

THE STRUGGLE OF THE PARTY ON THE IDEOLOGICAL FRONT

The years that have elapsed have been years of major work and struggle for the uninterrupted revolutionization of the whole life of the country. This great process of transformation has led to the strengthening of the Party and the state power, the consolidation of the economic base, the development of education and culture and the defence potential of the Homeland. It has led to a rise in the consciousness of the working people, endowed them with deeper Marxist-Leninist convictions, created a militant spirit and greater mobilization at work, has encouraged the initiative of the masses, sharpened their political, and ideological vigilance and further strengthened their confidence in their own forces. In this all-round struggle, the fighting unity of the people around the Party has been enhanced, and the dictatorship of the proletariat defended and strengthened.

1. - WE MUST WAGE THE CLASS STRUGGLE CORRECTLY AND WITH DETERMINATION

The construction of socialism is a process of stern class struggle between the two roads, the socialist road and the capitalist road, a struggle waged on all fronts, political and economic, ideological and military.

In socialism, too, this struggle is an objective phenomenon, the main driving force that carries the revolution and the construction of socialism forward, that protects the Party, the state and the entire country from bourgeois-revisionist degeneration and the restoration of capitalism, that cleanses the consciousness of the working people and strengthens their proletarian spirit.

The major successes and victories our people have achieved under the leadership of the Party, in their struggle to develop the revolution and construct socialism, are linked with the fact that the Party has resolutely upheld the line of the class struggle and consistently waged it against internal and external enemies, as well as among the people and in its own ranks.

In the process of this struggle, a rich revolutionary experience of major theoretical and practical value has been gained from which our Party has drawn very valuable lessons and conclusions on how to build and defend socialism and strengthen the Party and the dictatorship of the proletariat.

The class struggle waged during the whole existence of the Party, as well as recently, has shown that **the main danger and enemy to our Party and the entire international revolutionary communist and workers' movement has been and still is right opportunism, revisionism.** This danger always threatens a country which is building socialism under the conditions of capitalist encirclement, but it has now become greater still, especially since the liquidation of the socialist order in the Soviet Union and the bourgeois degeneration of many communist parties of the world. In a country where socialism is being built with success, the enemies find it difficult to come out openly with the banner of anti-communism. Pseudo-Marxism, revisionist counter-revolution, is their favourite weapon to overthrow socialism.

International experience and that of our country show that the hopes of the bourgeoisie and reaction for the restoration of capitalism are not based only on the remnants of the old exploiting classes nor only on the agents and diversionists in the pay of foreigners. Their hopes are based especially on other enemies of socialism who emerge from the socialist society itself, on people seriously contaminated by the hangovers of old ideologies, with marked individualistic and career-seeking tendencies, confused by the impact of modern bourgeois and revisionist ideologies, who yield to the pressure of external and internal enemies, and who, eventually, desert the revolution and degenerate into counterrevolutionaries.

In socialist society there exists the danger of the degeneration of individuals, of the emergence of

new bourgeois elements, of their transformation into counterrevolutionaries. As Marxism-Leninism teaches, this comes about not only because the new socialist society still preserves traditions, customs, ways of behaviour and concepts of life of the bourgeois society from which it has emerged, but also because of certain economic and social conditions. which live on in this society in the transitional phase. The productive forces and the relations of production, the mode of distribution based on them, are still far from being completely communist. The distinctions which exist in different fields, such as between country and town, manual and mental work, qualified and unqualified work, etc. which cannot be wiped out immediately, also exert their influence in this direction. To them must be added the powerful and all-round pressure which the capitalist and revisionist world exerts from outside. Socialism can greatly restrict the emergence of negative phenomena alien to its nature, but it cannot avoid them completely.

Therefore, the discovery and defeat of individual hostile elements or a hostile group, at a given time, should not lull us to sleep and make us think that, with this, the enemies are done for. **As long as the class struggle continues, as long as the hostile bourgeois pressure from within and without exists, the danger of the emergence of new enemies and of their activity against socialism also continues to exist.** The Party and the people must always remain on guard, vigilant and revolutionary, must wage a resolute and uncompromising class struggle and block all the ways from which the enemies might emerge and harm us.

Socialist Albania provides a major example which shows that the emergence of revisionism and return to capitalism are not decreed by fate to be inevitable, as the bourgeois ideologists try to make out. It proves the vitality of socialism, the invincible strength of the ideas of Marxism-Leninism, which, when they are consistently applied, carry the cause of the revolution and the dictatorship of the proletariat forward with sure steps. The correct understanding of this problem, the dialectical appreciation of it, is of great principled importance and is directly linked with the fate of socialism.

There exists a very close connection and coordination between the internal and external fronts of the struggle waged by the class enemies. They are united by their anti-communist ideology, and the need they have of each other's support in their struggle against the Party and the socialist order. It is important to recognize not only this fact, which will continue to exist as long as the imperialist-revisionist encirclement and the survivals of capitalism themselves exist within the country, but especially that this coordination may be strengthened and become extremely dangerous if we are careless, lacking in vigilance, and fail to carry out a resolute struggle against it.

The Party has carried out great and persistent work to give the people a correct understanding of the imperialist-revisionist encirclement and the struggle which must be waged against it. The results of this struggle are evident in all fields. Under the leadership of the Party, our people have coped resolutely with political pressures, economic blockades, military threats and the ideological aggression of the enemies. They have never been taken in, either by the blandishments and demagoguery of the enemies or by their diplomatic manoeuvres.

However, it remains a major and permanent task of the Party in the future, too, to make old and young ever more conscious of the hostile nature of the imperialist-revisionist encirclement, of the dangers it represents and the tasks we face to cope successfully with the all-round pressure which it exerts on our country. Socialist Albania is a thorn in the flesh of numerous enemies who are striving in every way to undermine and destroy it. Whatever the tactics they use and the conjunctures created, they always remain enemies, therefore we should have no illusions about them.

The imperialist-revisionist encirclement is not in the least passive and merely geographical, but a threatening and active encirclement which fights us in all fields and in all directions. But there are still people who have a superficial and unduly simple understanding of this encirclement, who

underrate the danger of military aggression, the difficulties stemming from the economic blockade, or the menace of the foreign ideological diversion. Such attitudes are very harmful.

Our socialist Homeland has been and is constantly under threat of military aggression by imperialism and social-imperialism. The aggressive policy of the superpowers is spearheaded first of all against socialism, the revolution and the liberation of the peoples, against those forces that unmask and oppose their hegemonic and expansionist course. Therefore, the danger of foreign military aggression against socialist Albania is real and should be neither underrated nor overrated.

Besides their measures of coercion, the imperialist and revisionist enemies also use the tactics of peaceful degeneration of the socialist order, attaching special importance to their ideological aggression, precisely to the counter-revolutionary course which proved so fruitful in the Soviet Union and the other former socialist countries.

The imperialist-revisionist encirclement is operating very powerfully in the field of the economy as well. The savage economic blockade, discrimination in trade relations, the efforts to impede the development of production are the weapons of the enemies to sabotage the construction of socialism and undermine the economic and political independence of the country.

The aim of the external enemies is to put our internal front into disarray, to aid and abet the anti-socialist and counter-revolutionary elements within the country. Therefore, **we must cope with the united front of the enemies by strengthening our internal front in all directions, in the fields of defence and the economy, politics and ideology, always consistently waging the class struggle.** We must resolutely combat any spirit of euphoria and overestimation of our own forces, any lack of seriousness or of total mobilization in the struggle against the imperialist-revisionist encirclement.

Our people should live everyday with the external and internal political situations of the country, always see their tasks in close connection with these situations, work with a lofty spirit of self-denial and sacrifice, always be ready, vigilant and resolute fighters against all the attempts and pressures of the enemies. The struggle against the imperialist-revisionist encirclement is not a single battle or a series of campaigns, but a continuous fight that must be waged every day.

Our Party has stressed that the struggle on the ideological front constitutes one of the main aspects of the class struggle. This is a fierce struggle waged on a broad front against all alien ideologies, old and new, which are kept alive, inspired and encouraged by internal and external bourgeois pressure. This is a major front of struggle, extremely important and complicated, which demands the permanent attention of the Party.

The successes which have been achieved in this field constitute one of the most important victories of the Party and the people. The petty-bourgeois psychology and mentality, backward customs and religious prejudices, manifestations and influences of alien bourgeois-revisionist ideologies have been dealt powerful and crushing blows. The aim of all this work has been to have our people always engaged in revolution, to ensure that they do not stand aside from it even for a moment, to encourage them to struggle and work selflessly, all their lives, for the great cause of the Party, for socialism and communism. The high level of political consciousness, the heroism at work, the sense of responsibility and the spirit of sacrifice are characteristic of our working people. This is testimony to the invincible strength of Marxism-Leninism and socialism, the correctness of the line of the Party.

But this healthy revolutionary reality should not induce us to relax our struggle on the ideological front, however slightly, because today, too, the question presents itself in the same way as Lenin presented it many decades ago:

'... either bourgeois or socialist ideology. There is no middle course ... Hence, to belittle the socialist ideology in any way, to turn aside from it in the slightest degree means to strengthen bourgeois ideology'.

V. I. Lenin, Collected Works, Volume 5, pp452-453, Albanian edition.

The fact that the class struggle on the ideological front is waged in the ranks of the people and the Party, too, in everybody's consciousness, means that some people fail to distinguish the hostile content of these alien manifestations. Others underestimate this struggle, thinking that the hangovers from old ideologies constitute a potential rather than a real danger. They forget that these remnants and influences have not been and are not just something ugly, though passive, in people's consciousness, but are the source which incites anti-socialist attitudes and actions, such as thefts from, and damage to, socialist property, breaches of proletarian discipline at work, favouritism and nepotism, bureaucratic and liberal, patriarchal and conservative attitudes, etc. All these things, even when they are not committed by enemies or under their direct influence, are just as harmful and become serious obstacles to the construction of socialism. The hangovers of alien ideologies, the petty-bourgeois mentality, the feeling of private property and the placing of self-interest above public interest, constitute that hotbed in which bourgeois degeneration, revisionist and capitulationist views are bred and nurtured. Therefore, the struggle on the ideological front is not a passing campaign, but a continuous struggle for the triumph of proletarian ideology and morality, a struggle for the triumph of socialism and communism.

Our practice of revolution and socialist construction teaches us that unless it is waged in all its main directions, political, economic and ideological, no class struggle can ever be complete. These three forms of class struggle are intertwined with and complement each other. At given periods, now one or now the other form of class struggle may come to the fore, but in every case it should be waged on all fronts. We should not forget that the enemy, too, wages his struggle in all directions: ideological, economic and political. Practice over the recent years has borne this out clearly.

Underestimation of one or the other aspect is fraught with negative consequences, leads to various distortions, and to the weakening of the class struggle as a whole. In practice, there is and can be no class struggle on any front outside the struggle to strengthen the dictatorship of the proletariat, to ensure the leading role of the Party, and to defend the Homeland. The class struggle cannot be conceived apart from the efforts to fulfil the economic plan and the tasks in every other field of social activity or from the struggle to implant the proletarian ideology.

The class enemy tries to benumb the vigilance of the masses, it looks for periods of calm and lulls in the development of the class struggle in order to muster its forces and strike suddenly. The task of the party organizations, of all the working people, with the working class at the head, is to prevent the creation of such situations favourable to the enemy, and to be always on the offensive, to keep the edge of the class struggle constantly sharp and be irreconcilable with the enemies and their ideologies.

Our Party has always waged the class struggle correctly and unerringly, according to the teachings of Marxism-Leninism. This has been and remains a question of particular importance, for any deviation in waging the class struggle is fraught with grave consequences for the activity of the Party and the masses. It calls for maintaining a principled stand on all occasions, without slipping either into opportunism or into sectarianism. In life, both these phenomena are encountered.

The passive non-militant stands observed in some party base organizations and among cadres of the sectors, in which the various condemned hostile groups carried out their undermining activity, were opportunist. The enemies violated the line, directives, and orientations of the Party, displayed

features of degenerate people, but these organizations and cadres failed to speak out and tell them firmly to stop their evil-doing activity in time. The 'soft-hearted' attitudes towards the class enemy, the bourgeois sentimentality shown in some cases towards people who degenerate, who violate the norms of socialist society and the state laws, are opportunist, tolerant and conciliatory attitudes towards manifestations alien to our ideology.

Rigid and sectarian attitudes also damage the line of the Party. In the recent times such attitudes have been apparent among some communists and cadres who, when the Party exposed and condemned elements with a liberal, opportunist and hostile spirit, began to look with undue suspicion even at some small and unimportant blemish. The tendencies observed sometimes in some people to resort to administrative methods where persuasion and education should be used are also sectarian. Those who display sectarian tendencies often pose as 'consistent and principled revolutionaries'. But in fact, they are opportunists and act in this way in order to be 'on the safe side'.

These opportunist vacillations stem from lack of a correct grasp of the nature of the two types of contradictions which exist in our society, from confusing antagonistic with non-antagonistic contradictions. The Party must make these matters completely clear and explain that **opportunism cannot be fought with success if sectarianism is not fought at the same time, and vice-versa**. On the other hand, the class struggle must be waged neither in closed forms nor only from above, but jointly with the masses, with their broad and active participation. In this way the revolutionary education of the working people is achieved, and the unity of the Party and the people is strengthened and steeled.

The Party has emphasized that one of the most important aspects of the class struggle is the struggle against bureaucracy and liberalism, both dangerous enemies of the dictatorship of the proletariat and socialism. The Party has done great and persistent work against both these negative phenomena and has taken a series of concrete measures, such as those for bringing the state power closer to the people and curtailing the administrative apparatuses, for ensuring the more active participation of the masses in the work of government, for strengthening and further improving the direct worker and peasant control, for eradicating the spirit of the bureaucratic hierarchy and democratizing life in the army, for barring all ways to the penetration of the alien ideology, and for revolutionizing the school, literature and arts.

But despite all the successes achieved and the heavy blows bureaucracy and liberalism have been dealt, the Party does not consider the struggle against them as over and done with. They always remain a serious danger, and the struggle against them must go on all the time. They are weapons in the hands of the class enemies to undermine the Party, the proletarian state, and our socialist life.

The analyses which the Central Committee has made in the sectors of culture, the economy, the army, etc., have shown that all the hostile elements, on the one hand, relied on liberalism and bureaucracy, and on the other hand, fostered these tendencies by all manner of means to further their counter-revolutionary aims. In their efforts to undermine socialism and the dictatorship of the proletariat it was not the line and the leadership of the Party they strove to put in the lead everywhere, but technocracy, they tried to weaken and eliminate control by the Party, the state, and the masses, so as to have their hands free and do as they liked, to encourage anarchist decentralization and create separate and independent organisms, to inflate the state apparatuses and institutions, to weaken their proletarian composition and encourage officialdom, to open the doors to the alien, to undermine confidence in our forces, etc.

But liberal and bureaucratic concepts and practices are not linked with the activity of the enemies only. They are encountered also among our people, in the work of our organs and apparatuses. The

struggle against bureaucracy and liberalism will be a long one, because these things are deep-rooted, are linked with economic, social, and ideological factors, and encouraged by the internal and external enemies. The scale on which they spread depends on the political and cultural level of people, on the work of the Party for the revolutionary education and tempering of the working people, on the understanding of how dangerous they are and the ways to combat them.

Bureaucracy and liberalism are reactionary, idealist, anti-popular and anti-socialist ways of thinking and acting. It is the task of the party propaganda to expose the ideological class nature of liberalism and bureaucracy by theoretical and practical arguments. **The communists, the workers and the broad masses of the working people should rise with deep conviction against liberal manifestations, bureaucratic distortions and routine, to expose and combat them in every link and in all the forms in which they crop up.**

It is necessary to further strengthen and deepen the struggle against technocratism and intellectualism as reflections of bureaucracy which lead to deviation from the proletarian ideology and the policy of the Party, weakening the leading role of the working class in our society, and disparagement of the creative role and thinking of the masses. In the recent years, especially, the technocratic and intellectualist influences have been expressed, among other things, in the overestimation of technology and special skills, in the failure to consider problems from the political and ideological angle, in the lack of faith in the drive and optimism of the masses.

The struggle against liberalism, as an expression of political and ideological opportunism, of concessions to the class enemy, of reconciliation with the influences of alien ideologies, with shortcomings and weaknesses, must become ever more intensive. It becomes even more essential to deepen this struggle because in recent years liberal manifestations and influences have emerged very sharply and have damaged the work in many sectors, such as in culture, the army, the economy, and elsewhere. Never, under any circumstances, should we underestimate these dangers, but we must always maintain keen political and ideological vigilance, strengthen the check-up from above and from below, enhance discipline and proletarian consciousness in everybody.

The Party should devote particular attention to uprooting liberal and anarchist concepts about democracy and freedom in the socialist society. Some people think that, being in a democracy, they have rights only and no duties at all, that the state and the society have obligations to them, which they never fail to demand, while they themselves are free to behave and act as they like, to violate discipline at work and social discipline, the laws of the state and the norms of our society, without a care in the world. These extremely harmful concepts should be combated with determination, for they are alien to the principles of socialism.

A healthy spirit of lively political militancy exists in the ranks of our Party and among the people, and this constitutes a great victory for our Party. But this must in no way make us self-satisfied and close our eyes to manifestations of indifference which are observed among many working people and even among a number of communists and cadres. The struggle against manifestations of indifference remains a current task of the Party and its levers.

The Party has always stressed that **the class struggle in the field of ideology should be frontal and waged against both liberalism and bureaucracy, against the vestiges of the ideology of the old exploiting classes, as well as against the influences and manifestations of the bourgeois and revisionist ideologies of today.** While fighting against degenerating liberalism of bourgeois-revisionist origin, we must not underrate the struggle against various manifestations of conservatism either, which, owing to our historical conditions, still have roots and influences that are by no means superficial.

The 4th, 5th, 6th, and 7th Plenums of the Central Committee of the Party have been great schools of class struggle in the period between the two Congresses. These plenums uncovered and made short work of the hostile groups of Fadil Paçrami and Todi Lubonja, of Beqir Balluku, Petrit Dume and Hito Çako, of Abdyl Këllezi, Koço Theodhosi and Kiço Ngjela, and others, who had engaged in a far-reaching undermining and sabotage activity in the field of ideology and culture, in the army, industry, planning, trade, and so on. (7)

(7) As was later discovered, these groups were led by the former prime minister, Mehmet Shehu, who had placed himself in the service of a number of foreign secret services. (See: Enver Hoxha [The Titoites](#), Historical notes), the 8 Nëntori Publishing House, Tirana 1982, pp567-633.)

This was a major and extremely dangerous conspiracy. These enemies, in close collaboration among themselves and in co-ordination with certain foreign revisionist states, intended to liquidate the Party, to overthrow the people's power, to open the way to revisionism and to restore capitalism in Albania.

The traitor group of Fadil Paçrami, Todi Lubonja and company endeavoured to spread the bourgeois-revisionist ideology, culture, and way of life, to prepare a suitable ground for the political counter-revolution, in the field of ideology and culture. First of all, they aimed to cause confusion among the youth and the intelligentsia, to turn them against the Party and socialism, just as the enemies of Marxism-Leninism in the revisionist countries have done.

The traitor and putschist group of Beqir Balluku, Petrit Dume and Hito Çako was a faction at the head of the army, a group of plotters seeking to overthrow the Central Committee by force, by means of an armed putsch, and to wipe out the Party of Labour of Albania and the dictatorship of the proletariat, while relying also on armed intervention from abroad. To achieve their ends, they worked to weaken the organization of the Party and its leading role in the army, to replace the Marxist-Leninist ideology of our Party with revisionist ideology, to sabotage the military line of the Party and impose their capitulationist and traitor theses on it. They tried to undermine the defence potential of the country and to introduce in the army the detestable methods of the bourgeois and revisionist armies.

The traitor group of Abdyl Kellezi, Koço Theodhosi, Kiço Ngjela and company engaged in far-reaching hostile activities in the field of the economy. This group sought to distort the line of the Party for the development of the economy, the principles of its organization and management, and to introduce revisionist forms and methods of self-administration, and so on. They engaged in sabotage activities with grave consequences in such key sectors as planning, oil, foreign trade, etc. In this manner, they tried to weaken and undermine the base of our socialist order, open the way to the economic and political subjugation and enslavement of the country by foreigners.

These groups were imperialist-revisionist agencies in the bosom of the Party and state, composed of politically and morally degenerate elements who had become bourgeois and capitulated to the pressure of the external and internal enemies, to the ideological encirclement and aggression of international imperialism and revisionism.

The danger posed by these hostile groups was extremely serious, because they were filling important posts in the Party and state power and exploiting the great authority of the Party to cover up their hostile work. They masked their counter-revolutionary activity by pretending that everything was done in the name of the Party allegedly for the good of the Party and the people, allegedly for the creative implementation of its decisions and directives. They acted on the sly, never daring to come out openly against the line of the Party, because, like all the other enemies, they had no basis either in the Party or among the people. The strength and steel unity of the Party

suppressed them. Its sound ties with the people overawed them.

For some time the enemies managed to act and cause damage without being discovered, because they found weak spots in the work of the Party and the state power. They exploited mistakes and shortcomings, manifestations of bureaucracy, liberalism and euphoria, which they did their best to spread and encourage. They profited from the relaxation of vigilance and control, the failure to persistently implement the principles and norms of the Party and state, from various shortcomings in the educative work, from the failure to keep well in mind the teachings of the Party on the class struggle and the imperialist-revisionist encirclement.

All the organs of leadership, including the Central Committee and the Government, bear responsibility for these things that have occurred. Special responsibility, both collective and individual, falls on the party organizations, communists and cadres of those sectors where the enemies were most active. They bear responsibility because they have permitted the leading role of the party organizations to be weakened, because they did not consistently uphold the decisions and directives of the Party and the laws of the state, because some of them showed themselves to be politically short-sighted and liberal, while some others lacked the revolutionary courage to raise their voice, to denounce the enemies and put them in their place.

Because of the steel unity, the keen political sense and maturity, ideological clarity and revolutionary determination of the Party and its leadership, this hostile activity was discovered and smashed. Socialist Albania was saved from a great and dangerous conspiracy. From this fierce class battle the Party emerged stronger and more tempered, the unity of the ranks of the Party around the Central Committee, as well as the unity of the people around the Party, were raised to a higher level. The revolutionary vigilance of the Party and the masses was raised and strengthened. Our economy was further consolidated and marked new successes on the road of its socialist development, our arts and culture increased their party spirit and militancy. The army, all the armed forces, have been united more tightly around the Party, their ideo-political tempering, revolutionary spirit and fighting readiness to confront and wipe out any enemy that might dare attack our socialist Homeland, have been raised to a higher level. In this struggle, our working class, the co-operativist peasantry, the youth, women, intelligentsia and cadres displayed their lofty patriotism, their unwavering confidence in the Party and its leadership, their loyalty to its correct line.

The uncovering and liquidation of the plot hatched up by the internal and external enemies is a great victory of our Party and people, a victory of Marxism-Leninism over revisionism.

2. - THE LEADING ROLE OF THE WORKING CLASS AND THE EDUCATION OF THE WORKING MASSES

Guided by the Party, the working class has stood in the forefront in the great historic events over the last 35 years of struggle and work for the liberation of Albania and the triumph of the people's revolution, the all-round revolutionary transformation of the country on a socialist basis. This is one of the principal factors in the consistent development of our revolution on the correct Marxist-Leninist course.

The working class is the leading class of the society. It has its own political party that leads it, and the Marxist-Leninist ideology that lights its way. It is the bearer of the ideals of socialism and communism. It is linked with the highest form of socialist property and the leading sectors of the economy, it is the most conscious, organized, and disciplined class. Its weight in production and the structure of the population is steadily growing.

As Marxism-Leninism teaches us, no class or social stratum other than the working class can play

the leading role in the struggle to establish the dictatorship of the proletariat and in the construction of the new socialist society. This role will be preserved and strengthened in the future, too, so long as classes and the state of the dictatorship of the proletariat exist.

In the interval between the two Congresses, the Party has done all-round work so that the role of the working class is felt and exerted powerfully everywhere, so that the working class sets the tone for the entire life of the country with its ideology, revolutionary vigour and example. Consequently, the political activity of the working class, its active participation in the solution of major problems of the Party and the state have increased and its direct control over the implementation of the Party's policy in all fields has been extended and strengthened. A very important indication of the enhancement of the role of the working class is the fact that a large number of cadres, who have emerged from among the ranks of the working class, have been brought into the organs and apparatuses of the Party, the state power, the economy and culture, and they have further invigorated and revolutionized all the work.

These results have been achieved through a fierce struggle against liberal and bureaucratic, technocratic and individualist concepts and attitudes, which expressed lack of confidence in the abilities of the working class, which did not accept its control, or accepted it for form's sake only, and which, in various forms and ways, overestimated the role of the apparatus, office workers and specialists.

In the future, too, the Party will work untiringly to ensure and strengthen more and more the leading role of the working class in the entire life of the country. The working class plays this 'role through its Party and its proletarian state. Without the Party, the leading role of the working class would remain a demagogic and fraudulent phrase. **Only the revolutionary party of the working class, armed with the Marxist-Leninist theory, can make the working class conscious of its historic mission and clearly define the objectives of its struggle and the ways to attaining them. The Party organizes, educates and mobilizes the working class and all its allies and leads them in the complicated struggle to establish the dictatorship of the proletariat and build socialism.**

The revisionists of every hue, old and new, have spread and are spreading all sorts of views to negate the historic mission of the working class, especially to liquidate the leading role of its vanguard, the Marxist-Leninist party, in the revolution and socialist construction.

With their 'theories' of the party and state of the entire people, of the party as merely an ideological factor or an instrument of co-ordination, with their sermons about spontaneity in the workers' movement, pluralism, and transition to socialism under the leadership of other political classes and forces, they intend to leave the working class without leadership and disarmed in the face of the enemy, which is organized and armed to the teeth, to sabotage the revolution, to eliminate the theory and practice of the dictatorship of the proletariat.

Our Party has contemptuously rejected these reactionary theories, as well as the anti-Marxist and anarchist views of 'self-administration', and 'direct leadership' by the working class. It has put our working class in the historic role which belongs to it in the socialist society. This is in complete opposition to the concepts and practices of the Khrushchevite revisionists who treat the working class of their countries as merely a productive force, and have transformed it into an oppressed and exploited class, at whose expense the new bourgeoisie is growing rich.

In our country, there is no problem of the policy of the Party and state on which the working class and the other working masses do not have their say and in the solution of which they do not take an active part. The Party has attached and continues to attach great importance to consulting the working class and the other working masses, to the extensive development of criticism by the

masses of shortcomings and weaknesses at work, and encouraging the active participation of the working class in governing the country.

The Party has paid and continues to pay special attention to the direct control by the working class and the other working masses, to the implementation of this great Leninist principle in practice. It regards this control, which is exercised under its leadership over all state and social activity, as a universal and permanent principle of our socialist society in all its spheres and links, as an expression of the exercise of the dictatorship of the proletariat by the working class in alliance with the peasantry. The worker control is one of the vital aspects of the class struggle to ensure the triumph of socialism, to prevent the degeneration of the socialist order, and is a great school for the revolutionary education of the working class and the other working masses.

The exercise of direct worker and peasant control has yielded results of great value in detecting and avoiding many shortcomings and weaknesses, manifestations of liberalism, distortions and violations of state laws and norms of our society. It has served as a powerful means to shake off the dust of bureaucracy and routine in many administrations, economic enterprises and cultural institutions, among party cadres and organizations, to create a lively revolutionary atmosphere all over the country, to implement the line of the Party correctly, and to carry out the tasks in all fields of socialist construction successfully.

Recently, the Party took important measures to put the worker and peasant control on a sound organizational basis and to raise it to a higher qualitative level. **The consolidation of the organization of worker and peasant control groups, the qualified guidance of this control by the party organizations and committees, orientation and guidance of it to the most essential questions connected with the implementation of the line and decisions of the Party, better combination of worker and peasant control from below with state control from above, the summing up of the revolutionary experience of this control, in order to make it ever more thorough and richer in content and find new fruitful forms of exercising it, have now come to the fore.**

The further enhancement and strengthening of the leading role of the working class, the growth of its ideological influence and the efficiency of its work depend, to a considerable extent, on its revolutionary education and tempering, on raising its consciousness to such a level as to enable it to accomplish its mission in socialist society.

On this issue, the Party bears in mind the fact that our working class is relatively young, that the bulk of the workers come from non-proletarian strata, that its ranks are being replenished every day with young workers straight from school, who lack experience in work and in life. All these things, as well as the weaknesses in the educational work, are some of the reasons that many workers do not always play the role that belongs to their class as they should, fail to speak out courageously and with maturity, do not feel the great responsibility they have to ensure that the line and decisions of the Party are carried out correctly by everybody, inside and outside the enterprise, do not always work in a high revolutionary spirit, with proletarian organization and discipline.

Therefore, **in the future, too, the Party will have to work persistently to educate the working class with the Marxist-Leninist ideology, to make it conscious of its role and tasks, so that it will be a staunch fighter for the construction of socialism, the strengthening of the dictatorship of the proletariat and the defence of the Homeland.** The working class itself must stand in the forefront of the struggle to carry out the tasks of the state plan, put the general interest above everything, protect the common property, work with high productivity and quality, strengthen discipline at work, become innovator and creator, preserve and further develop its proletarian features and ceaselessly raise its educational, cultural and professional level. In this way the

working class can educate the co-operativist peasantry, the youth, the intelligentsia, all the working people of our country with its example and in its spirit.

The Trade Unions, which do great work to educate and mobilize the workers and the other working people for the construction of the new society, have a special role and responsibility to make this work more thorough and carry it further. The main task of the Trade Union organization has been and still is the communist education of the working people. Any tendency to underrate the educational work of the trade-union organizations and to convert them into adjuncts of administrations and the economic organs, is highly dangerous and leads to the diversion of the Trade Unions from their function as schools of communism.

The view to the effect that the Trade Unions should concern themselves with education alone and not involve themselves in economic problems, which is encountered in some cases, is also grossly wrong. Of course, the Trade Unions have no reason to do the work of state and economic organs, or duplicate them. But it would be utterly unforgivable for them not to interest themselves in production, in the carrying out of the tasks of the state plan. This would create the danger of the bureaucratization of the management of the economy. The effect of the educational work of the trade-union organizations depends very greatly on linking it closely with production, a thing which cannot be done well without being familiar with the problems of the economy. At the same time, it devolves on the Trade Unions to wage a more energetic struggle against any bureaucratic action that infringes the rights of the working people, guaranteed by law, in the slightest degree.

While recognizing the leading role of the working class, the Party has always correctly assessed the place and the great potential of the peasantry in our society. In the fire of the war for the liberation of Albania and the establishment of the people's power, in the fierce class battles for the construction of socialism, the Party created and tempered the powerful alliance of the working class with the working peasantry under the leadership of the working class. This alliance has been and remains the basic principle of the dictatorship of the proletariat, the foundation of the unity of the people around the Party.

The Party and the state of the working class have implemented a broad program of an all-round political and ideological, economic and social-cultural character, that has led to deep-going revolutionary transformations in the countryside and the strengthening of the alliance of the working class with the peasantry. Today the whole of our countryside, without exception, has set out on the road of socialism. This is a great historic victory of the line of the Party and our revolution.

However, the Party is aware that essential distinctions between town and countryside exist and will be preserved for a long time to come. The struggle to reduce them is the main way to strengthen the alliance of the working class with the co-operativist peasantry and an indispensable condition to close any paths to bourgeois degeneration. The Party is continually taking measures to ensure that the distinctions between countryside and town are steadily reduced.

Because of the great role it has played and continues to play in the socialist society, the peasantry of our country deserves everything that has been done to make the countryside progress and flourish. In the past it bore the main brunt of the earlier liberation struggles and the Anti-fascist National Liberation War, it became the decisive force for the reconstruction of the country, from its ranks it brought forth the new working class, it has always shown itself to be patriotic, revolutionary, and loyal to the Party and the cause of the working class.

In the future, too, the Party will give special attention to drawing the peasantry into increasingly active participation in the political, economic and social life of the country, to

educating it politically and ideologically, to raising its educational, cultural, and professional level, and to consolidating the co-operativist system more and more. In the educational work, it should not be forgotten that, for known reasons, the manifestations of the feeling of private property and the hangovers of petty-bourgeois psychology still have strong roots in the countryside. They are a source of many evils, of hankering after narrow self-interest, absenteeism, damage to social property, and so on. The peasantry must resolutely combat these alien manifestations, strengthen the spirit of collectivism, take an active part in the class struggle and work hard for the progress of agriculture and our socialist countryside.

As always, the working class must stand by its ally, must exercise its control over all the state and economic organs concerned with the implementation of the Party policy in the countryside, and deepen the great revolutionary movement 'To make agriculture the concern of the entire people'. Through its example, it must educate all the working people to love the countryside, respect and honour farm work, fight any manifestation of contempt for the countryside and for work there. At the same time, it is necessary to combat all manifestations of mistrust by the countryside for the town in order to strengthen the militant alliance between the working class and the co-operativist peasantry more and more.

The **intelligentsia** of our country, which has emerged from among the workers and the peasants, has played and continues to play an important role in the all-round development of socialist Albania. Unlike the revisionist countries where it became the main force of counterrevolution to liquidate the gains of socialism, our intelligentsia serves the dictatorship of the proletariat, the people and the revolution, it stands united closely around the Party. This is another great victory for the policy of the Party.

In struggle against liberal and technocratic concepts, manifestations of bureaucracy and intellectualist conceit, and tendencies to commandism and privilege-seeking, occasionally encountered among intellectuals, **the Party is moulding the intelligentsia ever more thoroughly with the Marxist-Leninist ideology, with the moral features and qualities of workers and peasants.** It educates it and makes it more conscious of its role in society, puts it in such conditions of work and life that it will always be close to the people and under the permanent control of the masses. At the same time, the Party requires that the intelligentsia must constantly increase its knowledge and put it at the service of the socialist construction of the country, and take an active part in the technical-scientific revolution and the entire development of the socialist culture.

The heroic **youth** of our country have been and remain an active force of the revolution and a loyal auxiliary of the Party. The 35-years' experience of the Party shows that when the inexhaustible revolutionary energies of the youth are merged with the energies of the working class and the other working masses, under the leadership of the proletarian Party, there is no force which can stop the triumph of the revolution and socialism.

Our youth are surrounded by the special care of the Party and the entire society. Great prospects, which guarantee their present and future and give a lofty content and meaning to their life, have been opened to them. The Party has ever better fulfilled the cultural and spiritual aspirations and various material needs of the youth, it has mobilized them in revolutionary actions and given them the role of active and important participants in the revolution and the construction of socialist society. Therefore, our youth, too, have always followed the Party enthusiastically, optimistically and faithfully, and have gone all out to make the Homeland flourish, and to strengthen its defence.

We see an entirely different picture in the bourgeois and revisionist countries, where uncertainty for the present and fear of the future nags at the youth day in and day out. Every second of every hour their minds are being poisoned by confusing propaganda. urging them to an empty, dissipated life,

devoid of ideals, which alienates them from the revolution, which drives them to the road of crime and hooliganism, and casts them into anarchism, adventurism, utopia and despair.

Our Party aims to keep the communist ideals and the healthy revolutionary spirit always alive in the minds and hearts of the youth, to educate them to be loyal fighters of the Party, ready to dedicate their energies, talent and lives to the construction of socialism and the defence of the Homeland. Led by the Party, the youth must ceaselessly develop the spirit of revolutionary initiative and action in production and in all fields. They must deepen their irreconcilable stand and be constantly on the attack against the class enemy, against any influence of the bourgeois and revisionist ideology, liberal and conservative manifestations which inhibit progress. They must strengthen their will and perseverance to acquire knowledge and culture, become powerful supporters of technical and scientific progress. The fact that there are a few young people who ape certain aspects of the bourgeois and revisionist way of life, display certain symptoms alien to proletarian morality, who demand from society more than they contribute, speaks mainly of gaps and weaknesses in our educational work. The entire society, the family and the working collectives, the schools and various institutions, the mass organizations and the state organs must work, under the leadership of the Party, so that our younger generation will be a shock detachment in the front-ranks of the revolution.

The great actions of the youth to build railways, roads, break in virgin land, etc. by voluntary work, in which almost the entire younger generation have taken part, as well as their movements 'We must learn from the working class', 'We must work wherever the Homeland needs us', 'We must go to work and live in the countryside', and so on, are valued, welcomed, and powerfully supported by the Party as great revolutionary actions and movements, as schools for the communist education and tempering of the youth. In the future, too, the Party will entrust the youth and their militant organization, the Albanian Labour Youth Union, with important actions, in the firm belief that our younger generation will, as always, carry them through to the end successfully. Allow me to greet especially those thousands of young men and women who have responded to the call of the Party to work and live in the countryside, and express my conviction that thousands of others will follow their example to strengthen our socialist countryside and make it progress.

Under the leadership of the Party, the Albanian Labour Youth Union has played a great role in the education of the younger generation. It has gained wide experience in the organization and mobilization of the youth for the construction of socialism. In the future, the youth organization is called upon to further invigorate its political and ideological life and activity, to extend the scope of this activity in conformity with the age and wide-ranging interests of the youth, in work and defence, education and culture, science and technology, sports and physical culture, making better use of all that great material base the Party and the people's power have created.

The Party and the people want the youth to be healthy, strong, capable in work and defence. The large-scale development of physical culture and sports, to which the youth organization should pay special attention, is especially important in this direction.

The Youth Union should fight to strengthen its organization, discarding as dangerous any tendency to liberalism in the life of the organization, such as those which showed up prior to the 4th Plenum of the Central Committee of the Party and which were strongly condemned by the entire youth. The Youth Organization has been and will always remain a militant political organization, a loyal auxiliary of the Party.

The correct Marxist-Leninist policy of the Party has led to that true, deep-going, and very broad revolution which has taken place in the life of the Albanian **woman**.

Our experience has fully confirmed the necessity of linking the problem of the complete emancipation of the woman with the question of national liberation and the cause of the proletariat. Without the participation of the woman the socialist revolution cannot be successfully carried out, and without the socialist revolution the complete emancipation of the woman cannot be achieved.

The energies and abilities of the woman, which lay dormant and suppressed in the past, have burst out powerfully and irresistibly in all fields of our socialist life. The Albanian woman has come out into the arena of the struggle for socialism full of dignity, and is outstanding for her high revolutionary spirit, her determination and patriotism, and distinguishes herself at work and in life. Today, she is found everywhere, in fields and factories, in schools and laboratories. Highly responsible positions in the Party and the state have been entrusted to her. New relationships of equality are being established between husband and wife at work and in the family. The emancipation of the woman is strengthening the socialist democracy day by day. This bears out Marx's affirmation that the level of emancipation of the woman represents a natural yardstick of general emancipation.

Our reality refutes all the bourgeois and revisionist 'theories' on the roads to the emancipation of the woman. The attempts of the bourgeoisie in the capitalist countries to turn the struggle for the emancipation of the working woman against her husband, children and family, are aimed at diverting her from the revolutionary struggle and disrupting the common front of the working class and the working people against the real oppressors and exploiters. The demagoguery of the modern revisionists, too, relating the solution of this major social problem to the policy of 'peace' and 'disarmament', is intended to make the woman give up the revolution.

In the future, too, the Party will consistently fight to carry out its program for the complete emancipation of the woman. **It is the duty of the party organizations, the state organs and all the mass organizations to always make a correct assessment of the real abilities of women, which the Party has so carefully awakened, cultivated and developed, though it is the task of the women themselves to fight like revolutionaries to assert their personality ever better.** At the same time, on the basis of the possibilities ensured by the economic development of the country, better material conditions must be created to lighten the woman's burden of household chores so as to raise the efficiency of her work on the production front and her activity in political, social and cultural life to a higher level.

We note with special satisfaction that, through their own efforts and thanks to the care of the Party, women are narrowing the educational, cultural and technical-professional gap between them and men. Now, 37 per cent of all the cadres with medium and higher training are women. In the future, we must fight to achieve complete equality in this field, too. The women comrades in leading posts have distinguished themselves for their loyalty to the line of the Party, their abilities as leaders and organizers, for their knowledge and culture. This confirms the correctness of the directive of the Party that women should be promoted boldly to posts of responsibility, from the lowest to the highest levels of the party and state organs. Those sectarian attitudes which underrate the abilities of women and hinder the implementation of this policy of the Party are very harmful.

Alien patriarchal and conservative, bourgeois and liberal concepts are still a great barrier to the all-round affirmation of the personality of the woman. Under the leadership of the Party, the active Organization of the Women's Union of Albania, the state and all the mass organizations, the school and society have the duty to educate women and men in the spirit of the struggle for the complete emancipation of all members of our socialist society, so that everybody, men and women, young and old, may march ahead triumphantly.

Constant preservation and strengthening of the unity of the people around the Party

constitutes one of the most fundamental problems of the entire work of the Party and its levers, a decisive condition for the triumph of the revolution, the construction of socialist society and the defence of the homeland.

The unity of our people is not a unity dependent on circumstances and temporary alliances. It is a live and militant unity of the people around the Party, created in the war for the liberation of the country and cemented in the struggle for the implementation of the revolutionary Marxist-Leninist policy and ideology of the Party.

But unity is not something given once and for all. The struggle to strengthen it must be continuous and permanent. The enemies have attempted to attack this unity, to create splits between the people and the Party, and they will attempt to do so again in the future. Manifestations of bureaucracy and liberalism, attitudes and actions which run counter to the decisions of the Party and impair the correct relations of the Party with the masses also damage this unity. The remnants and influences of alien ideologies, which are opposed to the new norms of the socialist society, violate it.

Hence, the great tasks facing the Party to safeguard the unity of the people like the apple of its eye, to steel it and make it even more invulnerable. This requires that we maintain high revolutionary vigilance, wage the class struggle ceaselessly and correctly, carry out the party directives with precision, and solve the various contradictions which arise among the people in a timely manner.

The **Democratic Front of Albania**, this great political organization which realizes the unity of the Albanian people under the leadership of the Party, has wide scope of action in this field. In cooperation with the other social organizations, the Front is called upon to carry out all-round work with the urban and rural masses to make the policy, orientations and directives of the Party clear to them, to educate them in the spirit of socialist patriotism, revolutionary vigilance, combat readiness and irreconcilability towards all alien manifestations, to constantly strengthen and temper the unity of the people. The Democratic Front has been and remains a great tribune of the revolutionary opinion of the masses, a powerful lever of the Party to draw the working people into governing the country and solving problems of the socialist construction and the defence of the homeland.

4. - EDUCATION, CULTURE AND SCIENCE MUST BE RAISED TO THE LEVEL OF THE TASKS OF THE TIME

During the years since the 6th Congress great strides ahead have been taken for the implementation of the directives of the Party in the field of education, culture, art and science. These important sectors have been actively engaged in the great struggle waged by our entire people for the socialist construction of the country.

The Party has always shown particular care for education, for the uninterrupted raising of its ideological and scientific level.

Implementing the Marxist-Leninist program approved by the 8th Plenum of the Central Committee in 1968, and the 6th Congress of the Party for the revolutionization of education, our school has undergone great changes and achieved many results in the strengthening of the ideological axis, in the implementation of the three components: lessons, productive work, physical and military training, in raising the scientific level of the school and in linking it with life. Commendable work has been done in drawing up plans and programs and compiling new textbooks for all categories of schools. The system of education has been improved and extended. The possibilities have been created for the pupils and students to acquire more knowledge, to be better trained for production and defence, to be educated and tempered in the spirit of the working class, with proletarian discipline and morality, Our school is more and more consolidating itself as a socialist school, with

original features and a popular character. It is further strengthening its revolutionary class spirit.

This process has gone through a stern class struggle, against conservative and liberal, bureaucratic and technocratic concepts and practices, against bourgeois and revisionist influences and borrowings, which were strongly criticized also at the 4th and 7th Plenums of the Central Committee. Despite all the struggle waged, the major tasks which the educational reform laid down for the revolutionization of the content of teaching and education have not been fulfilled completely. There are still shortcomings and weaknesses which must be overcome, there are problems which are being solved with difficulty and hesitation, especially those connected with the full harmonization of the three components. In the method of work of the organs of education there are still manifestations of practicism, and little effort is made to study and sum up the practice of our school.

The former leaders of the Ministry of Education and Culture exerted a negative influence on the implementation of the program laid down by the Party for the development of education through their harmful work which was characterized by a liberal and bureaucratic spirit, shallowness and inertia.

For the future, too, the strengthening of the ideological content of all the work of the school, constitutes the fundamental and most important aspect of the implementation of the policy of the Party for the revolutionization of education. The main thing is to work for a more thorough assimilation of Marxism-Leninism, of the theoretical thinking and teachings of our Party, which must become more and more the foundation of the process of teaching and education, must permeate all subjects. The bookish learning of Marxism, which is still apparent in the school, as well as the slowness in reflecting the experience of the Party and our socialist construction in the textbooks and in the teaching process, impede the strengthening of the educational and formative role of the school. Hence, the important task of improving the programs, textbooks and lessons in the subject of Marxism-Leninism, of ensuring a closer linking of the lessons with life, with the great work and struggle the people are waging under the leadership of the Party, of making extensive use of the studies and generalizations carried out in the field of social sciences.

The educational role of the school in the all-round communist formation of the new generation will be strengthened the more the school and the youth are engaged in the class struggle for the development of the revolution and the solution of the concrete problems of the socialist construction of the country.

In putting before the school the task of introducing the three components and of their harmonization, the Party is aiming to achieve two major objectives, the revolutionary education and tempering of the youth, and the raising of the quality of all the work of the school. But in practice, despite the efforts made and the results achieved, we are still on the initial stage of the solution of this problem. What is required is the complete and organic integration of the three components, in content and in method, so that they complement each other.

The school, as the place where the revolutionary Marxist-Leninist pedagogical thinking of our Party is applied, has the duty to acquaint itself with and study the best achievements in this field, to disseminate them and carry them further in order to ensure more creative and fruitful teaching and educational work. This constitutes a wide and important sphere of scientific work in the education sector.

A major problem remains, that of giving the school a deeper mass character and of improving the school system, by setting up a broader and more varied network of schools, especially vocational ones, both full-time and part-time.

The university and the other higher schools where the specialists for different fields of activity are trained, have the task of turning out cadres formed and tempered politically and ideologically, with broad cultural horizons, armed with profound scientific knowledge, prepared for life. In collaboration with the ministries and with the Academy of Sciences, they should carry out more organized work for the post-graduate qualification of cadres. The higher schools should devote particular attention to studies and research as an indispensable prerequisite for raising the level of all their teaching work as well.

The major successes scored by our people's education are a result of the tireless work of the great army of teachers and pedagogues who, with a high level of consciousness and ardent love for their honoured profession, are making a valuable contribution to the revolutionary education of the youth. The militant communist spirit, a passionate love and a high sense of responsibility for their work, persistence in perfecting their skills as teachers and educators, the struggle against any alien influence, should characterize them. The school and the teachers should closely follow the process of the revolutionary development of the country, the economy and culture, as well as the progress of world science and technology.

The Party has shown constant care that **culture, literature and the arts** develop in a pure and sound atmosphere, that they follow the revolutionary transformations of the country step by step and steadily strengthen their socialist content, their militant character, their popular spirit and their national features.

The 4th Plenum of the Central Committee sternly criticized some harmful manifestations that had to do with imitations of reactionary foreign trends, with the wrong treatment of contradictions in our society, with theories that disparaged folk creativeness, etc. It put forward important tasks over the entire front of culture. Their implementation gave a fresh impulse to the development of literature and art, to all cultural and artistic activity. Great progress has been made in all fields, in literature and music, in cinema and theatre, in painting and sculpture, in opera and ballet.

The writers and artists have always stood close to the Party, as its auxiliaries in the struggle for the communist education of the masses. Along with the experienced creative forces, new talents, that are making their contribution to the further development of our literature and arts, have emerged.

True art strengthens its innovatory features and achieves a high artistic level when it embodies a revolutionary content and is guided by the communist ideals. Therefore, **the continuous strengthening of proletarian partisanship remains a basic task for the development of our culture and arts, for their advance on the road of socialism.**

A better reflection of some of the major themes in our artistic creativeness, such as that of the hegemonic role of the working class in our society, the revolutionary transformations of our socialist countryside, the revolutionizing force of the communists, the treatment of cardinal themes and key moments of the history of our people, and particularly, of the National Liberation War and the socialist revolution, are an essential requirement to make our literature and art even more revolutionary.

With its revolutionary ideals and its objectives of serving socialism and the people, our art of socialist realism towers above the degenerate, decadent, bourgeois and revisionist art, counterposes itself to its reactionary, pessimistic and capitulationist philosophy. Literature and arts in the Soviet Union have been placed under the complete domination of the new bourgeoisie, and the writers and artists have turned into a caste in the service of the counter-revolution and the chauvinist and expansionist policy of Soviet social-imperialism. Negation of the major social problems, themes of

disillusionment and bourgeois humanism, complete renunciation of the positive hero, lack of any revolutionary perspective, are characteristic of the revisionist literature and arts.

The socialist content of art is closely linked with its popular and national character. Under the present conditions, when, proceeding from their objectives of world domination, of the spiritual and political enslavement of the peoples, the US imperialists and the Soviet social-imperialists are spreading the ideas of cosmopolitanism, of the so-called internationalization of art and culture, the struggle to defend the national culture of the peoples assumes very great importance. By defending and developing their national, democratic, and revolutionary culture, the peoples defend their independence, their existence and their own traditions, and thus make their contribution to the treasury of world culture.

Our socialist culture has never shut itself away in its national shell. It has profited from the best achievements of progressive world culture and, on its part, being the bearer of our people's ideals of freedom, independence and socialism, has been and is close to other peoples as well.

The national character and the popular spirit are expressed through the truthful reflection of reality, from the standpoint of Marxist-Leninist ideology, the assimilation of all the experience of our culture, both its old progressive tradition and its new revolutionary elements, in a critical way, proceeding from the class standpoint, and firmly relying on the people's creativeness. The popular and national character is expressed not just in the creation of the works alone but also in their execution and interpretation.

Some kinds of arts, architecture in particular, are lagging behind in their expression of the national spirit and features. To eliminate this shortcoming further study and more research work is needed.

Guided by the teachings of the Party, the writers and artists should direct themselves towards the life of the people, create an art for the people, beautiful, clear and comprehensible to all, a profoundly popular art. The life of the people, their sharp wit, popular psychology and humour, should occupy a larger place in literary and artistic works, especially in the genres of the stage.

Those artists who work ceaselessly to raise their Marxist-Leninist ideological level, who master the teachings of the Party, who lead an active political life, who are thoroughly immersed in the life of the masses and have a profound knowledge of the road of the revolutionary historical development of our people and culture succeed best in these tasks. Revolutionary art is created by revolutionary artists whose hearts beat in unison with the hearts of the people. They are required to reflect accurately in their works the fundamental processes and trends of development of our revolution, the contradictions of life, and to fight any manifestation of formalism and stereotyped treatment of them, to faithfully and creatively apply the method of socialist realism, which is the foundation of the proletarian art to which the future belongs.

Our socialist culture is penetrating more deeply among the people day by day and becoming part and parcel of their life. The publication of books and the production of films has been increased and the network of cultural-artistic centres throughout the country extended. The amateur movement has undergone great quantitative and qualitative development, and alongside professional art, is playing an important role in the progress of our new culture and the education of the working people. The masses, the man of work, the worker and the co-operativist, the woman and the youth, old and young, have mounted the stage.

The Party demands that mass cultural work must be raised to a higher level. To this end, it is necessary to form a broader concept about culture, viewing it in all the different aspects of life, and about the cultured man. All the many means the state has placed at the service of the masses should

be properly used, and ways and forms found for our culture to go wherever the masses of the people live and work. Today, when the Party is striving to narrow the distinctions between town and country, the front of culture, too, is faced with important tasks connected with raising the cultural level of the peasantry, through a broad activization of the forces of the countryside as in the city.

The party organizations should have a better appreciation of the great role which culture, literature and arts play in the education of the masses, and should consider them as important sectors of their activity, showing special care for the political and ideological education of the creative artists. The leadership of the Party, the consistent application of its line and directives in these fields is of decisive importance for their development on the right road. The state organs also face important duties to increase their concern about culture and arts, as well as to improve the forms and methods of handling them.

Under the leadership of the Party, the League of Writers and Artists should intensify its work for the ideo-aesthetic and professional education of writers and artists, becoming still more a centre where creative work is encouraged and its philosophical, ethical, and esthetical problems are widely thrashed out from the standpoint of proletarian partisanship.

In the all-round efforts to put the decisions of the 6th Congress of the Party into life, successes have been achieved, also, in the development of science and scientific experimentation. Functioning in our country today are various scientific organisms, specialized institutes and research centres, apart from those of the chairs and faculties of the higher schools. The founding of the Academy of Sciences was an important achievement.

Over this period, a series of important scientific and technical studies and experiments have been carried out in geology and mining, hydro-energetics, agriculture, etc. A number of valuable studies have been carried out also in the field of social problems, the Anti-fascist National Liberation War, history, archaeology, and the Albanian language.

The country's present stage of development and the great tasks ahead of us require that **scientific studies and research are transformed into a general method that must pervade and precede all activities and give effective help in the solution of present and future problems of the construction of socialism and the defence of the Homeland.** Science is confronted with great tasks in designing and building large hydro-technical and industrial projects, discovering and using new raw materials and other natural resources, finding new ways for the intensification of agriculture, etc.

The development of science raises the very important problem of carrying out intensified studies in a number of fields, such as biology, genetics, mathematics, physics, chemistry, physiology, etc., without which many problems of the development of applied sciences and technical progress cannot be solved, and a sound training of the various specialists and of the younger generation in our school cannot be carried out.

Great prospects are opened to the fruitful development of social and economic sciences, with the scientific study and summing up of the revolutionary thinking and practice of our Party and people as their fundamental object. Studies on the history, life, language and cultural and artistic traditions of our people constitute an important field.

As the Party has continuously stressed, the technical-scientific revolution in our socialist society cannot be carried ahead by a few specialized research institutions alone. The activation of the broad masses of workers and peasants, of cadres and specialists of production is of decisive importance in scientific experimentation. The specialized Institutions and the centres of scientific research should

link their activity more closely with the scientific experimentation of the masses, they should sum up advanced experience and disseminate scientific knowledge among the masses. This is also the way to protect them from the diseases of bureaucracy, technocratism and intellectualism.

At the present stage, all material-technical means and human resources exist to solve many complicated economic, ideo-theoretical, cultural and technical-scientific problems with our own forces. It is, therefore, necessary to further strengthen the confidence of the cadres, specialists, and working people in their own creative forces and capabilities, while at the same time getting to know, and applying, in conformity with our conditions, the achievements of world science and technology.

The fulfilment of the tasks in the field of science requires the taking of further measures for the training and qualification of specialized scientific cadres of different branches and the strengthening of the necessary material base.

The development of science and the technical-scientific revolution confronts the research institutions and the higher schools with major tasks for raising the quality and effectiveness of their scientific studies and research, in struggle with alien technocratic and intellectualist, idealist and metaphysical concepts. The Academy of Sciences should play a special role here, especially towards a better utilization and coordination of forces and means for science and research.

Under the leadership of the Party, the state organs, from the base to the centre, should increase the attention they devote to the organization, planning and development of the activity of the scientific-research organs and institutions, put forward concrete tasks and check up on their fulfilment, and render all the necessary help in the solution of the problems that arise.

From 'On the activity of the Central Committee of the Party of Labour of Albania', extracts from the Report submitted to the 7th Congress of the PLA, November 1 1976, in Enver Hoxha, [Selected Works, Volume 5](#), pp44-86.

NB. Stress in the original.