is

the duty of our young artists and writers alone.

The revolutionary spirit, the innovatory, are organic parts of socialist realism itself. Since our art and letters stand wholly on positions of socialist realism, our artists and writers are worthy partisans of this realism, resolute champions of the revolutionary line of our Party and laboring masses; they will all strive to carry ahead our art and letters, to turn out works worthy of standing on the forefront of battle of our Party against bourgeois and revisionist ideology, in order to build socialism and communism.

This task will be best accomplished by those writers, painters, and musicians who will squat down with the people, who will love them wholeheartedly, who will work and sweat with them, who will sing and grieve together with them. In short, if they will delve deep into the thoughts of the people, if they are moved by their pure sentiments inspired by their ardent patriotism, by their talents, revolutionary initiatives, marvellous creative power, then we will have an enlightened people's socialist literature, we will have marvellous pictures to portray the material and spiritual reality of our socialist society, we will always compose pieces of music based on, close to, cherished and understood by our people, pieces of music which will not destroy our folklore, this major heritage of our people, but, at the same time, will not preserve certain archaic, outdated forms. From folklore we should preserve what is good, which is of the people, which express the pure sentiments of the people and discard that part,

in form or in substance, into which has penetrated the ideology and inspiration of the ruling classes, of the lumpen petty bourgeoisie, etc.

When speaking of socialist realism we should not take it to mean a cut-and-dry formula repeated far and wide, on which theories are advanced and from which academic formulae are derived. Socialist realism is a true description of the socialist life we are building in all its aspects, of the colossal material transformations our country, our society, our men are making at a revolutionary pace on the basis of Marxist-Leninist theory and on the basis of the measures and decisions our Party has worked out. But this socialist realism does not manifest itself in rigid and stable forms; it sizzles, it is in constant and perpetual development through the struggle of opposites, through the class struggle, through the struggle of the new with the old.

Presented and conceived in this manner, this socialist realism deals with what is actual and what is to come. The present prepares for the future not through dreams and fantasy but through tangible scientific forecasts governed by laws which have been discovered and which help in discovering others.

Revolutionary transformation of society is brought about by men through organization, education, study and effort. People are not born slaves and cannot tolerate physical and mental slavery. It is only socialism and a Marxist-Leninist party that sets them free from such slavery. Thus, man in our country works, thinks, originates, produces,

consumes and reproduces. Our Party has strained all its physical and mental forces so that our men may be as enlightened ideologically and their acts as revolutionary and fruitful as possible.

In his revolutionary life every man creates, thinks, produces and transforms. Everybody keeps specializing in feeling, rejoicing, writing and sizing up everything concerning him and the society he lives in. Our Party strives not only to keep alive but also to promote these qualities, these tastes among the people; and it is precisely in this that lies the meaning of that which the Party says that culture and art, education and science should become the possession of the masses, that the masses may be both actors and spectators.

Many talents emerge from these broad masses who specialize and reach perfection especially in schools. The objective of these specializations are always the masses of the people. Everything for the people, everything that has been created should bear the seal of people's creation, of people's revolutionary spirit, of socialist realism. Outside this nothing is valid.

Our writers and artists should not consider themselves as vague dreamers, as people who can create beautiful things detached from the concrete dynamic reality of our country and our socialist society. They should not consider their works perfect unless they portray in an artistic way the feelings, tastes, thoughts and the creative ability of the masses. Some of them place their dreams and fantasy above the creative ability of the masses and do not link them with the realistic and objec-

tive description of perspective. Certain others have an exaggerated opinion of themselves, of their production and smooth and resmooth it beyond objective reality, and forget that gestures of this kind alienate them from the masses, the main object and subject of their production. They do not accept criticism and think that everything coming out of their hand and their brain is perfect.

Some others pay more attention to what literary critique will say and, when they smooth and resmooth their production, they do this not so much to portray reality as to steal a march on the subjective criticism of one or more critics, in order to impose their production on the masses from above. This is a wrong way which should be abandoned.

We are opposed to the alienation of art and letters from reality, from the masses. Requirements to rid art and letters of anachronism should not be identified with attempts to create an art and literature incomprehensible by the people.

Slipping into such deviations in letters and art has its roots at keeping aloof from the masses of people, from the line of the masses, from analyzing and viewing things, phenomena and changes from a Marxist-Leninist theoretical angle. A deviation of this kind takes place gradually under circumstances I just described and is furthered by many other subjective circumstances which are nurtured, intentionally or unintentionally, by a backward environment, by pronounced petty bourgeois and idealistic survivals, by the class origin of the writer or artist whose severance from posi-

tions of his class and adoption of revolutionary class ways has not reached the necessary level to uproot the idealistic survivals of not a very distant past.

The bourgeoisie, modern revisionism and their policy towards letters and art consider this major concern shown by real Marxist-Leninist parties to preserve the ideological purity and the proletarian class policy towards art and letters as well as the ideological enlightenment of writers and artists, as «a stringent, imposing line smothering free creative thought». We know too well what the bourgeoisie with its ideology is after in art and letters. In art and letters, just as in other fields, it strives to preserve its class domination over and exploitation of the broad masses of people. Whereas we, Marxist-Leninists, wage our proletarian class struggle in all directions to free, develop, and promote at a rapid rate creative thought, not to hamper and suppress it. The decadence and degeneration of bourgeois art and letters are shocking. The bourgeoisie tries to raise this degeneration into a pattern and symbol to build a new way of life, which is nothing less than a true offspring and picture of a decadent and degenerated life. By degenerating the hearts and minds of the people the bourgeoisie thinks it has found a new means to further oppress the people and quell down their proletarian revolutionary ardor. In this unbridled irrationalism in letters and art the bourgeoisie makes use of many means and forms, of «specially gifted» adepts of this irrational thought, of «specially gifted» scribes and wizards in presenting things so as

to hoodwink as many people as possible, to infect as many people as possible, wholly or partially, never losing sight of their intentions to corrupt people and stupefy the masses.

That is why the Party teaches, educates and tempers everybody. Our writers and artists should beware of falling into the trap set up by the class enemy both in and outside the country, they should guard against poison pills coated with sugar, they should not be deceived and excited by «brilliant styles», by the so-called «courageous ideas» and «original figures». Let us not forget the popular saying «all that glistens is not gold». This glitter hides many a putrid sordidness of the bourgeoisie under decay.

Our men of letters and art should look for and will surely find their beautiful, pure, mobilizing and enthusiastic style, originality and form, first and foremost, in the creative, revolutionary environment of our highly gifted people.

III

FORM CORRECT REVOLUTIONARY CONCEPTS ABOUT OUR SCHOOLS THROUGH MASS DISCUSSIONS

In the major process of deepening our socialist revolution, our Party is doing all-round work in further revolutionizing our schools. We should set up a new school which others might not have. This means that we will have to beat unknown paths. In this work we may also make mistakes which we should continually rectify and, in this way, improve our schools.

Our schools should be popular and revolutionary mass schools and should meet the present and future needs of our socialist country. To revolutionize our schools does not mean that we should adjust certain angles, that we should purge certain texts or expand the network of schools alone but, first of all, that we should drop some bourgeois concepts which exist about our schools and which hamper their further revolutionization.

Concepts of this kind are:

Firstly, «a school is a place where one learns». This concept should be amended to run like this: «a school is the place where one learns and works».

Secondly, «one learns only at school or mainly at school». This concept must also be changed and replaced by the concept that «one does not learn only at school but also, and more so, in life and at work». In this connection, drop the concept that «school programs should be as overloaded as possible inasmuch as it is here that all the knowledge should be acquired».

Thirdly, «schooling makes one an intellectual, provides diplomas and secures works», a concept which nurtures intellectualism and careerism, technocratism and bureaucratism.

Fourthly, «the ultimate objective of all schooling is to get a university degree». This concept gives rise to the erroneous view according to which the whole cycle of schooling should be built in such a way that the young men and young women may pursue their higher studies at the university, as if these studies were the opportunity of only an «elite», as if they should be pursued only by the

sons and daughters of certain «cultured» strata or families, as if they were to be «the wisest», the most capable, «destined to lead others».

These old concepts take no account of the reality of our socialist development and hamper our progress in many important directions in order to reach our major objectives.

Firstly, we aim at educating «en masse» the people and youth, the workers and cooperative members who, in the immediate future, should be endowed with enough general culture and technological and professional knowledge to carry socialist culture and economy ahead. In the majority they will be medium cadres, workers having been through secondary education. This is the groundwork. If we forget this and if we fail to build our school and its content for this groundwork and this purpose, we have not revolutionized it.

Secondly, those people who have been through school have not finished learning. All of them cannot be endowed with culture and further specialization through the university alone but also in life, through work and manual labor, through the ideological and political work of the Party and State and social organs, through the press, forums, lectures, seminars, meetings, scientific discussions and a thousand other forms, in which one does not only supplement what he has learnt at school but learns also a lot of other new, often more and better things than those with which we try to stuff the textbooks and tender heads of the young men and young women at the school benches.

This does in no way mean that we belittle schools and the role they should play in laying the groundwork for the all-round communist development and uplift of man. It is for the purpose of having them play this role that the Party pays so much attention to the further development and revolutionization of our schools.

Thirdly, our concern should be to protect the health of our youth. This basic factor should absolutely be kept in mind in building our school program, we should not load it with futile and unnecessary stuff and even with those things which the students will learn in life and at work in order to further develop their intellect and knowledge; we should not load them with teaching alone but we should alternate teaching with productive work and military and physical culture, for in that way we will not only realize all-round communist education but we will bring up a healthy and physically strong young generation.

Fourthly, we should always keep in mind that the people who attend school under our socialist regime are not a few hundreds or a few thousands but hundreds of thousands. Our schools should not aim at creating an intelligentsia in the sense of a stratum which will continually stand as a separate stratum, but should aim at having this large mass of people with schooling come from the ranks of workers and peasants and at having the existent intelligentsia merge with them. First place among these masses, will thus be occupied by the cultured workers and coo-

perative peasants of the present and the future.

Therefore, we cannot detach our new revolutionary school from our intensive revolutionary life, we cannot detach it from the development and modernization of our industry and agriculture, we cannot build it beyond the present and future needs of our socialist development.

Teaching and work, school and life should run close together as early as at the tender age. The sickly sentimentalism of certain teachers and pedagogs, the sickly encyclopedic, erudite inclinations of certain others should in no way set us back from our correct course of revolutionizing our schools.

Establishing the various categories of schools, especially, those above the 8th grade, in as correct and realistic way as possible is of paramount importance to our socialist school system. Such a structure cannot be borrowed or copied blindly from an alien system but should be adapted to our country, should respond to the socialist reality of our country, should meet the needs and train, at the same time, the masses of cadres and workers endowed with sound learning and scientific knowledge for our still more advanced future.

The system and structure of our schools should map out in a clear-cut way and for a long period the subjects to be taught at these schools, their quality and amount coordinated with the objective conditions and needs of the present and of the future. When these have been worked out, then the work of drawing up textbooks, a

very important, valuable and delicate piece of work, will be accomplished successfully since orientations, aims, limits of development of lessons have already been given, and this work will be concentrated on quality, which is the main thing.

If we carry on our work of revolutionizing our schools within the framework of public discussions of these problems, we will have a more correct revolutionary idea of our new school and we will be in a better position, especially we of the older generation of intellectuals, to discard those old concepts we have on schools. The pedagogs and professors of the University and of the Upper Institutes will have a better grasp of the fact that the higher studies at the University and at the Upper Institutes should be harmonized and interrelated with the basis of the many categories of secondary schools, and not the other way round, that is, the secondary schools to be built functionally with the University. More clearly, what I want to say is that we should not be inclined to overload our University, for then, in order to attend the University, we will have to build our secondary schools on this pattern. A University of this kind is not for us, since by overloading it we do not only limit it but we overload and limit secondary education as well.

There are those who consider overloading and its consequent limitation as quality, whereas, in reality harmonizing the University with the basis of the school and in compliance with the present and future needs does not at all mean lower quality but the contrary. If the pedagogs of the University

and Upper Institutes, in cooperation with the teachers of the other schools and together with them, get the proper grasp of this orientation based on the all-round socialist construction of the country and the development of the sciences, being well versed in scholarship and science, they will be in a better position to make the necessary sifting and simplification of subject matter. Far from lowering quality, they will be raising it to higher level, they will remove the dust off learning and science and will make them more comprehensible and more tangible. By doing this, the pedagogs will save valuable time to the students and to themselves. Our Party expects from our Party or non-Party men of learning at the University or in the schools to do a good job of this monumental piece of work. They should do this for the younger generation whose education has been entrusted to them by the Party. They are capable of doing this and our Party is fully confident that they will do a good job of this major patriotic and revolutionary piece of work.

A general popular discussion is now going on in our country on this topic. Within the framework of this broad-scale discussion of the masses, our teachers and pedagogs will surely render their valuable contribution, will strive to find the scientific and concrete solution of the principles advanced by our Party, they will embody these principles in the school system which we will build, in the various categories of schools, in fixing the content and time limits, in harmonizing learning with production work and physical culture

and military training, in outlining programs, textbooks and methods of teaching and educating. The solution of these problems is of major present and future importance. This requires well-grounded opinions from everybody through free discussions and debates. It is not enough to say that the school period extend so many years, that so many hours could be cut from this or that subject, that it is better in this or in that way, without subjecting these different proposals and variants to a well-grounded examination in all their aspects and, first and foremost, in their ideological and scientific aspect. Otherwise, shallow and superficial opinions, guess-work proposals, subjective wishes and inclinations render no effective aid to the solution of these problems.

The thing to do is to view educational problems closely linked and correlated with the basic problems of bringing about a further and all-round deepening of socialist revolution. This is so also as regards the substance of general culture which should be imparted to our younger generation and workers in school. It is essential to adapt general culture to the stage of the economic and social development of our country and, in this matter, it is necessary to take into account the educational and cultural level of our workers and youth, the technological and economic development of the country today and in a more or less immediate future, the degree of mechanization of our production, the necessity of imparting culture to our men also after their schooling, as well as a radical purge of those informations which may be requi-

red for limited specialization but which the masses stand in no need for. At the same time, all this general culture should be permeated from top to bottom by our Marxist-Leninist ideology, by our philosophy of dialectical and historical materialism, it should be one single axis, the Marxist-Leninist ideological axis.

In the press and in the bulletins⁵⁾ of the Central Commission I read about the discussions and proposals advanced for the revolutionization of our schools. This is a good thing and opinions should continue to be exchanged.

In the work we do in drawing up programs and textbooks we should guard against one-sided, unscientific and undialectic trends. For example, the material in primers and readers of primary and secondary schools should be rich not only in phenomena and events drawn from society, as some are apt to think, but also in those drawn from nature. One should supplement the other in right and harmonized proportions. I have read about discussion on whether to keep or discard fables. I think that in order to develop the imagination and education of youngsters fables, even those from the life of animals, should be kept, provided they are divested of dreams and symbolizations beyond our communist reality and ethics. Work out for this purpose stories and other narratives with realistic subject matter which will portray the struggle against the evil forces of the past and which will stimulate the imagination of children for the brilliant future of their country, basing these stories on true happenings of high educational and moral value, treating

them in the various genres and forms including the fable. Let this be discussed but let us not require to hold lectures to youngsters.

In line with the decision of the Central Committee, the History of the Party of Labor of Albania will be taken up for study by the workers, peasants, the intellectuals as well as in gymnasiums, vocational and other higher schools. In addition, I think, discussions should be conducted on how to take up for study certain key moments of the history of our Party in our 8th grade schools⁶⁾ provided they are put in forms to comply with the age of the students of these schools.

In the study of the World History of peoples, it is necessary to attach importance to the major historical phenomena, to the decisive turns and events in the development of human society, principally, to the struggle of the masses, who make history, rather than to individuals. Of course, individuals who have played some role cannot be passed over unmentioned but not in detail and as a purpose in itself, as the bourgeois historiographers do.

The class struggle, in its capacity as the main motive force of social development, should run through both the teaching of history as well as the teaching of other subjects of social sciences.

In the teaching of geography care should be taken to establish a correct proportion between physical and economic and political geography. There can be no geography without treating both of these aspects. To undervalue physical geography means to build geography on air, lacking the es-

stantial natural and scientific basis. But to be lost in the fathomless depth of detail of physical geography to the detriment of economic and political geography means also to belittle the ideological and political class education of students and to burden their memory with unnecessary things.

As regards natural sciences — mathematics, physics, chemistry, biology etc — in addition to intensifying efforts to give a materialistic-dialectic interpretation to phenomena, I agree with what is proposed that the teaching of these subjects be built in such a way as to have a more pronounced polytechnical content, to be linked closer with our socialist production, with the application of science and up-to-date technique of production.

In our schools all the teaching, both of general as well as technological and vocational education, should be closely linked with production work. The realization of the Marxist-Leninist ideological axis can not be achieved without applying the familiar Marxist-Leninist principle of linking teaching with production work, without applying this principle, not in words and in an academic way, but concretely and in a practical way. This involves all the work of our schools, their structure, the subject matter of teaching and education as well as their methods. These matters have been taken up and are being discussed in an animated manner, and these discussions will fight the bourgeois intellectualist concepts, which decry the participation of school youth in production work, and will find a way to surmount difficulties that arise in organizing this work in an effective way.

But here I wanted to dwell somewhat on the importance of this principle regarding the method of teaching and educating and on the conclusions we should draw from this in general in order to revolutionize the methods of teaching and education. It is a fact, as we have said before, that the revolutionization of our schools, be it their substance or their structure, cannot be thought of without revolutionizing the methods of instruction and education. We should admit, however, that in spite of the existence of certain revolutionary initiatives and actions in practice, theoretical discussions on these matters are very superficial and one-sided.

From this point of view, we all say that the great mission of school is not only to impart knowledge to men but to acquaint them with the best method of how to learn in and outside the classroom. But here we should add that it is only when good links are established between learning and manual labor that we have picked on the best method of how to learn and work better.

We, Party or non-Party intellectuals, should not have an exaggerated opinion of our worth by thinking that we are the inventors of the best methods of mental work and that the manual laborers should follow us in this matter. On the contrary. It is we who should betake ourselves to the working class, for it is there we will find the best methods based on such elements as determination, skill, real rationalization, accurate not hazy directives, discipline, iron willpower and many others which establish the proper link bet-

ween theory and practice, which push the wheels of creative development ahead and leave no room for sclerosis, dust gathering, indolence, routine and sickly intellectualism.

Writers, artists, teachers, professors, scholars who teach students should first become students themselves and not students in books, but at work, in factories, on the fields, in laboratories and in society.

All our educational work with youth and with that part we call the stratum of intellectuals should consist in ingratiating them with and in their assuming in full the spiritual and practical revolutionary aspect of workers and laboring peasants. Therefore, we should improve the link between school and work and establish not only the spiritual and political, but also the organic link between our intellectuals and workers and cooperative peasants, to arrive at a point when the intellectuals should think, feel and work like workers and peasants. This is a problem of primary importance which we should grasp well and take serious and continuous steps to turn to reality because, as a socialist country, we are constantly raising the educational and cultural level of the masses, especially, of our youth whom we should endow with the attributes of true revolutionaries. Let us not forget that they are our future, but they are growing up under socialism and have not experienced the suffering and social oppression of their parents and forebears. This youth stands in need of being taught and educated, but it stands in greater need of working, of toiling and

sweating and of being integrated with the working class and the laboring peasantry also. Therefore, it is necessary to change from top to bottom the half-baked concepts on the revolutionization of the intelligentsia, the old concepts only grafted with the new like half-hearted measures taken towards work, or careerist concepts of the past covered under a pseudo-revolutionary coating.

We should wage a hard political and ideological battle with our people, parents and youth for these matters. The young, the present and future intellectuals should continually be enlightened on these matters. We should educate them so that they may act always and everywhere on revolutionary lines; let not their parents, bearers of old survivals and sickly sentimentalism, distort the education we impart to their sons and daughters.

In our schools, teaching and work should by all means be combined with physical culture and military training. From these public discussions there are bound to emerge also ways and means to solve this problem. But to achieve this objective, it is necessary, inter alia, to fight old concepts which attach little value to physical development and training, especially, to general physical culture. Physical culture in and out of school should not be taken superficially to mean only the development of certain sports, mainly ball games, which can in no way engage all the masses, nor should it be taken to mean only the development of certain activities which, in some cases, stimulate only enthusiasm, but as a broad movement of the masses of the people, of youth

as a whole, closely associated with the life of the people, with their health, with the prolongation of life, with fighting disease whose sphere of damage is narrowed in a healthy organism. Therefore, we should fight the old, moldy concept that physical culture is something superfluous and unnecessary, that the organism can be developed, protected and proceed also without it. Now, of course, we are not where we used to be in this domain but there exists still some formalism, some stereotypy.

Certain kinds of sports cannot be practised by all and everywhere. All sports are, likewise, not the same for all ages, but various sports can be practised on various kinds of terrain. Therefore, no one should give up that kind of sport suitable to his or her organism and age and no terrain, lowland, hilly or mountainous, should lag behind in this matter. Development of physical culture should not be considered as time wasted but as time gained, because physical culture prolongs man's life.

In line with this, I would like to enlarge on the problem of the health of man. Our Party should do a lot about prolonging the life span of man, that is, about his health. This must be its cardinal problem in everything, a problem to hold in evidence and act upon at all times, never marking time, never being content with the results attained.

Our struggle to protect the health of our people should not be gauged only by increasing the number of physicians, of medical institutions, equipping them with modern means, which, of course, are of major importance. All of these have now been

increased and perfected in our country, but we should bring them nearer to the people who should be served faster and better.

We should fight also in two other main directions: first, to further improve the food of the people, that is, to raise the standard of living of our men and, second, to take feasible progressive steps to keep making work less and less tiresome.

These are two of our main problems which are well on the way of being solved satisfactorily in our country. In this domain we have made a lot of progress compared with the past, nevertheless, we must still concentrate our attention and our energies in these main directions, for we have still a lot to do. We will solve these problems better and better with each passing day both by expanding and multiplying production and by introducing more and more mechanization methods to work processes in industry as well as in agriculture. We have plans to this effect, which are being successfully substantiated.

But I want to point out that, in spite of this, in spite of the fact that our Government has allocated funds, that our agricultural cooperatives possess good funds for fruitful investments, in many cases (and these are not few both in industry and, especially, in the countryside) the question of facilitating the labor of our workers has been woefully neglected, and, if all possibilities exist, it is high time to take measures. This negligence should be severely condemned.

Many mechanizations and rationalizations, be they ever so small, but which facilitate the work

of workers, are left undone by the managers of enterprises. Many funds earmarked for this purpose are left unconsumed, taking no stock of the great loss we incur by wasting the energies and impairing the health of our workers. Many managers of enterprises have to be driven with a goad to set up creches and kindergartens, to build diningrooms, baths, showerbaths and other extremely necessary environments for the workers.

Many chairmen or chairwomen of agricultural cooperatives abuse also the heroism at work and the brilliant patriotism of the women and girls of the cooperative. When deciding to build a stall for cattle or a sty for swine, they never stop to think where they will get the water or feeds for them. Comrade managers never stop to think and reckon how much feeds should be provided and how much water should be hauled to the sty in order to raise, let us say, a thousand swine of the cooperative or farm, and they do not take the trouble to mechanize transportation, to have water hauled by wagons, on horseback, through pipes or motorpumps but leave this job to women and young girls to haul them on their backs. Thus, on one hand, we wage a campaign against the old practice of the lash rope in some rural areas, and on the other, the agricultural cooperatives assign women and girls to hard and often unbecoming jobs from early morn till late in the evening. We can not yet pretend to a large-scale, complete and all-round mechanization; a demand of this kind would not be realistic under our actual conditions, but when possibilities exist

and we do not take advantage of them to the detriment of the health of our men and production, we are making an unpardonable mistake. Work is an honor, it fortifies us spiritually and physically, it invigorates and gives us life, therefore, it is from this angle that our Party should view the work and health of our people and should not allow anyone to deviate from this right path.

Not only should appropriate measures be taken to create work facilities for workers, in general, and for women workers, in particular, but I want to emphasize, especially as far as pregnant mothers are concerned, that our Party and Government should see to it that their legitimate rights before and after childbirth are strictly observed. From the reports coming from public health organs, we note that a good percentage of infant mortality is still due to premature births. This happens mostly among peasant women, because they are assigned to hard jobs at the critical time of pregnancy and because their right to leave of absence is not strictly observed. An immediate end should be put to this practice, because the highest interests of the people and of our homeland demand it.

Persistent political work should also be done with women so that they may devote special attention to bringing up their children from the day they are born and, particularly, until they reach the age of 4. In spite of the high rate of increase of population during the period of People's Rule, we still receive reports that we have not a low percentage of deaths, precisely during the early years after childbirth. Mothers should be very

tactfully and patiently aided in this both by medical advice as well as by direct aid through consulting stations, ambulances, hospitals, nurseries, kindergartens and food, not neglecting for one moment giving continuous advice, taking prophylactic measures and controlling whether this aid is given and used to advantage.

The health of our people, its protection and promotion should be our major and constant concern. We should keep the workers' environment on a high cultured level and fitting to live in. Therefore, we should devote more serious attention to and not be content with what has been done so far in the field of sanitation and hygiene everywhere: in homes, living quarters in cities, and, more particularly, in villages. In order to create good sanitary and hygienic conditions in rural areas, it is essential to insist on building to plan, on reforestation of the countryside, on systemizing and protecting drinking water, on moving animals away from dwelling houses which should be whitewashed periodically inside and outside, on building laundry trays in collective bakeries, on building public bathhouses, on allowing no houses to be built before the physicians have examined whether the site is suitable from the point of view of sanitation and hygiene, a thing which is entirely neglected now, on systemizing and moving graveyards away from centers of habitation, and so on and so forth.

Through these very necessary measures outside and inside dwelling houses and, particularly, through personal hygiene, we will succeed in pro-

longing the lifespan of people, since we will protect their health and make their life more cheerful and pleasant.

All of what I just said are fully feasible and realizable. We are faced with many such important and complex social problems of a pronounced ideological character. Child welfare is one of them.

I wanted to draw your attention also to the work of educating children, since this problem is linked with the deepening of the ideological class struggle, in general, and with the class revolutionary education of the younger generation, in particular. The problem of bringing up and educating children properly is a very wide and complicated one of an ideological, political, social and pedagogical character. Our Party and Government have always been greatly concerned about this problem and, thanks to this and the concern of all the people of our society, our younger generation are being brought up physically healthy and strong, morally upright, intelligent and prompt to act, politically and ideologically tempered, worthy of taking into their hands and passing on the victorious torch of our revolution.

But in this field, too, the stage of the all-round deepening of our socialist revolution keeps laying before us new problems and tasks. They are, first of all, of a pronounced ideological and political character, since the intensification of the communist education of youth in the class revolutionary spirit is a task of major historical importance to our Party, our State, our people and our society as a whole. But, at the same time, the all-

round progress of our country along socialist lines, the rapid industrialization of our country, the complete collectivization of agriculture, the rapid increase of population, especially of youth, the ever increasing participation of women in work, the creation of new socialist relations within the family — all these rapid revolutionary processes as well as others of the same kind, as far as the upbringing and education of children is concerned, have, in addition to their ideological and political substance, also a pronounced social and pedagogical character. For this it suffices to see how these problems arise in the city of Tirana where industry and the working class keep growing from one day to another, where the population,⁷⁾ especially the younger ages, increases by leaps and bounds, where new families come and are formed, where new phenomena and new needs spring up also in social and family life.

Under these conditions, it is essential to occupy ourselves more with the problem of bringing up and educating children better, to delve deeper into the cognizance and study of the various aspects of this problem, of the ways and methods which should be used to solve it, to utilize to the maximum and keep widening the material basis necessary in our work with children. Within the framework of the organization and studies of a social character, which in general are still lagging behind, special attention should be devoted to the problem of children. In addition to the interested Ministry and institutions, this work should also be taken up also by our specialists in various

fields — our doctors, psychologists, sociologists, jurists and, more particularly, our pedagogs and teachers.

In this wide gamma of problems, the greatest problem, our main task is to bring up a young generation which will be active and revolutionary, possessing inexhaustible energies and endowed with a dauntless combative spirit. The education the children receive in the family and at school, at the pioneer and youth organizations, the whole work of our society should serve this purpose. We should implant and cultivate these revolutionary qualities among the children as early as when they are young and then keep strengthening them gradually as they grow. This, however, is no light job. Here we come up also against contradictions and obstacles, against alien concepts and tendencies.

Now, our children and youth develop and grow mature faster in all viewpoints. The revolutionary spirit of our life quickly arouses their interests in political life and social activity, it stimulates their independent thinking and their desire to be useful to society. But in comparison with the past, our children today embark somewhat later on work of production, on their independent practical life, they stay longer in school. From one point of view, this is a positive thing since they are taught and educated for a longer time, but this should be accompanied with a more active participation of theirs in all the spheres of political, social, ideological, production and other activities, in being tempered in and inured to the school of life. And it is precisely here that we come up against

obstacles raised for the younger generation to be tempered in the anvil of life. Such obstacles are old influences of conservative, patriarchal family education, of former official pedagogy as well as of the bureaucratic and formal work in schools and youth and young pioneer organizations with the children.

Such obstacles and alien influences are manifested a lot in daily life. There are still among us many teachers and educators who forget that youngsters stand in need of playing, of running wild, because, while playing, they are apt also to shriek, pull one another, engage in harmless squabbles among themselves. If a school child whispers something to his mate on the school bench or shows some sign of restlessness during the recitation hour, such educators harbor a grudge and begin to treat them as disturbers of the peace. And what is worse, if they see a child engaged in a harmless squabble with his mate on the school yard or in the street, they begin to wrongly dub him as an «urchin». Such educators think that the way to educate children is to keep them confined to a cage, that is why they smother the child's initiative and self-activity, establish a pedant surveillance over them.

But it is really to be regretted that the wardresses of young pioneers make also the same mistake. Some of them think they must be present at all the activities of children, hold boresome pedagogical and moralizing lectures, organize all their activities and games by lining them up in a military fashion. Such gestures often lead to the

children viewing the school as an army barracks in the bad sense of the word.

If one talks to these educators about the stand they take, they might refer also to pedagogy. But this is an old, official, pedantic pedagogy which aims at forcing obedience and silence on children. As a matter of fact, these are anti-pedagogic methods which warp the personality of children, arouse an unnecessary conflict between them and their educators.

Whereas we want to create our own revolutionary Marxist-Leninist pedagogy. On the basis of this pedagogy our educators should see to it that their lectures, games and various activities with youngsters should be carried on in a natural and free way so that the children may be endowed with the sense of solidarity, comradeship, vigor, pluck and courage, free activity, and so on. It is precisely along this path that the energy of youngsters will not be wasted on harmful activities but will be channelled to useful deeds, useful to their own upbringing and to society, as well.

Forcefully stimulating the initiative and free activity of children does in no way mean that the question of their education in general, especially after school hours, should be left to spontaneity, for that would be fostering indifferentism which, even as it is, is a widespread tendency both among certain teachers and educators and more so among parents and our public opinion in general.

The improvement of the upbringing and education of children depends also on a better utilization of the wide material basis we have set up

for this purpose. Our Party and Government will take steps to gradually expand and enrich this material basis proportionate to our availabilities. But it is not right to expect the State alone to tackle all the problems of the upbringing and education of children from the cradle to the age of young pioneers. In addition to the State, all the forces of our society, parents of children, workers' collectives of workshops and enterprises, agricultural cooperatives, all the social organizations and the various institutions, should join and contribute to the solution of these matters. And this contribution should not be verbal, in an academic way, but should help solve various concrete matters in a practical way. For example, let us view from this angle the question of playgrounds. It is not right to expect having such playgrounds built by the State alone (although we have and will continue to have more of these) when the many playgrounds within city quarters and house yards in the city of Tirana are not kept in shape, are not systematized and made use of, when no interest is shown to teach and organize children to spend their free time in wholesome games on these playgrounds.

All these practical guide-lines coupled with our major ideological concern to educate our children form the basic condition to carry ahead our work in this domain, to make better use of our availabilities, to keep creating new availabilities from one day to another, in order to impart a further impetus to our society as a whole to be interested about this problem of vital importance.

IV

THE SITUATION IN THE WORLD DEVELOPS IN FAVOR OF REVOLUTION AND TO THE DETRIMENT OF IMPERIALISTS AND REVISIONISTS

In winding up I wish to make a few remarks about the international situation.

Today, the two big imperialist Powers, the U.S. and Soviet revisionist ones, have divided their zones of influence, though these are not, nor can they be, either clearly defined or stable because of the contradictions and disagreements between them, because of the contradictions within each of the various States of each region and their opposition to the respective bigger imperialist Powers, because of the contradictions of the various capitalist forces within each capitalist and revisionist country and, finally, because of the deep and unsolvable contradictions between capital and the proletariat, between the capitalists and the bourgeoisie, on one hand, and the laboring people, on the other.

In order to establish its world hegemony, U.S. imperialism, the biggest capitalist State, is obliged to exert major efforts in increasing their colossal military expenses necessary to domination, defense and aggressive wars. At the same time, U.S. imperialism has to bring about such an economic development as to bring profit but, at the same, losses since it asks its allies to invest large funds which, directly or in a round about way, weaken

U.S. economy, increase competition in world capitalist markets to its disadvantage, weaken U.S. hegemony. All these give rise to marked economic crises, crisis of the dollar, pound sterling and franc and, consequently, of the monetary funds of all the other capitalist States; they give rise to unemployment and a lowering of the standard of living of the population, give rise to major disturbances and putsches in their State systems, affect political and military alliances, weakening them to such an extent as, for instance, to leave the United States of America in the lurch and oblige it to fight all by itself in Vietnam, to finance Israel's aggressive war against the Arab peoples itself, to accept, unable to do otherwise, that de Gaulle's France withdraw its military commitments to NATO and leave England and, indirectly, the United States of America, out of the «Common Market», and so on.

The capitalists of various regions, those of the dollar, pound sterling, mark and franc are at loggerheads to detach themselves from dependance on the dollar, to detach themselves as far as they can from the political, possibly also the military, especially from the tyrannical tutelage of the Pentagon and from the heavy burden of military expenses.

Thus, U.S. imperialism and all its partners are passing through a major political, economic and military crisis which will always grow deeper and deeper.

Under these conditions, U.S. imperialism is obliged to come to terms and conclude an alliance with the new imperialism, with Soviet modern re-

visionism which, on its part, aspires also to dominate the world. But the degeneration of the Soviet Union and its satellites into capitalist countries widened the spheres of capitalist collaboration in all fields, not only between the United States of America and the Soviet Union, but also between the capitalist partners of the United States of America and the Soviet Union and with its revisionist satellites of the zone of the ruble. Thus, a new big element is added to world capitalist competition, another element of political crises and tensions among all the rival partners in the ranks of which, even without this new factor, there are at work many aggravated antagonist contradictions which gnaw at and decompose them.

As a major revisionist-imperialist Power, the Soviet Union and, together with it, also its partners have plunged into such a deep crisis that they cannot and it is impossible for them to extricate themselves from its clutches. Transformation of the Soviet Union from a socialist to a capitalist country has plunged it into a real chaotic state of affairs. Its revisionist satellites are in an equal plight. They are not satisfied with the alms their big ally gives them, which takes more from and gives less to them, and they are looking for new ways out, building new bridges with capitalist countries. This is quite natural, but it is displeasing and unacceptable to the Soviet hegemonists who, under these conditions, tighten their military domination on their satellites, allegedly, to protect socialism but, in reality, to maintain their hegemony.

Soviet revisionist imperialism strives to widen

its sphere of influence in the world and its sway over the peoples and States of the different continents. But this is done at great sacrifice which weakens its potential, since nothing is certain for it. The Soviet revisionists strive to plunge their claws on other peoples and countries at a time when world revolution is on the surge, when peoples launch their liberation wars on all sides, when, in the capitalist world, they come up against a powerful and aggressive rival like U.S. imperialism, and when Soviet revisionist imperialism itself is undermined from inside and not powerful enough to set up its own World Empire. To attain this, the Soviet revisionists are pursuing the same road the old imperialists used to pursue in times much more favorable for them. They resort to lies, blackmail, threats, demagoguery, credits and investments of an exploiting capitalist character. They use military occupation, as in the case of Czechoslovakia⁸⁾, they establish military bases in several countries to serve their imperialist domination and protect their revisionist Empire, for aggressive attacks and wars and colonialist exploitation of countries where they succeed in establishing these bases. The new Soviet colonies should serve the Soviet revisionists to provide for their metropolis which has been plunged into a deep and irreparable agricultural and industrial crisis, in other words, to have the blood and sweat of their people sucked by them in order to feed and fatten the new Soviet bourgeoisie, just as the other imperialists have done and are continuing to do.

What conclusions can we draw from this brief survey of the present international situation?

When our Party says that world revolution is surging up and the situation in the world is developing in favor of revolution and to the detriment of the imperialists and revisionists, it says it on the basis of a real Marxist-Leninist analysis of the development of world events.

U.S.-led imperialism and Soviet-led modern revisionism represent reaction of the most somber kind. They prepare for and launch various predatory wars in order to hold people under bondage, to suppress the liberation struggle of people and world proletarian revolution.

Both of these major world imperialist Powers and their satellites are avowed enemies of communism, of the ideology of the working class, of Marxism-Leninism. They uphold their oppressive, pseudo-democratic regimes and use all methods and means to oppose the triumph of the dictatorship of the proletariat which is their grave-digger.

Ruthless capitalist, imperialist and revisionist exploitation of the peoples, regardless of the forms and methods used, regardless of the ideological guise under which these forms and methods of oppression and exploitation appear, arouse everywhere a major resistance in various forms, passive, active and open warfare, by the people. Capitalist exploitation has now become unbearable to the people who fight with determination and with all means to get rid of it. This state of affairs is reflected in the revolutionary dynamism of the development of world events. The world is not inert, it

seethes. The imperialist-revisionists hanker after tranquillity and the statusquo ante while people, the revolutionaries, are opposed to sham imperialist-revisionist tranquillity and statusquo, they are for their downfall. Herein lies the irreconcilable antagonism between the imperialist-revisionists, on the one hand, and the people, on the other. This is a bitter class struggle on a national and an international level which inspires and guides the national-liberation wars and national and international proletarian revolution.

At the roots of all the various alliances among various capitalists, between the U.S. imperialists and Soviet revisionists, as well as among the revisionist States themselves, the red thread that runs through all these counter-revolutionary alliances is war against peoples, suppression of their resistance, denial of their legitimate rights and their economic exploitation to the marrow. Their alliances aim also at defining their zones of influence, but these do not exclude blows and counterblows among them when the contradictions among them reach the climax, when they cannot be solved except through armed conflicts, which constitute the predatory local and world wars for a re-division of zones of influence.

All this system of alliances can be neither durable nor firm, for it contains in itself splits, quarrells, irreconcilable contradictions which allow them in no way to work in harmony, in unity. The capitalist system, capitalist ownership does not allow a thing of this kind, because it decomposes the system. On the other hand, this rotten system,

which is breathing its last, is being hit hard by the revolutionary upsurge of the people, which is breaking its weak links one after the other until it makes short work of it once and for all time.

Soviet-U.S. alliance occupies at present the world imperialist-revisionist stage. What compels the two major world imperialist Powers, who both aim at holding sway over the people for the same plundering purpose, to unite in spite of the many contradictions existing between them? Which is that force, more powerful than their atomic arsenals, than their colossal war budgets, than their political and social systems, which they trumpet abroad as «the most democratic and most progressive», that has disturbed them so much as to spoil their sleep?

This colossal force are the people who have risen in battle and revolution, is the proletarian revolution which rises in a fury against them, is the «ghost of communism» which has now become a major reality. At the root of the Soviet-U.S. alliance lies their joint war against socialism, against communism, against Marxism-Leninism.

By dividing the spheres of influence between them, these two imperialist States threaten the world with all the kinds of armaments they have at their disposal, including atomic bombs and shells; they have made common cause to suppress national-liberation wars, to suppress proletarian revolution which threatens them with perdition. It is in alliance with each other that they are actively at work wherever peoples fight for their freedom, in Vietnam and the Caribbean isles, in Latin Ame-

rica, in Africa, in Asia, in the ranks of their own allies both in NATO and the Warsaw Treaty. This complex and coordinated activity of the U.S. imperialists and the Soviet revisionists, by arms and demagogic pacifist propaganda, seems as if it is not coordinated, it even seems that there are deep contradictions between them. This is a mirage which should be continually exposed. Apart from the fact that in Soviet-U.S. actions there are deep contradictions which will deepen and will aggravate and may degenerate ultimately to armed clashes between them, — an eventuality not to be excluded among capitalists — their main and decisive objective is one and unalterable.

U.S.-Soviet diplomacy has arrived at the conclusion that each of both sides «can dominate and hold in its grip its allies in the illfamed NATO and WARSAW alliances etc», that together lead the war against socialism, communism and the all-conquering ideas of Marxism-Leninism. But a calculation of this kind cannot be but a wrong one.

The economic and political crises in the United States of America, in the European capitalist countries, in Czechoslovakia and within the Soviet Union itself, the revolts of peoples and students in Europe, Asia, Latin America, the war state in the Middle East, Bonn's open and threatening intentions, the fascist coup in Greece and elsewhere show how incorrect, how short-lived are the calculations of U.S. imperialism and its allies, the Soviet revisionists.

The major crises within the ranks of the various imperialists, the deep contradictions and

cracks within the ranks of the bourgeoisie of the capitalist and revisionist countries, their armaments and preparation for further plundering wars, go to show exactly that the ideas of Marxism-Leninism are clarifying and inspiring the world proletariat and laboring masses and are blazing the way for them to the revolution. This shows that the world proletariat and laboring masses are becoming more and more aware every passing day of the lie of bourgeois democracy, of the falsity of bourgeois and revisionist vote and parliamentarism, the falsity of the bourgeois «peaceful coexistence» and of bourgeois pacifism. From their own experience, the world proletarians and workers are becoming more and more conscious each day that the capitalist world and the world the social-democrats and modern revisionists preach should be crushed by revolutionary violence, by the violence of arms. And it is precisely because this furious wave is surging that we are witnessing today major world imperialist-revisionist crises, that we witness such preparations for war on their part, such suppression of strikes and national-liberation struggles, such splits in bourgeois parties, such rise of polycentrist drifts within the ranks of modern revisionism, in general, and of divisive factions within the ranks of every revisionist party, in particular.

It goes without saying that this deterioration, which is deepening on the imperialist-revisionist front, will degenerate into a catastrophe for them and lead to the victory of the proletarian revolution. Blinders seem to have been thrown over it, but these blinders are made of cardboard and,

beneath them, the revolution is sizzling, it has broken out and will continually break out in its slackened links.

The sharp edge of the joint and coordinated war of U.S. imperialism and modern revisionism is spearheaded against the People's Republic of China and the People's Republic of Albania, against the Communist Party of China and the Party of Labor of Albania who lead their people to the certain victory of socialism and communism and stand in the lead of the Marxist-Leninist communist and workers' parties of the whole world in their battle with imperialism, modern revisionism and the entire world reaction.

The brilliant victories scored by the great proletarian cultural revolution of the great Chinese people and their glorious Party, guided personally by the outstanding Marxist-Leninist Comrade Mao Tse-tung, have fortified a lot the common cause of socialism and revolution everywhere in the world. The triumph of this revolution is of vast importance not only to the consolidation of the dictatorship of the proletariat in China, to carrying through to the end socialist revolution and to warding the emergence of revisionism and the restoration of capitalism as in the Soviet Union, but it has set, at the same time, a great example for the revolutionaries and peoples of the revisionist countries to overthrow the traitorous cliques in power, it is a powerful incentive for the proletariat of the world and the oppressed peoples in their class and liberation struggles.

The existence and force of Mao Tse-tung's

great socialist People's China, provide a major guarantee for the inevitable victory over imperialism and revisionism. All the diabolic schemes of the imperialists and revisionists will be frustrated, one after the other, by those revolutionary peoples of the world who, under the leadership of revolutionary communist parties (Marxist-Leninist), under the leadership of revolutionary patriots, have risen to fight and by those who will continually rise one after the other, and all together wage war and revolution.

The regroupment of revolutionary communists in new Marxist-Leninist parties is an open break with modern revisionism and with the former communist and workers' parties which betrayed Marxism-Leninism. This is the picture of a new revolutionary situation within the ranks of the international working class which is being split and, at the same time, regrouped. Within its ranks, the conscious and revolutionary part of the proletariat are being strengthened to play their vanguard role against the socialists, social-democrats and modern revisionists who still hold commanding positions, especially, among the strata of the worker aristocracy who mislead the working masses.

The struggle will last long but the conscious and revolutionary section of the world proletariat, under the guidance of the new Marxist-Leninist communist parties, should cope with energy and in an organized way with the attacks of the bourgeoisie, organized and armed, as well as of all its lackeys, the social-democrats and modern revisionists.

The great idea of proletarian revolution and of the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat pursues its course nonstop. This is borne out not only by the decay of the imperialist bourgeoisie, but also by the betrayal by Soviet-led modern revisionists, this is shown by the fact that, in order to block the way to the nonstop revolution, the revisionists try to find new forms of warfare, to put on new masks, to resort to new forms of organization and fraud.

Guised under various masks and hidden behind various labels ranging from socialist to anarchist, the imperialist bourgeoisie and their parties tried once upon a time to quell down revolution in the world, and especially in Russia, through fire and demagoguery. But to no avail. They could not. And now, although the Soviet and other revisionists, who are or are not in power, strive to quell down the growing proletarian revolution they will meet with failure.

Our confidence and determination in the victory of the world proletarian revolution are enhanced and we rejoice when we learn that new Marxist-Leninist Communist parties are formed and consolidated everywhere. We gain a major experience from the joint experiences of all the Marxist-Leninist communist parties, big or small, old or young of age. We learn a lot when we see that the Marxist revolutionaries in the world, guarding the purity of our Marxist-Leninist theory like the apple of their eye, pursue everywhere, in their own way and by their own forms and methods, their war against imperialism, against the bourgeoisie,

social-democrats, national-chauvinists and modern revisionists who cover their faces under many forms and masks. The great Marxist-Leninist unity among the Marxist-Leninist revolutionary parties is being tempered in battle and revolution. It is precisely this unity the capitalists and modern revisionists aim at splitting and destroying. But to no avail. Revolution cannot be stopped and Marxist-Leninist unity in revolution cannot be broken. Revolution spells unity, counter-revolution spells disunity. It is because our Party of Labor abides faithfully by Marxism-Leninism, because it works and strives for revolution and Marxist-Leninist unity, that it is being fought against by all possible means by capitalism, imperialism and modern revisionism. They hurl all sorts of foul invectives on us. This gladdens us and we say: let them go to it! Our mountains soar up higher and higher!

Our revisionist enemies who fight us are not and can never be united. The unity, which allegedly exists in the revisionist camp, is only a formal one. There can be no unity under conditions of the political and ideological degeneration of the cliques who hold sway in these countries which are called socialist but which have, in reality, turned into capitalist countries. It is their interests of capitalist ownership that splits them. On such basis, their ties are temporary and have nothing to do at all with Marxist-Leninist unity.

The revisionist cliques in power speak of close ties among them and reproach us with breaking up Marxist-Leninist unity. But in the reality of things, they are exposed before the masses of their own

countries, who see that the unity, the revisionists speak of, is false and based on capitalist relations. These masses are, in reality, at one with us, for they see that ours is the only correct course based on Marxist-Leninist lines. It is not the forms that link us up with the hundreds of millions of people everywhere in the world, but our policy, our ideology and our justice. By fighting us, the revisionists create and deepen still further the split in their camp. Whereas we, on our part, are united and, therefore, stronger for the proletarians of the whole world are on our side.

It is true that the Soviet-led modern revisionists were more powerful in their economy, organization and propaganda, but it is also true that far from getting the better of us, it is we who exposed and weakened them badly. And the more furious our principled war becomes, the harder they try to fight us, the more disorganized their coalition becomes, giving birth to new and deeper divergences, which wreck their camp but which impart further strength to our fight against them.

Modern revisionist propaganda claims that «our attitude is an adventure contrary to the interests of the Albanian people, that it has no relations whatsoever with Marxism-Leninism». Then we ask: Wherefore so much concern on their part about «so small a Party of so small a country», wherefore shedding tears on their part over «a cause that they have long since won»?

But things are not as they picture them. Our stand is wholly Marxist-Leninist. It is dangerous to them and to them alone, for it exposes them

badly in the eyes of the communists the world over, who are gaining class consciousness, intensifying the class struggle, uniting more and more closely with us and, together with us, assaulting the caved-in stronghold of modern revisionism. Thus, neither their «hauteur», the magnitude of their territory nor their economic, military and propaganda potential can withstand our unconquerable revolutionary force, our determination and piercing and smashing blows.

The glorious struggle of our Party and of the Albanian people against imperialism, modern revisionism and the reactionary bourgeoisie as a whole is not waged without great sacrifices but we have taken all these sacrifices into account. It is precisely because of the correct and unflinching war we wage in favor of revolution and progress and precisely because we wage this war regardless of any sacrifice, that the progressive-minded workers and people of the whole world sympathize with and hold us in high esteem. It is here that the force of our Party and people lies, which no force of reaction can suppress or bedim.

It is because our Party represents that revolutionary force which unites and tempers the internationalist unity of the proletariat and the revolutionary communists, that it is fought fiercely by the modern revisionists. The latter cannot afford to set no store by their battle against us (regardless of the fact that we, as they say, are a «small party» and for which they seem to hold us in contempt) for we represent and fight for a great idea.

Our active propaganda in the world, pointing to our Marxist-Leninist revolutionary way of building socialism in Albania and our international policy have aroused great sympathy not only among the proletarians of the world but also among the petty bourgeoisie of the capitalist countries who are, likewise, oppressed and exploited by the big monopolies and capitalist States. Therefore, it is our duty to increase and keep improving our revolutionary propaganda.

By pursuing our correct and unsubmissive policy both internally and on the international arena, we should at no time think that we have attained all our objectives and need no longer worry that our many enemies will assail us. The latter are arming themselves day in, day out. Therefore, our main task is to keep strengthening our defenses, our vigilance, to be always prepared for the most critical version our enemies may force on us.

The Albanian people and the Party of Labor of Albania which guides them, have made up their mind and are prepared to perish rather than surrender to the enemy and that is why they will win. Herein lies the key to all victories. This is not only an historical fact of our people and our Party but it is as much a true decisive factor of their triumph.

We should always be on our guard and armed to strengthen our Fatherland from all points of view and defend it until imperialism and modern revisionism are made short work of by Marxism-Leninism and revolution. We should be well aware that we will have to fight against numerous and strong enemies. We should stand firm and not be

scared. We should cope with all eventualities and make all sacrifices. We should always have confidence in our strength, in our line, in our justice. We should exert all our efforts in defense of our Fatherland against the imperialists and modern revisionists, we should defend it at all costs and we should win at all costs over any aggressor. While defending our dearly cherished socialist Fatherland we defend, at the same time, world revolution and socialism.

Comrades!

The year which is ending marked for our Fatherland important results both in economy as well as in education and culture. Many satisfactory results were achieved also in industry, agriculture, schooling and in the electrification of the country, in building factories, combines, hydro-electric power-plants, dwelling houses, new schools and hospitals and so on. Major successes were also scored in building new highways and railways.

What did all these confirm? They confirmed the correct and farsighted policy of our Party, its great inspiring force, its steel-like ties with the people. Through an unprecedented revolutionary drive, through their rare sound judgment, their indiscribable patriotism and knowledge which they are continually enriching, our marvellous people are turning night to day, are surmounting numerous difficulties and winning over them.

The all-round political and ideological uplift of the laboring masses, their thorough revolutioni-

zation has made every worker, on whatever job, to get the proper grasp of and link organically his own task with the general task facing our whole country. Every worker has understood and understands better and better with each passing day that the meanest and simplest job cannot be isolated from the task of completing socialist construction. All the limbs of the huge body of our Fatherland should walk, work and think in harmony and at a revolutionary tempo. The powerful and harmonious breathing of the people who are being educated to place general above personal interest, who are learning to improve the organization of work, to enforce revolutionary discipline at work, to apply vanguard technique and science, who are being educated to place Marxist-Leninist policy above everything and gauge every act under the prism of this policy, has enabled the Party to score great success in tempering the new man, in achieving these important results and in continually improving the welfare of the people. Rely on these results and, without being overwhelmed by self-content, keep up the revolutionary drive to increase them ten and hundred-fold in the years to come.

The glorious jubilant year of the 25th anniversary of the liberation of our Fatherland, 1969, is approaching. We are through a quarter of a century filled with heroism, sacrifices and victories along which the Party line is blazing like sunshine and socialism is being successfully built in our country. Socialist Albania has become strong,

respectable and invincible by any enemy, external or internal.

Let 1969 be a year of greater brilliance in reaching and over reaching all planned targets, in overcoming all obstacles and difficulties, in surpassing all work quotas, in surpassing yields in agriculture, in increasing to the maximum the fruitful initiative of the masses, in developing large-scale mechanization and in organizing work on better lines. Let all our people, old and young, learn and learn continually. Let the continuous revolutionization of conscience, thought and work proceed nonstop along Party lines since that will strengthen our physical and mental capacities to such a degree as to astound us with the great results we will score in all our work.

All our people know the great tasks of the 4th five-year period set by the 5th Congress of the Party. We will carry all of them through with success. But our Party Central Committee and our Government have turned their minds to and are working also on what we will do when the 4th five-period is over. We have already mapped out the essential orientations of the 5th five-year plan and not only on paper. We have substantiated most of them, even in such a way as to begin some of the works of the coming five-year period already during this period.

I can speak of some of them for it would be difficult for me to run through the whole list; thus, the draftplan of the 5th five-year period alone will give you a full idea of the magnificent work and progress lying ahead.

We had talks with our Chinese comrades regarding our future plans. The results of the talks of our delegation headed by Comrade Adil Çarçani⁹⁾ with the comrade leaders of the Communist Party and the Government of the People's Republic of China were brilliant. Mao Tse-tung's great China accorded to Albania a large credit which represents a valuable internationalist aid. This is the largest credit free of interest that the People's Republic of China has accorded to our country. Our Party and our people are grateful to the Chinese people, their Communist Party and Mao Tse-tung for this.

The works which will be set up with the internationalist and fraternal aid of the People's Republic of China will make our socialist Fatherland more advanced and more powerful. On the basis of agreements entered into, there will be built 30 important works which are envisaged to further develop some branches of our industry and set up new branches very essential to the development of our people's economy.

One of these major industrial works, even of an international size, is the Metallurgic Works envisaged to be built in Elbasan, which will process 800 thousand tons of iron-nickel ore a year, in order to turn out about 250 thousand tons of rolled steel of a wide gamma of assortments in addition to cast iron and nickel. This works will be made up of a complexity of plants and sectors of which, the present sheet metal plant in Elbasan will probably be the smallest sector of this gigantic combine. Its lay-out will occupy about 225 hectares of

land or nearly ten times the area occupied by the present Nitrate Plant and Powerplant of Fieri taken together. This up-to-date works will have a volume of machines, technological equipment and accessories almost equal to those of the 25 works of the 3d five-year plan.

A work of extraordinary importance will, likewise, be, as you may have heard, the Fierza Hydro-electric Power-plant with a capacity of nearly 400 thousand kW, that is, larger than the installed power of all the hydropower stations of our country already built, that of Vau Denjes included. The Fierza Hydro-electric Power-plant will produce about one billion and seven hundred million kilowatt hours of electric power a year, i.e., twice the capacity of Vau Dejës Hydro-electric Power-plant or about twice as much electric power as is produced today in our country. The 150 meter high dam of the plant will match with high dams built in the world.

Another colossus of the 5th five-year plan will be the deep oil refining plant which will treat 1 million tons of crude oil a year, that is, nearly as much as all our refineries treat today. The products of this establishment will fulfil the needs of the country for high quality fuel of international standards. This complex will contain a number of workshops, installations and sectors. It will stretch over an area equal to 100 hectares or nearly ten times that of the Fieri Nitrate Fertilizer Plant whereas equipment and metal structures weigh about 20 thousand tons, or nearly four times those installed at this fertilizer plant. A thermo-power plant

will also be installed in the vicinity to supply about 15 thousand kilowatts.

Of major importance will also be the plant to turn out 6000 tons of polyvinyl chloride (PVC) and 7500 tons of caustic soda a year (or about 50% more than the present production of the soda plant in Vlora), as well as other very useful products for our economy. This plant will fulfil the needs for plastic material of the Copper Wire Plant in Shkodra, of the Durrës factory under construction which will turn out plastic articles for broad consumption, while a quantity of some thousand tons of polyvinyl chloride will be used to produce articles for broad consumption and for building construction and sacs.

In addition, the production of nitrate fertilizers will be doubled and the following plants will be expanded: the superphosphate plant, the copper treating factory, the chromium treating factory, the tractor spare part plant, the Fush-Kruja cement factory, the asbestos cement slab and tube plant. There will be built the copper smelting plant, a new copper treating plant, the phosphatic ore treating plant and corresponding mine, the plastic production plant, the asbestos treating factory, the coal treating factory of a capacity of 450 thousand tons a year, the fiber slab factory with a yearly capacity of 5,000 cubic meters, a paper factory of a yearly capacity of 7,500 tons of writing, printing and drawing paper and the big polygraphic plant.

During the coming five-year period, there will be built also new powerful mines of iron-

nickel with a capacity of extracting 500,000 and 700,000 tons of mineral a year, the Valias coal mine with a capacity of extracting 210,000 tons a year, and others. Means and equipment will be provided to step up the mechanization of geological, mining, building and agricultural work and geological and other research work will be expanded.

These are, as I said, only part of the works and investments that will be made during the 5th five-year period to provide a powerful material and technical basis for the development of our light industry of consumption goods, as well as for the development and mechanization of agriculture which will raise to a higher level the output of agricultural and livestock products which will increase the incomes of our rural population, improve life in the countryside and raise the standards of living of all the workers in towns and in the countryside and narrow down the difference between urban and rural areas.

One can thus understand the major importance of all these very stupendous works we will set up during the coming five-year period which will give a further major push to the socialist construction of our Fatherland. These face us with further major tasks the full realization of which demands an all-round mobilization of all our forces.

Therefore, let us start right away to think of and work towards bringing about our beautiful future. Imagine, comrades, of what colossal importance it is for us to set in motion a revolution-

nary drive to accomplish the tasks of the 4th five-year plan and what lies ahead for us to do. Just think how important it is to mechanize and organize work properly, to surpass work quotas and output, to raise the political and educational level of people, to temper them through manual labor in order to cope with difficulties and exercise revolutionary vigilance. Let us raise all these to a high level, for major and glorious battles lie ahead for us in the near future.

I wish the Tirana revolutionary Party organization further success! Comrades! I wish you success in your work and further and ever greater achievements!

Long live our beloved Party of Labor, organizer of all the achievements of our people!

Glory to Marxism-Leninism!

NOTES

1. Speech delivered to the 17th Tirana Regional Party Conference on December 21, 1968.

2. Manush Myftiu — Member of the Political Bureau of the CC of the PLA and First Secretary of the Tirana Regional Party Committee.

3. As a result of the correct application by the Party of the orientation of the Political Bureau of the CC of the PLA «on further improving the social make-up of the Party organs in the regions and at the grass root level», these organs are now made up of 44,1 per cent workers and 15 per cent women.

4. Of the total number of those elected to the

leading Party organs in 1968, 48,6 per cent were made up of young people elected for the first time.

5. It refers to the periodical bulletin issued by the Central Commission for education attached to the CC of the PLA. This bulletin publishes studies and discussions for the further revolutionization of our school.

6. On the basis of the popular discussions and with the aim of strengthening the ideological teaching in our schools, the 8th plenum of the CC of the PLA passed the decision that the subject «Political and Ethical Education» be studied at the standard 7th and 8th of the 8-grade school, where, besides other knowledge, there should be taught simply some key moments of the History of the Party of Labor of Albania.

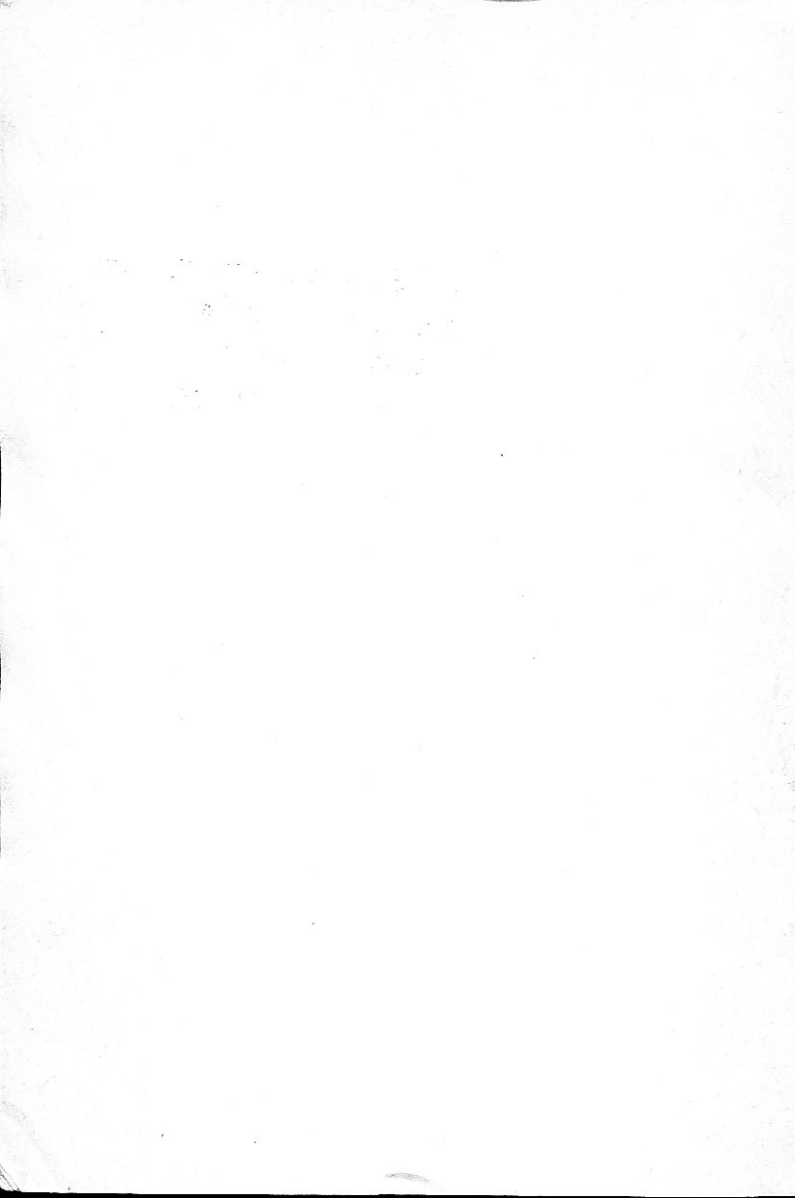
7. The annual average of the population of Albania in 1938 was 1,040,353 whereas in 1968 it became twice as much — 2,018,000 inhabitants.

8. Reference is made to the fascist-like aggression and invasion of Czechoslovakia by the troops of the Soviet revisionists and of their satellites in August of the year 1968.

9. Adil Çarçani — Member of the Political Bureau of the CC of the PLA and vice-Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the People's Republic of Albania. He led the delegation of the Albanian Government to the People's Republic of China and signed in Peking on November 20, 1968 the economic agreement through which the People's Republic of China accords to the People's Republic of Albania a credit to build a series of important projects during the 5th five-year plan.

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