

ENVER HOXHA

SPEECHES

1969-1970

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**WORKERS OF ALL COUNTRIES, UNITE!**

**ENVER HOXHA**

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

**Speeches**

**(1969-1970)**

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ENVER HOXHA



**APPLY A REVOLUTIONARY LENINIST  
METHOD AND STYLE OF WORK IN  
EVERYTHING WE DO**

*Speech at the 8th Plenary Session of the Central  
Committee of the Party of Labor of Albania*

*June 28, 1969*

The Report submitted by Comrade Mehmet Shehu «On the Conclusions Drawn from the People's Discussion on the Further Revolutionization of Our Schools» constitutes the precise synthesis of the broad public discussions conducted on this major problem and clearly defines the cardinal political, ideological, scientific, pedagogical and organizational lines along which our new schools should proceed.

As on all other problems and tasks of primary importance, on this one too, our Party submitted its theses to a revolutionary critical discussion by the broad working masses, drawing out their valuable

opinions, in depth and breadth, on such vital problems for the people as those of schooling and education.

Naturally, the Political Bureau and the Central Committee which analysed these very valuable materials arrived at the conclusions we are adopting today, but this great and invaluable source of ideas on this problem — the masses of the people — can in no way be considered exhausted; it will continually refresh and reinvigorate our Party's thoughts in its efforts to improve and perfect our revolutionary school system.

Therefore, though we are taking important decisions about our schools today, neither the Party, the State nor the broad working masses should think that this problem has now been eliminated, that everything has been properly settled and that henceforth the work will take its own course.

The Party and our State organs should now understand clearly that it was precisely due to the mobilization and interest of the working masses that these positive results were achieved. The revolutionary drive of the masses in tackling this problem awoke the sleepy, shook off the dust, cleaned out the Augean stables, shattered many petty-bourgeois concepts, strengthened and encouraged the progressive and revolutionary new, showed marvellous competency on a field which was considered closed and exclusive in which the right to have a say belonged only to the learned, to the men «of culture».

This broad public discussion must serve as a

great lesson, especially for the Party organizations, not only in following up and assisting to solve this particularly important problem, but also as a spur, as a lesson of the method and style of work in solving all other problems in the future. By holding fast to the line of the masses and relying on the wisdom and ability of the people, our Party will always be able to solve every problem correctly, well and quickly, no matter how difficult or complicated it may be.

All the great organizational work which the public discussion of such an important problem entailed was conducted by the Party. This indicates a major qualitative leap forward in its work, but at the same time, brought to light the inadequate interest in and unqualified method of approach of some communists, before this revolutionary discussion. We must sincerely and openly recognize this shortcoming. We must recognize and subject it to a critical analysis, otherwise, we might relax again, underestimate this problem and allow ourselves to be dragged along by other problems.

We must always bear in mind that the problem of the schooling and education of the masses is a key-problem for socialism and communism closely interconnected with all the other great problems the harmonious development of which, taken together, depends on the solution of all the component parts.

The interest of the whole Party in this problem should be continuous and better qualified day by day. The communists must shake off the lethargy,

hesitation and fear still observed among some of them, who plead lack of knowledge and competence when called upon to tackle problems of education. A brilliant example has been set for us in this matter, as always, by our working class, by the broad masses of the workers of our country. Now there is a great deal to be done to prepare this system completely, to put it into effect and, then, to constantly improve it. This work will pass through three important stages:

In the first place, the political and ideological orientation of the system, and the adaptation of the structure and organization of our new-type schools to this revolutionary orientation in all its component parts, must be well understood. All this has been accepted, but it would be a mistake to think that it has been thoroughly and properly grasped by every one. It is the duty of the Party to clarify this problem constantly and persistently because, both in principle and in practice, there are bound to be, and are bound to emerge, misunderstandings, hesitations, material obstacles, and obsolete viewpoints which will show up in various forms. The old school has left its mark on many intellectuals, teachers, professors, and men of science. The Party must combat these survivals to eliminate them through profound and continuous political and ideological work. In no way should it be thought that the remnants of the old world-outlook about the school will vanish of their own accord, if we fold our arms and don't bother about them.

Just as in very other sector of work, in this

vital sector of our revolution too, we must carefully guard against dogmatism and self-satisfaction. We must also guard against the intellectualist tendencies of the teachers, instructors, and professors who are going to play a major role in putting educational practices into execution. Their erudition must not be overestimated, for that would lead to dogmatism and to slackening control over the subject matter taught, over educational practice, methods and style of work which spring from the revolutionary practice and the rich and wide experience of the working masses, and first and foremost, of the working class. Learning is an indispensable nourishment, an important means and weapon that leads to progress and development, but with us it must never be converted into a petty-bourgeois adornment, to breed the feeling of arrogance and superiority, nor into a means of lording it over the masses as in the capitalist and revisionist countries. The learned people of our country must be characterized by their proletarian modesty and their real merits in creative and productive work. Only such people deserve respect and support, because only they really understand that theory cannot be separated or detached from revolutionary practice.

The classics of Marxism-Leninism and the revolutionary practice of our Party, teach us that in work of any sort, mental or in production, we should apply a revolutionary Leninist style and method. Stalin says that Leninism is a theoretical and practical school which forms a special type of

man in the Party, in the State apparatus and in that of the economy. The Leninist style, he teaches us, is the remedy against lethargy, routine, conservatism and servility, against stagnant traditions and thinking. The Leninist style at work, Stalin adds, is the lifegiving force which stimulates thought, drives ahead, breaks with the past, and opens perspectives. Without this driving force no progressive movement is possible.

When treating the question of defending the principles of Leninism, Stalin defines the requirements of the Leninist method as the verification **of theoretical dogmas in the heat of the revolutionary struggle of the masses**, in the heat of life-giving practice. In its verification of the policy of the parties of the 2nd International, Leninism does not base its judgement on their slogans and resolutions, which should not be trusted, but on their deeds and activity. It is only by linking its policy closely with revolutionary practice that a party can win and deserve the confidence of the proletarian masses.

The reorganization of all our Party's work on the basis of a new revolutionary method, and, finally, the self-criticism of the proletarian Party, for education from its own mistakes, as well as other theoretical and practical matters which I have not quoted in full, about the Leninist style and method, must guide us in all our work and activity and, particularly, in our work for the education of the new generation in the schools. These Marxist-Leninist philosophical definitions are clear and comprehensible, but they require to be understood pro-

foundly in all their depth and breadth, and the most important and decisive thing is that they should be carried out in practice, and that our action should be gauged by their infallible yardstick.

The Leninist method and style, both built up in an harmonious way, closely linked with each other and inspired on the revolutionary road of the masses for the creation and tempering of new generations devoted to the cause of the people, the Party, socialism and communism should illuminate the road of our new school, both in theory and practice, in the internal organisation of the school and in the work of the new generation outside the school. This Leninist method and style in the work of our Party has greatly assisted in the study of the problem of our schools, just as it is helping and yielding results in solving a large number of other important problems.

The Report submitted at this session of the Central Committee should be considered as the first important step taken in an enormous, but far from completed job, a job which entails the solution of many other problems closely connected with this one such as the programs, textbooks, the numerous organizational measures, the training of cadres and the continuous perfecting of this whole great complex. Therefore, I envisage other meetings of this kind in the future, because the problem of schooling is neither a minor nor a simple one, nor is it an isolated problem in itself, but it is the problem of the education and culture of the broad masses of workers, and in the first place, of our

younger generation. The future sessions of the Central Committee that I envisage will aim, not only at establishing the best possible school practices and checking up on their results, but at their verification from revolutionary practice, which will teach us how to correct the inaccuracies, shortcomings and mistakes of the system and practices we have adopted, which will certainly undergo changes in the direction of further improvements.

Let us take the question of the new school programs, their complete cycle. The Ministry of Education and Culture and a large group of qualified experts have drawn up draft-programs based on the principles and theses issued by our Party. Of course fiery debates about them have taken place and this is a very good thing. Naturally, there have been, there are and there will continue to be, differences of opinion especially from the specialists, who, while admitting that the Marxist-Leninist triangle and ideological axis of our school are correct, indispensable, and revolutionary, are afraid that the theoretical level of the school will be lowered. We cannot say that their concern is incorrect. In order to mitigate their anxiety they try to increase the number of hours allotted to the teaching of theory and to lengthen the school year. If necessary, this also should be done, but not only the one but the three aspects of the problem must always be kept in mind, namely, the theoretical aspect, so that the knowledge acquired in school should be sound and complete, the problem that the pupils and students should enter production as quickly as possible, and,

third, the great need of the country for highly trained cadres.

Taking their cue from the theses our Party issued on the revolutionization of our schools, the people engaged in educational work began to make a deeper study of the existing school programs and textbooks, and found in them many unnecessary things, wrong orientations, outdated theories of no further use, and many superfluous definitions. In various subjects, they also found problems treated which were not only of retrogressive theoretical content, inherited from the bourgeois schools, but also programmed and developed in an excessively erudite and encyclopedic way for the various branches of our schools. And they began the concrete work of purging them. But it would be a mistake to think that the purging has been done perfectly. No, we are still very far from that point: we still have a great deal more to do. The Party, in particular, will have to shoulder the great task of explaining to the people engaged in school work the theoretical aspect and the practical application of the Leninist method as presented by Stalin which I mentioned briefly above. The Leninist method, Stalin teaches us, is not specific only for the verification of the dogmas and policies of the parties of the **2nd International**; it is specific for the reorganization of the entire work of the Party with a new revolutionary method.

And one of the tasks of the Party is the questions of the school. In the old-type schools there are dogmas, biased and reactionary politics; many ne-



gative survivals remain in men's minds. The bourgeoisie considers the schools as instruments of selection which leads to the creation of an elite, while our school has an aim, the opposite of that of bourgeois school, which by means of its selection, tries to create special social categories.

The secular and anti-religious trend of our schools is the opposite of the pseudo-secularism of the bourgeois schools. The secular and anti-religious character of our schools is not inspired by Greek or Latin antiquity as in the case of the bourgeoisie, who have combined this inspiration with mystical-religious idealism, both in theory and practice, but by the life-giving, revolutionary and anti-religious ideas of the people, by the materialist and scientific Marxist-Leninist philosophy.

All these and other evils should be recognized and combated; they should be eliminated through self-criticism in order that we may achieve our aim, namely, the revolutionary reorganization of our schools so that they may educate the youth scientific theoretical concepts and technical achievement, with direct participation in productive labor for the tangible application of these concepts and with physical and military training.

But must we first do this purging and then go to work? No! In this matter too we must act in a revolutionary manner just as we do in the Party, that is, we act, we gain a deeper knowledge of the problem, clear up our ideas, create the new and discard the old. This is the essence, these are the results of the Leninist method, this is the path we

must all follow. The intellectuals, teachers, instructors, professors and scientific research workers, in particular, have great need to profoundly understand and properly apply this method.

Viewing the question in this light, I am of the opinion that both in our programs and textbooks we will find enough reserves of hours to clarify and strengthen theory in the school.

The specialists measure the importance given to the theory of a subject by the number of hours allotted to it. Hours are an indispensable unit of measurement both in school and in production. I may be wrong, for I am not a specialist in matters dealing with teaching, regardless of the fact that 31 years ago I was a simple teacher myself, but I am of the opinion, without asserting that they are unfounded, that the criteria by which the specialists distributed school hours must have left some reserves, for the calculations were based on the number of hours they had at their disposal previously. Undoubtedly, a certain reduction has been made, but it seems to me, with hesitation and fear, from failure to take into consideration the many things that have changed and are going to change through the revolutionary development of the masses which will continually influence our new-type schools, the teachers themselves, their method and style of work, and this cannot be calculated by the hour because it will greatly enhance the value of the hour, making a turn towards a qualitative improvement, which will, in effect, add to the fund of hours allotted to theory.

Let us take a key-problem of production, namely, the value of an hour's labor which, in this case, is materialised in production. If we compare the value of the actual output of a worker in one hour (and here, too, there are many reserves) with that of the same worker ten years ago, to go no further back, the calculations will reveal a great difference. What a worker accomplishes in one hour today, ten years ago would have taken him two or three hours to accomplish. This is due to many factors such as his political, ideological, and technical uplift, the mechanization of production, the improvement of his method and style of work, and a series of forms of emulation, which, taken together, influence the increase of his output, the smashing of old norms, and, in a word, increase the value of the hour's labor. The main object in all this process is to raise the material welfare of the people by producing more and better goods at the lowest possible cost, to keep the machines in good repair and, above all, to protect the health of the workers.

It seems to me that the teachers and professors, as well as the pupils and students, should take such revolutionary steps and should keep this orientation and this experience of the working class in mind in fulfilling their tasks. Thus, the ability of the teacher and his style of work assist very greatly to increase the value of the hour's teaching in his subject, and at the same time they also increase the ability of the pupils and students to grasp their subject matter in the class and individual study outside it. These things comprise an essential dis-

cipline in the giving and assimilation of a lesson, and without them, theory or science cannot be properly assimilated just as a worker cannot succeed in raising his own level or the level of production on the job he is assigned to, without applying the processes I referred to above, in a disciplined way.

We must strive to economize time, not by lowering the level of theory in schools and thus training simple practicers which is not in keeping with the Marxist-Leninist orientation of our schools, but by trying to teach the indispensable amount of theory in a full, explicit and comprehensible form, and, if possible, within not too long a time. It is precisely these reserves we should try to discover. The Leninist method and style will assist us to discover them. We shall find other such reserves by combating verbosity in teaching, by applying observation, experimentation, carefully prepared laboratory work, by stimulating the initiative and the activity of pupils, students, and teachers, by teaching not only in the classroom but also in nature, in factory and field, by introducing film projections, radio broadcasts and, eventually, television, to the teaching process, by preparing lectures, seminars and textbooks of a high cultural standard. These are all of extreme importance and in compiling them we must keep in mind the science itself, and the discipline of teaching, the proper selection of materials, the preservation and clear exemplification of the basic principles of the subject in question.

The reciprocal links between the teaching ma-

terials of one subject and another should be kept in mind to avoid including in the teaching materials of the different subjects, the same or additional irrelevant data, which occupy space, consume time, and become boring. The form of presentation and clear printing of the teaching materials are very important in this direction. In short, we must insist on strict scientific and pedagogical requirements regarding both the substance and form of all our school textbooks.

The introduction of work into school life should not be viewed as a factor in lowering the level of theory because it takes number of hours from it, but as an important means which will actually raise the level of theory through the political and ideological tempering and direct participation in production and work, since, by working in production, the pupils, the students and the teacher will acquire that class style and method so essential to our revolutionary school.

Of course, the introduction of work into schools requires a change in the working methods of the teachers and professors and of the pupils and students. Our schools strive, both in principle and practice, to impart that complete education Marx recommends, namely a polytechnical education which should place the progressive culture of the time at the disposal of the people. Working in the factory stimulates the absolute need to know physics, chemistry, mechanical drawing and mathematics. In the same way, working in the fields kindles love for the lessons of biology, chemistry, mathe-

matics, geography, and other subjects. Production work activizes theoretical studies, work broadens the horizons of study, develops activity and initiative among the pupils and students.

Classroom teaching should not have the learning of definitions as its objective, for that would be altogether formal, mere verbalism. The definitions should be supplemented for the students and pupils with concrete results obtained in research and applied in production work. It is therefore essential, that the textbooks and teachers' lectures should include data of physics, mathematics, biology, and other subjects, the theoretical bases of which the pupils and students will find applied in the production work to which they will be assigned. Only in this way will the classroom lesson become alive and theory will be combined with practice as it should.

But such a thing, of course, calls for continuous observation, requires efforts to coordinate and improve the work, which cannot be properly realized if the teachers and professors do not work together with the pupils and students on the same job. These organic links and the true art and science of teaching call for such a course, for profound reflection on theory and on work, because failure to do this will cause problems. In the application and perfection of the system the theoretical subjects in schools could be weakened, thus there will be a failure to gain all the possible benefits of production work. We must guard against the artificial linking of work with theory. Production work,

in close collaboration with the pupils and students, will help our teachers, to accumulate a vast experience which will consolidate their theoretical ideas and will help them improve the methods of teaching. It will also arouse among the pupils and students their love for work, will demonstrate the real links between theory and practice and will stimulate their creative initiative.

Until now, the teachers have done almost no work in production and what little they have done has not been in their own line of specialization and has not been carried out together with their pupils or students. This is a serious defect which will be felt during the application of our school reform. We must not overlook nor underestimate it. In this direction a great change must be effected, our teachers must gain a deep understanding of this problem for it is not just a formal thing which concerns the pupils and students alone, but will help revolutionize the theoretical concepts of the teachers and professors themselves, will help revolutionize their pedagogical and didactic principles, change their methods and style of work, and improve the quality of the lessons and the methods of giving them. The teachers will become an obstacle if they think that everything has changed for the pupils and students but nothing has changed for them, if they think they will continue to go to their classes with their same old baggage and methods. The bookish life and verbal methods of the teacher can no longer be adequate, and may turn into obstacles, if he is not linked with life, with the technical

and scientific development, if he fails to become an active participant with creative initiative, in the great revolution which is taking place in our country and uprooting obsolete forms and concepts and establishing progressive forms and concepts in their stead.

The drawing up of programs and compiling of new textbooks appropriate to these programs and to the new orientation on our school, study of the method and style of work both by the teachers and professors, and by the students and pupils, are matters of decisive importance. This vast work must keep clear of routine, dogmatism, stereotypism, conformism and subjective influences.

It is true that these are mainly problems for specialists, and therefore, they should be the results of a broad discussion on their part. Nevertheless, we should not refrain from submitting them also to an all-round control and verification by the masses, and especially, to the opinion of the pupils and students. They have a lot to say about all these matters from their own experience.

I want, particularly, to emphasize that in addition to the special commissions who will look after these matters, whether in the Ministry of Education and Culture or connected with it, it is necessary that they should also be made an object of serious discussion by the teachers, professors, pupils and students in schools of all types and grades. Failure to subject programs and textbooks to an organized and critical examination, or considering them, or the established forms and methods of work, as fixed

once and for all, or else difficult to alter, to supplement or improve them, this is what constitutes the standpoint of the servility, stereotypism and routine I referred to earlier.

The school is not a soulless machine to turn out robots, but is a superior institution of revolutionary education, of revolutionary pedagogy and didactics. Programs must, of course, be drawn up and carried out, but the job of checking up on how they are carried out must be organized so that we may continually draw lessons and gain experience from their strong and weak points. This permanent and uninterrupted supervision must not be one-sided. It must not consist only of how the pupil and student applies them, but also of how they assimilate them and why they assimilate them well or poorly, for in this lies the great objective of the school. Therefore, the situation and psychological formation of the pupil or student, not in an amateur, but in a scientific way, must be one of the particular concerns of the schools.

The same thing should be said of the textbooks, too. Even after they have been compiled, they must be scrutinized with great care, because it will always be necessary to bring them up to date, no matter if, for technical reasons, we may not be able to reprint them over and over again.

As regards the new morality and psychology which we should implant in the consciousness of our youth, in addition to other things, the question of recreation and games both in school and outside it should engage our attention more than it has done

until now. If we fail to view this problem correctly and to solve it properly, in principle we may have a great deal to say about our new pedagogy and psychology, but in fact, we will be overlooking that one of the factors that exert an influence on the complete formation of the character, morality and physical development of our youth lies in games and recreation which are healthy from all aspects. Thus, parallel with the lessons, production work, and physical and military education, are the games, organised by the school, inside and outside it, which have special importance. Other things should not make us neglect this matter which might sometimes appear of only tenth-rate importance to the school.

New factors are entering into our schools, factors not isolated from the teaching of theory and laboratory practice, therefore, I think we would be making a mistake, both in theory and practice, if we failed to consider the whole structure as a single complex entity. And this requires a revolutionary qualitative change, further study and research to develop a greater profundity in the new revolutionary Marxist-Leninist pedagogy, psychology and didactics, which are entirely opposed to those of the bourgeoisie and revisionists. This is called for by the rapid and complete construction of socialism, by this impetuous, never ceasing revolution created and led by our Party, which finds its concrete expression in the ardent love of the broad masses of the people for our Party and our socialist Fatherland, for work and learning, for the collectivist spi-



rit, for the sincere comradeship with one another. It is concretized also in the persistence in the merciless fight against the «blemishes» of the past both in society and in the people's consciousness, in the struggle against religion and in the efforts for the fundamental assimilation of atheistic education, for the establishment of the new proletarian standards in life, in short, for the communist conception of the world.

I will not dwell long on the principles and conclusions arrived at after one year or more of work based on our Party's correct theses nor on the results and orientations for further actions which were so well brought out in the Report of the Political Bureau submitted by Comrade Mehmet Shehu, and in the numerous and complete contributions to the discussion that were made at this meeting of the Central Committee. I only wish to emphasize that, notwithstanding certain things which seem similar, or subjects which are the same, and notwithstanding the fact that our school means are still poor, though under constant improvement, the education system we are building is the opposite of the bourgeois and revisionist systems in principles, structure, scheme, aims, organizational forms of work and teaching, style and methods, pedagogy, psychology and didactics.

Our Party strives very hard to make the world's knowledge and science, this treasure of all mankind, the treasure of our people, too, to make it a sound nutriment for their wellbeing. Our workers are mastering this world knowledge with great thirst,

in progressively increasing amounts in spite of the backward conditions we have inherited, for reasons known to all, from the dark and deplorable past of our people. But those difficult days have now gone by since the liberation of our country by the Party and the People.

Our Party takes the healthiest and most progressive portion from the world's accumulation of knowledge and science. It makes this selection under the prism of Marxist-Leninist theory and with a view to serving the interests of our people, the construction of our socialist and communist society. Such utilization and selection discards the rottenness, the unnecessary out-dated things, combats the idealist interpretations of laws and phenomena both in theory and in their practical application, choosing the forms and methods most appropriate to the new situation for their dialectical application and development.

Such a utilization and selection opposes the dogmatism, servility and fetishism of bourgeois and revisionist science and opens broad horizons for work and thinking, develops the creative initiative of our people, who, on the road of scientific materialism, render their valuable, creative, and progressive contribution of vanguard knowledge and science, to their socialist Fatherland, Albania, and to world science.

In our country, the acquisition of knowledge and science begins as soon as the child first goes to school and ends only when he or she has grown old and dies leaving behind a valuable contribu-

tion to society, and this has the aim of achieving the great goal of a life of honor and dignity for the people.

That is why the Party attaches such great importance to the revolutionary school which trains liberators, patriots, revolutionaries, the glorious builders of a communist world.

The radical differences in principle, in theory and practice between our schools and those of the bourgeoisie and revisionists, should comprise the subject of explanatory work by our Party because in this way the nature of our revolutionary school will be thoroughly and firmly understood, the reform we are deciding upon will be correctly and undeviatingly carried out, and the bourgeois and revisionist theories about the alleged superiority of their schools will be effectively combatted.

In particular, we must guard our school against the influence of the schools of the Soviet revisionists, who, for purposes of demagogy and of concealing the total degeneration of their schools into bourgeois ones, resort to pseudo-socialist formulas and forms. We must fight the new revisionist concepts of Soviet pedagogy which, on one hand, pretends that communism is being built in the USSR, and on the other, gives less importance to and has even abolished production work in the schools, supposedly to give greater importance to the «free time» and «aesthetic education» of youth. They justify all this by the so-called «harmonious development» attaching more attention to the development of the «inclinations», «talents» and «indivi-

duality» especially of those who are «outstanding in the field of theory and science», in this way fostering «intellectualism» and «careerism» among their youth.

The system we are establishing does not aim at «lowering the level of general knowledge» nor at tacking this knowledge together as «episodes» or «simple illustrations of work in production» as the Soviet revisionist theories claim. The Soviet revisionists interpret Lenin's teaching that «neither schooling and education without production work nor production work without a parallel development of schooling and education, can be raised to the level required by the present state of technique and scientific knowledge», only as a simple social and economic factor, and not as an ideological, political, and pedagogical one at the same time. In the programs of our schools of the new system, we combine, in a harmonious way and on the basis of the material and psychological development of the life of our youth, the lofty Marxist-Leninist content of theoretical and scientific knowledge, politics and ideology, production work, physical culture, military training and the normal and necessary rest for our youth.

Our system differs from the revisionist system in all its fundamental lines, for throughout the entire network of our schools we combine classroom teaching with work, polytechnical education with professional training and inculcate in the school youth the love for work. At the same time, we lay solid theoretical and technical — manual founda-

tions for further and constantly raising the ability of the people in scientific creativeness. If you separate these elements from the schools and, in particular, if you detach the school from practice, as the revisionists do by philosophizing, inspired, of course, by false «Marxist-Leninist» theories on «the true» pedagogy, then the schools can never be considered as belonging to the revolutionary vanguard. While shaping the new-type schools we are building, we do not forget nor confound the notions defined by Lenin on the polytechnic and the monotechnic. On the contrary, it is the revisionists who confound and separate them in order to radically alter the Leninist character of their schools, claiming, in a demagogical manner, that they are «coordinating» or «merging them into one». According to their pedagogy, the Soviet revisionists pretend that allegedly the logic and system of general education, that is, of the basis of science, differs altogether, or to a considerable extent, from the logic and system of education in the technical sciences. In building our new-type schools, we cannot be guided by these principles. We will be able, and herein lies the merit of our Party, to build such a Marxist-Leninist system and such an adequate Marxist-Leninist pedagogy and didactics that will enable us to properly define these systems of logic and methods in complete harmony with the development of the new technique and with the revolutionary drive and development of our youth under conditions of socialist construction.

All the experience gained so far and that which

will be gained in the days to come must be followed up and worked out by specialized institutions of the Ministry of Education and Culture, an elaboration which should become a nutriment rich in calories for our schools. We already have thousands of educational cadres of high qualifications and outstanding ability, not to mention their great patriotism and devotion to the Party, and in the future we shall have more. These are a great treasure for our schools. All of them are ready, day and night, to place themselves at the absolute disposal of our people, our Party, and our youth. Therefore, the Ministry of Education and Culture must raise the level of its work; its organization in all directions should be such as to properly respond to the vast and important tasks the Party sets for it.

We should recognise, however, that the workers of the Ministry of Education and Culture, ranging from the lowest rank to the Minister himself, deserve great credit for the colossal work that has been done in our schools. In this vital problem our gifted teachers and professors endowed with the spirit of the Party also have colossal merits. Our whole Party and its Central Committee thank and congratulate them most sincerely. Our entire people will always love and gratefully respect them for the good work they have done and will be doing in the days to come.

On this occasion, too, we must congratulate the comrades of the Central Commission of the Party's

Central Committee, headed by Comrade Mehmet Shehu, as well the comrades of the sub-Commissions, of the working groups and others, for having successfully and competently accomplished the tasks with which the Party charged them. We believe that the Central Commission of the Central Committee should continue to function for a further period.

In concluding, I want to express my belief that we have taken correct decisions on this great problem, therefore, our schools will forge successfully ahead along the road of further revolutionization indicated by the Party.

While being fully in accord with all the decisions of the Political Bureau and the Central Committee, I wish to emphasize once again that major and continuous work lies ahead of us to properly perfect this system in all its component parts. The correct guidance by our Party, the revolutionary drive of the masses, the great ability and patriotism of our teachers, pupils and students and of our people's intelligentsia as a whole, the invaluable aid of our working class, the peasantry and all the working masses, the ability and organized strength of our People's Army — all of them together — are a great guarantee of complete success in the revolutionization of our schools.

With unshakeable confidence in everything we have decided, let us strive to surmount with success any difficulty which we may meet on our way; let the Party, the State, the Labor Youth Union, and other organizations of the State and of the masses

be fully mobilized for a mighty political, ideological and organizational work with proper harmonization and check up, for only thus will we be able to reap the success desired by our Party and our people in this field, too. Our Party is preparing a still brighter future for our people and every Albanian, man and woman, should consider it an honor and a duty to contribute to the building of our revolutionary school system to give a further impulse to the ideological and cultural revolution our Marxist-Leninist Party is leading.

## THE IDEOLOGICAL CHARACTER OF GOSSIP

*Excerpts from a speech delivered at the meeting of the Secretariat of the Central Committee of the Party of Labor of Albania with reference to the report presented by the Presidium of the Central Council of the Trade Unions of Albania on some problems of the work of the Trade Unions for the ideological and political education of the working class, entitled:*

## WE MUST CONTINUE WITH THE ALL-ROUND EDUCATION OF THE WORKING CLASS PERSISTANTLY AND IN A METHODOICAL WAY

*September 12, 1969*

Just as in all its daily political and ideological work, in what appears in the press and in the reports submitted to it, our Party comes up against «rumors and gossip». I wish to say something now about what these are, where they spring from, what they represent and what aims they pursue, thinking that this will make it easier for us to fight them.

Rumors and gossip are typical of the petty-bour-

geoisie, they have a petty-bourgeois character; they are therefore manifestations of the bourgeois ideology. Gossip is the product of subjectivism and has nothing in common with sound, realistic, and constructive criticism. On the contrary, it is denigrative consisting often of slanders, intentional or unintentional. Most of the time it is groundless and even when it may have some basis, it is again turned into denigration by the form it takes and by the very subjective judgment of the individual who interprets a problem which has a certain basis. Even in such a case often going from mouth to mouth among various gossip-mongers it turns into slanders, into denigration. This is the dirtiest method used by the petty-bourgeoisie. There is nothing principled, nothing healthy about this method. In no case can it be considered constructive criticism for it distorts facts, intentionally or unintentionally adds new slanders, makes erroneous interpretations which are whispered from ear to ear behind the back, and to the detriment, of the person against whom it is directed.

Rumours and gossip are never intended to correct the individual or the collective, on the contrary, they cause them great damage. Those who resort to this method pose as moralists because they always give their «gossip» the air of a «high moral concept», whereas in reality it is an immoral concept as regards its formation in a subjective spirit, the grounds on which it is based, the organizational form it takes and the goal it seeks to achieve. Those who use «gossip» as an alleged political method



(and in fact it can be applied in many fields) are themselves devoid of sound political concepts, for people with such subjectivist views, by resorting to the petty-bourgeois method of «gossip» are never capable of drawing up a genuine analysis of the political situation by analysing real facts in an objective manner. The method of organizing work on the basis of «hearsay» cannot be the method of sound political analysis. We can say without fear of being mistaken that those who use the method of «gossip» are either opportunists, sycophants, sectarians, or conservatives.

In addition to what I just said, rumors give rise to disputes, squabbles, resentments and even to murder. They cause trouble in society, in its harmonious ideological and political unity, but they are also a form of the class struggle which the deposed bourgeoisie makes use of to create obstacles for the dictatorship of the proletariat, to cause moral shocks even in the most intimate affairs of the sound people of our society. It must be realized that a method of such a reactionary content and character cannot fail to be aimed, first and foremost, at discrediting, and discriminating against those who wage a merciless campaign against «rumor and gossip».

To wage a merciless campaign against «rumor and gossip» in the bourgeois and petty-bourgeois concepts and forms in which it occurs, does not imply that we should hush up verified mistakes in any field, whether political, ideological, moral or organizational. On the contrary, they should be cri-

ticized on sound principled grounds, hammered out well, openly, face to face or before the collective when necessary, and not on mere supposition. In all cases, criticism should be characterized by a moral, political and ideological purpose. It should have an educational character for the individual or collective, it should not crush the moral of the person subjected to criticism. On the contrary, it should aim at raising his morale in order to correct his mistakes. Finally, the criticism of people who make mistakes in their private life or where they are employed, should not become the dominating topic to the extent that it covers up, obscures or hinders the correct solution of the main problems which preoccupy our Party and State Power. I say this because very often the meetings of the basic Party organizations indulge in debates and mutual criticism to such an extent, and in such forms, that they not only lead to neglecting of the main problems, that they not only become an embarrassment to the organization, but they sometimes even impair its unity.

We sometimes console ourselves by saying «they are not of a political character». We are mistaken in making this assessment. They are of a political and ideological character precisely because they cause disputes and splits in the organization. The question is not to refrain from criticizing those who err; they should certainly be criticized in the form and for the reasons I just mentioned, but we should guard against criticism based on «hearsay

and gossip», based on subjective criteria, and against their destructive and non-educational aims.

Therefore, the Party should get a good grasp of the dangerous political, ideological and organizational aspect of «rumors and gossip» so that they can be combatted, and they must be combatted sternly. If the communists fail to realize this danger, if they fall victims to the practice of this petty-bourgeois method, then «rumors and gossip» will penetrate into the Party, too, which will then be incapable of fighting this vice among the masses. Therefore, we should be on the alert and fight this evil when it appears, first and foremost, in ourselves, in the Party and among the masses.

In general, it is the idlers who engage in vituperation rumors and gossip, but it is not only them. In the first place we will come across this vice among people of a low ideological and political level, who lead an empty cultural life and do not live and fight together as they should, with the new ideas which the Party and the masses bring forward. Gossip and rumor mongers are people infested with backward prejudices or those who cannot cut themselves free from the archaic forms of life and past customs and habits. However, those who pose as being «modernized» but whose sort of modernization is nothing but a degeneration of character and a still more dangerous refinement of rumors and gossip are also of this kind.

In the past the coffeehouses and social visits have been widely used as occasions for gossip.

«Just to while away the time» they used to say as they criticized and indulged in idle talk about one person or another. Despite the great changes it has undergone such a way of life continues to this day. Our comrades are justified in complaining that many coffeehouses have been opened. No orders have been issued to open many coffeehouses, therefore, the comrades of the districts who complain have only themselves to blame for allowing such a thing. I am not raising this problem for the purpose of closing all cafes, for this would not be the right thing to do. This problem should be viewed not only from its commercial aspect, but also from the point of view of the need of the workers for recreation and rest. Making the cafes places of really cultured recreation depends, primarily, on the clients who frequent them, on their mentality, on their ideological and political enlightenment, on the purpose for which they go to the coffeehouses. If one goes to the cafes abandoning his home and family, in order to drink and get drunk, if one goes to sit down and tattle about whoever comes in and out, or to make scandal, then the cafe is turned into a place of corruption, a place of gossip and idle talk. It goes without saying that the blame for this does not lie in the building of the cafe but in the persons who frequent it. Therefore, we should not only stop opening many cafes, but, first and foremost, we should set to work to educate the people, for if we fail to do this, which is of primary importance, such uneducated people will practice these vices elsewhere, they will invade our cultural institutions,

which are not cafes but could easily become such.

Therefore, we have a lot to do towards educating our working class and our workers. How badly mistaken are those comrades who, in their letters to me, write such phrases as «We have buried deep once and for all the laws of Lek's Canon», «the churches have been closed, the last clergyman has been unfrocked and the influence of religion has been done away with» and other such immature phrases. Naturally, these comrades do not stop to think for a moment that it is hard to lull the Party and me to sleep with bombastic phrases like those I just mentioned, but in this there exists, even unintentionally, an attempt at lying, at deceiving, or failure to delve deep into the political, ideological and social situation in those places where these comrades live and work. The great results we have achieved are relative compared with what we will achieve, and in order to attain them we must still overcome many obstacles, which are surmounted by struggle and efforts and not by empty words and boasting. It is political and ideological uplift, well organized efforts and communist simplicity of character, that will overcome the obstacles and achieve the successes we desire.

## THE RIGHTS AND FREEDOMS OF WOMEN AND YOUTH SHOULD BE THOROUGHLY UNDERSTOOD AND UPHELD BY ALL

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

*October 18, 1969*

One of the many-sided aspects of socialist democracy, both for men and women, is their right to express their opinions on every problem not only on economic management but, especially, on the social problems which interest us greatly and which we are taking up for discussion under certain items of the agenda of this meeting<sup>1</sup>).

1) Reference is here made to two topics which were examined and discussed at the meeting of the Secretariat of the CC of the Party of Labor of Albania «On Certain Problems of the Relations of Young Men and Young Women of the City» and «On Certain Main Guidelines of the Struggle to Intensify the Process of Establishing New Relations in Marriage».

It has been noticed that in economic life the women can make criticisms of the men which they accept to a degree. But on social problems or on the patriarchal and petty-bourgeois «rights» acquired from one generation to another by tradition, they not only refuse to accept them or accept them with reluctance, but they even fight them in various ways, at times in the most evil ways, which are the old inherited methods, in the capitalist, petty-bourgeois and bourgeois spirit. Of course, here we encounter opposition, obstruction, pressure and limitations of the democracy for women and girls and the youth in general. From the latter there is permissible and justified reaction.

This suppression of democracy towards youth is camouflaged under the alleged great value of the experience of the older people and the lack of experience of the young men and young women. But there should be no abuses on the basis of this truth. We all know and it is right to say that through its struggle the Party brought freedom to women, ensured them equality with men and all rights as equal citizens of the People's Republic of Albania. This has been established by law and great progress has been made in practice. But can it be said that this lofty objective of the Party has been fully attained in practice in both political, economic and social life? Unfortunately we must admit that it has not, we have still a long way to go. Scores of years of hard political and ideological work are required to achieve this in full.

Let us not deceive ourselves and become intoxi-

cated with the successes we have achieved, let us not gauge our successes only by the establishment of principles and laws, but also by the results of their application in practice, by a thorough understanding of them and of changes that the correct understanding of them brings about in the world outlook of the people. This is of major importance. The degree of change in world outlook from the old idealistic outlook to the new materialist one is what will bring about the qualitative results we are after.

It is precisely the change from the idealistic to the materialistic world outlook of people that proceeds slowly and lags behind.

Let us not forget the course our Party has pursued and pursues in these great social problems. Struggle was needed to create the personality of the woman. It could not be done just by decree. The women and girls had to win this through work, schooling and education. In this regard we have achieved many good material and moral results. But has this problem been definitely solved? No, in no way whatsoever! It will be definitely solved under communism. Each generation of people will further consolidate these general social achievements, therefore, the Party should always be ceaselessly hammering away at this vital social problem.

Both in town and countryside today the overwhelming majority of women and girls attend schools and work. This is a major victory not only economic but also ideological and social. The backward, patriarchal resistance of confining the women within the four walls of the house without

schooling has been smashed, but there are still customs and hangovers which will be done away with only through constant ideological and political struggle. With its thorough ideological Marxist-Leninist understanding of the development of socialist economy and the absolute participation of women in work as a pivot, the Party has brought home to the old men and women, young wives and girls the vital need to work and of turning out for work, and thus a series of obstacles, though not all of them, were overcome. This was no easy job. Let us not forget the struggle and the difficulties for then we will not struggle further against other difficulties, since this problem has not ended.

Many parents who work themselves and who have also allowed their daughters and daughters-in-law to come out to work, many women and girls who have indeed come out to work, have all undergone changes in this direction in their world outlook. But they still preserve erroneous views, thorns in their feet which hamper them from advancing at the necessary pace. They preserve old, dangerous and harmful prejudices in their consciousness, which they sometimes do not understand, for they have been idealised in their hearts and minds, or half understand them and react weakly, or at times understand their harmfulness but fail to react because they are not fully confident that public opinion will support them, or, why not say outright what they must sometimes think, that the Party does not back them because... and they link up in

their minds certain events that may have occurred this way or that.

But we can arrive at one first correct conclusion, namely, that a major victory has been achieved in that our women and girls have come out to work, to attend school, to take part in life and are working and struggling the same as, if not better than, the menfolk; every thing they have won and are winning day by day, they have achieved with their work, their ability, their political and ideological maturity.

In the factories, in the fields, at school, in the administration and everywhere else, women and girls work together with men and boys. No distinction is drawn between them and their rights are protected to the letter. They work, achieve results, criticize and are subjected to criticism without distinction; in general, their behavior towards one another at work is very correct. This is a very great success, a thing which has made it easier to bring about the situation in which the overwhelming majority of women and girls are not hindered in going out to work and the emancipation of the Albanian women is forging ahead with success.

However, the work centers where the material blessings for people are produced, where women and men work together in a body for socialism, for a happy life for themselves and for the generations to come, the schools where girls and boys are educated together to acquire knowledge and science in order to place them at the service of the people and the country, are no places for automats. They are,

first and foremost, the most suitable centers where life and society develop, where a person assumes a great political, ideological and technological development, they are places where he is trained to manage his own State affairs, his own economy, where he develops his education and culture, his tastes and ethical outlook, they are places where his best inclinations and virtues as an individual and as a member of socialist society are developed and tempered.

In factories, in the field, at school, at mass actions and in offices men and women work together, hold meetings, go to their clubs, sing, laugh, crack jokes with one another, feel as comrades and sincere friends, some even fall in love and marry. Such is life. All of these things are natural. There is nothing unnatural in this. These things are done and should without fail be done in the lofty spirit of proletarian morality. But, occasionally, one who poses as being very clever may rise and say «there are also things that proletarian morality does not permit». «Yes, there are» we answer. If you say the contrary, you are not a realist nor a Marxist, you have not the least idea about materialist dialectics nor about the feelings, passions, worries, joys, sorrows, shortcomings and mistakes of men, their psychological moments, nor have you an idea of the correct methods the Party uses with consummate wisdom, patience and compassion to rescue people from errors.

To come to the point, the problem is this: This new spirit of education, this new joint social

life in the work centers and schools should be the pivot of to all the activity of our people, inspiring them during the time they are off work in society and in the family. I think this is very important. It is the second key which will fling the portals wide open to break a large number of petty-bourgeois prejudices in our social life, just as the participation of women and girls at work and in schools surmounted all obstacles and opened the way to them. There should not be two or three ways of life, there should be only one, but in fact there are more.

Many people lead a correct, frank, affectionate and comradely way of life both where they work, in society and in the family; there are no changes of principle for them. They have got rid of the main survivals of the old although this does not mean they have become immune. We must make it clear, they are not liberal in the bad sense of that term, they fight rumors and gossip, they are no longer victims of the patriarchal past of the family, of the relatives, of backward opinion, nor do they torment themselves over occasional mistakes they may have made at work or in life, but march courageously ahead along the road of the Party.

But then there are other people whose conduct at the work center is more or less correct whereas, once away from there, in society, reluctantly they are forced to become very reserved, benumbed, cowardly, hesitant, sceptical and misanthropic. This happens to some of our men too, but unfortunately more often to our sisters, to our daughters and wives, and the main reason for this is the incorrect at-

titude and opinions of the men. This is the source of the timidity of women in social life, at home, in the family and against their will, for it is here, especially within the four walls of the house, that the feelings of the man are displayed more forcefully.

Woman in general has won confidence in her economic emancipation but politically and morally she has not succeeded in feeling equal with man at every moment and under all circumstances. That is why she suffers from the survival of «the superiority» of man and is afraid of backward opinion even when she is within her own rights. On the other hand, woman is a cheerful and generous creature attached much more closely to the family, and, in order not to impair these bounds, she makes sacrifices of principle in her rights and personality, while there are men who abuse and take advantage of these noble virtues of women.

Certain men feel it expedient to speak of the «freedom» of women but in their hearts they do not entirely believe in it. A man of this type is apt to say nothing when his wife, daughter or sister attends a meeting in the factory, goes to the Club, sings and dances quite innocently with her male fellow workers, but once she comes home he gives vent to his backward temper and says: «women should come straight back home», and asks: «who was that man that accompanied you in the street?» and the like. And woe! if any of her male fellow workers takes the liberty of paying her a friendly visit at home! This would be a cause for scandal. According to this backward person a woman's home is

open to women relatives alone. A visit by a strange man, a comrade from work, when the head of the family is not home, is considered something immoral, scandalous by these conservatives who raise a hue and cry about the «freedom of women», but who in fact are for «limited freedom», freedom controlled by men, as in the days of their grandparents. According to this fellow, it is the man alone who guarantees the woman's honor, not the woman herself.

Some men (and they are not few, nor are they bad fellows at that except that they grow cabbages in their heads which we should weed out) continue to hold the opinion that a woman must not have her own male friends or companions who could visit her at home, greet her, go for a walk, or sit in the park with her. What harm is there in this? Of course, in the old society a woman was confined to her house, very often she was forbidden to appear before her own male cousins let alone her husband's friends. Now this situation has changed entirely, and in fact, so must these mouldy ideas change.

Why does a man have the right to visit where and whom he wants while the woman does not? Why can a man stroll on the boulevard in the company of a woman comrade from work, while his wife is condemned by public opinion if she goes **for a stroll** with her male co-worker? Why these **two different** attitudes of the man and conservative opinion towards woman in the factory and woman in society? The only reason for this lies in the fact

that men are still under the influence of the old. They speak of democracy, of the freedom and rights of women, but have not correctly and profoundly understood these great vital social problems. While upholding the old in these things, some of them pose as great moralists, as extremely honorable men, but they little realize that the old is the basis of many misfortunes, of many dramas and many injustices. If the Party had been guided by the backward morality of such men, then the women should continue as before to be slaves, confined within the four walls of their houses leading a dog's life, deprived of schooling and culture, a life of pangs and sorrows, to be sold for a paltry sum of money like sheep, to be divorced by her husband or be killed on the basis of the canon law of the Church. No, that time has gone once and for all and the Party will fight with all its might against the survivals of that horrible period.

Some speak against marriages concluded through a go-between and rightly condemn those parents who engage their children under age or sell them off for money; they speak against costly wedding parties or large dowries. This is the Party line which should be firmly grasped and carried out to the letter, taking severe measures against those who violate it, but let us not be lulled into thinking that these evil practices have ended or that they can be done away with so soon. These are social ills which now may not appear in the same demonstrative and brutal way as before, but there will be those who will find and create alleged reasons

to coat the poison with a little sugar. And that's what some are doing.

The Party line does not consist only of the struggle against those things I have just mentioned. The Party has mapped out its Marxist-Leninist line for a truly sound and stable marriage based on mutual acquaintance, free and frank consent, sincere, ardent, and pure proletarian love between the young man and the young woman. This creates the basis for a sound harmonious family.

We can say that we are proceeding along this path, that we have scored success all along, but we must realize also that we are up against obstacles which come from the old concepts of people. We must look these obstacles straight in the eye, pass judgement on them and not beat about the bush.

Some older people show a lack of trust towards the youth in the correct conception of love in the light of proletarian morality. This lack of trust on their part, I think, is not well based nor is it confirmed by the marvellous life of high exemplary morality of our youth. We can no more generalize certain cases of bad behavior then we can generalize certain cases of divorces of older people, because, though we are told about divorces among the young it turns out that there are more divorces amongst the mature couples.

The great anxiety felt especially by certain parents that their daughter might get a bad name, that she might be condemned by public opinion, a fear which springs from old concepts, accounts for the fact that in words a girl is allowed freedom,



but in fact she is denied the right to know and choose the one she loves. This is a very serious problem indeed. At first sight it looks as though it is wrong to say that the parent has no right to be worried, because in fact he has and should have the right to worry, but neither in principle nor in practice has he the right to deprive his daughter of her freedom and her rights. He should educate his daughter in the spirit of grappling with life, of surmounting risks, he should explain and bring home to her the various dangers one may encounter in life, behaving towards her not like a patriarch but like a revolutionary parent not restrained by petty-bourgeois fear and shame from talking to her about proletarian love even before she has fallen in love with some boy she has come to know. A parent should help his daughter to overcome the vicissitudes of life because the road of life is not always strewn with flowers; he should help her so that she may see him as a parent and, at the same time, as a comrade and not just a carping critic and ruthless dictator.

Some say that the young couple «should first get to know each other before they get married». But not all of them understand this in its broader aspect. The conservatives think that it is sufficient to get to know each other by sight and this can be done any morning in the street, or from the window, and if they like each other «at this distance», they may go ahead and get married. Thus, before they can exchange a joke, go for a walk, sit in the park, or go to the cinema they must first be official-

ly engaged, that is, celebrate their betrothal, in other words be married. What a beautiful acquaintanceship! This is hardly different from that time when marriage was like «buying a pig in a poke».

But there is the other extreme, the case of the young (fortunately few thanks to the nature of the work and sound education in the family, of the Youth Organization and the Party) who take a liberal and licentious view of pre-marital acquaintanceship typical of bourgeois and petty-bourgeois degeneration. Our Party, our youth, and our public opinion, should wage a ceaseless political and ideological campaign against this conduct.

There is also the genuine, honorable, sincere and free proletarian acquaintanceship between young men and young women. This kind of acquaintanceship is by no means necessarily with a view to marriage. This normal acquaintanceship, this normal way of living, open and heartfelt contacts, are a logical and natural expression of comradeship in society. They are a continuation of the pure and sincere friendship between young children, but, now, a more ardent affection, because it involves more mature judgment, wider horizons of life, broader spheres of collaboration in which affection and unity with one another should become even stronger. From such an acquaintanceship in life and work arises that natural love which leads a couple to unity, to marriage.

However, it is here that things get complicated and it is in this direction that we should engage in serious educational work in the Party, among youth

and the people, with a view to making clear the views which I am about to speak of. What are these views which need clarification?

We must struggle against those anti-Marxist, bourgeois, licentious views which debase both men and women, according to which «a woman is fore-doomed to serve only as a bedmate, and man's only object in life is to find a woman, any sort of woman, to satisfy his sexual desires». Those who have such views are not human beings but beasts; they cannot understand the meaning of sentiments, feelings and a heart, they do not know the meaning of the true love that binds a husband to his wife, nor can they understand the relations of friendship existing among men and women in society or the normal development of life and acquaintanceship between young men and young women. In any innocent activity of men and women they see only relationships of unbridled, unlawful sexual «love». The bourgeoisie have embarked on degeneracy, but our patriarchal, petty-bourgeois, conservative man who dreams of the past when he used to confine his wife and daughter in a cage, when he used to beat, divorce and even murder his wife, or sell her daughter off for money, now that he can't do these things (though in his mind he considers them as the acme of justice for the honor of his wife and clan) he considers the democracy, freedom and the rights of women as dissipation and according to him, violations of morality.

No one should belittle the danger of the carriers of these views because such people exist. With their

gossip they denigrate and hinder the progress of society.

Look at this! Whose influence is at work that there are still few marriages between boys and girls who belonged to different religions of the past? Are the young to be blamed for this? No, by no means! Look at this! There are still boys and girls who have not married because they live in the same village, though they may be twenty or more generations apart as relatives. Can the youth be blamed for this? No, by no means! Our Party will protect the boys and girls with all its strength and every one is aware of the colossal power our Party wields. Therefore, the blame must be sought and combatted elsewhere, in reactionary ideology.

I was looking one day at the statistics on divorce. They were not at all discouraging. There were divorces of young couples among them, but most of the divorces were of mature people. Thus the conservatives should not be too hasty in laying the blame on immaturity. This may happen too, because of insufficient acquaintance, or of some accident that may have occurred in life, and so on. Nothing can be idealized. But if the family, the school, the Youth Organization and that of the Party fail to educate not only the young but especially the older people in how to treat the pure feelings of the youth, how to guide them into correct channels, there could be still more divorces.

What happens? The youth wish to lead a normal life but the first time they take a walk together

public opinion has them engaged, at a time when they themselves have not yet thought of it. However, this is the more harmful because the boy and girl have the right to get to know other boys and girls. Such sickly opinion betroths or separates them at will hatching up a thousand slanders first and foremost, about the girl. The boy is dubbed a vagabond and the girl as immoral. This comes to the ears of the parents, arouses their old feelings, and they compel their daughter not to go out, thrash her, and recommend her future husband. Under such circumstances, the girl is compelled to resort to many stratagems in order protect herself against such sickly opinion and her father and goes to meet her sweetheart at night and in some place away from people who know her.

What a tragedy is inflicted on our youth under the cloak of a kind of morality which is not ours, under the pressure of sickly opinion nurtured by dreadful gossip. On one hand, our Party and Government strive in correct ways to create a warm comradely environment of work in which the people may live together as friends in society, on the other there are all these petty-bourgeois survivals which exert a contrary influence. And, unfortunately, there are also communists who, intentionally or unintentionally, fall victims to such backward thinking. From these backward positions there spring groundless slanders, rumors, scenes of animosity, of anger, baseless jealousy, divorce and even of crime. From its sound positions, the Party should open a volley of fire against all these evils which bring harm

to our society, which poison the happy and cheerful life of our young men and young women. We must not allow weeds to grow but must pull them out by the roots.

It would be erroneous and unrealistic to say that unpleasant things, acts condemnable by law do not take place in our society. We must not and we do not close our eyes to these negative phenomena, to these evils and stains our society has inherited from the past.

We should get a good grasp of the moments we are passing through, which our Party is repeatedly analyzing in all aspects, and it is striving, not without success, to give the problems a correct solution. Let us not forget that we have just emerged from a difficult and gloomy stage in which social problems were interpreted and solved quite differently from today. Through struggle and revolution we have left behind the stages of age-long feudal and bourgeois obscurantism, of fascism, and have embarked on socialism. Major transformations have taken place in our country and among our people. Although the surface of the earth may be changed more rapidly, 25 years is a short, a very short, period, in which to uproot the evil survivals of the past from the consciousness of all our people. That is why our Party continues and will always continue to revolutionize our people and the whole life of our country.

We should preserve the line which brought about the achievements we have attained in work and in life from any fetishist, fatalist or idealistic

views, for such notions do not arm us to grapple with the vicissitudes of life and struggle. Life is not something inert and ideal but it develops in a revolutionary way in the struggle of opposites. The new that is born struggles with the old that is dying and this gives rise to repeated qualitative leaps forwards. There are people who stick to the old and call it the «acme of perfection». However, holding such erroneous ideas on certain problems, they are disillusioned, adapt themselves reluctantly to the new, the more progressive, the more revolutionary or set themselves against them.

There is no force in the world to suppress and eliminate the law of dialectics, the law of revolution, for it acts outside the will of man. The Marxist-Leninist parties consider this law as their own, materialist dialectics is their philosophy.

The situation ripened and the Albanian Communist Party was set up against the wishes of fascism, of reaction, and of its terror. The National-liberation War was bound to break out and the people were bound to rise up in arms whether «Uncle So-and-So» wanted it or not, and he who wanted the National-liberation War, took up his rifle and, under the Party's guidance, fought the invaders and freed Albania. The Party respects and holds «Uncle So-and-So» in high esteem. But Albania's freedom cannot be conceived without the freedom, the emancipation of the Albanian woman, without giving her all her rights «de jure and de facto». «Uncle So-and-So» should be consistent, he should keep in step with the revolution. If he doesn't un-

derstand these things, the Party should make great efforts to bring them home to him, if he is not persuaded, to persuade him, if he continues to be unconvinced to neutralize him and, finally, if he raises a hand against the revolution then the dictatorship of the proletariat suppresses him. I brought up this impersonal example in order to show that the progressive new is in struggle against these people.

The question posed for the communists, for our youth and for our people as a whole, is to understand how this law of dialectics acts in the phenomena of development, how we should apply it concretely in all its manifestations in practice. During the period of transition from one stage of society to another as is the case with us in the building of socialism with the application of the major reforms and the successes we have achieved, we have encountered, encounter and will encounter contradictions which emerge of necessity from the class struggle, from the struggle of opposites, from the struggle of Marxist-Leninist views against idealistic views, from the struggle of the new which is born and growing against the old which is declining and dying.

The Party Committees and the Party as a whole should attach great importance, more importance than they have attached so far, to the concrete explanation of these capital laws of our theory, they should explain the struggle of opposites, they should explain all social problems thoroughly and with patience, and not treat them superficially

and along idealistic and patriarchal lines, but along the new line of the proletariat and of materialist dialectics.

A systematic and very careful study of the History of our Party has begun everywhere. This is very good. But the History of our Party can't be studied in full within a short time, and in the way it has begun there is the danger of neglecting, in some measure, the study of the classical works of Marxism-Leninism and the numerous broad and current documents of our Party which it needs in its daily struggle. These documents of course are integral parts of the History of the Party of Labor of Albania and come in the later chapters. Therefore, care should be taken not to neglect the study of the classics of Marxism-Leninism and the documents of the Party under the pretext that we are busy studying the History of the Party. We should exert great efforts, all of us, to get a thorough grasp of all of these and apply them correctly.

## **TWENTY FIVE YEARS OF STRUGGLE AND VICTORY ON THE ROAD TO SOCIALISM**

*Speech delivered at the solemn meeting dedicated  
to the 25th anniversary of the liberation of the country  
and the triumph of the people's revolution*

*November 28, 1969.*

Dear Comrades,  
Brothers and Sisters,  
Dear Friends,

Today, all our people, young and old, are celebrating with great joy and grandeur the glorious jubilee — the 25th anniversary of the liberation of the country from the fascist occupationists and of the establishment of the people's power in Albania. Jointly with us, this great festival is being celebrated also by the patriotic Albanians abroad, as well as by all the comrades-in-arms of the Albanian people, by the many friends of new Albania.

Allow me on this great festive day to bring to you, as well as to all our patriotic Albanian brothers wherever they are living, greetings and best wishes, to thank all the real friends of socialist Albania for their love, support for and fraternal solidarity with our country, on behalf of the Central Committee of the Party, of the Presidium of the People's Assembly, of the Council of Ministers and of the General Council of the Democratic Front of Albania.

Allow me likewise to warmly greet from this rostrum our glorious working class, the steel-like pillar of the dictatorship of the proletariat and the builders of socialism in Albania, the laboring and patriotic peasantry, our people's intelligentsia, our heroic youth and our wonderful mothers and sisters for their gigantic work, their self-denial and countless sacrifices, for the magnificent contribution they have rendered to the building of socialism. I wish you, comrades, a joyous festival and much happiness in new Albania which you have built with your blood and sweat. Honor, prosperity and glory to our dear socialist Homeland!

At these moments of special joy and cheerfulness, when we are celebrating, free, independent and sovereign, the glorious jubilee of liberation, we remember and honor with the deepest respect all the heroic men and women partisans who shed their blood for these happy days which we are living today, all those who, in the glorious National-liberation War and in the work for building socialism, laid down their lives to cement the

firm foundations of new socialist Albania. To them belongs the deep and everlasting gratitude of the entire Albanian people!

The roots of our people have been nurtured in this soil through the ages, but it is only in these 25 years of their free socialist existence and of people's power that they have ever known happy days.

In 1912, fifty-seven years ago, the patriotic Albanian people scored a great victory, the proclamation of their independence which crowned their protracted struggles through the centuries against the occupationists. For the first time since the days of Skanderbeg, Albania emerged in the international arena as an independent and sovereign state. We recall today, with honor and respect, the heroic struggle of the patriots of the period of our national revival, their spirit of self-denial and their infinite love of country.

But the bourgeoisie and the feudals who came to power went only half way and betrayed the brilliant cause of the patriots of the period of our national revival. Albania remained in a state of poverty and ignorance and was sold off to the foreigners.

The National-liberation War, the people's Revolution, along with the expulsion and the overthrow of the exploiting classes, realized the beautiful dream of the great patriots of Albania; they made Albania really free and independent; they embarked her on the road to progress and well-being.

The National-liberation War was a real people's war which was waged by the people and in the interest of the people. It ended with our victory over the external and internal enemies, because, from the ranks of the people and at the decisive moment, when their existence and their future were at stake, there came into being the Communist Party of Albania, the revolutionary vanguard of the working class, the reliable and wise leader of all the working masses. The creation of the Party and its emergence at the head of the people in revolt and of their liberation struggle, marked a radical turning-point in the historic destiny of Albania. The Party gave the people a clear programme of action and showed them the only correct way to put it into practice.

It was under the leadership of the Party, and in the legendary clash with the most savage enemies of mankind — the Italian fascists and the German nazis that the bravery and heroism of the Albanian people, their indomitable freedom-loving spirit, their great hatred of the oppressors and enslavers, their courage and determination to fight the enemies and win, defying all sacrifices, were manifested with a force multiplied ten times over, and were reaffirmed on a new basis.

Taking a bird's-eye view of twenty five years of heroic work of our Party, we see more clearly the glory of the National-liberation War, and the historic significance of the triumph of our people's revolution. They laid the steel-like foundations of new socialist Albania, they opened the bright epoch

of socialism and communism to the Albanian people.

Glory to the men and women partisans, to the Albanian sons and daughters who, arms in hand, fought over mountain and plain, with unprecedented heroism, giving the people freedom, independence, power, and opening to them the road to socialism!

Our young socialist state, which grew from the barrel of the partisan gun slammed and locked the door forever to the imperialist wolves and the anti-popular regimes. The former long-suffering Albania, oppressed by the beys and agas, a semi-colonial country and a token to be traded among the great powers, is today a free socialist, independent and sovereign country, master of its own destinies and invincible.

The historic aim of the proletariat, of the working people, of their revolutionary representatives — the communists, is to overthrow in their own country any anti-popular oppressive order, to abolish any sort of exploitation of man by man, to build a new society in which the working people will enjoy all their rights and be masters of their own destinies, and where everything will be in the interest and in the service of the people. Our Party and our people come to this great jubilee, head erect and chest out, for they have carried out with honor this glorious historic mission.

The objective of proletarian revolutionaries is to do everything in their power for the triumph of the great cause of socialism, not only in their

own country, but also throughout the world. Our Party and our people have always held firm and raised ever higher the banner of proletarian internationalism, the banner of unreserved support for the revolutionary and liberation struggle in other countries, the banner of inflexible struggle against imperialism and modern revisionism.

The twenty-five years that have elapsed since the day of liberation are a living testimony to the life-giving illumination of Marxism-Leninism, to the invincible strength of the socialist regime, they are a great affirmation of the correctness of the general line of our Party, of the steel-like political unity of the Albanian people, of their work and determination to always march courageously forward on the road opened to them by people's Revolution.

We are fully entitled to be proud of the successes achieved and of the battles won in all fields. Albania is no longer that backward country of the wooden plough and thatched roofed huts, of the pinetorch and kerosine lamp, of illiteracy and malaria. Today new socialist Albania is marching with giant strides and with an irresistible revolutionary vigor towards the complete building of socialist society. We have an industry equipped with most modern machines, a developed socialist agriculture, a very advanced and complete educational system. The former country of poor shepherds, of exhausted peasants and of the savage vendetta, has become today a country of a developed culture and art whose content may be envied

even by those who measure their civilization by centuries.

In their gigantic efforts, exerted all along from the beginning of the National-liberation War to this day, our people have had to shed much blood and much sweat, they have had to fight and work encircled by savage and wily enemies, to keep the rifle always ready beside the pick. Not only our enemies, but also those who knew little about our people and our Party have frequently predicted and declared that people's Albania «would not last long». Reality, however, has completely disabused them all. Our people, under the wise and farsighted leadership of the Party, have successfully coped with all the enemies, they have courageously overcome all the difficulties, they have resolutely removed all the obstacles.

We come to the great jubilee of liberation stronger than ever. The most advanced social order — socialism — has been established in Albania on firm foundations. We meet the glorious 25th anniversary united to a man around the Party of Labor and the People's Power. Our people, workers, peasants and people's intelligentsia are celebrating the 25th anniversary of the triumph of the revolution full of revolutionary optimism, confident of a more beautiful and happier future lying in store for our socialist Homeland, determined to work and fight with all their strength so that socialist Albania may live and thrive through centuries, so that the banner of freedom, the banner of communism may always fly proudly in our homeland.



**The 29th of November 1944 marks the great day  
of our people's true revival**

Dear Comrades!

The 29th of November 1944, the day when our valiant partizans brought freedom to our Homeland, marks the great day of the real revival of our people, the boundary where the old world ends and where the new world, the brilliant epoch of socialism, begins.

The road which we have traversed during these 25 years has been one of continuous struggle in the most diverse fields and forms for the building of socialist Albania, for the complete triumph of the new world over the old world and its remnants. On this road we have had to fight against the class enemies, against numerous obstacles and difficulties, we have had to fight against the imperialist enemies and the sham friends — the Titoite and Khrushchevite revisionists, against their detestable sabotage and blockades. But just as during the National-liberation War, so also in the struggle to build socialism, our people, endowed with a lofty spirit of sacrifice and heroism, with an iron will and exemplary courage, and wisely led by the Party, have always emerged successful and have achieved one victory after another.

Following the liberation of our country and the establishment of our people's power, our people and our Party were faced with great and compli-

cated historic tasks on whose solution depended the future of the country and the fate of socialism in Albania.

The entire old feudal-bourgeois structure and super-structure had to be overthrown, the relations of small-scale commodity production had to be radically transformed, and we had to pass over to the system of scientific socialism in the city and the countryside, in economy and culture. But it was necessary to radically transform also the inner world of man, to endow him with the Marxist-Leninist world outlook, with socialist ideology, with communist morality. It was indispensable and urgent, likewise, to rebuild the war-ravaged country and to overcome at the most rapid rates the centuries long economic and cultural backwardness inherited from the past.

Our Party relied on the teachings of Lenin and Stalin, on the valuable experience of socialist construction in the Soviet Union, but it could not copy this experience and carry it out in practice in a mechanical way. This experience and the Marxist-Leninist principles had to be implemented in a creative manner on our specific territory with its historic, geographic, economic, class, political, ideological and other peculiarities. The difficulties and dangers were great. One could break his neck at every turn, at every fundamental decision which determined the strategic direction, as well as in the tactical stand towards the implementation of these decisions.

To its honor and glory our Party, however,

correctly solved both the strategic and the tactical tasks.

Within a very short time, the aftermath of war was liquidated, and the energies of the working class and of all the working masses were concentrated on the vital battle for the vigorous development of the forces of production, for the uplift and rapid progress of the whole economy. In this direction the Party followed, consistently and with unshakable determination, the course of socialist industrialization, of giving priority to industry in the development of our young socialist economy, considering it as a decisive factor of the country's development in all fields.

The socialist industrialization of the country started in the early years at slow rates and developed with a persistent struggle on the part of the Party, of the working class, and of the whole people overcoming many difficulties and obstacles. This had its own reasons. We inherited almost no industry whatever, while even that little which existed was gravely damaged by the war. The Yugoslav pseudo-allies, far from helping, sabotaged our country's industrial development by all manner of means. The Soviet aid, in the direction of industrialization, came after some delay and, at the beginning, it was limited, due to the difficult situation created in the Soviet Union as a result of the terrible war devastation. Later, this aid increased, but with the advent to power of the Khrushchevite revisionists it began to slow down and to be sabo-

tagged until it was cut off and replaced with a hostile blockade.

But our Party, our working class and all our people with a courageous struggle, heedless of difficulties and sacrifices, marched courageously ahead. They were not deceived by the idle talk of the Khrushchevite revisionists about the so-called «international socialist division of labor», «specialization and cooperation of production among socialist countries», etc., the objective of which is the economic and political subjugation of other countries and aiming at making our country an agrarian appendage to their own. Our Party and our people unwaveringly continued the correct road of socialist industrialization which was not long in yielding brilliant results that have completely changed the face of our Homeland.

From a backward agricultural country, Albania has been transformed now into an advanced agricultural-industrial one. In 1938 industrial production accounted for only 8 per cent of the total industrial-agricultural production, whereas in the year 1968 it reached 61.5 per cent. At present, the production of the «Mao Tsetung» textile combine in Berat, alone, is larger than the production of the whole of the country's industry in 1938.

All over Albania there have been set up hundreds of big works of heavy and light, extraction and processing industries. Today the chimneys of the factories and plants are seen in all our cities, old and young, which have been turned into important industrial centers. Formerly the city of Fier

counted 4.800 inhabitants. Its population engaged only in trade, in handicrafts and in agriculture. Today Fieri has become one of the country's largest industrial centers. Erected there are a nitrate fertilizers plant, an oil refinery, a heat-power station with a capacity of about 100.000 kilowatts, a cotton ginning factory, a brick works, etc. In the city of Fieri, which has been expanded and filled with beautiful buildings, there are employed today over 7.500 workers. The same can be said also of Lushnja, Kavaja, Berat, Kukës or Gjirokastra, without speaking of such cities as Tirana, Shkodra, Durrës, Korça, Vlora, etc.

The country's socialist industrialization has brought about not only quantitative changes. It has brought about also great qualitative changes. The priority development of the branches serving for the production of the means of production, which in 1968 accounted for 55,5 percent of the total industrial output, has ensured an ever more efficient exploitation of our natural resources, it has led towards the consolidation of the country's economic independence and has ensured ever more favorable conditions for the rapid development of our economy. While in the past our country's industry was mainly represented by some small and primitive factories of the light and food industries, by handicraft and an occasional small mine, now there have been created new and modern branches such as the oil, chromium or iron-nickel industries, the chemical, machine-building and power industries, the building materials industry, etc., which are

growing rapidly and constitute a sound basis for the creation and development of new branches of industry under the coming five-year plans.

Big works, equipped with a modern technology, such as the nitrate and superphosphate fertilizer plants, the machinery plants, that of tractor spare parts, the textile combines, the construction of big hydro-power stations, like the «Mao Tse-tung» hydropower station at Vau i Dejës, or of the powerful heat-power stations like the one in Fieri, the cement factories or the construction of railways, the erection of the ferrous metallurgical combine, and so many others, are eloquent proof of the high level of our economy, of the results achieved and of the vast prospects which have been opened to our national economy.

The country's electrification, as one of the decisive factors in the rapid and sure development of the whole of our national economy, is another important index clearly showing the great results of the socialist industrialization policy pursued by the Party during these 25 years. Today, in about 4 days the country produces as much electric power as that produced during the whole year 1938. The Kruja district alone consumes 3,5 times more power than the whole of pre-liberation Albania consumed. The electrification of all the villages, which is being carried out now with full success, at a time when in many European countries they cannot even think of such an undertaking, testifies best of all to the strength of our socialist country, to the growth of the country's economic possibilities, to

the great solicitude displayed by the Party and the people's regime for the progress and the continuous increase of the material and cultural wellbeing of the laboring masses.

The Party policy for the country's industrialization has strengthened the whole of our national economy. It has resulted in achieving major victories not only in the field of industry and mining, but also in those of construction, communications, commerce, etc.

During these 25 years of new Albania, jointly with the development and advance of the various industrial branches, there has also been achieved another great victory of historic and decisive importance to the country's destiny. I am referring to the creation and growth of the new working class, the pillar of the dictatorship of the proletariat, the standard-bearer and leader of socialist construction in Albania. Today, we have a working class large in number, endowed with a high political class consciousness and with wonderful capacities and talents. It is becoming ever more conscious of its role as the class in power. The working class is continuously tempered on the anvil of revolution, it is ever more forcefully having its decisive say, is extending its direct control over everyone and over everything. With its ideology, work and struggle, it is setting the tone today to the entire national life, leading the revolutionary movement, inspiring all the other working people by the example it sets.

Our socialist industrialization, always taking

into account its particular features deriving from Albania's specific conditions, as well as from the historic circumstances through which we have passed, has been and is being developed on correct Marxist-Leninist lines.

In the conditions of our small country, the un-deviating Party line has been and remains that, by advancing at a rapid rate on the road of socialist transformations and, at the same time, of the intensive development of agriculture, to make our national economy more independent, ever more capable of standing on its own feet, preserving and consolidating thereby also the political independence of our socialist Homeland; to unremittently strengthen its defensive power against any attempt of the imperialist and revisionist enemies who surround us; to constantly improve the well-being of our people and ever better fulfil their needs.

The Party has laid down the continuous development and deepening of the technical and scientific revolution, the widest possible introduction of modern science, technology and agronomy, the spreading of scientific experimentation in every field, as one of the most important problems and tasks of the development of our socialist economy, of the complete building of socialism in our country.

This revolution is an integral part of our socialist revolution and is being carried out in unity with the ideological and cultural revolution. Its fundamental aim is to place the whole of our national economy on a higher scientific and technical

basis, in order to ensure a higher labor productivity, a more vigorous development of the productive forces, in order to lighten the work of our men and women and to raise their living standards higher. The main efforts must be concentrated everywhere on the transition from handicraft forms to modern industrial production, to the introduction of new technology, to the implementation of a strict scientific discipline in all the processes of work and production, to the scientific organization and management of the national economy, to the summing up and spreading of advanced experience. The decisive condition for leading the technical and scientific revolution forward is the mobilization of all the creative living energies of the working masses and specialists, their all-round political, ideological, technical and scientific education, the continuous strengthening of their cooperation in the most diverse and the most fruitful forms.

Our road of socialist industrialization, closely combined also with the broad development of the technical and scientific revolution, has nothing in common with and is in complete opposition to the various technocratic views which the bourgeoisie and the modern revisionists are clamorously spreading at the present time.

The ideologists of the monopoly bourgeoisie are striving to make the working people believe that the technical and scientific revolution which is being carried out in the world today is allegedly removing the ills of capitalism, that it is reforming it, liquidating the classes and class antagonisms,

and replacing the capitalist owners with the technocratic administrators. On this basis they declare that the old capitalist system of exploitation, the class struggle and the need for proletarian revolution, have been overcome.

In reality, behind the so-called «industrial society» or «technocratic society» there lies hidden the brutal oppression of the working people by the capitalist monopolies and the state monopoly capitalism. The modern revisionists, who have completely and absolutely betrayed Marxism-Leninism and placed themselves at the service of the bourgeoisie, have proclaimed the «technocratic society» and the technical and scientific progress, which leads to the strengthening and expansion of the state monopoly capitalism, as an «introduction of the elements of socialism in the gradual transformation of capitalism».

In the revisionist countries, technocracy, along with bureaucracy and as a subtle expression of it, has become one of the principal means of displacing the working class from leadership and of restoring capitalism. The economy of these countries, which the revisionists continue to call «socialist» under the pretext that it is nationalized or collectivized, is, in reality nothing else but a capitalist economy of a special type. It is in the hands, in the service, and in the interest of the new bourgeois class of the bureaucrats and technocrats, which has been created and continues to be consolidated. The western bourgeois theoreticians call what is happening in the revisionist countries, the

«liberalization and democratization of socialism». Thus, both sides, the bourgeoisie as well as the revisionists, converge at one and the same point, that of trying to keep capitalism alive and liquidate socialism.

But the technical and scientific revolution, and linked with it, the development of technocratism, do not and cannot save capitalism or modern revisionism from their inevitable collapse and destruction. They cannot change the objective laws of social development, particularly, that of the class struggle and revolution. The introduction on a large scale of science and technology in production, which the western capitalist monopolies and the new bourgeoisie of the revisionist countries are compelled to do because of the fierce domestic and inter-state competition and to ensure maximum profits, by no means, mitigates the internal and external economic and class contradictions, of the old and the new capitalism; it does not save it from the incurable and the ever more destructive crisis. On the contrary, this aggravates further the contradictions and crises, it raises the tide of the class struggle to an ever higher degree, and leads, in the final account, when the subjective factor, too, is up to the mark, to the all-conquering socialist revolution.

### **The Albanian people march firmly ahead on the road to the complete construction of socialist society**

The successes achieved by our country in its industrialization during these twenty five years have created the material basis which allows us to aim at transforming Albania, in the not distant future, from an agricultural-industrial country into an industrial-agricultural one. To reach this target it is indispensable that the main task of the industrial development should continue to be, in the future, too, the extension and improvement of the structure of industrial production, based on an advanced technology. For this purpose there must be created a stable internal basis of raw materials and, what is more important, we should be able to make a most rational exploitation, and with the best economic effect, of various natural resources. This will make it possible to ensure the fulfilment of the ever greater needs of the people's economy, the systematic increase of the well-being of the people and the growth of the country's defensive power.

We shall certainly achieve these objectives, for we have a heroic, industrious and resolved people, we have a glorious and talented working class, we have our Party which, by its wise and farsighted Marxist-Leninist policy, leads us for certain towards new victories.

Our countryside and our peasantry have, likewise, undergone radical transformations. All of us have still fresh in our minds the thatched-roofed

huts and the oppressed peasants of Myzeqe, the hungry highlanders of Puka and Dukagjini, the whole of our toiling and much suffering peasantry. We remember the swamps and marshes which flooded the best plains of Albania from Buna, to the South, to the Vurgu of Delvina.

But all this belongs to history, to the past. Today, all the new cooperative countryside is shining in the light of socialism. The peasant has relegated to bitter memory the age-old cult of the hunk of bread, the suffering for which persecuted him from the cradle to the grave. The agricultural cooperative which has fully extended to all the villages, is today a powerful unit of the broad and all-round agricultural and livestock production, thoroughly integrated with the general national economy and a solid basis of it. With their own forces and with the great aid of the people's power, the cooperatives today are more and more practising intensive farming, at an ever higher level of agricultural technique.

In comparison with the pre-war level agricultural production has been increased more than three times over and the area of cultivated land has been doubled. Thanks to the land reclamation and irrigation works constructed so far, there have been reclaimed and improved about 200.000 hectares of land and the irrigation capacity, by the end of the year 1968, reached more than 240.000 hectares as against only 29.000 in 1938. At present, there are 10.500 tractors (in terms of 15 HP) at work on our fields as against 30 all told before liberation. Nowadays Albania ranks among

the developed countries with regard to the use of chemical fertilizers which were not even known in this country before the war. In the year 1968 we used an average of 79 kg. of chemical fertilizers in active substance per hectare of cultivated land, while in the year 1967 Greece used 68 kg., Spain 36,8 kg., Yugoslavia 60,4 kg., Hungary 66,9 kg. and Italy 72,6 kg. of chemical fertilizers.

To the countryside, and also in the life of the peasantry itself, socialism has brought progress that brooks no comparison with the past. Our peasant today lives in a new house. His children attend the 8-grade school. The hospital, the outpatient clinics and the pharmacy are at his door. In many villages there have been set up crèches and kindergartens, public bath-rooms, laundries, homes and hearths of culture. The motor-road has brought the countryside nearer to the city and every day the radio and the press bring the whole country and the whole world, to the cooperative peasants by their fireside.

The successes and victories achieved are closely connected with the Party line for the correct solution of the peasant problem which is among the most important and the most complicated problems for every country embarking on the road of socialist construction. From the early days of liberation and onwards the Party has devoted its main attention to this vital and difficult problem, especially in our conditions, where the overwhelming percentage of the population were peasants, where the impoverished and war-ravaged countryside had to be rebuilt on new lines, unknown to it. The peasant

had to stick to the land, not to abandon it due to the difficulties of the early days, because this would swell the cities with unemployed and would create a food crisis. The peasantry had to be freed from fetters of private property and to adopt the socialist way. We had to overcome the inherited backwardness and rapidly develop the forces of production in the domain of agriculture.

The Party solved this vital problem correctly. It raised and led the laboring peasantry in the struggle against the foreign occupationists and their collaborators — the beys and agas, big land estate holders, who had robbed the peasant of his land and had enslaved him. It was in this struggle that the great alliance of the peasantry and the working class was forged, that the main social basis of the people's revolution and of the dictatorship of the proletariat was established.

The consistent application of the land reform laws, the first major decision of the Party and the people's power on the solution of the peasant problem, taken immediately after liberation, brought about a deep transformation in the social relations and in the consciousness of the peasantry, who witnessed the realization of their centuries-old dream of land and of casting off the heavy yoke of the bey and of the landlord. The distribution of land by the proletarian Party and the dictatorship of the proletariat further consolidated the alliance of the peasantry and the working class. Let us recall for a moment the privations endured by and the heavy tasks assigned to the peasantry at the beginning.

They breasted them with a high sense of duty. Their correct and inflexible attitude towards the decisions the Party and the people's power were adopting, was a testimony to the loyalty of the laboring peasantry towards the Party of the proletariat, towards the working class, a testimony to their alliance with the working class which they accepted as their leadership, for they saw the correct way of development, they foresaw the prospect of the happy life which was being built through hardships and sacrifices.

All this prepared the material and spiritual conditions for taking the next decisive steps, of passing over to the process of the socialist transformation of the countryside. Alongside the large-scale work of land reclamation, for the mechanization of agriculture, for the development of agricultural crops, of stock raising, etc., there was carried out the great struggle for the collectivization of agriculture, which, according to the consistent and, at the same time, cautious directives of the Party, gradually spread throughout the country, including, of late, the upland regions as well.

By the experience of life and thanks to the large-scale explanatory work done by the Party, the peasants became convinced of the superiority of the cooperative system, the only one that can free them from want, that can save them from each and every kind of exploitation. The world outlook of the peasantry changed radically. The psychology of individual work, of the small private property and of the narrow individual interest began to give



way more and more to the feeling and consciousness of collective property, of collective work and of large-scale socialist production.

It was under these conditions that the process of uniting cooperatives into larger ones, that scientific experimentation and the application of the technical and scientific revolution began to develop on a large scale in agriculture too; that the struggle for high yields started, that agricultural technique spread 'en masse', that the number of qualified cadres increased in the countryside, etc. The new socialist countryside finds itself today under the vigorous process of development and transformation, affecting both the production and the social and cultural fields.

The intensification of mechanization, the large-scale land reclamation and irrigation schemes, the wide use of chemicals, the ever better implementation of advanced agricultural technique, the extension of the communication network, etc., the increase of the number of specialized cadres and, in general, the rise of the educational standard of the peasant, have created proper material conditions for carrying out modern intensive farming in breadth and depth, for raising cultural and living standards of the cooperative peasant masses, to bring about an ever greater rapprochement of the production and life of the countryside with that of industry and of the city.

This revolutionary process of the vigorous development of the productive forces in agriculture and of the perfecting of socialist relations in the

countryside will continue until the agricultural cooperatives are transformed from the property of the group into the property of the entire people, until the differences between the cooperatives and the state farms are eliminated so as to reach the complete building of socialism in the countryside, to gradually narrow down and eventually liquidate the essential differences between the city and the country, between the peasantry and the working class, etc. This is the Marxist-Leninist road that leads to the classless communist society.

The correctness of the Party line with regard to to the countryside, as well as the magnificent victories achieved during these 25 years become still more evident when we witness the grave and critical situation of agriculture in the Soviet Union and in the other revisionist countries.

The modern revisionists, some earlier and others later, abandoned the Marxist-Leninist road of the socialist development of the countryside. They have liquidated and are liquidating the gains of socialism in the countryside. Their road is that of returning to capitalism under allegedly socialist labels.

Capitalism and the modern revisionists, under the pretext of «superindustrialisation», of the creation of «industrial society», of «complex mechanisation» of agriculture, etc., impoverish the countryside, compel the peasantry to abandon their farmsteads, introducing the grip of agrarian concerns, they depopulate the countryside and throw millions of unemployed onto the roads, they create the

reserve of slaves, which they use to increase exploitation in the city as well.

We follow a diametrically opposite course in our socialist society. Attaching first-rate importance to industrialisation and mechanisation of labor, at the same time we by no means underrate the countryside and do not advance on the road of depopulation of the villages but we develop agriculture in harmony with them. While fighting for high yields in the lowland areas, we do not neglect fighting for the rapid development of agriculture in the hilly and mountainous areas. The preservation of the right proportions in this direction is very important to the cause of socialist construction in our country, to any situation that may arise, whereas allowing the creation of discrepancies is fraught with disorders and grave economic, political, class and ideological consequences.

Agriculture is faced today with very important problems and tasks, on the solution of which the entire development of our national economy is directly dependent. For the development of the productive forces in the countryside in the present conditions of our country it is indispensable that we should aim mainly at the increase of the yields of agricultural crops and the productivity of livestock, at the extension of the area of the cultivated lands, and at the improvement and perfecting of the structure of agricultural production.

Our patriotic laboring peasantry, led by the Party and enjoying, as always, the aid and support of the working class, will accomplish these

great tasks with success, it will certainly make its life more flourishing and more prosperous.

**The greatest achievement of this period is the moulding of the new man endowed with lofty revolutionary qualities**

Dear Comrades,

The great historic victories, achieved by new Albania during these 25 years of the people's power on all the fronts of the struggle for the building and defence of socialism, testify to the heroism, patriotism and the high revolutionary spirit of our wonderful men and women, inspired and educated with a special care by the Party. If our country, with rare spirit of self-denial, has been able to overcome within a short period of time the countless difficulties and obstacles raised by the centuries long inherited backwardness and by the frantic hostile activity of the imperialists, revisionists and reactionary forces, if our people have built a developed socialist society and our Homeland stands as an impregnable fortress and a beacon-light of socialism on the Adriatic coast, this is due, to a large extent, to the fact that the Party has been able to create and temper the new man, equipped with a high socialist consciousness and outstanding revolutionary qualities.

We are rightfully proud of our heroic working class, of our valiant laboring peasantry, of

our revolutionary youth, of our wonderful women, of our people's intelligentsia — of the whole of our people who, united to a man, rallied around the Party, are marching onward fearing no tempest whatsoever. The war-time heroism has been repeated during the whole period of socialist construction and it is rising higher in the present days. It has become a distinctive feature of our society.

Let us preserve, develop and increase with every passing day these lofty qualities which the Party has forged in our men and women!

Especially in these recent years, ever since the Open Letter and the historic 5th Party Congress, in close connection with the entire process of the revolutionization of national life, a new qualitative leap is underway for the moulding of the new man of socialist society.

The great revolutionary process which is taking place today is a continuation and deepening of our socialist revolution. It is a general offensive against all the blemishes and remnants from the old world which we are burying, it is a great and all-round struggle to bar the road to the restoration of capitalism today and in the future, from inside or outside, it is a fierce class struggle to lead the revolution continually forward, to ensure the complete and ultimate victory of the socialist road over the capitalist road.

This great revolutionary process, which is taking place under the leadership of the Party and with the broad participation of the working masses, has

encompassed all fields of life, of political and ideological, economic and cultural, organizational and military activities. It has set in motion everything, everybody, effecting a radical overturning of concepts, customs, traditions, in the way of living, in the manners and attitudes of men and women, in their entire work and life. Revolutionisation has created a high militant spirit, a great mobilization in work, an unexampled spirit of innovatorism, a steel-like unity of the people and the Party. It has encouraged as never before the revolutionary initiative, individual action and courage of the masses, which have found their powerful expression in a series of deep revolutionary movements of an economic, political and ideological character. This is a living testimony to the correctness of the Party line and a brilliant victory for it.

In the struggle for the further revolutionisation of the life of the country, the Party is courageously blazing untrodden paths; by its experience it is making an important contribution to the theory and practice of socialism, to the enrichment of the historic experience of the dictatorship of the proletariat. The importance of this experience rests in the fact that it shows how to ensure the continuity of revolution, how to build the complete socialist society and to pass over to communism, how to prevent the backward turn or interruption of the revolutionary process.

In moulding the new man, conscious worker of socialist construction, a great role has been played by the development and deepening of the revolu-

tion in the field of education and culture, as an integral part of, and closely connected with, the entire development of our revolution. The solution of this task appears still more urgent, if we do not lose sight of the backwardness which we have inherited from the past. The Party made it clear at the very outset that socialism could not be built with illiterate persons; that, to have the country advance, it was necessary to raise the educational and cultural standards of the workers and peasants.

The whole of Albania is covered by a wide network of schools of all types. Two out of every 7 persons attend school. The compulsory 8-grade education has been fully realized not only in the city, but now also in all the villages. This is at a time when today as yet in Italy over 100,000 children remain illiterate each year, while in Yugoslavia 20 percent and in Greece 27 percent of the population are illiterate. In the whole of our educational system today there are serving about 23,000 teachers as against approximately 1,700 that served before liberation. The middle schools of Delvina and Konispol alone, count more pupils than all the gymnasiums of Albania in 1938, whereas one of the parallels of the tenth form of the «Qemal Stafa» middle school in Tirana counts more girls than all the country's gymnasiums had before the war. As to higher education, formerly nonexistent, Albania boasts today of 113 students for every 10,000 inhabitants, leaving behind in this field such advanced countries as Britain, Germany, Italy and Switzerland. Today our higher schools graduate

about 2,000 cadres yearly, or over 5 times as many as the total number of highly trained specialists Albania had in 1938.

Actually, our Party and our people have engaged in a great work and struggle for the revolutionization of our schools. Now we have a clear and full program of action in this field. It is incumbent on us to deeply understand the decisions of the 8th Plenum of the Party Central Committee and to take all the measures to put them into practice. While giving priority to the Marxist-Leninist education of youth, our schools, through a scientific combination of study with productive work and with the physical and military training of the pupils and students, must train capable cadres, loyal and resolute fighters for the cause of communism, prepared to cope with every task and every difficulty.

In the field of culture and art, likewise, there have taken place changes so great that no parallel whatever can be drawn with the past. Only 17 cinemas, 2 museums, 5 libraries and the publication of some 180,000 copies of books comprised the entire basis of culture in the year 1938. Whereas at present, we have about 1,750 homes and hearths of culture, the cinema network has extended not only to all the large and small cities, but also to many agricultural cooperatives. Twenty-five professional theaters and variety shows, tens of public libraries, museums and house-museums contribute to the cultural and revolutionary upbringing of the masses. During the year 1968, the «Mihal Duri» printing establishment alone printed 590

books with a total circulation of about 7 million copies. The radio is being introduced to almost all families and now work is underway for the erection of a television center which marks another important stride ahead for the dissemination of the proletarian ideology and culture.

All-round cultural and artistic activity with the active participation of the workers, peasants, young men and young women, is today being conducted in all the parts of our Homeland. Hundreds of talented writers and artists are militating with their works for the ideals of the Party and socialism.

These successes will be further developed in the future. Just as we have done so far, we must see to it that education and culture remain free from the penetration of alien bourgeois and revisionist influences, that they always remain powerful weapons in the struggle which our people are waging in defence of our Homeland and in building socialism.

The large-scale and daily work of the Party and of the mass organisations for the communist education of our men and women, the broad development of socialist education and culture, have resulted in raising the revolutionary consciousness of the working people to a higher level. But it would be a mistake to become self-satisfied and complacent about that. We must be aware that the struggle for the moulding of the new man is the most protracted, the most arduous, the most complicated and the most delicate one, because it is precisely

in this field that the resistance of the old world is greatest, most greatest, most stubborn and deepest. The struggle between the two roads, the socialist and the capitalist roads passes through the consciousness of men. Therefore, the purging of the consciousness of the working people of all the traces and influences of the old society and of the capitalist and revisionist world that surrounds us, the moulding of the working people with the Marxist-Leninist world outlook, with the norms of communist morality, with revolutionary virtues, is an indispensable condition and an integral part of the complete building of socialist society. Undervaluation in this respect and deficiencies in this field, as shown by the negative experience of the Soviet Union and of certain other countries, are fraught with grave consequences.

Especially in the present epoch, when the problems and the tasks of the struggle in the ideological field are in the forefront, the persistent and scientific fight of the Party and of the dictatorship of the proletariat for moulding the new man of socialist society, should be carried out frontally, in all directions. The whole economic and social development of our country, of the structure and superstructure, of education and culture, must serve this purpose.

On the question of the education of men a deep demarcation line is drawn between us and the modern revisionist renegades who seek by all their means to degenerate people spiritually, ideologically, politically and morally, in order to turn them

into blind tools of their anti-Marxist and treacherous policy, into obedient slaves of the revisionist counter-revolution.

Our Party has never viewed the revolutionary communist education of the working people as a mere illuminist process, the less so as a spontaneous and passive process, but as an active process of the class struggle in the fold of the people, which is carried out by the Party, by the State of the dictatorship of the proletariat and the mass organisations, with the participation of all the working people. The Party has underlined and continues to underline that the communist education of man is part and parcel of the active, merciless and principled fight against all the stains and influences of alien ideologies, whether feudal, patriarchal, bourgeois, petty-bourgeois or revisionist, which will inevitably continue to exist for a very long time yet, to this or that extent, in the consciousness of our working people. Any concession, appeasement, compromise or opportunism towards the manifestations and influences of alien ideologies would be fatal to our cause.

This frontal struggle for the communist upbringing of the working people, of vital importance to the fate of the revolution and socialism, places great tasks before the Party, before the social and State organisations, our schools and the family, our literature and arts, before all the organisations and institutions which form social opinion. The whole of this work should be further improved, should be made deeper, more persuasive, mo-

re militant, always correctly combining theory and practice, explanatory ideological and political work with the mass revolutionary actions, education with self-education, educative measures with economic and organisational ones, etc. The attentive and continuous study of the immortal works of the classics of Marxism-Leninism, of the documents and of the history of our glorious Party of Labor will help all the working people to master the materialist world outlook and our vanguard theory, it will make them more capable of waging the great struggle which lies ahead for the complete building of socialism and of communist society.

The Party line for the country's industrialisation and the uninterrupted development of collectivized agriculture, the continuous efforts for the expansion of education and culture, the tireless work for the further revolutionisation of the whole national life, have not been and will never be an aim in themselves. They all serve one great aim — the all-round physical and spiritual emancipation of the working masses, the uplift of the standard of their wellbeing.

### **We build socialism relying on our own resources**

The greatest victory reaped by our Party and our People's Regime during these 25 years in our country is the liquidation of exploitation of man by man. The peasant and the worker, the employee

and the intellectual, everybody, earns his living by his work and contributes to the building of socialism. The Albanian woman, this tremendous revolutionary force, that once was treated with contempt and destined only for household chores, is taking an active part in the country's political life, in social production, in factory and field, in education, culture, commerce, etc. This is another historic victory of our Party and of our People's Power.

Before the war, people in Albania died for lack of a dose of quinine. As a consequence of slave labor and poverty their average life-span did not exceed 38 years. Today there are hospitals and maternity homes in the remotest areas of the country such as that of Dukagjini. The extension of the medical service throughout the country, the erection of hospitals, clinics, outpatient clinics and infirmaries, the medical service and treatment given free of charge to the entire population, and in general, the increase of the wellbeing of our working people, have made their life happy and secure. At present, the average life-span of man in our country has lengthened and has reached 66 years.

The increase of agricultural and industrial production, the increase of national income and its just distribution have made possible the increase of the purchasing power of the working people. In the year 1968, as against 1938 there were consumed, per capita of the population, more of the following items: Sugar and sugar-products over 2.5 times, edible fats over 2 times, vegetables and their pro-

ducts 2.3 times, various fabrics 10 times, all sorts of footwear 4.3 times, etc.

During these 25 years there have been built with State funds, with the aid of the State, and by the working people themselves, about 185,000 dwelling flats and houses in cities and in the countryside. This means that more than half of the present-day population of the whole country have been lodged in new dwelling houses.

The latest price reduction which was effected on the eve of this jubilee, is another testimony showing that our Party and the People's Power are firmly and consistently advancing on the road of the continuous improvement of the living standard of the working people. Another great proof of this reality is also the fact that Albania is the only country in the world where there is no tax or direct impost on the population.

The tremendous changes that have taken place from the country's liberation until today, are the fruit of the selfless work of our working people, they are the fruit of the correct Marxist-Leninist policy of our Party of Labor. In the realisation of these victories we have enjoyed also the internationalist aid and support of our class brothers. In particular, on the occasion of this red-letter day we hail the unreserved and fraternal aid which has been and is being given to our people for the building of socialism, by the great fraternal Chinese people, by the glorious Communist Party of China, and the most beloved friend of our people, the great Marxist-Leninist, comrade Mao Tse-tung.

This aid provided us with the possibility of further developing our national economy, of successfully carrying onward the building of socialism. Our people are grateful to the fraternal Chinese people for this generous internationalist aid.

The Soviet revisionist renegades, although they realize that their blockade has been smashed to smithereens and that they have been unable to force Socialist Albania to her knees, express concern about the Albanian people for allegedly «being in straits» and «marking time» since they have received no further «credits and aid» from the Soviet Union! But we say to them: «Don't lament over those who are in the saddle. We do not want your so-called aid which is poison and a trap to enslave the people. We have the great riches of our soil; we have the sweat, the vigor, the iron will and the resourcefulness of our talented people who are skilfully extracting and utilising these riches for their own well being and that of the cause of socialism. We have our glorious Party of Labor which is leading the country with Marxist-Leninist wisdom and courage on the road of socialist construction». We say to the revisionists: «Your blockade, your brutal abrogation of economic agreements, your complete cessation of supplying industrial equipment, your stealing of designs and blue-prints, the abandonment half way of the work begun, etc. may have hampered the implementation of the third five-year plan at the start, but our national economy never stopped for a single

moment its victorious march onward. It emerged triumphant over your shameful blockade».

We say to them: «You are 'concerned' about our crude oil and the extraction of minerals? Don't worry! As compared with the year 1960 oil extraction in Albania has now grown by 80 per cent, whereas the production of copper ore is 4 times as large, and the same is true for chromium ore, coal, etc. Your wickedness, your mania for slander has overshadowed the logic of figures. You invent the tale that the power industry in Albania has allegedly lagged behind. Figures, show, however, that, in comparison with 1960, the production of electric power is today 4,1 times as large. The Fieri thermal-station alone, built in these recent years, is 4 times as powerful as the Ulza hydro-power station. Are you 'worried' about the training of high cadres? Then take note that in 1960 we had only 4,245 highly trained specialists, whereas today about 14,000 such specialists are serving the people. You lament over the state of our agriculture? But we tell you that at no previous time have we ever had such great successes in agriculture as during this decade. In comparison with the year 1960, the wheat yield per hectare grown by 90,5 percent; thus, it has almost doubled, whereas that of maize has increased 2,2 fold.

What do these facts show? They speak of the complete failure of the revisionist plot and the great victory of our heroic Party of Labor, the victory of Marxism-Leninism also in the economic field. The collapse of the economic blockade,



which is a brutal means of subjugation, testifies that the Albanian people are invincible, that they do not kowtow under pressures of this kind, just as they are not intimidated by threats and sabrerattling.

Historic experience, in general, the reality and struggle of our country, in particular, the magnificent successes achieved by socialist Albania during these 25 years, have once more confirmed the correctness of the great Leninist principle that in revolution and in the building of socialism the internal factor is the determining one, that in every action the people should rely on their own efforts. This, of course, does not exclude the sincere and disinterested internationalist aid of the socialist countries, of the international proletariat, of the genuine Marxist-Leninist parties and the progressive peoples in the world.

During the National-liberation War, and relying on this principle, the Party aroused the whole people, for it was clear to us that freedom is not donated, but it is won through struggle, bloodshed and sacrifices. We ruthlessly exposed the deceptive manouvers of the Ballist and Zogist traitors, and of the British and U.S. imperialists who alleged that the struggle which our people were waging and the blood they were shedding were uncalled for, for the «allies» would bring to us a ready-made freedom. On the contrary, it was precisely the heroic struggle of the people themselves that gave them the possibility of taking their destinies into their own hands and establishing their

own power, which made it possible to bar all the roads to imperialist intervention in the domestic affairs of our country for the purpose of bringing to power an anti-popular and proimperialist regime.

But while our forces were fighting in these mountains, our Party never thought of waging an isolated struggle, detached from the general antifascist front. Therefore, it integrated the National-liberation War of our people with that of the Soviet Union, led by Stalin, and with that of all the peoples of the world who were fighting against nazi fascism. We by no means under-rate, as the Soviet revisionist renegade liars alledge, the important role played in the liberation of Europe and our Homeland by the great heroic liberation war of Stalin's Red Army which dealt the crushing blow to the fascist hordes and created very favorable conditions also for the development of the antifascist liberation struggle of our people.

Consistently and with determination, our Party applied the principle of relying on one's own efforts after liberation as well. We asked the Soviet Union and Stalin to help us develop and build our country on socialist lines. Our request was just, pure, normal and internationalist. During Stalin's life time this assistance was given to Albania in an internationalist spirit. But our Party and our people did not sit with folded arms, for they never thought that socialism in our country would be built for us by our foreign friends. We set to work and with our own forces, which were the main

factor, entirely changed the aspect of our long suffering Homeland.

This was our salvation, and history showed how absolutely correct and vital was the Party directive of relying on our own efforts. As soon as the Khrushchevites came to power in the Soviet Union, the so-called credits and the few factories they gave us essentially changed their aim. Their «aid» was no longer internationalist, but had an enslaving character. The Khrushchevite renegades sought to make our country economically and politically fully dependent on them. They demanded that, for the sake of the so-called aid, we should renounce our sovereignty, that we should become their docile and servile supplicants, that we should approve without the least objection every anti-Marxist and anti-socialist word and attitude of theirs. But they were not well acquainted with the Albanians. It is not we, but they that sell themselves for money. When the betrayal of the Khrushchevite revisionists came out in the open and our Party began the overt fight against it, not only were all the aid and credits completely cut off, but our country was compelled to cope also with the brutal revisionist economic and political blockade. With complete success it broke the revisionist attacks and continues to advance unwaveringly on the road of socialist construction, precisely because our Party has consistently followed the principle of relying on our own resources and has placed our national economy on a solid basis so that it stands now on its own feet.

The Soviet revisionist leaders and their docile servants frantically attack Albania because she upholds this principle. They consider this as narrow nationalism and describe us as «ungrateful», for we have allegedly forgotten the aid of the Soviet Union in the struggle for liberation and in socialist construction, for we dared to rise against their betrayal, for we dare to advance on the Marxist-Leninist road. They are repeating over again from Moscow radio their claim that only they have fought, alleging that they have kept us alive with their economic aid, that if it were not for this aid we would have been extinguished. With the greatest brazenness they negate and disparage the struggle of our people and of the other peoples for the destruction of fascism.

In this there is no trace of internationalism, there is nothing in common with the teachings of Lenin and Stalin, with the teachings of the great doctrine of Marxism-Leninism, for all the peoples, big or small, make their contribution to the common cause of revolution, for internationalist aid and support between the peoples is reciprocal and not onesided.

The detestable chauvinistic viewpoints of the Soviet revisionists raise still higher the objective, correct and internationalist assessment of our Party and of our socialist State which have, always and in due time, properly defined the character of every form of aid given to us. The character of the aid has been changed from internationalist to chauvinist, to enslaving and colonialist, by those

that have given it and not by us who have received it, for it is they that have betrayed Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism, not we.

We, the Albanian Marxist-Leninists, will never reconcile ourselves with modern revisionism, with the Moscow traitors, but shall fight until they are utterly crushed. There is and there will be friendship and unity between us and the fraternal Soviet peoples and the real Soviet bolsheviks of Lenin-Stalin.

In the future too, our Party will faithfully follow the Marxist-Leninist course of relying on our own resources, being convinced that the guarantee for still greater successes, in the defence of the country's freedom and independence as well as in the building of socialism and the continuous and sure raising of the well-being of the working people, consists in the correct implementation of this principle.

### **The proletarian dictatorship in Albania stands like a granite rock**

Comrades,

The establishment of our People's State Power throughout the country on the 29th of November, 1944, is the greatest victory in the centuries-long history of the Albanian people. The people's power, the dictatorship of the proletariat, is their most powerful weapon in the struggle for the new, free and happy life — socialism and communism.

The outstanding merit of the Party is that it closely connected and integrated into a single whole, the struggle for national liberation and the struggle for the destruction of the old, antipopular and reactionary State power, for the establishment of the people's power. The Party never allowed the bourgeoisie and the landowners to rob the people of their power or that the blood they shed should have been shed in vain. With its greatest determination it barred the road to the interference of the British and U.S. imperialists in the internal affairs of our country. This consistent line resulted in that that right after the liberation of the Homeland, there existed and acted in Albania only the new power, the people's power which started to perform the functions of the revolutionary dictatorship of the proletariat.

During the entire 25-year period the Party has always had the question of the people's power, its preservation and consolidation in the center of its attention, unceasingly perfecting it. It has been guided consistently by Lenin's great teaching that it is easier to seize power than to keep it. Historic experience has fully confirmed this teaching, through both positive and negative examples. It has shown that the dictatorship of the proletariat can be established as a result of the victorious socialist revolution, but it can eventually be liquidated either through the armed or the «peaceful» revisionist counter-revolution. It could also happen that after having triumphed, the dictatorship of the proletariat could be seriously en-

dangered, the State power could be partially usurped by counter-revolutionary elements, but later on, eventually the usurpers and their poisonous ideology could be upset and smashed in a revolutionary way, the dictatorship of the proletariat fully re-established and successfully defended. But the complete or partial loss of the dictatorship of the proletariat is by no means an inevitable fate. Historic experience has proven, likewise, that, once established, it is fully possible for the dictatorship of the proletariat to be preserved always pure, intact and firm in all instances and directions, continually developing and becoming perfected.

This many-sided historic experience of the dictatorship of the proletariat is a precious treasure for all the Marxist-Leninists and the peoples, for all the countries that enter the road of socialism. It must be most carefully studied through the infallible prism of Marxism-Leninism, in order to draw valuable lessons of how to advance the cause of socialism in all countries on a reliable road and with the minimum of zigzags and sacrifices.

The road traversed by the dictatorship of the proletariat during these 25 years has not been smooth in our country either. This whole period has been permeated by a ruthless class struggle against the internal and external enemies, from the landlords and merchants to the kulaks and various antisocialist elements, from the armed bands of diversionists and traitorous organizations of spies and saboteurs to the deviators in the Party

ranks, from the various imperialists and Greek monarcho-fascists to the Titoite and Khrushchevite modern revisionists. The class struggle has been waged unceasingly amongst the people also, against all foreign influences which poison the consciousness of the working people. This class struggle against the enemies and in the ranks of the people has been carried out in all the fields and by the most diverse means — political and economic, ideological and cultural, military and administrative, through methods of coercion and persuasion. But whatever the field in which it has been waged, the class struggle has been, in the last analysis, a struggle over the question of state power. In the process of this fierce class struggle, our dictatorship of the proletariat has been threatened by many dangers, overt and covert, beginning with the attempts to upset it by armed force and ending with the danger of its bureaucratisation. But we have always been vigilant, struck down mercilessly and in due time all the attempts of the enemies and we averted the dangers. The dictatorship of the proletariat in our country stood and is standing like a granite rock.

The Party has taken, is taking, and will take in the future, too, all the necessary measures for the all-round and continuous strengthening and perfecting of our State of the dictatorship of the proletariat. It has strengthened and incessantly continues to strengthen the organs of the struggle against the enemy, in the first place the people's army and the State security forces — the most po-

werful weapons of the dictatorship of the proletariat. Historic experience has proved indisputably that the working class power grows out of the barrel of a gun and likewise can be defended by the gun. Without a powerful revolutionary army, the dictatorship of the proletariat cannot stand and exist. Therefore, the Party and the Government have not only equipped the armed forces with most up-to-date means of war, but, above all, they have displayed and are displaying the greatest solicitude for their ideological and political moulding as a conscious weapon of the revolution and the dictatorship of the proletariat. The Party directives and measures for the establishment of a correct relationship between men and weapons in the army, placing man on the forefront as the determining factor in war; between political and military work, placing politics in command, between soldiers and officers for the strengthening of their relations and the internal unity of the army, among rifle, pick and book in the army, giving priority to the former — all these and other actual measures for the creation of Party committees and the designation of political commissars, for the abolition of rank and the strengthening of ties between the army and the people, are of great importance of principle and serve the further strengthening and revolutionisation of our people's army. These measures are decisive in preventing the degeneration of our people's army, of the State security armed service, in not allowing their transformation into blind tools in the hands

of counter-revolution, as was the case in the Soviet Union and in some other countries, where they are used to exert revisionist and social-fascist violence on the discontented people, or for the expansionist aims of Soviet revisionist imperialism.

Alongside the all-round strengthening of the people's army and the State security armed service, the Party and the people's power, as Karl Marx teaches us, have resolutely advanced on the road of the military preparation and arming of the whole people. This has not only made socialist Albania an unshakable granite rock in face of whatever imperialist-revisionist aggression, but it also has a deep political and ideological meaning, for it represents a further perfecting of the system of the dictatorship of the proletariat, it represents one of the most profound expressions of proletarian democracy in action, it testifies to the essentially popular character of the regime, to the people's boundless support for it. This is one of the most efficient ways for the patriotic and class-revolutionary education of the broad working masses. This means that the question of the defence of our Homeland and of our socialist order has become, and is becoming more and more a vital question of the whole people.

Especially important to the preservation and strengthening of the dictatorship of the proletariat is the struggle which the Party has waged and is waging for the eradication of bureaucratic distortions which, as is known, served as one of the

main bases of the emergence and spread of revisionism in the Soviet Union. The fight against bureaucracy is aimed at connecting the regime closely with the people, at placing it under the direct, effective and continuous control of the broad working masses, at the all-round development, the uninterrupted deepening and perfecting of socialist democracy. It also constitutes a sure guarantee that the dictatorship of the proletariat will never degenerate into a revisionist and bourgeois antipopular dictatorship, that it will always be the powerful weapon of revolution and socialist construction.

All the revisionists have the word «socialist democracy» on the tips of their tongues and they speculate a great deal with it. This is a thoroughgoing fraud and brazen demagoguery. Where the revisionists are ruling there is not and there cannot be democracy for the working people. Modern revisionism itself, in the Soviet Union and in the other former socialist countries, is based on the bureaucratisation of the whole national life, i.e. on the negation of democracy. Look what is happening in the revisionist countries! In face of the increased resistance of the popular masses towards the revisionist course, the revisionist «liberal» dictatorship is ever more having recourse to open fascist violence. In Czechoslovakia the so-called «democracy» of Husak and of his Moscovite bosses is expressed through most brutal reprisals against the patriotic Czechoslovak people.

Our Party has never regarded socialist democracy from an empty sentimental viewpoint nor

as a vain adornment or merely a proforma right of the working people. Consistently abiding by the principle of centralism, as an essentially fundamental principle of any real proletarian dictatorship, it considers socialist democracy at the same time as a broader and more complete democracy for the working people, as an indispensable and decisive condition for the existence of the dictatorship of the proletariat, for its preservation and continuous strengthening. Any one-sided stand on this great question of principle, any violation, either of the principle of proletarian centralism or of socialist democracy, is very dangerous to the socialist order.

The measures that have been taken for the eradication of harmful bureaucratic concepts and practices have greatly strengthened the dictatorship of the proletariat, have broadened socialist democracy, have increased the broad creative initiative of the working people in all fields. Such are those for the strengthening of correct relations between the cadres and the working people, for the struggle against manifestations of bureaucratic centralism which strangles the initiatives and individual action of the base, for the enhancement of the role and competences of the elected organs and men of the State power, the active participation of the workers and peasants with their opinions and actions in the solution of State problems, the purging of legislation of foreign influences and superfluous things and, above all, the strengthening of the direct control of the working class over everything and everybody.

But we do not think, and we absolutely must not think, that we have reached the climax, that there is no more room for the further development and deepening of the mass line and socialist democracy, that all the problems have been solved and that all the difficulties and obstacles have been removed in this field, that the struggle against bureaucratism has come to an end. There still remains much to be done. Relying on the immortal teachings of Marxism-Leninism, we must further deepen many correct principles and democratic forms that have already been introduced into our life. We must always be looking for new and more perfect forms and means of socialist democracy. And especially, these must not remain a matter of form, theoretical speculations, but they should be fully carried out in practice, they should become an integral part of our daily social life, they should enter into the soul and blood of all the working people. This requires that the fight against bureaucratic concepts and obstacles, which are dangerous enemies of proletarian democracy, and which, unfortunately, exist and will continue to exist for a long time yet, should not be interrupted for a single moment, but it should be continued fiercely and firmly from above and, especially, from below, with the active participation of the broad working masses.

Above all we must always preserve intact and incessantly strengthen the undivided leadership of the Party in the socialist State. This is a firm basic principle of the dictatorship of the proletariat, an

indispensable and fundamental condition of its existence. The idle talk of various revisionists about the «independence» of the socialist state from the proletarian party are their most flagrant departure from the positions of Marxism-Leninism and are aimed at justifying the liquidation of the dictatorship of the proletariat. In the future, too, we shall advance on the road of further strengthening the Party leadership in every cell of the regime and in our social life as a whole, continuously perfecting it, fighting and rejecting every manifestation of formalism and bureaucratism.

**The Albanian people, their Party and Government have pursued and pursue a deeply principled and consistent policy**

Comrades,

During the 25 years of free life of the Albanian people, their Party and Government, guided by the immortal teachings of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism, have pursued a thoroughly principled and consistent foreign policy. In every stage of the development of international relations this policy has fully responded to the defence of the freedom and independence of the Homeland, of its sovereignty and territorial integrity, to the preservation of the gains of people's revolution. Our foreign policy has always been in the service of the great cause of the peoples who are struggling for socialism, for their freedom and

national independence, for self-determination and the establishment of an international collaboration on equal rights.

Ever since her creation new people's Albania has continually clashed, in a fierce struggle, with the imperialists and their stooges who were seeking to dismember and enslave her. But our Party and our people, in a revolutionary steel-like unity have repeatedly foiled the criminal plots and beaten back the frantic attacks unleashed against our country by the U.S. and British imperialists and their running dogs.

With self-denial and courage our people defended their freedom and independence, the constructive work and their State power. They courageously coped with all attempts of imperialism and international reaction to interfere in our domestic affairs, to force their dictate upon and subjugate us. Albania, which emerged from the people's revolution was not afraid of and did not retreat before the intrigues, blackmail and the campaigns of slander and denigration undertaken against her incessantly by her imperialist enemies and their tools. With her strong fist, she has smashed all armed provocations at her borders and foiled all attempts to organize and incite internal reaction against the people's regime. With wisdom and courage, our country defeated all the attempts of the imperialists and international reaction to encircle and isolate it from the outside world, with a view to more easily strangling and destroying it at a later stage.

The People's Republic of Albania was able to withstand all these upheavals and march victoriously onward, free and independent, on the road of socialism, for it was pursuing a principled revolutionary home and foreign policy, for it was defending a just cause on a correct course.

Our stand, our principled struggle against imperialism and world reaction, constitute a valuable experience which shows that the freedom and independence won by any people, the more so by those of a small country, can be defended only by a continuous struggle without compromise in any situation and circumstance. It also shows that only by fighting imperialism and all reactionaries can the independent existence of the socialist state and the building of the new life be guaranteed.

Our struggle against imperialism has been an active struggle, part and parcel of the joint anti-imperialist struggle of all peoples. Our Party and the Government have condemned and exposed, at every time and at every step, the aggressive and warmongering policy and activity of U.S.-led imperialism, its oppressive and enslaving aims, thereby making their contribution to the defence of peace and international security.

Alongside the struggle against imperialism and reaction, our Party and our people have carried out a determined struggle of principle against Titoite revisionism — this rabid anti-Marxist trend, as well as against Khrushchevite revisionism — the greatest enemy of world communism. This struggle constitutes a glorious epic in the history



of the Albanian Party and people. Although small in number, and alone at the beginning, we were not afraid to rise in unequal struggle against savage and powerful enemies when it was a question of defending Marxism-Leninism and communism, and we emerged victorious over them.

Our determination and courage in this clash of arms of world historic importance is not a consequence either of hot-bloodedness or of adventurism, or an expression of the specific nature of the Albanians, as the revisionists slanderously claim. They have come about as a result of the lofty revolutionary virtues of our Party, of its boundless loyalty to its people and to its world proletariat, of its Marxist-Leninist maturity. Our Party and our people bravely faced the revisionist counter-revolutionary trend, convinced that in this struggle they were defending not only the national interests of socialism in Albania from a serious threat, but also the interests of world proletariat and revolution. The difficulties we have surmounted and the sacrifices we have made during these 25 years in our uninterrupted struggle against revisionism have not been small. But we undertook this struggle for the sake of our socialist present and future, for the sake of the future of revolution and communism throughout the world.

Life, the victories scored in the struggle against modern revisionism, have fully justified the determined and principled stand of our Party towards the most dangerous opportunist and treacherous trend that world communism has ever met with.

Without our struggle against revisionism it would never have been possible for us to carry out successfully our struggle against imperialism or to defend our freedom and national independence, to carry onward the victories of people's revolution.

World experience has now very clearly proven that whoever pursues an opportunist line, a line of concessions and capitulation on key questions of foreign policy and of international relations, such as the attitude towards revisionism, cannot fail to slip into opportunist and revisionist positions, he cannot fail to be oppressed sooner or later by the regressive and counter-revolutionary forces.

Among other very valuable lessons the long history of our clashes with the revisionists has taught, is that it has confirmed in a clearest and most understandable way the wellknown Leninist truth that in the struggle against opportunism, either internal or external, the only correct stand to take, the only correct course to pursue in order to achieve sure victory is a persistent principled struggle without any compromises and concessions whatsoever.

The Party of Labor of Albania, the Albanian people, will never stop half way in their fight against modern revisionism. Conscious of their lofty national and international duty, they will fight, as they have done so far, right to the end against the revisionist betrayal, till the complete triumph of the glorious cause of Marxism-Leninism and world revolution have been achieved.

Thanks to its heroic and principled struggle against imperialism and modern revisionism, to its correct policy and attitudes in the field of international relations, the People's Republic of Albania has won for itself powerful and well-disposed friends throughout the world. It enjoys today the sympathy, respect and support of the genuine communists and revolutionaries, of all the progressive peoples and peace-loving countries.

A close fraternal, everlasting and unbreakable friendship binds the Albanian people with the Chinese people, the Party of Labor of Albania with the great Communist Party of China. It is based on the steel-like foundations of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism, and there is no storm or tempest that can shake or bedim it. We are proud of having such powerful and loyal friends and allies as the Chinese people and their glorious Communist Party.

Our people rejoice at and wholeheartedly welcome the brilliant victories which the Chinese people, under the leadership of their Communist Party and of comrade Mao Tse-tung, have achieved in the great proletarian cultural revolution and in all fields. The great Chinese proletarian cultural revolution, initiated and directly led by the great Marxist-Leninist, comrade Mao Tse-tung, was a great revolutionary tide which set in motion the multi-million masses of the working class, the laboring peasantry, the revolutionary intelligentsia, and purged China of the capitalist and revisionist filth, of all the reactionary elements in the

service of the class enemies, who wanted to turn the revolution backward and surrender the country to the U.S. imperialists and the Soviet revisionists. China emerged from the great proletarian cultural revolution one-hundred times stronger than she was previously, the positions of socialism were still more deeply implanted into the Chinese soil, the People's Republic of China became invincible, it became a terror to its enemies.

The 9th Congress of the Communist Party of China, which crowned the decisive victory of the great proletarian cultural revolution, of Chairman Mao Tse-tung's proletarian revolutionary line over the bourgeois reactionary line of renegade Liu Shao-chi, still further strengthened the great and glorious Communist Party of China, its revolutionary unity, and opened bright prospects to the Chinese people for their socialist future.

The theoretical principles worked out by Chairman Mao Tse-tung and his thought, by which the great Chinese proletarian cultural revolution was guided, constitute an outstanding creative contribution to the development of Marxism-Leninism. Shedding light on the problems of the development of socialist revolution in conditions of the dictatorship of the proletariat, they are a powerful weapon in the hands of the communists and revolutionaries of the world to promote the great cause of revolution and communism.

Our Party has pointed out on other occasions, and still continues to point out that support and backing for the Communist Party of China and

the People's Republic of China is an important internationalist duty for all the revolutionaries in the world, that steel-like Marxist-Leninist solidarity with China is decisive for the fate of the revolution and of the liberation of the peoples.

New socialist Albania is entering the second quarter century of her free and independent existence with great international prestige and authority. She is contributing with all her might to and is playing a positive role in the process of world evolution. We view the development of the international situation with optimism, we firmly believe in the final victory of world revolution, we have full confidence in the bright future of mankind.

Analysis of the present-day world events most convincingly proves that revolution is everywhere on the rise, the international situation is developing favorably for it and to the detriment of the imperialists and the revisionists.

The powerful waves of the world revolutionary movement are now rising on all the continents and are shaking the rotten system of capitalist exploitation, national oppression and colonial yoke to its foundations. The anti-imperialist liberation struggle of the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America is assuming ever broader proportions. A brilliant example is the Vietnamese people's struggle which has inflicted thorough-going defeats on U.S. imperialism and has upset, once and for all, the myth of invincibility of the great power and of modern armaments. The flames of the revolutionary liberation struggle have spread to Laos and

Thailand, to Burma and India, to Angola and Mozambique, to Colombia and Venezuela, etc. The Arab people are putting up a powerful resistance to the Israeli-imperialist aggression and the Palestinian partisans are heroically fighting for the liberation of their plundered hearths.

In Europe, in North America and in the developed capitalist countries, there has recently been noticed an upsurge of the revolutionary vigor which portends still greater class battles in the future. The big strikes of the workers and students in all the capitalist countries of Europe, their class struggles have shaken the old bourgeois systems and have strengthened the revolutionary consciousness of the working masses. The United States of America — the bulwark of imperialism, — is being scared to death by the widespread revolt of the black people.

Tens of Marxist-Leninist parties and organisations have been and are being created in all the countries of the world. This irresistible revolutionary process testifies to the creation of a new situation in the ranks of the international working class, which is beginning to break the shackles social-democratic and revisionist parties have put on it, it is evidence to the fact that the ideas of Marxism-Leninism are ever more permeating the minds and hearts of the broad working masses.

For the imperialists, revisionists, and all the other reactionaries the ground is sinking under their feet. Pinned down by the powerful revolutionary blows of the peoples, they are being ever

more exposed and isolated. The contradictions, divisions and disputes between them are broadening and deepening. The U.S. imperialists and the Soviet revisionists are faced with great and insurmountable difficulties in their efforts to keep their satellites under control. The centrifugal, polycentrist and separatist tendencies that are apparent in both camps, have created absolute chaos. The efforts of the «big two» to wrest allies from each other have further increased the confusion.

There is no force on earth now that can stop the triumphant march of the people, there is no force that can avert the inevitable defeat of imperialism and revisionism.

However, contrary to the revisionists who seek to arouse pacifist illusions and to lull the masses to sleep, we, Marxist-Leninists never forget that the antipopular and counter-revolutionary policy of imperialism far from being changed, has been still more intensified. Imperialism does everything in its power and throws in all its forces to strangle the revolution and socialism, to hold and consolidate the positions of reaction everywhere.

A new imperialism has now emerged on the world arena — the Soviet revisionist brand of imperialism, with pretensions to world hegemony. This cannot fail to worsen the situation and make the struggle of the peoples for their national and social liberation more difficult.

All the regressive reactionary forces of our time are headed by U.S. imperialism which is the worst enemy and exploiter of all the peoples, the bulwark

of colonialism and the international gendarme of world reaction. The whole policy and activity of the United States of America is aimed at subjugating the entire world, at placing under its yoke, in the first place, the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America, and at imposing the economic, political and military domination of U.S. imperialism on the whole of the capitalist world. Above all, the main objective of U.S. imperialism remains the suppression of the revolutionary and liberation struggles of the peoples, the destruction of socialism.

By its very nature, U.S. imperialism cannot live long without oppressing other peoples, without markets, without plundering raw materials. In order to ensure these things, it has extended its military bases and has sent its troops to the four corners of the earth, it hatches up plots and commits open military aggressions. Its greed is insatiable. With its dollars it buys the consciences and minds of men, even among its allies, depriving them of cadres of the technical intelligentsia, thereby creating further conditions to subjugate them.

In these conditions, there exists between U.S. imperialism and its global aggressive policy on the one hand, and the peoples and their liberation and anti-imperialist struggle on the other, a deep and irreconcilable contradiction which permeates the entire present-day world policy. It is for this reason that, the stand towards imperialism and, in the first place, towards U.S. imperialism, is the touchstone for all the political forces in the world. In

practice nobody can remain an outsider in the struggle which is being waged between imperialism and the revolutionary forces. The only question that arises with regard to each political force is to know what side it will take, what course it will choose. The peoples and the true revolutionaries have now clearly defined their stand. Their main strategic direction is the all-round, irreconcilable and consistent struggle right to the end against U.S. imperialism and its lackeys.

The peoples of the world are uniting into a broad front against U.S.-led imperialism. The incessant strengthening of this front is today a vitally important historic duty for all the revolutionaries. But for this front to be consolidated and achieve final victory, it must not fail to carry out its struggle in two directions at the same time: against U.S. imperialism and against its ally — Soviet revisionism. Today, the struggle against U.S. imperialism and that against Soviet revisionist imperialism are inseparable, they have become integrated into a single whole. It would be a very harmful and quite dangerous illusion if anyone were still to entertain illusions about the Khrushchevite revisionists and be hoodwinked by their «anti-imperialist» demagoguery.

One of the distinctive features of the present-day international situation is the transition of Soviet revisionism to social-imperialism, the growth of its aggressiveness and the intensification of its expansionist efforts. This is a natural and inevitable consequence of the transformation of the

Soviet Union from a socialist into a capitalist country, of its abandonment of the internationalist Leninist policy and of its return to the old Czarist, chauvinistic, great-Russian policy. The restored capitalist system could not fail to impose its barbarous laws, not only on the country's internal life, but also on its foreign policy. Foreign aggression has always fomented internal fascism.

The course chosen by the Soviet revisionists to achieve their predatory objectives is the old course of the Czars and of the other imperialists, the course of deception and armed violence. Rubles and tanks, lies and blackmail, demagoguery and threats go hand in hand. But the more the Kremlin chiefs push ahead with their expansionist plans, the more difficult their internal situation and their relations with their satellites become, the more their military adventurism increases, the more armed aggression comes to the forefront as a means to overcome difficulties and contradictions. Life has confirmed with incontestable facts that our Party was quite right when, from the very beginning, it publicly exposed the imperialist nature of the Soviet renegade leadership. The occupation of Czechoslovakia is an example which reveals the whole rottenness and degeneration of the ruling clique in the Soviet Union, which brings into relief its real imperialist countenance, as a sworn enemy of the freedom and independence of the peoples.

The aggression against Czechoslovakia was not an isolated case, nor a unique event which cannot be repeated, but the first manifestation of the prac-

tical application of a fascist-styled aggressive and chauvinistic policy, a starting-point for still greater adventures against the freedom and independence of other peoples. It is a fact that at the same time as the occupation of Czechoslovakia the Soviets also carried out on the quiet the strengthening of their military occupation forces in Poland, Hungary, the German Democratic Republic, Bulgaria and Mongolia, where fresh Soviet troops were rushed in to preserve the imperial order of the Moscow revisionists. It is a fact that now the threats of the Soviet revisionists towards Rumania's independence have assumed a very concrete character and the plans and aims to attack Yugoslavia and Albania are no longer kept secret.

The expansionist great-Russian policy of the Soviet revisionist-imperialists is very clearly expressed also in the armed provocations which they have carried out along their borders with China. They have now concentrated numerous troops in their Eastern provinces. They have increased their military arsenal and are heading for an aggressive war against the People's Republic of China. How for the madness of the adventurers now ruling in the Kremlin will go, this no one knows. One thing, however, is certain: Should they ever attempt to test their strength against the Chinese giant, this will be their undoing. The Soviet revisionists will be completely and utterly destroyed.

In order to carry out their expansionist aims, the Soviet leaders are now resorting to the Warsaw Treaty which they have turned into an instrument

of oppression and aggression. The Government of the People's Republic of Albania denounced the Warsaw Treaty for political, military and ideological reasons, because its character and aim had changed. From a treaty set up for the defence of the freedom and independence of the socialist states, for the defence of the peoples and peace, it was transformed into a treaty for the enslavement of its member countries and into a means of the dangerous Soviet imperialist plot against the peoples and international security.

In these conditions, to remain in the Warsaw Treaty would mean to approve the aggressive actions and aims of this treaty, to support and become partners of an imperialist power, to approve the aggression against Czechoslovakia and the other predatory plans of the Soviet revisionists. If we had remained in this treaty, we would not have been Marxists. Leninism teaches us that the communists must never allow themselves to be hoodwinked by the «socialist» slogans with which the aggressors camouflage themselves, they must never become defenders of imperialism, whatever the color and form in which it may appear. To act otherwise means to fall into the opportunist positions of the traitors of the 2nd International, who spread illusions about imperialism and shortly afterwards became its open collaborators and social-chauvinists. Reconciliation with the Soviet revisionists, allegedly on behalf of the struggle against U.S. imperialism, means to become a supporter of an imperialism which is just as savage and bar-

barous as the other, it means to become a collaborator of one imperialism against another imperialism in their struggle for superiority, zones of influence and world domination.

In their efforts to dominate and to plunder the peoples of their richs, the Soviet revisionists are even trying to justify their policy of great-state chauvinism «theoretically», to present it as Marxist-Leninist, as the acme of proletarian internationalism. In a word, they seek to disguise the wolf under a lambskin. Such is the ill-famed theory of «limited sovereignty» set forth by the arch-revisionist Brezhnev, by which the Soviet revisionists want to secure for themselves the right to interfere in and occupy other countries. Through this reactionary theory, they seek to compel others to betray and trample underfoot the purest and highest aspirations cherished by nations and peoples, to safeguard their freedom and defend their sovereignty, they try to have them capitulate and, thus, pave the way to Soviet revisionist occupation. By painting it in Marxist colors, the Soviet revisionists aim, likewise, to extend their imperialist theory to the communist movement as well, to compel the other parties to give up their independence and submit to the conductor's baton of Moscow in everything, thus, becoming an appendage of the Soviet foreign policy.

But such detestable fascist theories do not hold water. The defence of the sovereignty and independence of the socialist, as well as of all the other countries from imperialism or from any other ene-

my, can be realized not by limiting them or by leaving them in the hands of the revisionist wolves, but by waging an uninterrupted battle against imperialism and revisionism on all questions. Never can a country be sovereign, and less so a socialist one, when it is completely enslaved or partly occupied by an imperialist or chauvinist great power. It enjoys its sovereignty and independence only when it implements a resolute line for the defence of the just principles of freedom, independence and sovereignty, relying on its own efforts and on the internationalist solidarity of the international working class and of the revolutionary peoples.

Now a great responsibility rests on the Soviet people. They must not allow themselves to be deceived by the fascist propaganda with which the revisionist renegades are seeking to poison their minds. The Khrushchevite leaders are trying to confuse them, to incite their basest nationalist and chauvinist feelings, in order to turn them into an obedient mass which will blindly carry out their adventurous plans. We hope that the Soviet people have not forgotten the immortal teachings of Lenin and Stalin, that the spirit of communism and internationalist solidarity is always alive in their hearts. We believe that the Soviet soldier who crossed Europe and fought in Asia to destroy fascism and to bring freedom to the peoples, will not take this road for the second time in order to rob other peoples of their freedom and to establish the new revisionist brand of fascism. It is against the usurper's clique that he should use the weapons

given to him to enslave others so that he may restore his country's former glory, its name and honor which the traitors and renegades have trampled underfoot.

The freedom and independence of all the peoples, peace and international security are now endangered by the Soviet-U.S. imperialist bloc. Today this bloc represents the blackest reaction, the most perfidious and most dangerous counter-revolutionary force ever known to mankind.

The Soviet-U.S. «holy alliance» is now developing to unprecedented proportions in all the fields — economic, political and military. The two super powers need each other's help for the realization of their hegemonic and dominating aims and continually coordinate their plans and activities in compliance with their global strategy for the domination of the world. They are preparing and carrying out various predatory wars through which they seek to keep the peoples under their bondage, to suppress revolution.

Of course, as insatiable imperialist powers, the United States of America and the revisionist Soviet Union also have great contradictions between them, they contend with each other and each plans to liquidate the other. The system of the Soviet-U.S. alliances, essentially a counter-revolutionary one, not only does not exclude but includes in its essence divisions, disputes and contradictions which do not allow them to act in harmony and unity. When these contradictions reach their climax, when the question arises for the redivision of each other's

zones of influence, they can even break into armed conflicts between them. But at present the counter-revolutionary alliance is at a stage of consolidation and expansion. That which unites them today is more important than what divides them. In the first place, in order to survive, to preserve their great Empires, to keep their positions of super-powers, both sides are compelled to draw nearer to each other and to collaborate, making their struggle against revolution, socialism and the liberation efforts of the peoples a basis for safeguarding their system, their fundamental aim of realizing their expansionist and enslaving strategy.

In the present conjuncture, U.S. imperialism and Soviet revisionist imperialism are trying to come to terms without encroaching upon each other's domains, to keep their European satellites well under control, to play down their imperialist disputes and contradictions so as to clear the field for throwing themselves with all their might into the suppression of the revolutionary and liberation movements of the peoples and what is essential for them, to spearhead their joint struggle against great People's China, the impregnable bastion of Marxism-Leninism and of the freedom and independence of the peoples.

The U.S. imperialists and the Soviet revisionists strive now to encircle China with a ring of fire and then to quell the Chinese revolution and to destroy the People's Republic of China. It is for this purpose that the Washington administrations with Truman, MacArthur, Eisenhower and



Dulles and ending with Johnson and Nixon have been working day and night for twenty years in succession. They concentrated immense military forces in the Pacific, they signed one pact after another with their Asian puppets and stepped up their large-scale military provocations to test the resistance of the Chinese fortress. But great People's China stood firm and, with its strong fist, smashed all the attempts of U.S. imperialism to test their strength. The same fate lies in store also for the new joint imperialist-revisionist plans and efforts against the People's Republic of China.

One of the distinctive features of the present international situation is the fact that the world proletariat is becoming conscious of its strength. The working masses who are languishing under the capitalist and revisionist yoke are discovering and getting better and better acquainted with the cause of their plight and are rejecting with contempt the demagoguery and cynicism of the ruling classes. Marxism-Leninism, the all-conquering ideology of scientific socialism, is even better inspiring the world proletariat, blazing the road to the oppressed masses to revolt.

The U.S. imperialists and the Soviet revisionists are trying to keep things quiet, to preserve the status quo and their alliances. But the peoples, the revolutionaries, all those who hate oppression and exploitation, do not want the sort of peace the imperialists and revisionists are seeking to force upon the world, they do not want a reactionary status quo which only consolidates the division of

the world between the two imperialist super powers, they are opposed to counter-revolutionary alliances which are aimed at enslaving the peoples, at depriving them of their freedom and independence.

The imperialists and revisionists are loudly advertising their so-called peaceful coexistence; but the people, the revolutionaries reject with contempt this monstrous fraud which aims at sanctioning the imperialist rule in the world, at quelling the revolutionary struggles and at permitting them to carry out their aggressive, predatory wars. The people and revolutionaries stand for the peaceful coexistence proclaimed by Lenin, which can never be extended to the sphere of ideology, the class struggle and revolution and liberation struggles. They resolutely reject, likewise, the bluff of «total disarmament» which the U.S. imperialists and the Soviet revisionists are advertising and which is aimed at disarming others before the imperialist-revisionist aggressors, at preserving their nuclear monopoly for themselves and at increasing their armaments.

The savage capitalist exploitation, whether U.S. imperialist or Soviet revisionist, is equally intolerable to the peoples who are fighting and will fight with still more determination to get rid of it. The greatest class antagonism of our time is that which exists between the imperialist-revisionists, on the one hand, and the peoples, on the other. It keeps sharpening and is expressed in the big class battles on a national and international scale, which are

being carried out with much success in favor of the peoples.

Irrespective of the zigzags of the present world developments, the future belongs to revolution, to socialism. It is a fact that the world proletariat is being convinced from the experience of its daily struggle, that, in order to build a new world free of oppressors and exploiters, it must first destroy the old world to its foundations, a thing which can be done only in a revolutionary way, through armed violence.

Certainly, the world revolution will not break out nor will it win in the course of one day. The struggle will be a protracted and arduous one and will require many sacrifices, but the idea of revolution and of the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat will follow its onward course nonstop. Under the leadership of the Marxist-Leninist parties, the world proletariat will certainly perform its lofty historic mission, it will know how to cope bravely with the open and underhand attacks of the bourgeoisie and its social-democratic and revisionist lackeys, it will know how to carry through to the end the cause of socialism and communism.

### **The triumph of revolution and socialism in all countries is sure to come**

The Albanian people, their Party and Government, tirelessly working for the building of so-

cialism in their country, follow attentively and with keen vigilance the development of the present-world situation. At the same time, they carry out a broad activity in the field of international relations, in accord with the correct revolutionary principles of our foreign policy.

Our Party and Government, just as they have done so far, will strengthen in the future, too, their relations of friendship, collaboration and fraternal mutual aid with the socialist countries with which we are united by our common ideals of socialism and communism, by our common aims and struggle against imperialism and modern revisionism.

Today new Albania represents an important factor of peace and progress in the world. She has implemented and continues to implement in a principled and persistent manner her policy of good neighborhood and of normal relations between states of different social systems, based on the principles of noninterference and respect for independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity.

The Albanian people have been and will always be on the side of the peoples and will give their firm support to all the revolutionary forces fighting for national and social liberation, for building a new world free of capitalists and colonialists, to all those fighting for the sacred cause of freedom, independence and social progress.

The U.S. imperialist aggression against the heroic people of Vietnam has been continuing for 10 years now. Even though the U.S. imperialists

have actually lost the war on the battlefield and have been discredited before the eyes of the whole world, they have not given up their efforts to force the Vietnamese people to their knees, to enslave them and to turn their country into a base for new aggressions against the peoples of South-east and all Asia.

Aided by the Soviet revisionists, who have exerted all their efforts to save their U.S. allies from their inevitable defeat as a compensation for their hands off attitude towards the occupation of Czechoslovakia, the U.S. aggressors are now doing everything in their power to achieve at the conference table what they have been unable to achieve by means of arms.

But the Vietnamese people, who by their courage, wisdom and clarity have overcome situations more difficult than the present one, will know how to cope with the frauds of the imperialists and with the pressures of those who pose as their friends but who stab them in the back. They have never been forced to their knees and their long experience of revolutionary struggle has taught them that complete and sure victory over the aggressors can be achieved through an armed blow for blow struggle against their enemies.

The Albanian people have been and will always be at one with the just revolutionary liberation struggle of the Vietnamese people, they have supported and will resolutely support their legitimate aspirations to freedom and national independence

and the unification of their arbitrarily divided homeland.

Czechoslovakia is languishing under the unbearable occupation of the Soviet revisionists. The new occupationists are suppressing by fire and sword the Czechoslovak people's will and efforts to win back their freedom and national independence which have been trampled underfoot, to defend their violated honor and dignity. But Czechoslovakia has become a gangrenous wound for the Soviet revisionist occupationists, she has become the pillory the Brezhnev-Kosygin renegade ruling clique at the Kremlin has been set in at present. The traitorous Czechoslovak rulers and the slavish pledges they have made to the occupationists, the endless visits of marshals and Quislings from Prague to Moscow and viceversa cannot save the situation.

The Czechoslovak people are demonstrating to the whole world that neither treachery, nor the regime of terror, neither fraud nor emergency laws can stop their resistance, their lawful liberation struggle. Nothing can suppress the Czechoslovak people's ideals of freedom and independence, of revolution and socialism, which they preserve in their hearts, nothing can quell their desire and determination to fight by all means and in every way until complete victory has been achieved.

Just as we condemned the August 21 occupation of Czechoslovakia, we express with the same determination our solidarity with and our deep fraternal

sympathy for the Czechoslovak people. We have been and will always be on their side in the legitimate liberation struggle they are waging against the revisionist occupationists and local traitors.

The Albanian people have supported and will support the just struggle of the fraternal Arab people against the Israeli-imperialist aggression. Despite the great difficulties that have arisen for the Arab people, not only as a result of the occupation of their territories by Israel and of the continuation of its aggression, but also due to the interference of the U.S. imperialists and the Soviet revisionist imperialists in this conflict, we firmly believe that the final victory will belong to the Arab people.

The two imperialist super powers, seeking to attribute to themselves the right of an arbitrator in the Middle East, are the most savage enemies of the Arab people. They want to introduce the conflict which has broken out in this area into the framework of their bargainings to divide their spheres of influence, to take possession of the great riches of the Middle East and of the strategic positions of this zone. They are seeking to force upon the Palestinian people, whose armed struggle is an important factor for the restoration of their rights and the liberation of the territories occupied by Israel, and upon all the Arabs, solutions which run counter to the national interests of the Arab people and which create conditions which would cost them their freedom and independence and place them under the yoke of neocolonialism.

The Arab people are able to solve their problems themselves and to give Israel what it deserves. And they can certainly achieve this, relying in the first place on their own forces and on the support of their real friends — the revolutionary peoples, all the anti-imperialist and anti-revisionist forces.

Recently, the Soviet revisionists and some West European countries, behind which stands the United States of America, have been making a fuss and drafting plans about a certain so-called European security. That there is need for security for the countries on our continent, this is true. But first it should be explained, who should be secured and from whom. The «European security» which is demanded by the Soviet revisionists and backed up by the U.S. imperialists means security for their zones of influence in Europe, security for their military bases and for the right of their fleets to control the European sea-coasts, it means that the peoples of Europe should legally and officially recognize Moscow's and Washington's right to special privileges of an imperialist and colonialist character they enjoy in various European countries. Such a security means, in the final analysis, to preserve and perpetuate in Europe the status quo of the Soviet-U.S. domination, to ensure tranquillity on this continent so that the Soviet revisionists and the U.S. imperialists may have a free hand to act as they choose in Asia, Africa and everywhere else to subjugate and enslave the peoples,

to strengthen the exploiting capitalist regime both at home and in their respective Empires.

The peoples of Europe abhor such a «security» and will never accept it. They cannot allow themselves to fall into the diabolical traps which are being laid by the imperialist great powers, they cannot leave their destinies to the mercy of the American and Soviet chiefs, they will not permit themselves to become cannon-fodder in carrying out the Soviet-U.S. plans for world domination. They are being threatened by U.S. imperialism and Soviet imperialism, and it is precisely against these that real European security should be directed.

The Albanian people, their Party and Government, who have bravely and in a revolutionary way repulsed frantic imperialist and revisionist attacks, are convinced that despite the efforts they are making, neither U.S. imperialism nor Soviet revisionism nor both of them, are in a position to change the general course of world history, which will inevitably lead to the complete defeat of imperialism and revisionism and to the triumph of revolution and socialism in all countries.

**Under the leadership of our Party the future  
of our people and of our country is brilliant  
indeed**

Comrades,

All the great historic victories achieved by our people during these twenty five years are due to

the correct, wise and determined Marxist-Leninist leadership of their glorious Party of Labor.

It was the Party that aroused the people in the National-liberation War against the fascist occupationists and traitors, that led them to final victory, that made possible the overthrow of the reactionary exploiting classes and the establishment of the people's power in Albania. Thanks to the correct line and resolute stand of the Party, the hard-won freedom was preserved and strengthened, all doors were shut to imperialist interference, and the country's independent economic, political and social development on the road of socialism was ensured. The Party stood always in the forefront of the people's gigantic efforts to overcome the terrible backwardness inherited from the past, it correctly directed and led them in their struggle for the building of socialism. To the correct leadership of the Party of Labor, to its unshakable loyalty towards the revolutionary doctrine of the proletariat — Marxism-Leninism, is due the failure of the attempts of all the enemies, open and underhand, in particular of the Titoite and Khrushchevite modern revisionists, to turn our people away from the bright road of socialism.

The brilliant balance-sheet of victories with which our people come to this great jubilee is at the same time a balance-sheet of the struggle, work and activity of the Party of Labor of Albania. That is the most eloquent proof of the always correct Marxist-Leninist line which it has pursued in all the stages.

Therefore, our people are linked with their Party of Labor like flesh to bone. They see in the Party leadership the source of all their victories, the safeguard of their vital interest and their most reliable guarantee for future victories, for the complete and final triumph of socialism and communism.

The strength and invincibility of our people in the face of all the tests of history, however severe they may have been, rests in their monolithic unity around the Party. The strength and invincibility of our Party in any situation rests in its indissoluble ties with the people, in the boundless support the people give to it. In this steel-like party-people unity rests the strength and invincibility of our socialist Homeland in the face of any danger. Let us preserve this militant unity like the apple of our eye and let us strengthen it ever more!

The magnificent victories of these 25 years, particularly the very good results which are being achieved during the 4th five-year plan period, have created a solid foundation for new and still greater successes on the road of the complete construction of the socialist society.

An important stride on this road will be made under the new five-year plan, 1971-1975, the main objectives of which have, in general lines, been crystallized by the Party and the Government.

The 5th five-year plan will be one of a new qualitative rise in the general development of the country's productive forces. That will be the five-year plan of the development in depth and of the

further intensification of industry, through the deep processing of minerals and oil, of the extension and strengthening of all its branches, especially of the machine-building, chemical, electric power, building materials and other branches. New branches of industry will be created, such as the industry of iron-nickel metallurgy, the steel production industry and other branches of the chemical industry which are of exceptional importance to the independent development of our national economy, to a better and more complete exploitation of our natural resources. Thus, the role of industry in the development of all the other economic branches will increase further.

This five-year plan will be at the same time the plan of the greatest intensification of agriculture, of the further increase of agricultural and livestock products. It will raise mechanisation of agriculture to a higher degree, it will greatly increase labor productivity, it will be the five-year plan of big and numerous irrigation works, especially in the hilly and mountainous areas, so that in the not distant future the overwhelming part of the cultivated land area will be brought under irrigation.

On the basis of the all-round and rapid development of the socialist economy and of the deepening of the ideological and political revolution, an appreciable rise of the living standards of the working masses will be achieved.

Under the 5th five-year plan another important forward stride will be made on the road of the gradual narrowing of the essential differences be-

tween town and countryside, between the working class and the peasantry, between industry and agriculture, between mental and manual work, towards the complete building of the socialist society.

The prospects are clear, the future of our people and of our Homeland is bright. Today we are already seeing the contours of our happier future taking shape in vivid colors.

The magnificent successes we have achieved and the brilliant prospects that are open to our country fill us with revolutionary optimism and increase tenfold our faith in our own forces.

Inspired by this wonderful situation, under the tried and tested unwavering Marxist-Leninist leadership of the glorious Party of Labour, let us always proudly hold high the red banner of revolution and socialism in our beloved Homeland and lead it forward, always forward, towards the new peaks of socialism and communism!

— Long live the glorious 25th anniversary of the liberation of the Homeland and of the triumph of the people's revolution!

— May our wonderful people, who are marching fearlessly on the road of socialism, live in centuries!

— Glory to the Party of Labor of Albania, the beloved leader and organizer of all the victories of our people!

— Glory to all-conquering Marxism-Leninism!

## ON WORK PRODUCTIVITY AND PROLETARIAN DISCIPLINE AT WORK

*Speech delivered at the 9th Plenum of the Central  
Committee of the Party of Labor of Albania.*

*December 27, 1969*

For our Party and people, 1970, the last year of the 4th five-year plan period, should be a year of an unprecedented revolutionary drive ever seen so far in all directions. At this Plenum of the Central Committee we have analyzed the work we have done so far, criticizing the shortcomings, errors and voids we have incurred, and we have set down new tasks for the days to come. The complete accomplishment of these tasks will further strengthen our work, helping us to achieve better ultimate results during the current five-year period and setting up a more powerful basis for the coming five-year period.

The Report of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee submitted at this Plenum by com-

rade Xhafer Spahiu treats matters in a correct and very clear way. It points out well both the successes we have attained so far, which are not insignificant, but also where the weaknesses lie in the work and struggle we are waging to increase work productivity and enforce proletarian discipline at work.

Work productivity, viewed from the angle of revolutionary theory and practice, is neither a simple nor a merely technical or bureaucratic problem but one closely enmeshed, like every other problem of socialist political economy, with theory, policy, technique, organization and a series of other problems that emerge from them. Therefore, both the Report of the Political Bureau and the numerous discussions of the comrades placed this problem in its proper perspective, resolved many of its aspects, imparted to it more vivacity and animation and, by subjecting our work to a concrete critical analysis, they drew lessons and set new tasks which will help us carry further ahead the development of our socialist economy.

Taking up the materials of this Plenum with the Party and the people should mark a further and greater turning point in our revolutionary drive to forge ahead. The communists, workers, cooperative members and all the employees should study the report and delve deep into it adapting it to the concrete problems of the sector where they work a stride.

Perusal of the tasks and decisions which this Plenum will be taking are of major importance not

that these problems have not been treated before, not that they are unknown problems, but because the analysis made shows that, despite the good results they have achieved at work, our people have, at the same time, incurred errors, lapses and have allowed serious leniencies throughout their activity. The source of all these negative phenomena lies at the superficial political and theoretical understanding of this problem and at the not-everywhere good and perfect organization of work.

In the fight against these shortcomings and errors and efforts to find their origin, the Party is really optimistic because the communists and the broad masses of workers are well prepared to fight and are actually fighting everywhere in a revolutionary way. But, I think, we have not yet done enough in these two directions to match the high and vigorous revolutionary spirit of the communists and the masses. Therefore, it behooves us to further improve our work, to raise to a higher level the revolutionary style both in political and ideological as well as economic and organizational education. Where our work proceeds in this spirit, our revolutionary spiritual and material achievements are marvellous. Where the contrary happens, that is, where drawbacks, disorganization, excuses, «theorizing» and the like prevail, there is and there can be no adequate achievements.

Which are the predominant trends among us? We can say in unequivocal terms that pronounced revolutionary trends hold sway everywhere in our



country. It is precisely in these major revolutionary movements of the masses who undertake bold initiatives never met with at any time that I think our Party should look for the right organizational forms which conform to these extraordinary times we are passing through, when established structures and norms are being pulled down and the new is continually replacing the old. While arousing the masses, our Party should at once grasp what is new, sum it up and develop it further with lightning speed. It should be brought home to everybody that all the people our Party has carefully educated and inspired in such a lofty way, in their creative drive, will not tolerate worthless people and their old cumbersome forms and methods of work. The latter will be swept away by the hurricane of revolution in case they fail to follow this rapid development led by the Party. This is a dialectic law which can not be overridden.

The people of our country have now rolled up their sleeves and are busy putting up major projects. Other and greater projects lie ahead for them in the days to come. It is we ourselves who will build them. But in our country everybody, old and young, knows that the building of such major projects requires large investments, considerable funds which planned socialist accumulation creates for them. Where all these funds will come from we know; they will come from our sweat and toil. But it should be clear and well understood by all that it is necessary to save for the uninter-

rupted development of the productive forces in the country and, at the same time, to raise the living standards of our people. And in order to substantiate these major goals of our Party, it is essential to continually raise work productivity, to raise output of production, to increase accumulation, to lower costs and prices everywhere. All these problems of our socialist economy should continually be explained and made clear politically and theoretically to our workers.

Having done this, what is decisive is to organize concretely and in practice the work and struggle to realize these directives and tasks and to achieve these results. It is precisely in carrying out these directives that we come up against serious handicaps which, I think, are the result especially of defective organizational work. For instance, we lag behind in organizing our theoretical and organizational work so that the struggle to make quotas a habit of each worker may achieve full success, so that the enforcement of proletarian discipline and sense of duty may become the main concern of all our people both in theory and in practice, so that giving our society as much, as good and as cheap as possible may inspire each one of our workers.

Of course everywhere, in every enterprise where work is done, we should enforce organization, order and strict discipline at work. In order to achieve this, it is essential to strive continuously to raise the class consciousness of our workers. Both the central organs and the leading

organs at the grass roots bear great responsibility for many problems which they do not solve aright, which obstruct and procrastinate their solution properly and in due time. For instance, taking into account that the structure of our industrial production is being expanded, if we fail to react and take the necessary steps in due time, productivity will decrease instead of increasing, as has actually happened in certain cases these recent two or three years; or if we continue to keep certain parallel enterprises which are unprofitable and not very essential from the economic viewpoint at a time when their production can be replaced in some other way at lower costs; or, let us take the problem of work productivity in agriculture which is much lower than in industry, a problem to which we should attach major importance from the organizational and educational point of view, since it is not properly dealt with by the central organs as well as by the Regional Party Committees. There are a number of other problems similar to the ones I have mentioned.

We are justified in calling to account the Ministries for certain key-problems, because they have misused the 20% increase of work force left to their competence, falling, thus, to the opportunist positions of leniency by certain enterprises which have not done enough to enforce discipline at work, which do not attach much value to worktime, which fail to do their uttermost to avoid loss of time at work, and so on. Consequently, our economic departments fail to take all steps to follow up and supervise the strict appli-

cation of work quotas and the establishment of technical norms but, in its place, find it easier to use the more costly and anti-economic method of using the 20% and swelling the payroll. Gestures of this kind are anti-economic and they show that some of our cadres are not yet enlightened politically and ideologically.

We should really sound the alarm when we note that 30% of the number of workers of our economic enterprises as well as all the workers of the agricultural sector do not respond to the serious requirements of raising work productivity. How can we allow ourselves a situation of this kind? No, comrades, we should in no way follow this course but exert all our efforts at once to find the appropriate forms and methods to plan work quotas for all without exception.

We rightly pose the question: When treating problems connected with maximum use of worktime and enforcement of proletarian discipline, do the Party and Trade Union organizations at all those work centers and agricultural cooperatives where these discrepancies appear speak only theoretically or in general terms or do they connect these problems with the actual events that take place during work and affect personal and general interests? Do they stress individual defects in order to draw general conclusions? Do they thus try to correct individual in order to avoid collective mistakes? It seems to me that this method of approach is important to all phases of the development and tempering of the revolutionary

awareness of our people especially under the present conditions.

In order to uplift and temper the revolutionary consciousness of our workers, primary importance should be attached to our political and ideological work. This is the ABC of the question. But in no way should organizational and technical measures be neglected, since they are the materialization of political orientations helping realize the political tasks, confirming in practice the line and correctness of our Party's policy. These organizational and technical measures themselves, taken well and in time, confirm that maturity, that capability, that correct significance of the problem, that strict proletarian discipline which help accomplish these tasks. Therefore, these steps also involve proletarian policy and ideology and, on the contrary, when these are neglected and opportunism is resorted to, then we have non-proletarian ideology.

It seems to me that proletarian discipline demand all workers wherever they are (and this must be kept well in mind and proclaimed in an ostensible way) that the laws established by the proletarian State regarding the workday and the regulations related to it should be strictly observed. This matter should be grasped in all its complexity. Going to work at the appointed hour, starting work after having taken all the necessary organizational measures and having secured the materials and all the necessary means for work beforehand so that nothing and at no moment may

the worker be hampered in each process of work during the 8-hour timetable — all these are permanent tasks which should be strictly carried out every day by every worker. During worktime all nerves should be tense. Except for strong reasons, no one should quit his job. We should educate our people ideologically to maintain proletarian iron discipline at work teaching them, at the same time, what this discipline is, how it is to be understood and put into practice. Proletarian discipline at work should be injected into the blood of our workers since they are still far from having grasped its importance in theory and from putting it into practice as they should.

These matters should be proclaimed far and wide and should be driven home to all, first and foremost, to the heads of the departments themselves who direct the enterprises or have obligations towards them. These tasks should be fulfilled in an absolute manner and at the appointed time, otherwise the chain breaks up and then begin concessions, excuses, vain self-criticism of little benefit. Proletarian discipline should be strictly observed by all, by the leaders and the workers without exception.

In agriculture too, things will not go well only by being satisfied with the realization in figures of the percentage of participation of cooperative members in work, as they like to report to us at times, therefore, we should see on the spot how many work-days each cooperative members puts in, how he uses his worktime, how he fills the work quota and what he turns out. If we fail to view

this question in all its complexity and fight to raise all its components then it is futile to speak of raising work productivity at work, in crops, in lowering costs and raising the well-being of the laboring masses in town and the countryside.

While speaking of these problems we should always bear well in mind that the majority of the population of the country live in rural areas, therefore one can well imagine what colossal unutilized economic resources lie latent there so long as participation in work continues to be at a low level, when workdays are short, when the cooperative members in some cases put only 4 or 5 hours of work a day, especially in winter, and when work productivity is not taken stock of.

Of course, the solution of this great problem for the countryside is not as easy to organize as in factories but it can still be organized. The question is to think up and take steps so that work in the countryside may be done all the year round, in all seasons, with the same intensity as required by farm crops and animal husbandry, both the existing and those which must be created. Therefore, the political and ideological work there should be done intensively and in full but the organizational work should also receive special attention as regards the nature of agriculture with its ups and downs caused by subjective as well as objective reasons like the fall and winter seasons without the study of which and the creation of appropriate working conditions no forces of the countryside can be fully utilized.

Work quotas are absolutely necessary every-

where, in every sector, for otherwise it would be futile to speak of work productivity, of raising it and of reaching the other objectives set by plan. Even in those few and special sectors where work quotas cannot be established, this should be considered as something transitory and not a method of work. Quotas should not only be established but we should reach a point at which our worker, the worker of a socialist country, may not conceive the idea of working without quotas, without wishing to over-reach them and demand that new ones based on technical ground be established since only then can we say that he has grasped the political, ideological and economic importance of work quotas both to the general as well as to his personal interests.

The establishment of technically correct quotas will mean that the value of the time factor has been grasped by the workers, that the latter have acquired better knowledge and that their personal skills have undergone improvement. Consequently, the worker becomes cognizant of the role of the machine he uses, makes better use of and keeps it in good repair and, by handling it well and having a good grasp of the methodology of the plan, will not only over-reach the plan targets but will turn out from his hands and his machine products of better quality and at a lower cost.

The problem of quotas, of establishing them on correct criteria, of improving them from time to time and of fulfilling them to the letter, of

considering machines as an important means of production, of keeping them in good repair and utilizing them to the full, of rigid discipline at work and, as a consequence, fulfilling every minute of the work timetable by each worker and machine, of the good organization of work at the enterprise paying heed especially to the small organizational unit which is not always done, a thing which leads to loss of time, costing us a lot of effort, disrupting the general organization which we may have done well — all these seem like separate problems but they are parts of one single problem the correct solution of which requires the full concern of all, ranging from the director to the gate-keeper of the enterprise.

Individual responsibilities and tasks among us cannot be carried out apart from collective responsibility. Of course, each is and should be held responsible for the tasks he has been assigned to, therefore he should exert all his efforts to carry them out well and render account for them but collective responsibility exists everywhere. This means that fellow workers share also in the responsibility of each worker and should help him by intervening in due time when he fails to carry out his job properly and thus collaborate with him in a concrete way. The question of work quotas is of a general, collective but of an individual character as well, it is the concern of the worker himself and also of all the workers as a group. It is the concern of the recorder, too. But we are told that «in a majority of cases neither

the directors nor the engineers» bother about work quotas. This is a colossal mistake, for if this is really the case, and I do not think that this happens every time, it means that our leading cadres fail to grasp the ideology of the Party and do not conduct its policy aright in and out of the factory.

Pay great attention to the small organizational unit I just referred to, for it is there that discipline at work is established which, if neglected, might lead to loose discipline, it is there that worktime is gained or lost, the work quotas are fulfilled or not, the machines are kept in good repair or not, the products are turned out in a good quality or not. This is where work is done, where sweat is shed, where the anvil lies, where steel is tempered. Therefore it is here that we should concentrate our attention, carry on our political and ideological work, it is here that good organization is shown and verified, it is here more than anywhere else that we get to know the class people, the class discipline and the class sense of duty.

A great example of perfect organization of work has been set by the December 14 mass action of the Dibra Party organization and people who dug a canal 17 km long in one day's work. This lightning mass action reflects in the best way the ability of the Party organization of this district to organize and lead, to apply the directives of the Party properly and to enforce conscious revolutionary discipline at work. The whole Party, all the state organs and the organizations

of the masses in industry, agriculture, building construction etc., should learn and draw tasks from this brilliant example. From this concentrated mass action we should draw lessons on how raise and discuss problems, on how to take and apply decisions and follow them up to completion.

In general mass actions are not only of mere material economic importance but more so of political and ideological significance for they strengthen among our masses the spirit of solidarity and collectivism, enhance ardent socialist patriotism, arouse in them the spirit of relying on their physical and moral efforts to set up major common projects for strengthening the country and making the people happy, they enforce conscious revolutionary discipline and confidence in the correct, steel-like leadership of the Party, further revolutionizing the minds of our men and discarding the survival of the past and such rot as bureaucracy, petty bourgeois conservatism, religious remnants, backward customs, and so on. Let the experience of the communists and of all the workers of the Dibra district serve as a great lesson for the Party and workers of our country as a whole.

Inspired by the example set by the Dibra district, the organizations of the Party and our people as a whole have recently been gripped by a chain of reaction with their enterprises undertaking a series of important mass actions. One of these mass actions is that of the 26 thousand cooperative members and workers of the city and district of Tirana who, in a spirit of exemplary

enthusiasm and mobilization, dug 22 kilometers of canal in 4 or 5 hours.

Another high example deserving praise is that of the workers of the State Enterprise of motor vehicle repairs in Tirana who, thanks to their correct political and ideological assessment of their tasks and of their revolutionary determination, succeeded in assembling 49 trailers in the course of one day, a piece of work which under ordinary conditions they had planned to accomplish during the first three-month period of the coming year.

The spark set off in the Dibra district is now spreading like an unrestrainable conflagration throughout the country where the chain of mass actions keeps growing from day to day. We are all witnesses of an unparalleled rise of the masses of tens of thousands of persons prepared to accomplish every task the Party assigns to them in a highly militant spirit and unprecedented determination. This is the way that our workers, peasants, women, youth and people's intelligentsia and armymen have responded to the Party's call for major mass actions all over Albania.

There is no doubt that this wave of mass actions will continue to rise higher and higher and will turn to a big new movement which will lead to the building, further progress and strengthening at a further and higher rate of our socialist Homeland. This unprecedented rise of the laboring masses, their great willingness, this ardent patriotism and uncurbed determination are the fruits of the great and persistent educational work of the Party.

But the Party everywhere, at the center, in the districts and as far down as the grass roots should bear well in mind to always match the readiness and patriotism of our workers for useful and fruitful work to build socialism and strengthen the defensive capacity of our Homeland with high level work of leadership and organization. In all these major mass actions it is essential to prevent with rigidity any disorder or confusion which may be caused by failing to take full organizational measures in due time or by amassing a larger number of people than necessary. Therefore, it should be well calculated to draw as many volunteers to mass actions as necessary and no more. In no way and under no circumstances should the Party tolerate that, for lack of care and good organization of work, the readiness of our people should be played with and the correct line of the Party be exposed to suspicion by the workers in these mass actions.

Side by side with this, a stop should be put to the tendency of making a lot of noise and advertising for the purpose of showing off rather than bending to work. Our mass actions should always be characterized by few words and much work, as the people have it.

We are convinced that, along correct Party lines, the laboring masses, so willing and enthusiastic to carry out every task, will muster all their efforts also to realize this important problem we have raised at this Plenum, to further increase work productivity. Our conviction that our workers

will fully realize the decisions we will be taking is unshakable, for our Party has already rejuvenated our men, has transformed their consciousness and has even inserted young blood to our old people.

Here is what 90-year old Abaz Hoxha from the village of Zgërbonja in the Berat district writes, among others, in his letter he has recently sent to me:

«I am 90 years old and remember that our country used to be oppressed by the feudal lords and the bourgeoisie who were in power. They oppressed and tortured us extorting from us that little we had at the point of the bayonet and leaving us in dire need whereas today, thanks to the correct leadership of our Party, we live free and happy stepping up our efforts to build our Fatherland. Today we do not work for feudal lords and large estate owners but for ourselves, for the prosperity of our country.»

«Allow me», Abaz Hoxha continues, «to draw some comparisons with the past when for whole days in rain, snow and mud, we used to set out from Zgërbonja leading a donkey to Vlora to buy a small quantity of salt. When we went to market to buy corn, we paid the price set by the seller who sold it in one lump. Thus we have had a hard time while today we have everything we need next door. May the Party live as long as the mountains of the world for having created innumerable goods for our people during the last 25 years following liberation! There is one thing alone that I regret, that is that I have grown old and will

not be able to enjoy the improvements that will be brought about in the days to come».

«How happy and gay are the people going together to work singing since they know what they are working for. I myself cannot work but when I see people going together to their jobs under the leadership of the Party, I feel elated and say to myself: 'What a pity that I cannot go to work with them to build the country up under the guidance of the Party!'. All these achievements are a deadly bullet fired at our enemies and modern revisionists, who see our country as a thorn in their flesh. But we say boo to them! We dare them to encroach upon our country and they will see what comes to them. One could never imagine that Albania would be supplied with electricity, that thousands of shops and schools would be opened in rural areas, that the countryside would be linked with the cities by motor highways, that motor vehicles and tractors would come to the countryside and that many other marvels which history has never recorded would have taken place in our country. People used to go to Salonica in search of jobs whereas now there lies plenty of work for them in the country. What a pity I cannot become a youngster again!...»

This is what 90-year old Uncle Abaz writes from a remote village in the Berat uplands. In a simple way this letter contains a great philosophy, the philosophy of our Party. This shows that the source of socialist humanism in our country lies in the attitude of the man who creates through

work and not in «spiritual existence» as used to be thought of before. It is a humanism flagrantly opposed to the Christian pseudo-humanism preached by the Roman prelate or that kind of «humanism» of the modern barbarians who kill and enslave people.

In our country, socialist humanism is becoming more and more of a mass phenomenon. The deep love of man for the worker is the main characteristic in our socialist society. In our country, all the energy each one expends in common social work has its only high objective to defend the country, the freedom of the people, the welfare of man, his happiness and loftiness of spirit. That is why the organized masses of workers throughout Albania work with a high sense of duty. Each tries to render that contribution which at the surface, taken separately, may look as something of insignificance but, united all for a single purpose and under the guidance of the Party, down mountains, build new factories and workshops, highways and railroads, schools and cultural homes with lightning speed for the prosperity of the country, for the happiness and wellbeing of all in which our man finds also his individual happiness and welfare. «All for one and one for all» is their motto. And in this respect there is no end of examples of unbounded love of country, of people and of man.

Let us remind ourselves of only one of the examples of the recent days, 40 workers of very different ages of the Tirana district Tractor and



Motor Station rose as a body to offer parts of their body to one of their companions whose life was at stake from an accidental burn at work. Here is a high example of solidarity, of the spirit of sacrifice and self-denial for man, see what magnanimous people, what revolutionary humanism our Party has educated and keeps educating day in, day out!

Our Party, our revolution have imparted strength to our people. They exercise it on everything and effect colossal transformations on the land, at the factory, on culture and education and create a thoroughly new environment. Thus, in our country every day gives birth to new hopes, new laws, new habits, new ideas; a new sense of duty is implanted everyday in the minds of every one.

The old world is continually being transformed, life is being revolutionized and, in the first place, men and their feelings are being transformed. Socialism gives birth to and galvanizes the new humanism, that which the old mountaineer from Berat expresses in simple and clear terms in his letter and which the materialist development of mankind has sparked off and Marxist genius has carved for centuries by calling it «the absolute movement of the future».

Our Party should now match these colossal changes in the mind and consciousness of our people, these major achievements attained by our Party in educating our new man politically and ideologically with an unprecedented willingness and drive in work and in protecting our victories

from the enemy, determined to bring about further deeper transformations, this so revolutionary a situation our Party has long worked from the day of its founding, with a ever better work of leadership and organization in order to always carry ahead our nonstop victorious revolution. Therefore, let us muster all our efforts, with unshaken confidence in our Party and marvellous people to honorably fulfil the important tasks set for us at this Plenum.

**OPENING SPEECH  
OF THE SOLEMN MEETING COMMEMORATING  
THE CENTENNIAL OF V. I. LENIN'S BIRTH**

*April 21, 1970*

Dear Comrades,

Today we have gathered to celebrate the one hundredth anniversary of the birth of Vladimir Ilich Lenin, the thinker of genius and great revolutionary, the glorious strategist of the October Socialist Revolution, the wise teacher and the leader of the world proletarian revolution.

Lenin's life, his ideas, his activity are indissolubly linked with all the great history of our epoch, with the radical changes that have taken place in the destiny of the proletariat and of the peoples of the world during these one hundred years. Our twentieth century is the century of Leninism.

Marx and Engels had scientifically predicted the overthrow of capitalism and the construction of the socialist society. Lenin developed their ideas and teachings further and realized them in practice. The socialist revolution in Russia, conceived

and directly led by Lenin, marked the beginning of the new epoch of humanity.

History has known many distinguished leaders and great revolutionaries but there are few whose ideas and works preserve such imperishable vitality and actuality as those of Lenin. His ideas and work have been and will continue to be the illuminating beacon of the revolutionary road of the proletariat, the unerring compass, the inexhaustible source of inspiration to carry the great cause of communism forward from one victory to another.

By celebrating the centennial of Lenin's birth, we are not harassing and extolling only the man who has made an unparalleled contribution to the theory and practice of scientific socialism. The history of our Party, the liberation of the Albanian people from the shackles of fascist oppression and internal feudal-bourgeois slavery, the victory of our revolution and the construction of socialism in Albania are closely linked with Lenin and Leninism. Our Party was born a Leninist Party, it fought and won under the banner of Lenin and his loyal disciple Stalin, and is marching triumphant on the Leninist road

To the Albanian communists and people, Lenin and Leninism have never been empty dogmas and symbols, nor an experience which belong only to the past. We have conceived and conceive it as our duty and obligation to remain loyal to the revolutionary spirit and essence of Leninism, to fight resolutely and incessantly for the preserva-

tion of its purity against the attacks of all enemies, to develop the revolution in our country further and carry it on uninterruptedly to the end, to strengthen proletarian internationalism and true Marxist-Leninist unity in the international communist movement, for only thus will Albania live free, independent, strong, socialist and communist through the centuries.

No one has waged a sterner, more persistent and principled struggle against bourgeois and opportunist ideology both inside and outside the ranks of the working class than Lenin, no one has so fiercely attacked the overt anti-communists as well as those who tried to cloak their anti-communism in Marxist phraseology or to paint it in socialist colors. The monstrous treachery of the modern revisionists with Soviet revisionists at the head, and especially, the degeneration of the Soviet Union into a bourgeois imperialist State, emphasize more strongly the actuality of this struggle. The teachings and the attitudes of Lenin towards opportunism assume first-hand importance for every revolutionary, for every genuine communist party.

The imperialists, the big bourgeoisie and the international reaction are beating the propaganda drum, trying to pass the revisionist degeneration off as Leninism, to attribute it to Leninism, to its alleged «inability», to transform the old world and to construct a new society. The revisionists of all hues, with the Soviet revisionists at their head, in turn, try to divest, Lenin and Leninism

of their revolutionary spirit, to distort and mystify them in order to cover up their own opportunism and treachery. The two sides emerge on the same road and work for the one aim: to undermine the revolution, destroy socialism and enslave the working class and the peoples for ever.

But no violence, nor betrayal or demagogy, nothing whatsoever can conquer Leninism, the revolutionary heritage of Lenin, the banner he raised. Lenin and Leninism live and triumph everywhere: in China and in Albania where socialism is being built successfully, in the revolutionary tide of the liberation wars which have swept the continents of Asia, Africa and Latin America, in the new revolutionary drive of the working class and masses of capitalist Europe and the USA. The ideas and work of Lenin inspire and guide the resolute struggle the Marxist-Leninists are waging today against the modern revisionists throughout the world. They are like a smoldering fire ready to burst into flame also in the hearts of the working class and working people in the revisionist countries, languishing under the yoke of the usurpers and renegades.

The one hundredth anniversary of Lenin's birth is a new and great inspiration to learn from Lenin, to fight as he did, to raise ever higher the banner he unfurled. This is, the first and supreme expression of allegiance to Leninism.

Let this glorious jubilee serve to strengthen our proletarian Party and State even more, to make our socialist Homeland more beautiful and pros-

perous, to always hold high, proud and unsullied, the banner of Lenin and communism in Albania!

Let us make our contribution to the struggle of all communists and revolutionary peoples of the world who are fighting against U.S. imperialism and Soviet social-imperialism and their lackeys!

Let the revolutionary battle-cry of Lenin thunder stronger than ever: «Workers of all countries and oppressed peoples and nations, unite!», let the struggle against imperialism, revisionism and reaction grow ever stronger for the victory of revolution and socialism throughout the world!

### **RELY FIRMLY ON THE CREATIVE THOUGHT OF THE MASSES IN THE PLANNING AND INCREASING OF PRODUCTION**

*Speech delivered at the Meeting of the Political  
Bureau of the Central Committee of the Party of  
Labor of Albania.*

*April 27, 1970*

I will not go into a lengthy discussion for I am in agreement over many problems which have already been raised. I wish to make just a few remarks.

The comrades who spoke were quite right to say that, as far as the fulfilment and overfulfilment of production plans are concerned, there are much greater possibilities than those which we recognize and exploit at present and that there are also the productive capacities to turn these possibilities into reality. But, in spite of the undeniable progress we have made, we can see that there are still certain holdups and self-satisfaction, routine and bureaucracy. Our Party has always

fought these manifestations persistently. Nevertheless, if we delve deeper into this problem, just as it was pointed out at this meeting, we will see that these manifestations continue to hinder us seriously on many occasions.

It is true that the people at the base accept and strive to carry out the plan sent to them by those at the center. However, we do not see all the necessary efforts being made so that the workers can give their valuable and realistic opinions on how to increase production and improve its quality, how to utilize all those great capacities and resources which exist at the base for this purpose.

At the base, I think, we can observe two tendencies. One is when the enterprise tries to keep its plan small, so that it can be realised very easily without much trouble or effort, when it presents the center with a plan smaller than its true possibilities and demands more material and financial means than are really required to carry it out. In this case, those at the center usually assign the enterprise tasks greater than it proposed itself but still smaller than the real possibilities of the enterprise, and always curtail the demands for material and financial means. This tendency is a manifestation of bureaucratic methods and practices of management of the economy, without the full, direct, and active participation of the workers. The other trend is that some enterprises and agricultural cooperatives approach the problem in a more revolutionary spirit, putting the questions connected with the plan and the increase of pro-

duction to the masses who take them up for wide-ranging discussion and come forth with brilliant initiatives and valuable suggestions to raise the production targets assigned, to widen the range of assortments and improve their quality, demanding very little or no funds at all.

Very often we hear people ask: «If those at the base demand no funds, then why don't they themselves carry out all the suggestions and initiatives of the workers?» This is very easy to say but I think that even in this there are difficulties created by the bureaucratic methods of economic management. The very routine, the excessive and, at times, un-called for centralism according to which any initiative and proposal of those at the base has first to be sent to a higher instance, to be approved by the committee or the department, to be studied by an engineer or two, at a time when the enterprise has its own engineers, — this is an obstacle, an impediment to the more rapid development of our productive forces.

On other occasions, the workers' proposals and initiatives are hindered because without adequate prior consultation with the workers on all the problems, the central organs or the managers of enterprises decide in detail on what is to be done and in what quantities. Thus, when the masses propose, for instance, to set up a new production line in a factory, they get the answer: «This is not envisaged in the plan and it cannot be done this year, but we shall keep it mind for next year», or curtly: «no funds are earmarked for it». This atti-

tude too, holds back production, and that is why the masses of workers, realizing that all the possibilities exist for greater things to be done, are justified in being dissatisfied with that the Ministry or the administration of the enterprise has decided.

We notice that in many enterprises such as the Phosphate Fertilizers Plant at Laç, the Pharmaceutical Products Plant in Tirana, etc. etc., the workers and engineers, who are people who work, have their own creative ideas on how to develop and promote production. But alongside this, we observe also that in many cases they are held up by their enterprise, or their proposals which are indispensable for the further development of the economy hang about in the departments, or are taken up with delay, till, at last, some sort of nominal amount is allocated to them. Is it possible to go on in this way for the further development of our socialist economy?

Naturally, it is the task of both the administration of the enterprise and of the center (the department, the Planning Commission) to carefully study all the proposals and initiatives of the workers, to weigh up well which of them are possible and most beneficial and which are not, which are applicable today and which should be applied later, which of them our economy needs most, and so on. Thus, it is indispensable that everything should be scrutinized in detail and not be left to arbitrariness nor to spontaneity, but should be harmonized in the framework of the whole economy. Along with this, the directors of enterprises or

of the center should explain to the masses both, when their proposition or initiative, for the time being, can not be put into practice, as well as when it can. They must be careful not to create contradictions which restrict the development but when those do arise they must be dealt with as soon as they emerge and be solved correctly and promptly.

It seems to me that the very important work of drawing out the creative thinking of the masses and of having them participate actively and more directly in the planning and management of our economy is not organized as well or as much as it should be. The districts, the base, the working class and the numerous cadres which the Party has trained and will be training in greater numbers, should contribute much more than they have done so far with their ideas and suggestions on all questions, big or small, of the development and management of our economy.

The workers' proposals and initiatives from the enterprises and the districts, should constitute the main great subject of our plan. The opinion of the base absolutely must be sought in drafting the plan for, those working at the base, the workers, technicians, engineers, managers, administrators, etc., are, so to say, the principal hands and brain of development, which promote production, they are acquainted with and know better than anyone else, the inexhaustible inner reserves and possibilities. They are our main assistants who aid the central organs of the Party and State to coor-

dinate and define the general directions of the development of the economy, to harmonize the thinking and work of the masses on the scale of the economy as a whole. If we put our faith mostly in the decisions of the Ministry, here in the center, with the two or three employees which it possesses, for the solution of a problem, and if we do not take heed of all the efforts, opinions and proposals of the working class and of our enterprises, then we will make mistakes and our work cannot go well.

Many a time it happens up in the departments that problems which need a quick solution are left aside unconsidered, whereas things which could wait and be done later, are considered and decided upon more quickly. Why does this occur? In my opinion, this occurs owing to the fact that we have made it a habit to decide many matters up here in the center, and because there exists a sort of excessive centralization on many issues of second- or third-rate importance concerning planning and management of our economy which limits, shrivels and narrows down the competences of the enterprises, of the base. This is a question both of principle and organization, therefore we should apply ever more profoundly the theoretical, political and organizational principle which the Party has decided on planning, which regulates and ensures the speedy and harmonious development of socialist economy.

Excessive centralization, with everything considered or approved from above, routine, hesitation

or restraints which are an obstacle to relying firmly on the working class, engineers, directors, leads us towards the weakening of the line of the masses, to neglecting their opinions and desires. If we allow such things to develop, the masses will not approve such a method of work in opposition to the principles of our Party. The working masses who produce and direct, should see concretely the complete unity of their opinions and proposals with those of the economic and political leadership. Therefore, to act otherwise, is a great evil, which should be ceaselessly combatted, for it serves as a hot-bed to nurture and enliven bureaucracy, the putting of the State and administrative apparatus above the masses, spreads the concept and practice of the center commanding the base, the directors commanding the workers. The creation of such a situation would be very dangerous to the fate of socialism itself, and the dictatorship of the proletariat, because the masses would feel themselves exempt from the moral and political responsibility of working out the plans for the ever rising development of the economy, thinking that this must be decided by the center alone.

If we look at the question now from the economic viewpoint, we will certainly come to the conclusion that the planning and the assignment of the tasks only from above would cause harmful results for the speedy and harmonious development of our socialist economy. It should be borne in mind that every new project or task assigned

by the State plan for the development of the economy and culture affects various branches of the economy, presents a mutual interconnection and dependence among the branches, a many-sided development of these branches. If these projects and tasks are assigned without listening to the opinion of the working masses, without consulting them widely and in detail there are greater possibilities of committing mistakes, of creating disproportions in the drafting of the plan, of giving priority to this or that subjective desire, of deciding things without detailed study and scientific argument.

Many a time have we spoken and speak, correctly, of the discipline in the plan. Nevertheless, we observe that even in this question there are shortcomings, here and there, narrow, superficial and bureaucratic concepts which hinder the base, the creative initiatives of the workers, the impetuous development of our economy.

There is no doubt that the plan is a law, therefore it must be carried out strictly and to the letter. But this has to be correctly understood and in a dialectical manner and not as something rigid so as not to kill the creative thinking or the skill of the masses.

Certain comrades regard the discipline of the plan as established through figures, which are unalterable and untouchable, studied and decided upon «very well and faultlessly» for the whole period required for their realization.

Of course purposeless and unnecessary changes

in the plan are by no means permissible. It is absolutely forbidden also to transfer funds without decisions defined by laws and ordinances. We must not permit the weakening of financial and labor discipline and should make efforts and struggle to use the people's money with the utmost economy and to the maximum effect, to use the working time better and more completely and to raise productivity.

But the daily struggle, work and implementation of the tasks of the plan by the workers, furnish new financial and material data and objectives and forms of organization, which bring to light some inaccuracies of the approved plan, and, as a consequence, corrections have to be made and new decisions taken. These must not be neglected, or left to be considered at the end of the year. This is where those qualities I mentioned before come into play, namely, the skill of our people, their courage the keenness of their thought, judgement, proposals, the revolutionary persistence of the masses of workers and technicians. These qualities of our people can be obstructed by the bureaucracy of the leadership of the enterprise, by their sluggishness and that of some of the workers and technicians, who do not stand in the vanguard. They can be impeded also by the excessive concentration of the rights and competences of the base in the departments, and theirs, in turn, in the Planning Commission, just as they can be impeded, finally, by the meaning of all that I have said above, namely, by the narrow concept of the discipline of the plan.



There is no doubt that in the qualitative direction of the work there are changes as compared with the past; we have made progress. We have granted competences to the base, which naturally are reflected in practice also, in matters which regulate the drafting and application of the plan. But, usually, the plan is chock a block and it is difficult to find the possibility of readily financing a development dictated by the progress in work, by the changed conditions or new initiatives. Even some facilities which we have had in this direction we have done away with, have concentrated them above, impelled by some mistakes made or abuses on the part of some people at the base. But this has created an abnormal situation in which the opinion of the center is sought even on questions within the competences of the base.

In principle, the center understands that it is not its job to deal with such trifling problems, but, in practice, it listens to them, deals with them, and issues instruction.

Thus, we may speak at length against bureaucracy, about giving competences, but in practice, willy-nilly, we work in such a manner that the struggle against bureaucracy is not properly waged, nor are the competences completely handed over and enlarged.

Despite the improvements, our method of work leaves much to be desired. I always advise the comrades to have complete faith in the base, in the masses of the workers, cooperativists and in our

cadres, to let them work and assume responsibility, to measure their strength against their tasks, against the difficulties they encounter, and have the full satisfaction of their creative work. It is up to us as leaders to teach the masses and at the same time to learn from them, for there are people who forget the latter duty. Our task is to check up on the work of the masses and cadres, not with the aim of catching them out but of helping them. On the other hand, they, too, should check up on us when life proves that our work has shortcomings and mistakes, because there are people holding posts of responsibility who forget this essential objective Marxist-Leninist fact, who become conceited and think that nothing wrong could ever issue from their minds. And this makes them haughty and arrogant towards those dependent on them and irritable with the cadres.

In the method of work by the central leadership, both of the Party and of the State, we should fight against dealing with trifles which belong to the base. The keen eye should discern everything, but if we educate all the masses with this correct principle, and it must be said that we have attained many good results in this direction, we should not busy ourselves with petty questions, waste our time on them, and neglect the great problems which require profound studies and correct solutions on our part. Often there is imbalance in this, and this finds expression in the phrase «we are swamped by routine work». But this is not the real problem. These «trifles» are very much

easier for the cadres to solve because they have long experience, and the «setting» of these matters creates a sort of «satisfaction» to fill the gaps and create the «impression» that we are leading. But this is not a correct «satisfaction». Comrades, we have to attack grave and more difficult problems. Not that these problems scare us, nor do we not attack them, but not so easily as we do with the «lesser problems», which could very well be solved by the base, and especially now that the base has attained such a level that it can not only solve these problems just as well and as quickly as we do but can solve great and complicated problems, and such solutions enlighten and powerfully assist the creative work of the central leadership.

Therefore, we must go deeply into these questions, put them straight where they are wrong, educate and mobilize our people to work and study so that they understand and properly apply the discipline of the plan, financial discipline, discipline at work, and go on improving the method of work continuously.

All these things we have mentioned must be solved correctly because they hinder the progress of our economy and sharpen the contradictions existing and emerging in the bosom of our socialist economy and society.

It is known that in socialism, the economic and social relations are not absolutely and automatically brought into conformity with the productive forces. Time and again there crop up among the individual aspects of the relations of production

and the productive forces inconformities and contradictions brought about by the forward march of the productive forces, or by their unceasing trend to advance and by the obstacles representing isolated out-dated aspects of economic and social relations. Such, for instance are the contradictions between the old forms of the organization and management of work and social production, and the new conditions, the new demands of the development of the productive forces, the new ideological, cultural and technical and vocational level of the working masses, between the forms and methods of administration and management of the economy and the broader and more active participation of the masses in this management, between the efforts of the working masses who strive to promote production and go forward and bureaucratic routine and practice, which hinder the masses from realising their desires and initiatives on the basis of the existing possibilities, etc., etc. True, these are not antagonistic contradictions like the contradictions between the workers and capitalists in bourgeois society. It is also true that the contradictions of our society are an outcome of its development in an upward direction, that they could and should be overcome without any shocks or social conflicts. But no one should imagine that they will be overcome automatically. No, this demands, first of all, that the contradictions be recognized, discovered, and then, on this basis, that measures be taken to solve them in due time, as Lenin and Stalin teach us. Otherwise, if the contradictions of our socialist society, non-an-

tagonistic as they are, are allowed to develop, if they are not solved in time by applying the proper measures, then the situation becomes such that from forces carrying the economic and social development of our society forward they are transformed into forces which seriously impede it, giving rise to troubles and difficulties of an ideo-political, economic, administrative, etc., character. We should always bear in mind these teachings of our materialist philosophy on the contradictions in socialist society and should implement them correctly, in a revolutionary spirit and method, so as to solve with great care, especially, the contradictions which arise in our conditions, from the bureaucratic methods of management in the economy and which come into opposition to the working masses, hinder our Party and our State from firmly relying on them.

In order to implement these things which I have mentined as well and as quickly as possible, we should enliven our basic Party organizations and make them more militant. We should lead them to a broad understanding of the problems of the development of the socialist economy, both the general and the special problems, otherwise, they will remain like some sleepy organisms capable only of holding their usual meetings, to criticise the one or the other by taking up some of the expressions of them in a formal way. If the role of the basic organization of the Party is understood like this, it cannot be the vanguard and cannot become militant about the decisive questions of the eco-

nomy and production, and cannot correctly understand the laws of social development. The basic organization will be at a level to cope with its tasks, when the communists themselves, who militate in it, are exemplary in every direction, and at the same time, struggle to educate the masses to live and act on their example. Thus, when we speak of technical discipline, the communists should be the first to apply it, when the question of saving, in the Marxist-Leninist sense, is raised, the communists must be in the vanguard of the working masses in the factory, in the fields or institutions, everywhere, to save as much as possible. When the need arises to consolidate the situation in a mine, the communists should be the first to go underground, not as a matter of form, or just to show off, but to work conscientiously and with all their might to extract the ore. The communist should have a good and deep ideological understanding of his duty to work on the most difficult fronts, where the work is hardest. The communist of a mine should learn to become a miner, should learn to recognize the underground strata, the qualities of the mineral ore, its ingredients, etc. If the communist does not act in this way and goes to the basic organization only to speak, this is an entirely formal thing. In such a case, his discussion would be purely formal, just as his discipline is.

We can have a great deal to say about the construction of socialism but do not work like socialists at our jobs, if we do not work like com-

munists, do not offer our opinions, are not sincere, if we regard friendship and comradeship with one another in an idealistic way, then what we say is valueless, serves no good purpose. Comradeship and friendship with us should rest on sincerity. If you love your comrade or friend in earnest, you should tell him frankly to his face about his mistakes, shortcomings and weaknesses, regardless of the fact that, for the time being, he might take it badly. That sort of friendship according to which we should not criticize this or that comrade because he fills a post high up somewhere and we might damage his reputation, etc. is quite alien to us. We should bear these questions well in mind and I mentioned them precisely because of the major importance they have in connection with the interests of production and of the development of our economy at an ever higher rate.

## **FURTHER ENLIVEN THE LIFE OF THE YOUTH ORGANIZATIONS IN THE SCHOOLS**

*Speech delivered at a meeting with a group of activists of the youth and Party organizations and with teachers and pedagogues from the institutes of higher learning and middle schools*

*May 13, 1970*

Students irrespective of their origin, whether they are from the working class or peasantry, or of the stratum of the intelligentsia, of officials, city dwellers, and so on, all are part of the stratum of the people's intelligentsia. Naturally, their origin plays a major role in the formation of the soundest possible class consciousness in the students, which is tempered by the Party through their political and ideological education, through work, and in general, through the revolutionary struggle.

The students are the future cadres for the various social, economic, educational, cultural acti-

tivities of various sectors; they will serve the construction of socialism in our country. Therefore, the better they are educated with the ideology of our Party and the working class, the higher their political level on the line of the Party, and the better they master knowledge and science, the better their service to the people, to the construction of socialism in our country.

It is easy to put this forward as a theorem, but it is more difficult and complicated to set it out in its component parts so as to implant them in the heads of the students and cadres of the future, to the end that these ingredients become their characteristic features in life, by means of which they may fight against the remnants of old petty-bourgeois habits and carry out in life the new Marxist-Leninist world outlook. The new school system, which we have decided upon, will go a long way to help us if it is well understood, well developed and well applied. Bureaucracy and stereotypism in this process impede the attainment of the desired results. With this new system, we are not aiming at the attainment of a few formal results in the education of our school and university youth but at radical changes, in the first place, at the formation of their character, at the formation of the Marxist-Leninist philosophical world outlook, which means that we must systematically eradicate the remnants and influence of idealistic philosophy and of petty-bourgeois hangovers, at having them assimilate of the vanguard modern knowledge and science, so that they will

apply them in a correct and always creative manner in the concrete conditions of our country.

The question of the ideo-political education of youth and, especially, of students is of extraordinary importance for the formation of their proletarian consciousness and of their philosophical viewpoints. In this work and especially at their age, we must not proceed superficially nor carelessly, nor should we proceed from the viewpoint that we have plenty of time, or thinking that we have a fine, heroic youth, free of devilment, which has no other way to go but along the socialist road, thinking that the forms of work and education are already established and there is nothing to worry about in this direction. If we think in this way and act without due care we are bound to make mistakes and the results will not be good. A judgement, such as I mentioned above, in general is correct. It reflects an objective reality created by our people's power, the construction of socialism, the education by the Party.

The ideo-political education of the school and student youth, like their entire all-round communist education, is a wide and complicated field of activity, which, under the leadership of the Party, is realized with the joint efforts of the school, of the teachers and educators, the youth organizations, the numerous educational and cultural institutions, as well as the whole of our society, through teaching, political and social activities, ideological actions, work in production, physical and military education, combining the theo-

retical and scientific formation of ideological convictions with active participation in the revolutionary socialist social practice. But I find it necessary to stress that the entire program of the Party for the all-round communist education of the younger generation cannot be incorporated in the daily practice of work without the effective direction of this activity by the basic Party organizations and, especially, without enlivening the activity of the youth organizations in the schools.

These recent years, the youth organization itself has been further revolutionized through the participation of the school and student youth in numerous ideological actions, through the debates on the further revolutionization of the school system, the work in production, and physical and military tempering. But the daily life of the youth organizations in the schools, and especially in the higher institutes of learning, and the meetings and activities of the organizations as yet do not respond well to this general revolutionary spirit, neither from the ideological and political nor from the organizational standpoint.

This shortcoming is especially felt among the student youth, in the first place, owing to the very environment in which they live, to the nature of teaching and education in the higher institutes of learning. In the secondary schools, the pupils have been in closer contact with their teachers, parents and all their educators. At school almost everyday, the performance of their tasks in their lessons is checked on. Generally, the tea-

chers have been closely acquainted with them individually and, in many cases, have also been acquainted with their parents. At this age, they, too, are closer to the youth. The youth feel this contact and closeness in the youth organization, too, and in the entire social environment. Naturally, here I am speaking of that contact and closeness which is realized in a correct and sound way and not about that sort of control imbued with the spirit of conservative tutelage, which some parents and even teachers and educationalists, without leaving out even the basic Party organizations in the schools themselves, try to exercise.

As for the higher institutes of learning, the question is different. The overwhelming majority of the youths have left their families. They enter a new more extensive environment. Their pedagogues do not and cannot check up everyday on their lessons. They do not keep close to them, like the teachers in the secondary schools. Certainly, the pedagogues of the higher institutes of learning must keep closer to the students in every respect, but it is clear that this can not be done as in the secondary schools. In the organizations too that spirit of closeness and solidarity which characterizes the youth of the secondary school is weakened. In these circumstances, many students can not always orientate themselves correctly, furthermore, some of them begin to feel themselves «free» from the eye of social opinion, from the control of society. This is precisely how the feeling of individualism, intellectualism, indifference to-

wards political and social activity, towards the life of the youth organization, the feeling of a false superiority and of viewing things frivolously could be born among them, and these are maladies which, if they find their way little by little into their blood make a man haughty and selfish, cut him off from the working masses, from the working class. These features of the life of the student youth, which, at first sight, are connected with social, psychological and pedagogical problems, if they are underrated assume an acute ideopolitical character.

It is indispensable that we eliminate this defect without fail, through the intensive ideological, political and organizational work of the Party organizations, as well as with the lively, concrete daily work of the youth organizations. It is precisely on this aspect that we need to dwell especially, and cast a critical eye over the activity of the organizations of the Party and specially, those of the youth, to consider their meetings, the problems which they take up, the discussions which they hold as well as other activities of this nature. If we go into these questions in particular, we will observe many cases of superficial work, of lack of proletarian consciousness and discipline at work, and formalism in the ideopolitical education of the students.

Having interested myself in the activity and meetings of the youth and Party organizations, in the meetings of their respective committees in the middle schools and various faculties of the Ti-

rana State University and the other higher institutes of learning, I observe that there is a great deal of negligence and formalism, that often meetings are not well organized with neither the agenda nor the contributions to the discussion properly prepared. Thus, many meetings are held just to get them over in their turn.

The comrades of the Central Commission for Education have told me how the meetings of the youth organizations to discuss the new statute and regulation of the high institutes of learning were conducted in the University. These documents were read to the students without first giving them the possibility of becoming acquainted with the material, without preliminary discussion of the problems and troubles which interest us in this field. As you know, the consistent application of the principles of socialist democracy in the school, the deepening of the line of the masses, the effective increase of independent action by the youths, the strengthening of the spirit of proletarian discipline at school should find expression in these documents. But the bad and formal organization of the discussion and the meeting could not give results. The regulations were read to the students, there were no comments, and that was all, at a time when there were serious gaps in the drafts presented to us and the above mentioned principles were not embodied in them.

Such meetings are not uncommon. Behind them are comrades of the basic Party and youth organization who have not yet freed themselves from

bureaucratic methods of work. They whine and complain that the student youth are indifferent, show no interest, take no part in discussion and so on. This is not true at all. The students discuss a great deal even heatedly but not in formal meetings which are held just to record who attended and to conform. They discuss after the meetings, in their dormitories, in their free joint activities and everywhere. When their interest is aroused they take part actively in debates, even with their pedagogues, they write flash posters, they ask for special discussions to be organized, and so on. The whole question is how to arouse their interest in the problems under discussion and how to organize these discussions well.

Of course, such a state of affairs in our higher institutes of learning is very serious. At this age, precisely when the young man and woman have a thirst to know and to learn, they do not find the proper interest. Sometimes, they do not find the proper interest in the most important and most valuable meeting, and it is important that they should consider it as such, in the meeting of the basic youth and Party organization. It is only natural to pose the question: Where are the youth to be tempered ideologically and politically when the basic organization does not value them properly, when things are not worked out and organized in such a way that a great interest is aroused among the students? Which is the one place better than any other, to discuss the positive and negative phenomena of life? Where will they gain a

profound and correct political understanding of the numerous problems which arise in the struggle for life and socialism? Where will they learn the essence of the directives of the Party, better, if we do not strike the iron while it is heat, as we should do, on the anvil of the Party, in the basic organization?

It is important to find the reasons why the meeting of the basic organizations in the schools are in many cases purely formal. What is the reason that the pupils and students show great interest in a well prepared lesson, ask numerous questions, and contributions are made by the pupils? This goes on for six hours every day, (without excluding here the cases when the lessons might become uninteresting), however, neither the pupils or students, nor the teachers or the pedagogues are bored. Then, why does the opposite occur in some cases, in some meetings of the Party and youth organizations, which do not take place seven hours a day, but only once a month, and last only a few hours? This is a phenomenon which should be explained and there is no other explanation besides that which I mentioned before. To take an active part in the organization of the Party, to raise important problems there, to discuss the questions profoundly in the light of revolutionary practice and theory, to take measures to implement them, this means that the Party member, student or pedagogue or student or pupil of the youth organization, clearly understands the primary place which the Party's theory and policy occupies, understands



the decisive role of the Party as the organized detachment of the working class.

To master knowledge and science, this is the first duty of the pupils and students — future cadres and workers of our socialist State. They should work tirelessly in this direction and understand everything well, so that in the future, when they graduate, they will be armed to accomplish the tasks assigned to them successfully and creatively.

But it would be a grave error with incalculable harmful results, if, parallel with the study for the assimilation of knowledge, the students and pupils are not tempered with the proletarian consciousness, if their political consciousness is not raised to a high level, if everything is not explained and understood in the light of the Marxist-Leninist theory, in the light of the class struggle. There are dangers in this direction, connected with the stratum of intellectual dangers which can be reduced, avoided, and done away with, only through persistent work by the Party for their education from their youth.

Seen in this light, what colossal importance the work of the Party, its political and ideological education of the students, pedagogues, pupils and teachers has, what great importance should be attached to the meeting of the basic organization of the Party, or the youth, so that its work does not become formal, but that it realizes the great aims the Party has set itself to arm and temper the

new people's intelligentsia with its ideological and political line.

We should always proceed from facts and our objective reality so as to give opinions which are as accurate as possible. The students, pupils and pedagogues and teachers are closely linked with the Party, with the people, with socialism. This means that the glorious road of the Party has educated the people, has tempered them in the spirit of socialist patriotism and they stand on firm ground politically. Not only do our students and the whole of our intelligentsia live in a revolutionary environment, but they also fight intensively for, and are active participants in, this revolution, in the construction of socialism and the preparation of the future communist society in our country. The Party and youth organizations in the schools have done and are doing a very fruitful work to imbue the students and pedagogues with this general revolutionary spirit.

However, this participation and this very important general education of the students and our intelligentsia cannot be complete if, within this general tempering, their special education is not carried out in the way and forms which the Party has defined for them, as for all the strata and classes in our country, bearing in mind their characteristics and specific features.

Therefore, the students and intelligentsia should not see their education and tempering only in their inclusion in the revolutionary education of the whole country, but also in their special edu-

education and tempering, as an indispensable task, as a vital imperative, which strengthens the general revolutionary education and tempering of the whole people.

Understanding the problem in this way, the students and intelligentsia should not consider only the mastering of knowledge and science as important, but should give great importance to their ideological and political education and tempering also. In fact, this should occupy first place. If we do not put the question forward in this way, if we do not understand and act accordingly, we will be unable to fight properly and eradicate the petty-bourgeois hangovers which might endanger the consciousness of these strata of the youth with their specific features.

Our students and intelligentsia should not consider the theory and policy of our Party like some school subjects of merely scholastic meaning, according to which it «is enough to study the subject, to learn the formulae, to use the quotations, to create a cliché and the job is done». Such a study is superficial, formal, bureaucratic, dogmatic and non-creative. Thus, the decisive role of the great revolutionary science of the vanguard is overshadowed. It is precisely our students and intelligentsia who should deeply understand and realize that the theory and policy of the Party, synthesized in books, is the result of the great struggles of the working class, of revolutions, of bloody exchanges with capital, the fruit of the marvellous creativeness of the people, of innumerable experiences, of

failures and victories, and so on. Therefore, being such, the theory and policy of our Party should be learned in the same way, it should be carried forward just in the same way through strivings, struggles, debates, lively discussions and not dull ones, not through the bureaucratic routine or scholastic dogmatism. Hence, the great importance of the meeting of the basic Party organization, or the youth organization, the importance of the discussions and debates in deepening and studying the theory and policy of our Party.

Through the ideological and political tempering with the line of the Party, the students and our people's intelligentsia should assimilate the best revolutionary features of the working class. They should be hard workers, and in the whole of their work and activity, they should be characterized by proletarian simplicity.

This might seem simple and comprehensible, but in life it is neither so simple nor so understandable, for there are many obstacles which can be eliminated only through a profound theoretical and practical education. Take, for instance, the students whose education has been conducted by the Party in a correct Marxist-Leninist road. On top of lessons and study, the great and continuous mass actions of the youth are a splendid tempering for them, an all-round tempering, not only physical, in the meaning of bodily tempering of their health, but also a great ideological tempering; they are the expression of the unity of physical and mental work. Work in production is not just a period in-

serted in the program, without any great ideological and political purpose, which does not serve the unity of theory with practice; it does not have only a simple academic meaning. In fact, the direct participation of the students in production is linked with the concrete building of socialism. The young people go to the mass actions and to the work in production displaying a great enthusiasm, that means they understand correctly the ideological side of this correct Marxist-Leninist line of our Party.

Our youth should understand and apply this ever more profoundly. It should become their habit that one cannot live, cannot create without working, that life without work is not worth living, that life is embellished through work and creation. The Party teaches our youth to understand that in order to learn one must work, and having learned, one should go on learning, for in the process of learning one should create and in order to create one should follow the glorious example of the working class, should work himself, and in the process of work, should learn and create simultaneously. Thus, work is the basis of every activity, work is the basis of creation, knowledge and of its assimilation, and not only mental work, but the combination of mental and physical work, the combination of theory and practice in every field.

Therefore, the Party should elaborate these problems incessantly and theoretically especially with the pupils and students, with the pedagogues

and teachers and the entire intelligentsia throughout their lives so that they become their habit in life and practice. Otherwise there are dangers.

What are these dangers? If we do not march firmly on the road indicated by the Party, the students and pupils who graduate from the University or from various schools, might turn out to be people trained in various subjects, but not tempered from their school days in the proletarian ideology. They will become cadres who will nurture a non-Marxist idea or a superficial theoretical idea, of themselves and of their «ability». They will be pretentious, will think that they are knowledgeable and more capable than everyone and thus are trained to manage and lead the others. Such people will turn into careerists, into bureaucrats, scorning the working class and work. They will have the idea that nothing could be done without them, that life itself would stop without them and even the sun might no rise and set. Certainly, without the ideological and political tempering, they will be bourgeoisified and, as a saying of our people goes, we would have made a rod for our own backs. This is what happened in the Soviet Union and in the revisionist countries. This has not and will never happen with us if the Party works with all its might in all these important directions.

The Party must carry out intensive theoretical work with the students, in the first place, to do away with the individualistic viewpoints which are manifested among the intellectuals and which are

created among them because of their long life of studies. Despite the fact that these studies are carried on in the bosom of a broad collective, the method of work, the study of books, the overwhelming percentage of time occupied by mental work and the individual efforts of each, make the student think that his graduation is the result of his own ability, the result of the individual endowed with special will-power. The student does not understand the task he accomplishes, the knowledge he assimilates, in the same way as the worker who toils in the factory, who builds plants or hydro-electric power-stations. The worker does not separate his own work from that of the collective, whereas the engineer, yesterday's student, many a time shows inclinations that even when writing his signature he is apt to say: «I have designed this project», «I have done it», he goes so far as to ignore, or to overshadow, in fact, the real builders of the project, the workers. With this, I do not mean that the moment of individual creation is to be negated, but it should not go to the extreme and detach itself from the collective creative process. The worker would never say «I have built this project», but «we have built it», «we have worked on it», «we have created it». The worker never divides himself off from the collective, from the class, he is not individualist. The power of the unity, the massive creative force of the class, runs strong in his blood. The workers take pride in their work which they have built together, or in the work in production which they perform together in all the shops of

the factory. It never crosses their minds to draw personal profits or glory from it. Whereas with the engineers, the writers, doctors, directors, especially when they are ideologically not so elevated, this is not always so.

Therefore, this is of great theoretical importance and the Party should educate the youth, students and intellectuals profoundly in what is the meaning, what they should understand and what position they should take in life, before the creative unity of the collective, and the feeling of petty-bourgeois individualism.

In the first place, the creative unity of the collective does not diminish, does not oppress the creative power of the individual, or his personality. On the contrary, it encourages his best features, tempers in him faith in the creative forces, opens up colossal possibilities to think, work, and create, tempers his character and the best human virtues, makes him respected by the others and teaches him to respect, to love the others and link his work closely with theirs.

While the feeling of petty-bourgeois individualism isolates the individual from the masses, compels him to think only of «paddling his own canoe», to work to make his word prevail, to have his own work shown off above everything else. Naturally, with these views, he is an egocentrist, a mean spirited person with a grand opinion of himself. When unable to oppose the great power of the collective such a person conforms, but is not convinced, does not make efforts to be convinced

because his individualistic petty-bourgeois views hinder him from seeing the wide straight road. He becomes conceited, boastful, arrogant, and does not have a correct understanding of democracy and unity.

Through its theoretical teachings and its daily revolutionary struggle, the Party should teach students and the intellectuals in theory and practice, about the historic role of the working class and its Marxist-Leninist Party. The theoretical formulations on these questions are by no means sufficient. There is need for the vivid history of the struggles and efforts on which these formulations are based. Only thus do they become comprehensible, become their habit, and guide.

The Party should teach the students about the leading role of the working class in the revolution, teach them the reasons, the why's and wherefore's and should not allow superficial lectures to be delivered. The students and everyone else should know things and phenomena right through to the end.

Likewise, the Party should teach them, in theory and in practice, what is the unity of the class, the unity of the Party and the unity around the class and its Party. What does this unity mean, how was it created and tempered, against whom was this unity formed, for what aims, on what basis, and what hostile forces did it cope with and is coping with, what victories and what defeats has this unity experienced, where do the dangers come from, what forms do they take, how should these multi-

farious dangers be faced and overcome. As you can see, the question of unity is not a simple formula. These philosophical principles should be considered in detail in all their breadth and revolutionary majesty so that the youth and student of today, the worker and builder of socialism tomorrow, should have these great and vital questions well formulated and crystalized in his consciousness.

If it has these principles well crystalized, then our people's intelligentsia will go to work and fight for the construction of socialism, not with the viewpoint that it will command the class but to be led by the class, to recognise and be happy that it works under its hegemony, to establish close spiritual and material links with it, to link itself closely with the working collective, to eliminate from itself the feelings of petty-bourgeois conceit and of scorn for productive labor. Being close to the class means to help it and to work in production as it does, to advise it, but, in the first place, to receive its advice, to respect its great knowledge, its ability in creation, in accomplishments, to be disciplined like the class. Here again is one of the theoretical themes of great importance which the Party should continually develop with the students and the intelligentsia, I mean the discipline of the proletariat. The discipline of the class is not something simplist, as some consider it, as for instance, within the walls of the factory. This discipline of the class is an accumulation of theoretical, political and practical principles which have been hammered out by the class in bloody fights and encoun-

ters against another big group of principles, idealist principles in the service of capitalism and the bourgeoisie. We continue and shall continue to fight against these petty-bourgeois remnants, still alive in the consciousness of men.

How deeply should the work of the Party, of the basic organization go into these very great problems? Who would say that the hour of history, physics, or of literature is more interesting than the meeting of the basic organization of the Party, of the youth organization, or than the meetings for the courses of the Marxist-Leninist theory, if we put these vital problems forward like this, discuss them vigorously, illustrate them in this manner at our meetings? Not only will such meetings be more lively, more militant, but it will be insufficient to hold such meetings only once or even twice a month in our University and the higher institutes of learning, at schools, in the centers of culture, education, administration and everywhere. And for this sort of meeting, for these kinds of great lessons of the Party and the class, prepared as they should be, all the people will find the time, will go short of sleep.

The task of the Party in the schools, the University and in the Higher institutes of learning, is big and manysided, and it should be carried out to the letter in all its complexity. The tasks of the Party, in the first place, of the basic organizations of the Party and of the youth, and their respective committees should not be understood as just to discuss and to take some momentary decisions, to correct,

for instance, only the unpleasant conduct of some pupil, student or pedagogue. Such a superficial understanding of the work of the Party and of its tasks brings about that formalism and lack of participation in debates at the basic organization, where, more than anywhere else it is necessary to have a proletarian fighting spirit, where a struggle is waged against routine and bureaucracy and the ills which spring from them.

It is said that the program of work in the organisations is not well prepared. Here is the evil, which springs from the fact that the communists are not clear about the problems and the tasks of the entire collective of the school, that they do not feel themselves in a steel-like proletarian unity in the leadership of affairs, do not feel the collective responsibility so that they act as an organized detachment within the greater organized detachment, which is the Party. They might have learned this formula as pupils and students, but they do not act as members of the organized vanguard of the class. The communist students or pedagogues might have learned in theory about the workers' control, the control of the class, but, being Party members, despite the fact that they are not workers in their social status, forget that they themselves should be among the first to apply proletarian discipline in their place of work and militate for this great principle, the workers' control, which mean the class and its Party in power and in the leadership.

The Party should implant deep in the minds of the pupils and students, the communist pedagogues

and teachers the correct concept of the role of the unity and spirit of the vanguard, because, it is only thus that every communist of this sector, of this stratum, will not act separately in an individualistic spirit, but will fight to eliminate successfully the characteristic vacillations of this stratum, will fight against manifestations of servility, of opportunism and of that attitude of inferiors towards the administrative hierarchy based on unhealthy principles.

The pupils, students, pedagogues and teachers, Party members in the first place and, if they are in the front line, all the non-Party youth, pedagogues and teachers will apply themselves and master their subjects with zeal and precision. This requires untiring work both physical and mental, requires the revolutionary ever-enquiring method, demands will-power and discipline, requires, first of all, deep political understanding of all these components which are created and tempered, not by chance but through careful education.

Who will do this besides the Party? Is there a lack of themes for one, or one thousand agendas for the basic organization? No, there is not, there are so many that one can hardly find time to eat, or sleep, let alone work. But one must know how to be selective, to spread out through the various forms of the work of the Party and the State, so that neither is neglected, left without political, ideological, technical or practical check up.

Not a single question, teaching subject, or practice should escape the vigilant political and ideo-

logical eye of the Party, not a single avoidance of the proletarian control, assistance and correction, should be allowed, but the formalism and the feeling of sham non-proletarian authority of those people with the specific characteristics of sick intellectual conceit, must be combatted.

Not a single aspect of the State administration should escape proletarian political control of the Party in the schools and in the University, for it is here that the evils might develop and this could become the source of the petty-bourgeois feelings of bureaucracy, servility, careerism and arrogance among our youth. The Party should keep its political eye open about everything and everybody and should help to correct the people.

The actions of the youth and the work in production are of exceptional importance. The Party should give them special importance in the schools and in the University, so they will not be regarded merely as a final addition to the year's teaching program, a sort of holiday or as time lost. If it is considered in this way by some, even on the quiet, this means that they do not understand at all the colossal political, ideological and pedagogical value of this great educational problem of the youth and everybody. Everyone, but in particular the student youth, from their school days, should be taught to work physically, to toil and sweat, to create with their own minds and hands. With work and at work, the student should be taught in the school of the working class; there he should become acquainted with its strength, its ability, its

steel-like discipline and will-power. With work and at work, side by side with the working class and the class of the cooperativists, the youth, the future worker or cadre, should be taught what proletarian simplicity means, what it is to earn your livelihood with sweat, and not by leading and commanding. There he should see that Albania was liberated through struggle, was built through struggle and beautified through struggle.

A proletarian veteran, who since his childhood has worked as a mechanic to keep himself, his parents and his children, who has suffered the woes of the past regimes, who has known the sufferings and miseries of the working people under the regime of Zog, and the fierce capitalist exploitation while in emigration, who has taken part in the resistance against the invaders and who is the author of the poem dedicated to the fight and murder of Qemal Stafa by the fascists, told me one day: «Comrade Enver, glory to the Party of our working class which brought about all these miracles with struggle, with work and sweat. The young people who group under socialism should never forget the sufferings of the class, the sufferings of the people, their heroic struggles. The Party taught the children of a proletarian like me, now one of them is an engineer, the other an officer and the third is a model worker. I have a pair of trousers at home, I call them a pair of trousers, but they are only a rag patched all over where there is scarcely another place to put a needle. In the time of Zog, those were the only trousers I

had. I've hung them on the wall of the sitting room as a museum piece, and I tell my children: «my boys, look at them and don't forget the Party, don't forget the class, follow the Party, follow the class, always be simple and tireless workers, be valiant like your own people, like the Party. Socialism and the creation of all the blessings must not make you swell-headed, don't forget the past sufferings of the people».

The students and pedagogues should properly understand and take in their hands the great problem of work, and the Party should always make it clear to them that this question is not only part of the school program but a component part of the life of man, it is the true and beautiful meaning of his life. The working class and the peasantry in the factories and fields should draw the youth into work, take them under their patronage and smash the bureaucratic and simple economist viewpoints of those directors who do not understand as they should the importance of educating the younger generation in the physical work in production.

How many themes for the agenda of the meetings of the basic organizations of the Party and of the youth are contained in these vital problems! You have only to choose.

Or let us take the question of the physical and military education of the students and young people. How many Party problems emerge from this important problem of the pupils, students and of the soldiers. I do not wish to extend further on this problem but it should be understood by the youth,



by the students and the soldiers that this education aims at strengthening the health of the young, the progressive education of the youth in the military art, so they will be determined, courageous, soldiers trained from every aspect for the defence of the independence of the country at any moment, for the preservation of the liberty of the people and the defence of socialism and the Party, from any enemy. This is an ideological and political, technical and military education, at the same time. In this direction, the question should be well understood that every student, who performs his military service in this or that form does not come out especially as an officer or commander, but, first of all, he becomes a soldier of the Republic. This question, which I am raising now, is of special ideological importance, so that the idea will not be created that the students who graduate from the University or other higher institutes of learning will serve only as leading cadres or commanding officers, whether in the civil or the military sector.

There are other problems which should draw the attention of the Party and youth organizations in the schools. Our student youth has a high level of development and broad interests. In conformity with this it is necessary that the vital problems of ethics, art, taste, science, technique, and so on, be discussed with the students, looking at them with a keen ideological and political view, through the prism of our Marxist-Leninist world outlook.

Thus, as a conclusion, the whole education of

the school and University youth is a broad, complex, and decisive problem. Only the proper leadership by the Party of all this education, in all its special aspects, will make it possible for us to reap the results we seek. Therefore, the multifarious activities and the meetings of the basic organizations of the Party in the school, the University and the higher institutes of learning, as well as those of the basic organizations of the Labour Youth Union, assume decisive importance.

I am fully confident that the Party and youth organizations in the schools will throw themselves more vigorously into this struggle to carry out the tasks and the instructions of the Party for the all-round communist education of the school and student youth, especially for their ideological and political education, will become still more vigorous and militant and will further revolutionize their entire life and activity.

## ON THE THEORETICAL AND PRACTICAL SIGNIFICANCE OF THE ORGANIZATION OF WORK

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

*June 26, 1970*

Comrades!

An unparalleled dynamism of uninterrupted development and transformation runs through all the life of the country today. Revolutionary movements, initiatives and changes are rapidly following one another everywhere. All this complex and harmonious development, which of course, is not without difficulties, without obstacles and contradictions, creates a new situation, constantly raising before the Party new and many-sided tasks and problems of a theoretical and organizational character, on the solution of which the speed of our further advance towards socialism and communism is largely dependent. Marxism-Leninism and our experience in building socialism show us clearly

that the correct, sound and revolutionary solution of these tasks absolutely demands that they should be studied and treated in a scientific, profound, and allround way, that the entire organizational work of the Party to carry them out in practice must be raised to a new higher level. This is how we should grasp, how we should view, all those tasks and problems which were put forward and thrashed out at this Plenum and which are of particular importance to our socialist construction at this stage.

The whole life of the country, each achievement and victory of the working class, the cooperative peasantry and the people's intelligentsia in the revolution and socialist construction is inseparable from the line of the Party, from the great organizational work of the Party, because it is the leading and directing force of our society. Our Party has always viewed its organizational work and carried it out as a complex including in it the policy and ideology, the economy and culture, science and technology, government and defence, and so on and so forth. In this sense, the organizational work of the Party has always been of a very wide scope, while its application in practice has demanded real creative thought and forms which comply with reality.

Therefore, when we speak of the organizational problems of the Party, we should never allow ourselves to fall into simplification, to narrow and diminish them, reducing them to certain commonplace organizational standards and regulations. I

emphasize this because at times these problems are considered as if they consist only of such matters as the organization of the Party in the basic organizations, expansion of the Party, admissions to the Party, the organization of meetings, and other activities of the kind. Such a mechanical interpretation of the organizational problems of the Party is a very narrow one, nor is it a correct concept that the organizational work of the Party should be understood as restricted only to defining and taking certain purely practical measures without political and ideological content and without a clear perspective of the breadth and depth of the results which we want to attain.

Our great teachers, Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin, teach us that, in the struggle against the bourgeoisie for the triumph of proletarian revolution, the working class has no other means with which to confront the oppressive and exploiting force of the capitalist order except the strength of its steel-like organization, its class consciousness. Even after the seizure of the political power, in the construction of socialism and communism, the working class copes with many difficulties and obstacles, especially, due to its conscious revolutionary class organization and activity. However, both in overthrowing the political power of the bourgeoisie and in building a new society, the steel-like organization of the working class requires of necessity and in the first place, the organization of the party of the proletariat. Without this organization it is impossible to carry out with success the political and

ideological line of the proletariat. It helps, adjusts and accelerates the process so that, in the material and revolutionary conditions achieved — the subjective factor — the working class, can strike the final and decisive blow to crush the old capitalist world and to replace it with the new socialist and communist world.

Therefore, if the ideology and policy of the working class is to be realized successfully, it is necessary to devote great attention to the role of the organizing force of the Party. Otherwise, no lasting victory or success can be attained either in the struggle against capital, or in keeping the political power in the hand of the proletariat, without which no progress can be made in building socialism and communism.

It is from this angle that the organizational problems of the Party should be viewed and applied in practice, that the perfecting of the leading and organizational work of the Party should be fought for. A profound understanding of the leading and organizational, educative and operative role of the Party is an essential precondition to having a powerful party of the proletariat, steeled in battle, capable of understanding correctly, politically and ideologically, all the problems at all times and in any situation, a party which knows how to organize its work perfectly to put its line into practice. And the line of the Party is a broad and many sided one. Therefore, let us bear in mind that by grasping the organizational problems of the Party properly we are, at the same time, arming ourselves

for organizing our work properly everywhere, in all sectors, for accomplishing the tasks which the new stage of development puts before us.

The organizational problems of the Party cannot be detached from its organizational work on all the various tasks and problems which comprise the line of the Party. The policy cannot be conceived apart from organization to turn this line into concrete reality and neither the one nor the other can be understood and applied if our Party is not inspired, moulded, and guided by Marxist-Leninist ideology. The unwavering advance at revolutionary tempo, steels our Party and makes it capable of solving its political, ideological, economic, cultural and military problems in the right way.

But we must not think we have achieved perfection in these problems, that all the communists understand and deal with these matters correctly, nor that we are free from shortcomings and mistakes.

It is a known fact, and it has been frequently pointed out, that the organizational work of the Party, its forms, methods and style are not something petrified, unchangeable, laid down once for all. No, they are dynamic, variable and must be changed according to the stage of development of the material factors and the subjective ones, according to the new tasks and problems which emerge from life, according to the needs of strengthening the Party itself, the State Power, and the entire economic and social order.

As we are all aware, the whole life of our country today is characterized by many revolu-

tionary initiatives and movements and with a broad participation of the masses. The working class, the cooperative peasantry, all the people engaged in manual and mental work, have thrown themselves into mass actions at concentrated blows. The school and student youth are taking part on a broad scale, in production work in the cities and in the countryside. The entire population is taking part in systematic military training for the defense of our Homeland. The workers everywhere, are striving to strengthen and deepen our socialist democracy, to increase and extend their active participation in running the country, its economy and culture. And there are many other events of this kind taking place in our country. The question arises: Is it permissible for us to continue in the organizational work of the Party with the previous forms, speed and methods? Are these suitable for solving the new problems and tasks emerging from this revolutionary situation, this revolutionary drive? It is clear and understandable that they are not. Then what is to be done? We should think about, seek out and find new forms of work and organization which are appropriate to the new situation, which open the road to new phenomena and help to develop and perfect them. With the old methods and forms of organizational work it is impossible to solve the tasks and problems which emerge from the involvement in mass actions of mutual aid, not only one squad or brigade in the cooperative, but the entire cooperative, and not only within the bounds of the cooperative but on a

district level and even beyond it. The same thing should be said also about the State enterprises.

At the same time, the Party and Government organs, schools and teachers can no longer cope with the tasks and problems emerging from the participation of school youth and students in production, by the organizational and teaching methods they use in the classroom. Here new tasks are arising, new problems which are peculiar to the factory, the mine, the fields under crops, or livestock farming, which absolutely demand a new treatment of the organizational work. The old school programs have been overturned and are being radically revised and worked out again on a frontal scale. Or, take the military training of adults: can it be done with the same forms of work, with the same programs as are used in the barracks for those doing their normal military service? Here too we need to think about a new treatment of the problem.

When a new directive is issued the forms of organisation to implement it are defined. Every one and above all, the communists should make their contribution, so that the directive issued and organizational forms associated with it should be the most correct and appropriate possible. At the same time, every one, and first and foremost, the communists, should understand the directive completely since it is only in this way that they can later carry it out completely. Of course, the definition on general lines, of the directive and organizational forms is done at meetings of the basic or-

ganizations, the Party committees, the organs of the State Power and the economy, according to the needs and the objective reality which have required the issuing of this directive.

Nevertheless, either the directive or the organizational forms to carry it out may contain errors. Practice will reveal them, but only if they are followed up in a revolutionary and not in a passive way. What do I mean by this? What I want to say is that every worker, whether a communist or not, when he detects a flaw during the work and has a good idea to correct it, when perspectives have become clearer, should propose changes. But what happens? Often, the worker is indifferent, timid, or hesitant to offer opinions about a directive issued from above, afraid that he might be dubbed arrogant, censorious, or quarrelsome. All these are mistaken, non-revolutionary views.

Likewise the idea that the communist or non-party worker should make his suggestions only to the basic organization or to the administration is not correct, either.

No one prohibits discussion in good faith about improving the work. On the contrary, the Party supports and encourages it. The more the opinions and suggestions brought to the base organization or to the administration are prepared and thrashed out outside, the better. With their discussions outside their organizations and official channels, the workers, party members or non-party, do no harm. On the contrary, they are doing the right thing to discuss a faulty instruction or directive, a form

of organization which is ineffectual, and later, having exchanged opinions — and this need not to be done in official gatherings — they raise the problem in a principled way in the base organization or with the administration, as the case may be, so that it may be taken up this time by the collective, and decisions be taken accordingly.

When we say that the grassroots organization should take independent action, should be revolutionary and militant, this should not be understood as meaning only as a forum, but each of its members also, should act in life on the example of the organization. Without revolutionary communists there can be no revolutionary organizations. Therefore, if a communist, although armed with the decisions and directives of the Party, fails to respond actively in everything and in all his daily revolutionary activity, if he does not try to find the most appropriate forms of organization, method and style, he cannot play his role properly as a leader, as a communist. When the occasion arises, he can and should even act independently in order to carry out the directive, without waiting as do some communists who don't lift a finger and allegedly preserve the organizational forms by waiting for the meeting of the basic organization to criticize some comrade who has violated the directive or discipline.

Why should a communist in the factory or elsewhere wait for the regular meeting to criticize another comrade? In the rest periods during work he should call the comrades around him, inclu-

ding the comrade in question and, tell him the truth to his face. What rule has been broken here? None! What is more, the comrade is corrected. If he does not correct his mistake, then the problem is brought up at the meeting of the base organization, too.

If this is done over all the problems that emerge from the daily life of the communists, how many things and directives will be corrected, how many forms of organization of the work will be improved, how many fruitful problems of principle will emerge for the basic organizations and the forums of the Party and the State.

Whether in the sectors of the work of the Party, the economy, education and culture, the army, or in any other sector where there is work and production, whether physical or mental, organizational matters are of decisive importance.

We say that thought is the reflection of the material world, but it often happens, especially among those who have not gone deeply into things, that they consider it as something which is not subject to order and organization, whereas, in fact, in all cases, thinking, whatever form and shape it takes, is associated with a form of organization, coordination, and order. The question is that in our thoughts, when they reflect reality as it is the organic linking of things and phenomena which surround us, that organization, that order which exists in the outer world is expressed; in other words, they express the logic, the objective dialectics of the material world. On the other hand,

for our thinking to be clear and understandable both to ourselves and even more so to others, it must of necessity be organized, set in order and systematized. Otherwise, ideas become obscure, the problems are put distortedly, and the conclusions do not emerge logically.

We must give great importance to organizational matters in connection with all problems, because organization has a profound theoretical and philosophical significance. The life of society develops according to certain laws, just as nature itself has its own laws. Whether we like it or not, these laws operate, do their work. But men are not powerless before them. They are able to recognize and utilize these laws in order to advance production and the whole life of society. The possibilities of the recognition and use of these laws are different in different social orders. After the transition to socialism, these possibilities are enormously increased. Here a great qualitative leap is made in the development of society, which Engels has defined as a transition from the reign of necessity to that of freedom. But possibilities are one thing and the realization of them in practice is another. The extensive and correct use of the laws of society and nature for the benefit of the all-round development of man and society, depends directly on our organizational work, on the creation of the conditions and the taking of those necessary measures which make their successful operation possible. Unless the work is organized in conformity with the requirements of objective

laws, there exist serious dangers which lead to major failures.

Organization, therefore, should not be considered as something of second rate importance; it is the basis and an integral part of the implementation of the law, or the directive. Good and perfect organization in everything is a scientific thing of great importance. Not only does such perfect scientific organization cause the law, the directive, or the science to be applied, but it advances the science, helps discover the unknown aspects of laws and phenomena. Whereas bad, nonscientific organization, which fails to take in account all the objective and subjective data, is harmful, curbs theory and practice. Therefore, organization is that important thing which is linked with the theory and with the practice.

When the physicist or chemist fail to organize their work well, the scientific laws cannot find their proper application, they cannot act, nor can conclusions be drawn and inventions be made from phenomena and events which, in fact, have not occurred, or have occurred in distorted form because the organization of the work has not been perfect and scientifically sound, but has been lame. This is what happens in all other fields, in industry, in agriculture, education and culture, naturally this is what happens also in the theoretical work, as well as in the revolutionary practice of the Party.

All the agricultural cooperatives are striving to take high yields in farm crops. But can this be

achieved where no care is attached to sowing within the optimal period, to selection of the seed, and to carrying out all the services in time and with high quality? Of course, not. How is that in all the Durrës cooperatives where rice is grown they take an average of over 53 quintals per hectare while in Kruja and Shkodra only 26? How can one account for the big differences that exist in the productivity of the brigades of the same cooperative, or of cooperatives working under equal conditions? All of these things tell of the great role which organization plays, the taking of all the complex measures to ensure success.

I read one day in the «Zëri i Popullit» a very instructive article on the libraries of the cultural centres in cooperatives. In particular, it contained some just complaints that in those libraries one could find no books or magazines on agricultural topics. What sort of organization for study is this? Can knowledge, creative human thought, the most advanced experience, be mastered as the Party recommends continuously, without putting the organization of these problems on the right path? Bad organization of the use of knowledge and experience causes failure to properly apply of the Party line in agriculture. But let it not be thought that this lack of organization affects only the failure to master agronomical technique and that it does not affect the practical work in the field also. There are people who think that a cooperative member can go out in the field and work even if he lacks knowledge, that practical work can be

done without sound organization. No job, light or heavy, mental or manual, can be separated from organization, can be done without organization, and the more perfect the organization the better the learning, the work and the production.

Organization is a powerful means to promote development, work and thinking; it is knowledge which is not inborn in man but must be acquired through hard work, it is knowledge without defined limits, not the same for every job and time, or established as a pattern once for all. Perfect organization is an art based on broad theoretical, political and scientific knowledge, capable of combining the given facts properly, has a clear concept of the objectives to be attained and a progressive, revolutionary spirit which is not intimidated by difficulties, but forsees them. Perfect organization is based on a strong will and untiring work; it takes into account the gaining of time, the application of the latest technique, and other data.

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

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Now I want to dwell a little on another matter, on that of working with people, on the significance of the method and style of this work. It is clear to all of us that the higher and more perfect organization of the all-round activity of the Party,



the large-scale socialist production, the work with the ever greater participation of the masses, also calls for better organized, better qualified and more careful work with people. In realizing this objective, side by side with its Marxist-Leninist content, its militant revolutionary class spirit, the method and style of our Party work plays a very important role. The problem is that through our work we should penetrate into the minds and hearts of the masses and of individual people, persuade them collectively and individually, move them and arouse their feelings, stir them and launch them into actions, and encourage them to struggle for the great cause of the Party and revolution. This is a complicated job. It calls for convincing propaganda on a thoroughly scientific basis. At the same time, it is a special art which must be mastered by all our Party, by all our cadres, organizers, and propagandists.

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

emphasis, differences, and nuances, between different social strata, among different age groups, between different sexes, between town and countryside, in the plains and the mountains, in different districts of the country, without speaking of their particular manifestations among different individuals. In our work with people, in our organizational, propaganda and educational work, we must without fail take all these phenomena into account.

As Marxist-Leninists, we have it clear that the flowering of the personality of each individual is possible only in the ranks of the collective. That is why we attach special attention to the forms and methods of all-round organization of collective work, and of education of the people within the collective. But, in addition to this, the Party has always stressed and stresses the necessity of not being content with only the general work which is done in the collective, of not confining ourselves to this work alone, nor ignoring people's individual peculiarities, their particular preoccupations. On the contrary, we must show that we care about them, know them and treat them thoroughly and solve them their problems correctly, by adopting the necessary individual stands to them.

It is precisely in this way, i. e. as a science and an art, that our Party has always viewed the work with people. It did this during the National-liberation War, when it carried on extensive mass work, as well as differentiated and individual

work with pioneers, teen-agers and old men, with the women, peasants and intellectuals, and so on. Suffice it to mention the great and very fruitful work done during the recent years in solving acute ideological and social problems in the struggle for the all-round emancipation of women and the raising of the personality of the youth, in the struggle against religion and backward customs, the ability and skill of our Party in its struggle to solve these problems precisely by penetrating into the consciousness and psychology of people, both of the masses and individuals, daring to crush the old and supporting with might and main the revolutionary socialist new, which is flourishing in these fields too.

But it is wrong to be content with what we have achieved and ignore the serious shortcomings which can still be observed in our work with people. We should not be satisfied with just the general outward view and massive tableaux of social phenomena, especially of those of the inner spiritual world of men. If we stop at this point, we will not be able to engage in active battle against formalism and bureaucracy, against standardization and uniformity in this work. This will give rise to acute problems of an ideological and political nature.

The work of the Party is, above all, work with the people, and as such, it has many approaches, for people themselves are different, with interests, requirements, problems, and worries of all kinds. Their life is a whole complex, therefore, the Party

should grasp all this complex and must not be one-sided in its work. From the people we should require not only work, production, productivity, realization of the plan. All these are correct, essential and important requirements, but they are not an aim in themselves. With us, everything that is produced and created is done on behalf of and in the interests of the working man. From this point of view, we should severely criticize and strongly condemn the method and practice of certain cadres, especially of the organs of the State and the economy, who are interested in everything, about bolts and cows, but forget what is of paramount and decisive importance in everything — man, concern about his life and health, about his safety at work, about his hygiene and cultured environment, his vacation, education, creation, and so on.

During my visit to Tropoja, I met and talked with a group of geologists working in the mountains of Dragobia. They are doing truly heroic work for the benefit of the people and our Homeland. I asked them how the work was going, how they lived, what problems worried them, what their needs were, and so on. At first it looked as everything was in order, but later it turned out that they had some urgent needs for indispensable things. «Do you see where we work?» they asked me pointing to the mountain peaks covered with clouds, «The snow is knee-deep there now in summer, and in winter it is worse, while our clothes and equipment are for the lowlands». Can it be

that our State is unable to fulfil these needs so that they may work under normal conditions even in the rugged region between the summit of Kolata and the Iron Peaks? That is not the case, comrades! How many of these geologists are working in this region and under these conditions? Not more than one or perhaps two hundred. We are referring to these ones and not to those working, say, in Divjaka of the Lushnja district. Thus, it is not a matter of lack of the material possibilities, but mainly a matter of sufficient concern and a correct approach to this problem. The Party has previously called attention to this problem. Certain measures have been taken, too, in regard to this, but it turns out that it has still not been settled as it should.

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

Our people are marvellous. They are characterized by their proletarian simplicity, their spirit of sacrifice and self-denial, their readiness and determination even to hurl themselves into the flames for the cause of the Party and the people. This is a lofty expression of their faith in the Party, of its close links with the people. This is a colossal force, a force that makes our Party unbreakable and our people unyielding. We should

direct this readiness, this faith in the Party, into good channels and use them as powerful weapon to surmount all obstacles, to overcome all difficulties, to carry our revolution and socialist construction constantly ahead. But in connection with this, I wish to emphasize that we should not permit, in fact should condemn, any manifestation of speculating with these lofty virtues of our working people. Just because our people are simple and modest in their demands, in no way should we slacken our concern to fulfil all those just and legitimate, material and spiritual, needs and requirements, which they have, or, just because our people are ready to respond to any call of the Party, it is not right and there is no reason whatsoever, to call them out to meetings and manifestations hours before they are due to begin, just as it is not right and there is no reason to call them out at night for mass actions, when the work begins during the day and is accomplished in a few hours. There are two aspects here: either certain comrades have no confidence in the readiness of the masses, or they try to cover up their weaknesses in the organisation of the work. It is either one or the other.

Work with the people requires a thorough knowledge of the line of the Party and skill and tact in carrying it out. Not everything can be dealt with and settled in the mass forms of work, at the meetings of the Front, Youth, Trade Union Organizations or in the press. Especially in dealing with social and family problems, in people's inti-

mate affairs, instead of doing good, interference, whether called for or not, may often do harm, by creating great and unnecessary embarrassment among the people, hurting their pride, and some one may be driven to unpleasant actions, which our proletarian morality condemns. We should not forget that people have feelings and hearts, they have their own dignity and personality which, far from violating, we should protect and strengthen in the way our Party teaches us, combatting any arbitrary stand and act from any one whatsoever. It is not a question of covering up the failures and mistakes of this one or the other, but of knowing how to find the most suitable forms and methods to achieve our objective.

In order to do such work successfully it is necessary to enter deeply into the souls of men, to have a thorough knowledge of their opinions and worries, their interests and preoccupations. All this requires common sense, flexibility and tact in the work with people so as to create a warm and comradely atmosphere in which each may express his opinions freely, may lay bare his problems and complaints as to his closest friend. It is known that during the public discussions on the worker's control, the workers and peasants raised many things, put forward many problems and made many remarks about the work and people. But up to that time these things had been hushed up, kept secret. Why? Because they are stifled by bureaucracy, by officialdom. From these instances our Party has drawn and should continually draw its lessons.

This is a matter of major importance, for it deals with the Party's links with the masses, with the relations of cadres with the workers, with the defence and development of the democracy of the masses.

In order to create this warm, free and comradely atmosphere, we should declare resolute war on officialdom which is manifested both in the conduct and attitudes of certain cadres towards the workers as well as in the propaganda, style and language with which we address and speak to the masses. Our cadres should set the example of modesty, of proletarian simplicity, being irreconcilable with any manifestation of conceit and intellectual megalomania, with the domineering spirit which shrivels and smothers initiative, freedom of thought, sound revolutionary criticism and self-criticism. Not only in their relations with the masses, but also with their fellow workers in the organs of the Party and the State they should create a comradely atmosphere in which everyone may express his opinions openly without hesitation, bring up his problems for consultation, make complaints and ask for help.

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

bombastic words, intellectualist terms, a thing which makes communication with people difficult, which puts them at a distance and creates very formal relations. I know that a turn is difficult to make since we have been taught in this tradition and it has become a habit, but we have broken many stronger traditions and habits, therefore we can and must break these traditions and habits too, and give our propaganda a new push ahead.

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

If we look carefully into the life of the family, we will see that many parents, even when they are of high ideological and political level, do not know how to approach their children, especially when their children have reached their teens, fail to take into account the ever growing personality of youth, and do not help them assert this personality, ignore the just and progressive desires and demands of youth, belittling their ability, capacity, and experience, and in their conduct towards the youth resort mainly to reprimands and

dry and boring moralizing, dictate and tutelage. But it is even worse when these conservative and patriarchal methods are used in the schools, too, in relations between teachers and pupils, between pedagogues and students, at the very place where the most qualified and progressive methods of education, scientifically based on revolutionary psychology and pedagogy should be used.

At times our cadres become slaves of these methods unwittingly and without understanding the damage they do. I have been told that in recent years in the army, in order to exert an influence on those soldiers who breach military discipline or the standards of communist morality, they resort to this method; they write to their families. There are even some comrades enthusiastic about this method and consider it an innovation in the style of their educational work. Perhaps this method can be used in some extreme case, and probably, in some cases it may have a certain effect, at least a temporary and external effect. But, in general, it is a very primitive method. It is the same as the activity of those teachers who report their pupils to their parents or to the schoolmaster for unseemly behaviour, thinking that by doing so they have done their duty or that they have solved the problem. Just as the teacher is and should be an older and more mature comrade, a second parent to the pupil, an NCO or officer should be a comrade and a friend, while the detachment where he is doing his military service should truly be a new family for him. Then, is

this not a typically patriarchal method? Instead of turning to the young man himself, instead of appealing to him as a person, we pass over and ignore him and address ourselves to the external, mechanical force of the patriarchal parental authority or, to put it plainly, we take advantage of the fear and bashfulness which the peasant youth especially and, more particularly, those from the mountains, may feel towards their parents. And we must not forget that it is among these mountaineer youngsters precisely because of their selfconsciousness and pride that such hasty and thoughtless action may cause grave psychic trauma. Isn't this a case of ignoring certain important psychological characteristics of their personality?

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

In this manner, all these problems, which always have their own social, psychological and pedagogical aspects, assume a sharp ideological and political character, hamper the further consolidation of the moral and political unity of the people, as well as the uninterrupted solution of the non-

antagonistic contradictions in their ranks. It is for this reason that the Party insists on raising these problems, which, at first sight, may appear to some as social and pedagogical matters which are not directly connected with the work of the Party. So much the more should the acute problems of a direct ideological and political nature, about which we have spoken, be seriously evaluated from this angle, as the business of the Party.

Comrades!

Before we close our meeting, I wish to say a few words about taking the problems we have raised in our Plenum to the base to explain them and organize their implementation.

First of all, it should not be thought that these problems can be solved by organizing a plenary session or calling the activists together, or by analyzing them in general terms at a meeting of the basic organization of the Party. It would not be right, either, to think that, on one hand, we are faced with all the economic, political, ideological and other tasks to be carried out while, on the other, we have the problems which our 10th Plenum raised also, that is, in isolation. No, we must examine and carry out the matters raised in the 10th Plenum together with and while fighting for the carrying out of the important tasks facing us.

We are on the eve of the elections for the

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

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

Great prospects for the further development of the economy and culture are laid before the working class, the cooperative members and our

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

It is high time for us to understand that all this stupendous creativeness requires immediate application in practice. is in contradiction with the old methods of management when the horizons were still narrow and possibilities limited. The numerous projects, fruits of hundred of workers and engineers, can no longer wait for the belated decision of one departmental head. If work is not organized on a broad scale throughout Albania, in all its districts to apply the numerous inventions, designs and suggestions of the workers and engineers of, say, building construction, which we saw displayed at the Tirana Exhibition, building work will not keep pace with our needs and the existing possibilities. We should recognize these possibilities and utilize them to the maximum, but at the same time, we should also recognize the forms of bureaucratic work which hinder us and

which we must fight, for otherwise we can make no headway.

A change should be made in the idea that the center should do everything and that the district is incapable of doing great things. If we proceed from the great objective reality which our Party has created everywhere, that the district and even the locality, is well able to manage and organize bigger projects, we will come to a more correct and realistic conclusion, because, thus, the center too, will give better direction and help. Otherwise, we will have hold ups and bureaucracy. We are often afraid that the base may make mistakes but we forget that we, too, made mistakes in these matters when we were young and do so even now, while the level at the base has been raised and fewer mistakes are made than before.

Then we all know the proverb «he who works makes mistakes». Therefore, we should have full confidence in the base which has now accumulated colossal experience. It would be a crime if we failed to put this experience into practice, if we lacked confidence in it, did not assist and exercise control over disseminating it.

Going deeply into the proceedings of this Plenum of the Central Committee, the whole Party should bring out clearly many key-problems of organization, like these I brought up as examples and not pass over them superficially.

Following the proceedings of this Plenum, the Central Committee and the Government will issue instructions and tasks for the principal district

cadres to work out with the cooperative members the draft-plan of the coming 1971-75 five-year period for agriculture which the coming Congress of the Party will discuss and approve. Comrades, you are well aware of the vital importance of this problem. I need not go into the essence of this problem since you will be closely acquainted with the conclusions which the Central Committee has drawn from the experience, from the possibilities and needs that have emerged so far in agriculture. But I wanted to say on this occasion that these directives and tasks should be very seriously studied and discussed by the leaders of every district before taking them to the base, to the cooperatives and State-farms. I stress this because very often the problems are passed over briefly, approved with conviction, or some times, without much conviction at the beginning, no changes, plus or minus, are made to them and with this spirit they are taken to the base. In preparing the work this way, it looks as if we are preserving the «democratic» forms of work, but in essence we force many things on the cooperative masses from above. However, if the masses are not convinced about the realization of yields and about all the directives issued from above, if these are forced on them without conviction, they become a burden and the demands will become unrealizable.

Here again we come to the major problem of organizing the work of explaining the directives of the Central Committee. One can't go to a big feast with only a farthing in one's pocket. There-



fore, it is essential that propaganda on this problem should be organized on a wide scale from the center to the base. The center, on its part, should take this problem in hand and follow it up step by step with well-thought-out propaganda, not in a confusion of general slogans, but without getting lost in detail either. The district, for its own part, should prepare its propaganda on a large scale, should link the drafting of the plan of agriculture with the propaganda of production, with work to be done for the growing crops and those to be planted, with its own militant and original emulation; the comrades of each district should wrack their brains how to organize everything perfectly.

This is not an easy job, comrades, nor can it be done by one or two persons, therefore the spirit of militant organization for concrete political work, for its technical, scientific, financial and other aspects must be aroused in every body. We should know how to combine our meetings, discussions, consultations and explanations with the many seasonal jobs and we should not forget that the higher the results reached in productivity this year the better will the meetings, conferences and debates be for drawing up the draft five-year plan for agriculture. Any sort of automatic and bureaucratic forms of work, must be combatted, that is to say, the «just-transmit-what-has-been-transmitted-to me» method, without first convincing the people, without taking good organizational measures, without doing creative work in

this direction. It is understandable that such work causes no headaches, but it is fruitless and, naturally, work like this is not for us communists.

Next year we will have the 6th Party Congress. Ahead of us lie the meetings of the basic organizations for rendering account and elections, the Party Conferences, and so on. Should these not be considered objectives which should be achieved with the greatest results in the direction of the strengthening of the Party, its role of leadership at all levels, by improving its composition and extent, by raising the level of its members, by revolutionizing the communists and cadres?

In order to be able to raise profound problems, well supported by scientific arguments at the Party Conferences and at the Congress, it is necessary to start right now to undertake various studies, to sum up the experience accumulated, thus, to do a more scientific job as the Plenum instructed us.

A great deal has been said in the meeting of the Plenum, about initiatives and independent actions. It is precisely in the struggle to carry out the tasks set at this Plenum that the initiative and the independent action of the base should appear in all its grandeur. We must not wait for orders or guidance from above on how to use these materials. Who benefits from the uniformity that is observed in their direction? Why should all matters be necessarily treated always in the same manner everywhere? According to the problems, duties and links it has, each organization of the

district or of the base should take up, analyze and resolve all the problems which are troubling it, one after the other viewing them from the angle of the directives issued by the 10th Plenum.

The time has come to make a sharp turn in this direction. Let the meeting of this Plenum serve as a serious impulse to make this necessary turn in our method of work, in all our organizational work!

**IT IS IN THE COMPLETE UNITY OF PARTY-  
PEOPLE-STATE POWER THAT OUR  
STRENGTH LIES**

*Speech delivered to the electors of electoral district  
N. 219 in Tirana*

*September 18, 1970*

Dear Friends,  
Sisters and Brothers,  
Young Men and Young Women,

Every meeting with the people is a very great joy for me, a real revolutionary school, for from the people we always learn great lessons, their creative ideas, we find inexhaustible energies which give us new strength to fight and work. In particular, I am very glad to come to this electoral zone and meet my electors, because I come not only as your son, as your brother, as your comrade, but also as your candidate and representative in the highest organ of our People's Power.

I greatly appreciate the great honor you bes-

towed on me by nominating me as candidate for deputy to the People's Assembly in this quarter of the capital to which I am bound with unforgettable life-long memories. In this quarter the Albanian Communist Party, this great and wise mother that gave us our rebirth, held out her hand to us and showed us how to fight and how to triumph over the enemies, was founded. The party was created under your protection, under your vigilant eyes, which protected us from the persecution of the spies, the militiamen, and the fascists. Your homes were always open to us. Immortal revolutionaries like Gogo Nushi, Qemal Stafa, Misto Mame, Vasil Shanto, Vojo Kushi, and many, many others with whom I have fought together in this quarter and in the city of Tirana, have come and gone from your simple rooms as if they were in their own homes.

Allow me, dear comrades, brothers and sisters, to thank you from the bottom of my heart and to express my deepest gratitude for the confidence you have shown by proposing my candidature as your deputy in our People's Assembly. This ardent and sincere love expresses your love for our glorious Party of Labor, the heart and brain of our people, which brought me up, educated and taught me, just as it did you, how to fight, how to think and work as a revolutionary, inseparable from our brave, hard-working, and freedom-loving people.

On this occasion I want to assure you that, under the guidance of the Party, I will try with all my strength to be fully worthy of your con-

fidence. I will always be a resolute soldier of our Party, a loyal servant of the people, for the happiness of our beloved Homeland, for the cause of socialism and communism, for the cause of Marxism-Leninism and the revolution.

This will be the seventh time that our people have elected their true representatives in the most democratic way, to the supreme organ, the People's Assembly. A common characteristic of all the election campaigns in our country has been the steel-like unity of the people around the Party. They have cast their votes, one and all, for the candidates of the Democratic Front, since they know that these are among their best sons and daughters and that by casting their votes for them, they have voted for the building of socialism, for the freedom and independence of our Homeland, for its prosperity, for the Marxist-Leninist line of our Party. The Party is sure that this steel-like unity will be still more outstanding in the September 20 elections, when our people, with lofty revolutionary political consciousness, with the maturity and wisdom which characterize them, will cast their votes for their State Power, which was born from the barrel of the people's rifle and which represents their will, desires, and aspirations, and for which we give, as the people say, «not only our votes, but also our lives if the need arises».

Comrades,

On September 20, all the people of socialist Albania without exception, men and women, young men and young women who have reached the voting age, will go to the polls and vote directly for the persons they wish to send to the People's Councils, to the People's Courts, and to the People's Assembly.

In essence and procedure, from the point of view of the rights and obligations of man in an advanced and progressive society, this represents the most democratic form of elections. This can and does occur only in a socialist country like ours, in a country of the dictatorship of the proletariat, where the people are in power and are guided by a Marxist-Leninist party like the Party of Labor of Albania.

Among us, each election campaign assumes ever greater political proportions and expressions of the great popular joy and enthusiasm. Especially on this occasion, when the elections to all the instances of State Power, from the base to the People's Assembly, and including the People's Courts, are taking place at the same time, they constitute a major national event for many reasons.

The electoral campaign represents part of the vigorous revolutionary political, economic and cultural activity of the entire people, of their Party which guides them, of the Democratic Front, of their People's State Power, of the organs of the

dictatorship and of all the persons elected to them by the people, in the most democratic forms.

During the election campaign the working people draw up a balance sheet of their creative work, point to the good and negative aspects of the work and the persons, of the institutions, of the forms and methods of work, criticize the weaknesses and shortcomings, adopt and support progress, promoting to government posts people devoted to ceaseless progress and revolution. The people do this in broad, open, public and free meetings, without the slightest hindrance or hesitation. They have already won the political right and maturity to criticise all those who make mistakes, to pass judgment on all culprits, to praise and encourage those who work well and are conscious of the real force of the democracy of the majority, of our proletarian democracy.

The election campaign this year coincides with the ending of the 4th five-year plan, which was decided upon by the 5th Party Congress. Party and people in unity are proud because the tasks set by the Congress have been successfully realized, and in this great victory are blended the sweat, the maturity and sacrifice of the people's elected representatives to the various state organs.

The results of the elections, which undoubtedly will be excellent, will fill the organs of our People's Power and our People's Courts with persons experienced in this work and with new people who will begin their work in these jobs with the new majestic tasks of the 5th five-year plan, which will

be approved by the 6th Congress of the Party of Labor of Albania to be held in 1971.

The profoundly democratic character of the elections in our country is a distinctive feature of our socialist regime. Things are different, quite different under the capitalist regimes where, they talk a great deal about democracy and elections are held. There are capitalist countries which are called «advanced» and which claim that their elections are democratic. But in some of them women have only recently won the right to vote and that with difficulty, while in some others they have not won this right yet. There are capitalist countries where the right to vote is limited to those who have a certain minimum income, which means that only the bourgeois vote there, those who have large incomes; in some other countries, while the soldiers have no vote, the election lists include even dead persons. There are also countries, as with our country in Zog's time, where voting is done indirectly through second elections. In some countries, the voting mechanism is arranged in such a way that it is not the candidate who has polled the majority of votes that wins, but the candidates of the parties representing monopoly capital.

By these pseudo-democratic methods monopoly capital aims at keeping the people in complete slavery, poverty and ignorance, and at the most ruthless and barbarous exploitation of the working masses. By these methods capital aims to create and constantly consolidate various ways and means to

disorientate, suppress, and smash, the resistance and struggle of the working masses against capitalist exploitation.

The management of the state, the economy, culture, and the army in the capitalist countries is «democratic» only in its label, whereas in fact the iron heel of capital, the law of the jungle, rules there. There they have «democracy» for the rich, not for the poor. They must submit to the laws of this kind of «democracy» which, of course, seeks to create among them the impression that their so-called «democracy», of the «popular» vote, which elects, for example, the senators in the United States of America, is the «most perfect democracy in the world». But the reality in that big capitalist country is entirely different. None of the American senators, whether of the party of the «elephant» or of the «donkey», that is of the «Democratic» or «Republican» party, come from the ranks of the working strata. They do not even come from every fraction of the bourgeoisie. They emerge from those fractions of the top monopoly bourgeoisie which are trained in special universities to occupy the leading posts of the American capitalist state. This is the elite, the aristocracy of capital «de jure» and «de facto». The U.S. cabinet ministers and senators who enter the supreme state organs are, at the same time, directors or board members of the country's big consortiums and banks. Thus far American statistics do not tell of even one senator or minister who has come from the middle strata of the bour-

geoisie, let alone from the working class. This is how the whole body of the social pyramid, in all its directions has been built there. So it can be easily understood what sort of regime, what «democracy» and «free» elections, can be spoken of in that country.

In the other capitalist countries, the external forms may not be exactly the same as those of the United States of America, but they are the same in their content, essence and practice.

In the British parliament there are also Labourites who are representatives of the «trade unions». They pose as representatives of the British working class, but in reality they belong to the workers' aristocracy which is completely in the service of British capital and imperialism. This «Labour Party», allegedly in opposition, also comes to office but this has nothing to do with the working class coming to power, because British capital is always in power there, while the Labourites are only the servile administrators of British capital and stooges of British imperialism, a «stratum of the political technocracy» in service to monopoly capital.

It is the same in France and Italy too but in these two countries democracy allegedly takes a more pronounced form. There are «communists» in the Italian and French parliaments. Socialists take part in the government. Coalition governments with all sorts of parties bearing «democratic» labels, are frequently formed, but in reality they are all bourgeois capitalist parties. Now the

French and Italian revisionists, who preach the taking of political power through parliamentary procedures, in a peaceful way, and in coalition with the capitalist bourgeoisie, are seeking to enter the future governments in order to serve capital. But despite all these variations, just as in the United States of America, in these countries, too, it is monopoly capital that rules. Therefore, if the working class and the working masses of these countries do not delve deep into all these variations, which, for the naive, give the impression of a certain «democracy», if they do not analyze and fight them with determination, they remain only vain illusions, which, by throwing dust in the eyes of people, which at some crucial moments makes it possible for the capitalist domination to be prolonged to a certain extent.

It is clear that there is a great gulf between our socialist world and the capitalist world. The Albanian people, with their heroic national-liberation war led by the Party, against the nazi-fascist invaders and the local landlords, crossed the capitalist abyss and entered the socialist society, which they built and are continuing to build completely and successfully, again with struggle and efforts, with tireless work and unceasing revolutionary impetus, with maturity and scientifically, daily tempering themselves politically and ideologically with the teachings of the Party and our triumphant ideology, Marxism-Leninism.

When we cast a glance at the past we are proud of our heroic people, of our glorious Party

which surmounted so many struggles and battles, so much suffering and misery, indescribable difficulties and obstacles, and emerged victorious, which, without becoming discouraged and disheartened for a single moment, but with gigantic spiritual and physical strength, built a prosperous socialist society, the new, people's Albania, on the ruins of the society with antagonistic classes.

Many of you young men and young women, our children, who will go along with us to the polls to vote for the consolidation of our Republic and People's Power, had not yet seen the light of day when our Republic was founded. Today, not only you who are voting for the first time, but also those who have not reached the voting age are flooding like a huge irrestrainable river into schools and to jobs in the fields and factories, building railroads, combines and hydropower stations, extending the network of electric cables from end to end of Albania, building schools and piercing mountains. All our people are proud of you, the younger generation of our country, because while growing up, you are thinking, working, and fighting ever better as true revolutionaries, you are the guarantee of a more prosperous development of our Homeland, because you yourselves are creating this prosperity with work, sweat, and knowledge, because the great cause of all our people is yours, because nowhere in the world has the problem of youth been grasped and solved so correctly as it has been by the Albanian people and their glorious Party of Labor.

But I wish to tell you one thing, that your children, our grandchildren, will be still more capable, still more learned and hard-working than we are or you are, because our Party is and will always be a steel-like revolutionary party which will imbue one generation after another with an iron character, with a great progressive culture, it will temper them in Marxist-Leninist ideology, making them tireless workers, with pure and noble hearts, will free them from many encumbrances from which we suffer today, will make them always indomitable fighters of our revolution, will sharpen to the maximum their vigilance and struggle against the class enemies, either internal or foreign. The beautiful and prosperous life which will flourish continuously throughout Albania will be a source of satisfaction to them and will always spur them on to forge ahead and not to rest upon their laurels. The great work of the people must be continued, it must be perpetuated. It has been handed down to us by our heroes and the past generations. It is our first duty to raise this bequest higher and higher, and to pass it from hand to hand, from heart to heart through the coming generations. This is what all the people with their Party in the lead are working for.

Comrades,

Four years ago, on the occasion of the elections of the deputies to the People's Assembly, the Party and the Democratic Front announced their

election platform which summarized the main objectives of the 4th five-year plan, the directives of which were approved by the Party's 5th Congress. They were solid, well hammered out tasks, for, as you all know, inspired from the call of the Party's Central Committee, the working masses struggled until they succeeded in working out a truly real, mobilizing, and revolutionary plan.

And here today, on the eve of the new elections and the closing of the 4th five-year plan, on behalf of the Party and of the Democratic Front, and as your representative in the People's Assembly, reporting on the work accomplished, I declare that, as a whole, the targets of the 4th five-year plan for the development of the national economy and culture have been fulfilled ahead of schedule, or are being successfully fulfilled. The 4th five-year plan for total industrial production and for investments has been fulfilled in 4 years and 7 months; the plan for construction and assembly work has been fulfilled in 4 years and 4 months. The production of food grains, the main task we set before our agriculture and our national economy in general, during the 4 years 1966-1969, was realized according to plan, the tasks of opening new land, the tasks concerning education and others were overfulfilled.

All this shows that the revolutionary impetus of the masses, their conscious mobilization, cause all our predictions, however bold to be exceeded.

On this occasion, on behalf of the Central Committee of the Party, the Government and

myself, I express my unbounded gratitude to the heroic working class, the cooperative peasantry, and the people's intelligentsia of our country, for these historic achievements. In particular, I congratulate all the workers, peasants and intellectuals of the city and district of Tirana, who, during the whole 4th five-year plan, as always, mustered all their efforts, and in a high revolutionary spirit, honorably fulfilled the main tasks set by this plan ahead of schedule

There is no doubt that many difficulties and obstacles have been encountered on the road to the accomplishment of these tasks. Difficulties and obstacles are met in the smallest and simplest jobs, let alone in such a mighty deed as the struggle for the fulfilment of the five-year plan. But they have been successfully overcome thanks to the high revolutionary spirit, enthusiasm, devotion to work, and great ability of our marvellous people, thanks to the consistent implementation of the line of the masses and to relying, above all, on our own inexhaustible availabilities and efforts. The fact that our working class and the other laboring masses, led by the Party, were more thoroughly acquainted with the demands of the objective laws of socialism and with the scientific processes which have to do with the development of the economy and culture helped to make them more conscious of the policy of the Party and their tasks and to increase their efforts to raise the efficiency of labor, to further strengthen organization and discipline, to raise productivity, to improve the quality of production, and so on.



Therefore, in the future, too, we should further intensify our efforts to broaden our knowledge of the social and technical sciences, because the solution of any important task or problem of socialist construction is unthinkable without making the masses conscious of the objective necessity and the scientific way of tackling and resolving it.

In addition, it is essential to raise and strengthen still more the role of the working class in the management and check-up on the whole life of the country, as one of the unshakeable Marxist-Leninist principles to carry our revolution forward.

In the whole complex, harmonious, and rapid development of the economy, as always, industry has played the main role. The productive potential of this branch, set up during the years of socialist construction with the toil and sweat of the working class and all the working people, has been further extended and modernized. The average annual rate of growth of industrial production during this five-year period has been over 14 per cent, or more than two times higher than that during the previous legislature, and much higher than that of any capitalist and revisionist country of Europe.

During the 6th legislature an important qualitative change began to take place in the structure of our industry. New mines were constructed, the first steps towards the creation of modern chemical and metallurgical industries were taken. The fuel basis was strengthened and the production of electric power was increased 2.4 times in com-

parison with 1965. The mechanical engineering industry is well underway to becoming a powerful factor in the development of the entire economy. Now, these branches taken together account for one third of the total volume of industrial production.

As a result of the advance of socialist industrialization, new underground wealth, new mineral, oil, gas, and coal fields have been discovered. Utilisation has begun in some of them, and their economic value is being increased by local processing. Others are waiting to be exploited and drawn into the general economic circulation during the new five-year plan.

The results achieved in the production of electric power are speeding up the rates of the country's electrification beyond previous expectations. With the present level of electric power production we have created the indispensable initial basis which will allow us in the future to pass over at faster rates on a broader front, to modern intensive production in all branches of the people's economy. Electric power will be used more and more to lighten the work and increase its productivity, not only in industry but also in agriculture, in construction work and transport, as well as to fulfil the new needs to which the rise of the living and cultural standards of the population will give birth.

We know that there are quite a few countries (either capitalist or revisionist) in the world which produce much more electric power per capita than

the People's Republic of Albania. Nevertheless, none of them has carried out the electrification of all the villages, which in our country will be completed very soon, not in November 1971, which is the set time-limit, but as it seems, one year earlier, in November this year. The accomplishment of this by no means easy task in so short a period is truly a great and historic victory. This is what is meant by the superiority of the socialist order over the capitalist order. Thus, it is in deeds that our Party and working class show their high appreciation of the work and role of our revolutionary peasantry, the stupendous and unsparing contribution they have made, are making and are always ready to make to the socialist construction and the defence of our Homeland, to the consolidation of their alliance with the working class and the dictatorship of the proletariat.

A special role has been played by our mechanical engineering industry in raising the level of mechanization of labor, in carrying out many creative and revolutionary initiatives of the working masses with regard to setting up new factories, departments and production lines relying on their own resources. Our gifted workers, technicians and engineers, have designed and built many simple and complex machines and tens of equipment, simply or in series. A further deepening of the technical and scientific revolution demands of necessity that this branch of industry be ceaselessly strengthened and developed. The Party has never viewed it as just a

base for repairs or the production of spare parts but as a starting base which must be gradually turned into a fullfledged machine building industry. For this branch this is a fully realizable objective prospect which the Party is preparing with patience and perseverance.

Although the main forces and means have been used to develop our heavy industry, the Party has in no way neglected our light and food-stuffs industry. The construction of new factories and reconstruction of part of the existing ones, have gone a long way towards increasing the production and assortments of commodities for broad consumption. Now the stage has been reached, without slackening the struggle for quantity, ever more efforts must be made so that the commodities produced for the people will be more durable, simpler, better-looking and cheaper.

Outstanding ideo-political, economic and social victories have been scored in these last 4 years also in the socialist development of the countryside. The collectivization of agriculture has been successfully accomplished in the remote mountain areas. Socialism has now become a direct social and economic order in the daily life and work of the peasants of these regions as well. Conditions were created such that the peasants of these regions simultaneously and with revolutionary courage, overthrew many things from the old economic, social and spiritual world: they freed themselves from private property and private enterprise, from individualist psychology and seclusion, trampled underfoot

many old enslaving customs and beliefs, lit up their houses with electric light, and so on. With all these things taking place at the same time, they really uprooted something which had defeated, oppressed and strangled them for centuries on end. For this, like all the Albanian peasants, they are grateful to the Party because, under its guidance, they emerged on the broad and shining road of socialism, on the road of prosperity and a happy life.

The successes achieved in agriculture have been greater than ever before as regards the increase of yields, the increase of grain production, opening virgin lands, the extension of the irrigated area, mechanisation, and the use of chemical fertilizers. In 1969 food grain production was 187,000 tons higher than in 1965. With these high and stable rates of advance in grain production in recent years, the possibility of the final solution of the problem of ensuring our bread within the country is being created.

We are aware that in the field of agriculture, there are some quotas set in the 4th five-year plan which cannot be fulfilled. Consequently, there have been some temporary difficulties in supplying industry with agricultural raw materials, such as cotton, but which have been overcome by the measures taken by the Party and the Government.

All the material conditions have been created and are being strengthened from day to day so that our agriculture may proceed with sure steps towards its development and intensification. Along with these, a decisive role now belongs to the subject-

tive factor: the improvement of organization and management, to the raising of the cultural and agro-technical level of the peasants and the agricultural workers as a whole. Deepening the technological and scientific revolution and the process of specialization and cooperation, combining the untiring work of the cooperative farmers with the use of scientific knowledge, have become that essential condition without which agriculture cannot be carried ahead at the speed required by our socialist construction.

In order to weigh and appraise the results of the development of economy correctly, the Party has used one fundamental and unvarying criterion: how much and in what way has social production served to fulfill the ever growing present and perspective material and cultural needs of the people. The daily life of every city and village family, and every worker, the economic, social, and cultural indices prove that the life of the people is changing, that it is unceasingly improving.

The unprecedented narrowing of the difference in wages and salaries, the removal of every sort of tax on the population, the complete establishment of compulsory 8-grade schooling throughout the country, the increase of the young age groups in the total population in conditions of the rapid population growth, the setting up of a wide network of social-cultural services virtually in all the villages, these are some of the outstanding successes that have characterized the rise of the well-being of the people in these recent years.

In order to give a more complete idea of this question, I shall mention some data. During the years 1966-1969 the national income increased at an average annual rate of 9.3 per cent. Such a rate has not been recorded during this period in any other country in Europe. On this basis the real incomes of the workers, employees and cooperative peasants have increased too. In 1969 23 per cent more commodities per capita were sold to the people than in 1965.

A turning point is being reached in housing construction. The great revolutionary initiative that has burst forth almost in every city to build dwellings with voluntary labor is one of those important factors that have opened new prospects for the rapid and complete solution of this acute problem for the lives of the working people.

It is the duty of the Party and the State, the mass organisations and all the working people, to study and generalize the best experience gathered from all over the Republic, so that it can be spread throughout the whole country.

An integral part of the growth of the cultural level of the population are the results achieved during this five-year period in education, culture, art and literature. This school-year, in all the categories of schools there is a total of 622,000 pupils and students. 125 out of every 10,000 inhabitants in our country participate in higher education. With these indices our country has emerged in the front-ranks of the European States, leaving many of them behind in this field. The 8th plenum of

the Party's Central Committee gave the people a clear program of action in the field of education. This is an extensive and long term program, therefore its implementation is not a question of one or two years. What is important is to take in hand its individual links, to solve the most urgent tasks as they are raised by life and in the order that our material means permit. The initiative, critical spirit, and creative thought of the masses will teach us, as always, how to overcome these difficulties too and to accomplish with honor this deed of the Party which is of incalculable importance to the fate of socialism in our country.

In the capitalist countries and wherever the modern revisionists are in power, the picture is diametrically opposite. In general, the laboring masses in those countries meet difficulties in fulfilling their material and cultural needs. In one country after another, there are strikes and protests by workers, demanding a rise in wages and a halt to the skyrocketing prices, fighting for improved working conditions, extension of social insurance, for freedom and political rights, extension of education and its democratization, and so on and so forth. And in those cases where some improvement is made, this is always reached after a long struggle which the workers are compelled to wage, and is always accompanied with a further intensification of their exploitation.

The results achieved in all our fields of activity constitute a powerful foundation on which the whole of our development during the coming five

year plan will be based. As is known to the whole people, in accordance with the general orientations set by the Party's Central Committee and the Government, work is now going on throughout the country to map out the new five-year plan. In the agricultural sector it has already become the subject of a broad popular debate. Before long, the same thing will be done in the other sectors of the economy and culture, too.

The instruction of the Party is that, on this occasion we must effectively draw out the creative ideas of the broad masses of workers, of the whole working class and cooperative peasantry, of the specialists and technicians, of people of the base and the cadres, that we should take into account and utilize all those colossal possibilities created in the ideological, political and economic field by the increase of the cadres in numbers and experience, by the revolutionary initiatives of the masses, by their ceaseless mass actions, by the rapid progress of the technological and scientific revolution; that we should utilize all that rich experience accumulated by the advanced economies and vanguard elements in all fields.

In the coming five-year period, too, socialist industrialization will remain in the center of the development of our national economy. The main objective of this five-year plan in this field is to build such projects, especially of heavy industry, which, from the viewpoint of their technical level, their technological processes, and the proportions of production, will raise our industry to a new,

higher, and more modern stage. The Ferronickel Metallurgical Combine, the complex plant for deep-processing oil, the opening of large iron-nickel, chrome, phosphorites and coal mines, the commissioning of the «Mao Tsetung» hydropower station at Vau i Dejës, the beginning of the work on the Fierzë hydropower station, as well as many other projects which will be constructed during the coming five-year period with the fraternal internationalist aid of the People's Republic of China, will play a decisive role in the transformation of the People's Republic of Albania into an advanced industrial-agricultural country.

The working class, the specialists and technicians, all the managers of production should concentrate their efforts, first and foremost, on improving the organization of the work, on the maximum utilisation of all the productive capacities, on raising the productivity of labor more rapidly, and on further improving the quality of the products.

In agriculture, too, the tasks envisaged for the new five-year period are great and inspiring. The production of food grain will almost double, the production of industrial crops and of livestock products will greatly increase, fruit-trees will increase two-fold, etc. The aim, here too, in field crops and stockraising, is to reach such yields that will testify to a high level of organization and work, a really modern and advanced agriculture. The ceaseless increase of output and a good harmonization of the development of field crops with livestock are the course which our agriculture should

take in the future in order to achieve as soon as possible, a satisfactory level of fulfilment of the needs of the people for staple food products and of industry for raw materials.

The state will continue, as heretofore, to invest large sums for the further mechanization of agricultural work, increased chemical fertilizer, the provision of high yield seeds, for drainage and irrigation schemes, and so on. But the peasants, on their part, following the example set by the advanced brigades and economies which have already reached many of the targets set for the coming five-year plan, should increase their participation in work, carry out all the services which agricultural science requires on time, and utilize to the maximum the many facilities which the State created and the advantage which the cooperativist order provides.

All this development and these great transformations which will be carried on during the 5th five-year plan in our economy, as always, will certainly bring about a further rise of the material and cultural standards of the working people of town and countryside, will increase the real incomes of the population, narrowing the differences between the city and the village, and will increase the number of people employed. The life of the people will become more prosperous, happier, and more cultured.

Obviously, we are taking great tasks upon ourselves for the coming five-year period. But the revolutionaries have never been afraid of major

tasks. And that is why they are revolutionaries, because they carry out heavy and difficult tasks but heroic and glorious ones at the same time. Our people, accustomed to marching ahead regardless of difficulties and obstacles, by adding scientific knowledge to their revolutionary impulse under the guidance of the Party, will honorably accomplish, as always, the gigantic tasks which the coming five-year plan puts before them; they will certainly emerge victorious in this glorious battle too, which will raise still higher the reputation and potential of our beloved socialist Homeland.

All the successes we have achieved are due to the correct and consistent Marxist-Leninist line of our Party.

Since the day when Albania embarked on the road to socialism, it has been clear to the Party that the new social order could be built only by a conscious, determined and politically enlightened people, by a people who would view all the tasks raised by the revolution, through the clear prism of Marxist-Leninist policy, as tasks which served the interests of socialism, the building of their prosperous, cultured, free, democratic, and sovereign life. At the same time, the Party was aware that the struggle to build socialism required that the masses should be armed with the most essential scientific knowledge, with the best experience accumulated by mankind throughout the centuries in the struggle for the mastery and transformation of nature.

For the correct Marxist-Leninist policy of the

Party in all its aspects to be carried out by the working masses in a creative, and not in a dogmatic way it was essential to have them thoroughly grasp and absorb it, to have it thoroughly permeate their thinking and deeds. And it is precisely because the Party took this course that Party and non-Party members, the cadres and the rank and file workers in our country, have always viewed the tasks set for them with a keen political eye, even when they have not known «the great theory». It is this circumstance which has made them resolute fighters for the line of the Party so that their struggle to carry out this line has been crowned with success. Our task is to keep this political determination and readiness of the masses always alive, to strengthen it further, to transform it more and more into an inner ideological conviction, into a basic characteristic of our social life.

Our experience so far has taught us that the fulfilment of this task is achieved through the continuous education of the Party, of the Democratic Front, the broad masses, and especially, of the younger generation, with Marxist-Leninist ideas. This is how the Party's orientation that all the teaching and education in the schools should be pervaded by Marxism-Leninism, that our schools should train not only capable specialists but also determined revolutionaries, should be understood, and this is the purpose it should serve. Such political training cannot be given through campaigns nor through organized forms alone, it should accompany the workers and illuminate every step of their li-

ves, at work and at home, as collectives and as individuals, by involving the masses in revolutionary actions and by using all the other means of forming public opinion.

In addition, for the successful construction of socialism, the Party and the State had to wipe out ignorance, the great educational and cultural backwardness the people had inherited from the past. They were aware that this could be done only by making education and culture accessible to the masses, by spreading learning and scientific knowledge among them on a broad scale. It was not a matter of engaging in an undertaking of a purely illuminist character but of closely linking the raising of the educational and cultural level of the workers with the tasks of socialist construction, with the actual and prospective problems of this construction. Therefore, together with the building of industry and the development of agriculture and the other economic and social sectors, the Party took important measures for the training and continual development of cadres who, together with the workers and peasants, blended with them, work, strive and advance our economy, education, culture, the whole life of the country. Thus, the Party filled that great deficiency inherited from the past.

In the efforts to spread culture among the masses all those sound progressive and democratic spiritual values and traditions which our people had created in the course of centuries were properly valued. The scientific study of the history of our people, the creation of Albanological studies on a sound Mar-

xist-Leninist basis, which has achieved thanks to much serious study and important archeological and archival documentary discoveries, threw more light on the great culture of our people from ancient times, which the chauvinist and reactionary scholars of Europe had shrouded in silence.

But the cultural heritage of the past alone, could not satisfy the demands of the builders of socialist society. This had to be supplemented and raised to a higher level by the development of the new popular culture. Consequently, our art of socialist realism, our theater and music, our painting and sculpture, our literature of all genres, has taken an unprecedented leap forward during these years. A rich, variegated creativeness and high ideological and aesthetic level has characterized the works of our gifted writers and artists. Their works, inspired by the ideology of the Party and nurtured by the inexhaustible fountain of popular creativeness, have rendered a valuable contribution to the education of our youth and workers as a whole with the lofty ideals of our Homeland, of socialism and communism.

The great, all-round, and complex transformation of the entire life of our society along socialist lines could not be effected in a spontaneous and haphazard manner, or according to the practice of the petty bourgeoisie «whatever the day may bring». It was necessary for the Party to teach the people how to work in a new way, how to organize and direct the work so that it might yield the best possible results. Therefore, the problem of both

the over-all and the detailed organization of the work, has been and remains on the order of the day for the carrying out of each task and the fulfilment of each plan which the workers have undertaken or will undertake. Organization, which is being continually strengthened, has brought and brings out better the value of political and ideological work, of the school, and of the knowledge disseminated among the people. The combination of the organization of the work with these factors, has been and will remain in the future the decisive condition of all successes. Where organization is lacking or poor, anarchy and turmoil arise, and there is no room for political work.

In order to give full play to the creative work and thought of workers, it was necessary to strive to rid the outlook of the people of the fog of the past, the idealistic views, religious beliefs, patriarchalism, backward customs and practices, individual petty bourgeois inclinations, narrow personal interests, and so on and so forth. All these constituted a major obstacle to our economic and social development because they strangled the active and effective forces of our society, especially the youth and the women. Therefore, they had to be rooted out. This, of course was not an easy thing to do, because it involved the inner convictions of every worker, his thinking and spiritual situation, it involved traditions and norms cultivated over centuries. But the Party set to work with patience and tact, and the results are colossal.

What has already been achieved in this field,



and everybody knows it, is nothing less than a revolution. Many of the most tortuous threads which kept many workers hitched to the old world were broken once and for all. The principal factor which ensured success in all this struggle was the throwing of the masses into the revolution. The mass actions and revolutionary movements which burst forth with unprecedented impulse shook the most pronounced hangovers from the old world and led to the further emancipation of such dynamic and militant forces as the Albanian youth and women. Bringing to light and launching all these forces into revolution was the historic duty of the Party and the working class which they fulfilled with honor. Guided by the Party, these two forces became the decisive factors in the progress of new Albania, for the construction of socialism in our country.

The continuous strengthening and tempering of the socialist consciousness of our new man, his spiritual emancipation from the survivals and influence of the old world, remain a capital task of the Party, in the future, a task of vital importance to the fate of the revolution and socialism.

The Party has never separated the building of socialism from the sacred duty of defending our socialist Homeland. It has striven with success to have the broad masses of the people take the question of defence in their own hands. In all this work we have been guided by great Lenin's teaching that every good citizen should be a good soldier too, and every good soldier should be a good citizen at the same time. The whole of our people, old and young,

men and women, are advancing on this road today. We make no secret of it, we publicly declare, that we are proud of the fact that every citizen of the People's Republic of Albania learns how to wield every sort of weapon, studies military art, is acquainted with every inch of his motherland, loves it, beautifies it, and defends it from any foe and in any circumstances which might arise. With us, army and people are one, united like flesh to bone around the Party. Our army is an army of the revolution, it is characterized by real proletarian democracy, iron discipline and fiery patriotism. We must always keep and strengthen our People's Army like this, constantly enhance the vigilance and fighting readiness of the whole people, as the reliable guarantee of the defense of all the victories our people have achieved and will achieve in the future.

Thus, the tempering of the new man, politically clear and resolute, willing to shed the last drop of his blood in the interest of the Party and the people if the need arises, with the lofty qualities of communist morality and with a consciousness cleansed of many of the stains of the old world, constitutes the greatest victory of our Party in these years of colossal struggle and work. Herein lies the source of our people's great revolutionary impetus which has burst out like an irresistible avalanche and which characterizes our whole national life.

We have traversed a glorious road. The experience we have amassed comprises an invaluable treasury. We should continue to advance on this

road in the future too, to enrich and raise all the accumulated experience to an ever higher level.

Comrades!

Socialist Albania not only follows the course of events on the international arena vigilantly but also fights actively to influence them in a revolutionary way.

Whether the bourgeois like it or not, she goes about her own business and exerts a positive influence on the course of events in the world, not by the size of her territory or the number of her population, nor by atomic weapons, but with the Marxist-Leninist ideas, which inspire her, which she applies, defends, and spreads through the whole world. From this point of view Albania has immeasurable strength. The capitalist world pretends not to take her into account, but it is obliged to reckon with her for Marxism-Leninism is an ideology and a guide to action and struggle for all the world proletariat and the oppressed peoples.

World capitalism achieved a great, but temporary, success when the Khrushchevite clique betrayed Marxism-Leninism in the Soviet Union, and was followed on this road by other revisionist cliques in power in some countries and in some pseudo-communist parties. Socialist Albania and the Party of Labor of Albania stood and are standing firm before the imperialist and revisionist pressure. Both the imperialists and modern revisionists did

everything in their power to drive us into submission. But all their attempts were smashed. This great fact, the determined fight of our Party, could not fail to exert its influence in the international arena, on the Marxist-Leninists of the world, and on the small and enslaved nations struggling for freedom and independence.

When the bourgeoisie and the modern revisionists saw that these methods did not work with socialist Albania they changed their tactics but not their aims. They began to smile at us, to say that they wanted diplomatic relations with our state, to expand trade, vowing that they entertained no evil aim towards our country. For some time now, they have been claiming that allegedly a wind of liberalism is blowing over Albania, and interpreting every diplomatic act of our state as a turn in our policy. They record their changes of tactics towards us, as our changes towards them.

We have not made any change in our policy. If we established diplomatic relations with the Scandinavian countries or with Switzerland yesterday, we are willing to establish similar relations also with the Latin American republics tomorrow. This has been the desire of our Government ever since Albania was liberated and our people came to power. Others did not like it, for they were under pressure from or were attached to the chariot of those great powers which entertained hopes of seizing power from the hands of our people through internal and external plots, and of bringing the bourgeois cliques back to power. However, not only

were they unable to achieve their aims, but life confirmed that no great power whatever is able to impose its will on socialist Albania. Everybody should behave correctly towards our People's Republic, respecting its full and inviolable rights. Albania has not made nor will she make any concession in the principles of her correct, internal or external, policy. In reality, the capitalist and revisionist countries have no illusions whatever, but even if they did, our powerful State of the dictatorship of the proletariat and the glorious Party of Labor of Albania are ready to discourage them in this direction.

We have declared and declare again that we wish to establish good and correct relations also with states having regimes contrary to ours, provided they respect the freedom and independence of our Homeland, its sovereignty, territorial integrity and all the achievements of our people's revolution.

On the other hand, all the imperialist and revisionist states which have adopted a hostile stand towards socialist Albania have been and will always be rebuffed by us. They have heavy political and economic debts towards Albania, which cannot be wiped out by empty words and demagoguery. The inevitable revolution in those countries will atone for the crimes which have been and are being committed, not only against the People's Republic of Albania, but against all the peoples of the world.

It is precisely for the triumph of this revolution that the People's Republic of Albania, the Alba-

nian people and their Party of Labor are fighting, and it is precisely for this reason that socialist Albania enjoys deep sympathy among the peoples of the world who represent a force the imperialist-revisionist powers must reckon with.

Let me make myself clear, socialist Albania is not the center of the world: the axis of the world is Marxism-Leninism, our revolutionary doctrine. If in Europe, socialist Albania, a tiny, independent and sovereign country, is connected with this steel axis, in Asia great China with its colossal territory, its 700-800 million inhabitants, its advanced industry and agriculture, its steel-like People's Army equipped with atomic weapons has embraced this axis — Marxism-Leninism. But this is not all. There are other socialist countries marching on the Marxist-Leninist road, there are other genuine Marxist-Leninist parties in all parts of the world waging a heroic and self-less struggle against imperialism, social-chauvinism, social-imperialism, the reactionary bourgeoisie and the revisionist parties. There are millions of proletarians and whole peoples in the world fighting for freedom, for bread, for land, for their factory, for human dignity. Then the question arises: who is making concessions, we or our opponents?

We make no concessions. The situation is developing favorably for us, for the revolution. You very well remember what difficult situations we have experienced, and if socialist Albania never bowed down to anybody at that time, it will not do so today. At present the enemies of communism

and Marxism-Leninism — U.S. imperialism, Soviet revisionism and all their satellites — have become weakened, they are in a deep crisis. To regain their wind, to reinforce themselves for new wars, they are compelled to make some concessions. We must not forget this. The unjust predatory wars they wage are inseparable from their capitalist regimes, from their policy and ideology of capitalist ownership.

The history of the peoples of Europe knows a series of upheavals which have been described as Barbarian invasions. The incursions of the Huns and of other nomadic tribes, destroyed states and empires, badly damaged the civilization mankind had created until that time. It took many centuries for mankind to drawbreath and recover. At present, too, U.S. imperialism and the capitalist world are striving to invade countries and continents, to oppress the people and bastardize their culture, to spread degeneration and the American way of life, etc. They do this by means of the dollar, by corruption, and the force of arms. But they do not disdain to use a motley army of «tourists» and «visitors», as well.

The betrayal of the Soviet revisionists and their associates who have flung the doors of the Soviet Union and of the other countries they rule wide open to foreign capital and the dissolute capitalist life, to spies and degenerates, has whetted the appetite of the reactionary capitalist bourgeoisie of the various countries in regard to the flood of tourists which in the revisionist countries, has

taken the proportions of the ancient barbarian invasions. Foreign currency has become the idol of the modern revisionists who swear by it. They have pinned their hopes on the income from tourism to boost their shaky economies. They pose as fashionable and civilized supporters of democracy and democratic liberalism, although they are selling out their homeland and lowering the dignity of their people. They disseminate degeneration among the youth, they encourage the speculation and crime which this heterogenous mob of tourists, to whom all the doors are wide open, even in intimate family matters, bring with them.

A state which respects itself and its people, which fights for progress, which does not allow its freedom, independence and sovereignty to be endangered, which wants to develop the lofty virtues of man and keep them pure, can never follow the filthy capitalist ways and practices of revisionism. Our State of people's democracy does not act in such a way.

The enemies describe the People's Republic of Albania as a country closed to foreigners. There is part truth and part slander. Yes, the People's Republic of Albania is closed to enemies, to spies, to hippies and hooligans, but it is open to friends, Marxist or non-Marxist, to revolutionaries and progressive democrats, to honest tourists and all those who, irrespective of their political viewpoints, want to come to our country to rest in its beautiful environment and amidst our valiant, generous, and industrious people, without trying to interfere

in our internal affairs or to engage in subversive work. And such men and women flock by the thousands every year to our country, and return satisfied to their countries to speak with sympathy of the Albanian reality. We respect the progressive-minded democratic French journalists and other who are given the possibility to go everywhere in our country and, on their return, write realistic and friendly reports of what they have seen, of course, within the limitations of their world outlook. We have respect for the German, French, Austrian, and other scientists, the Italian agronomists, who do not think the same as we do politically, but after becoming acquainted with our reality, write about it in friendly and sincere words.

I was told once that, some time ago, two foreign industrialists from whom we had bought some machinery came to our country. Before leaving, after having visited some cities, they told our comrades among other things: «The reactionary press conducts slanderous propaganda against your country, but we found your country beautiful and advanced, entirely different from what we were told. But we must tell you that, on our coming here we wanted to verify three things, with our own eyes. Therefore we walked the streets of Tirana, Durrës and Elbasan day and night and observed everything attentively. First, the newspapers abroad write that there is a Chinese army in Albania. We searched and searched but we did not see a single Chinese soldier. Second, we tried hard to find a drunkard in the street or in a cafe but we

couldn't find even one. Third, abroad they say you are starving, so, wherever we went throughout Albania, we looked for a beggar seeking alms, but we did not find the beggar either. Believe us, we have seen all this for ourselves».

Socialist Albania must never become a hotbed for capitalist-bourgeois degeneration. She is neither dazzled nor captivated by the dollar or the rouble. She is growing and developing healthily on the brilliant road mapped out by her Marxist-Leninist party. And, on this correct, honorable and dignified road, she meets innumerable sincere friends everywhere in the world. The People's Republic of Albania and its people have loyal comrades, in politics and ideology, but they also have such friends who love and respect them for their bravery, maturity, for their industry, for their correctness and moral courage in the world arena.

The betrayal of the Khrushchevite did great harm to communism, a new danger threatening mankind and the whole world. Not everyone was aware of and understood this danger, indeed some do not understand it properly even now. In the history of international communist movement the Party of Labor of Albania has the merit that it understood this danger and declared merciless, uncompromising war on it, regardless of the sacrifices involved. A determined war was declared on it also by the Communist Party of China and the People's Republic of China. Under the complicated circumstances and in the political-ideological chaos created by the Khrushchevite betrayal, some consi-

dered the resistance of our Party of Labor as correct and principled, other as adventurous and quixotic. There were even some who accused us of having sold out to the imperialists. But, apart from our friends and comrades who approved and defended our just and selfless struggle, even the hostile imperialist-revisionist coalition which was fighting us knew well enough that we had not sold out. Being imperialists, some underestimated our strength and predicted that the socialist regime in Albania would survive only a few weeks, for, referring to their Bible, they said, «David is fighting Goliath». On their part, in the early days when they were enjoying the fruits of their betrayal, the Soviet revisionists said that, at the first real pressure they would exert on the Albanian communists, we would fall on our knees before them.

History proved that it was they who yielded and are yielding before the steel-like Party of Labor of Albania and the Albanian State, wanting to stop the polemics, wanting the resumption of trade, the re-establishment of diplomatic relations, etc. Being unable to bite our hands, the Soviet revisionist traitors want now to kiss them, but the fist of the Albanian people and communists is clenched, it has struck and will strike them with ever more force.

They know very well that the Albanian people, the Party of Labor of Albania and the People's Republic of Albania, are their sworn enemies, monolithic and invincible. Neither the sabre rattling or invasion threats of the Brezhnev-Kosygin traitor

clique nor its olive branch demagoguery go down with us. Their fascist military adventures do not frighten us and we are fully prepared to face them successfully, while we do not swallow their blandishments, demagoguery, subversion and credits, with which they cannot deceive us at all. They cannot conquer our fortress either from within or from without. The only road for us is the road of struggle, and we shall struggle against them up to the complete victory of socialism and communism.

Recall, comrades, the different stages of the glorious struggle of our Party against modern revisionism. Today the correctness of its Marxist-Leninist line, its correct predictions and its consistent decisions are confirmed by the facts and the course of historical events.

The Khrushchevite revisionists tried with might and main to extinguish the polemics between the Marxist-Leninist parties and those parties which had betrayed Marxism-Leninism, between the Marxist-Leninists and the modern revisionists. Not for one moment did the Party of Labor of Albania accept this anti-Marxist maneuver of the revisionists, which was aimed not only at covering up the betrayal of the renegades, but also at supporting and assisting their tactics and strategy. With the «cessation of the polemics» the revisionists were seeking to have the communists themselves legalize the fight against communism, to have the revisionist anti-Marxist deviations accepted as a «new contribution», and what a contribution to the treasure of Marxism-Leninism of the present times!

Of course, the principled and courageous fight of our Party caused the modern revisionists great harm and prevented them from achieving their main aim. They were badly exposed step by step in every action, internal or international. This was a great success of Marxism-Leninism over modern revisionism.

The polemics and the fierce struggle of the Marxist-Leninist parties and the revolutionary communists the world over, not only exposed their counterfeit coinage, but also prevented the Khrushchevite revisionists from going down in history as Marxist-Leninists and establishing their hegemony over the international communist movement. A division was made between the Marxist-Leninists and the revisionists, a process which is developing successfully. This is another great victory of Marxism-Leninism over modern revisionism.

Defeated in this great ideological struggle, the Khrushchevite revisionists strove and are continuing their efforts to dominate the different revisionist clans. But here, too, the polycentrism, contradictions, and quarrels amongst the revisionist cliques ruling in the revisionist states and parties, are seriously undermining the desperate efforts of the new Soviet chauvinist bourgeoisie. The ruling revisionist cliques are at loggerheads and have deep contradiction with the Soviet revisionists, while those leading the revisionist parties in the capitalist countries are daily identifying themselves more closely with the various political factions and trends of the local reactionary bourgeoisie. This

too, is another success of Marxism-Leninism, because the camouflaged ideological enemy is being exposed and routed.

Some of the pseudo-Marxists in power are seeking to regroup the foreign factions dissenting from the Soviet revisionists, to «rehabilitate» them and take them over to a «Marxist» platform like theirs. This is a hopeless effort and the Marxist-Leninists will never be deceived by these bankrupt somersaults.

Imperialism, the highest stage of capitalism, is condemned by history to be wiped out, but its disappearance should be accelerated. Today in the international arena the progressive revolutionary forces are clashing with the regressive counter-revolutionary forces; the capitalists, imperialists, the reactionary capitalist bourgeoisie are clashing with the working class, with the laboring peasantry, with the revolutionary intelligentsia. The forces in conflict are not divided by brick walls, and the level of political and ideological clarity is not the same everywhere. The revolution which is on the rise has not and cannot have identical trends and intensity everywhere. Of course, many factors intervene here, positive and negative factors clash, but the struggle, with its efforts and sacrifices, clarifies things, eliminates the negative aspects, strengthens the positive aspects. Politics, ideology, the development of the economy and culture play their positive or negative role, according to the actual conditions of the conflicting forces. In this great revolutionary encounter the duty of Marxist-Le-

ninist parties is to bring political clarity to the masses of the people, to show them who is the enemy, where he is, how he hides and organizes himself, how he exploits us, how he and his allies must be fought without mercy, how should we organize ourselves so as to hit him with all our weapons.

U.S. imperialism is the main and most savage enemy of the people. This should not be considered as a mere slogan. In all the parts of the world it is absolutely necessary to organise a fierce struggle of the peoples against this ogre. But U.S. imperialism is not the only enemy of the peoples. It has the backing of many of its capitalist friends who try to preserve their rule and domination over the peoples they are exploiting through coordinated international actions, with many forms of pressure or national oppression, through political, ideological, and military alliances with U.S. imperialism, irrespective of the natural disagreements and contradictions amongst them. To pretend that you are fighting U.S. imperialism, while, on the other hand, failing to fight or to strive to weaken its friend and ally whom you have right at home, while failing to fight the modern revisionists, at the same time means that this fight against U.S. imperialism remains only a slogan. U.S. imperialism wants to rule the world, it sucks the blood and appropriates the wealth of other peoples it maintains military bases and intervenes with weapons where ever its capitalist friends see their positions endangered. Thus, it intervenes with all its might not merely

to save the skin of a Lon Nol, but, in the first place, to defend its political, economic and strategic-military interests.

But let us move on to other enemies who are no less dangerous, less savage, or less cunning than the U.S. imperialists. These are the modern revisionists, with the treacherous Brezhnev-Kosygin clique of the Soviet revisionists at the head.

By exposing and fighting these enemies you render the greatest of services to your people, to your party, Marxism-Leninism, socialism, and the revolution. It should be forcefully affirmed and reaffirmed once again that in this way you are rendering the greatest internationalist service also to the people of the Soviet Union and to the genuine Soviet Marxist-Leninist revolutionaries, whom we do not confound with the revisionists.

«Peaceful coexistence», as understood by the Khrushchev clique who seek peace with anyone at any price and make hysterical calls «to forget what divides us», to look at what unites us», has pleased the imperialists. Now the imperialists and revisionists are jointly seeking to befog the minds of men, so that allegedly anyone who thinks and acts outside their slogans is a warmonger, an out-of-date, unfashionable, politician. And therefore if some «intelligent» persons abroad may ask: «This peaceful coexistence, which, you Albanian communists, accept — where does it come in, how do you understand and apply it?», we have a duty to explain this to everybody.

For the Party of Labor of Albania there are two.



kinds of peaceful coexistence, the Leninist and the Khrushchevite revisionist peaceful coexistence. We stand for the first and are against the second. According to Leninist coexistence, which is consistently applied by our Party, we stand and fight actively for the revolution, we never give up the political and ideological struggle to defend our victories and Marxism-Leninism on the national or international fields. We are against oppressive, predatory, imperialist wars, but we stand for just wars and actively help the people fighting against, economic, and other sorts of slavery; we are against physical, political, economic, and other sorts of slavery; we are against U.S.-led imperialism and Soviet-led modern revisionism, we stand for world revolution and actively fight for it. We support all the progressive movements politically and ideologically, we stand for and desire to maintain good correct relations, to develop trade and cultural exchanges also with countries and states which have regimes different from ours, provided these relations are based on principles acceptable to both sides, without interference, political pressure, blackmail or threats against each other. We are neither against a just and real peace in the world, nor against real, complete, and general disarmament.

This is the leninist coexistence that the Party of Albania implements, whether others like it or not. The Party of Labor of Albania and the Government of the People's Republic of Albania are well able to judge and evaluate the danger of in-

ternational conjunctures, to appreciate who are friends and who are enemies, and they will not lead their homeland into crooked combinations, prepared or hatched up by bankrupt politicians intent on stacking the cards.

The Khrushchevite revisionist peaceful coexistence is in flagrant opposition to Leninism. It adapts itself to and reflects the whole ideological, political, economic, organizational and military course of the traitors to Marxism-Leninism. For the revisionists, peaceful coexistence means, in fact, ideological reconciliation with the enemies of the revolution and socialism, a reconciliation reached after many somersaults and stunts by the clown Khrushchev. This ideological and political reconciliation with U.S. imperialism and the reactionary world bourgeoisie was achieved because the Bolshevik Party of the Soviet Union was destroyed, the construction of socialism was destroyed, the Patriotic War and Stalin were discredited, the Komsomol degenerated, socialism in industry and agriculture was undermined, the terror within the country was increased and counterrevolution was strengthened and restored to power. All these «successes of communism» in the Soviet Union were so great that the Khrushchevite peaceful coexistence flourished: U.S. imperialism, from an enemy of communism and revolution, became the closest ally and partner of the Soviet Union. Investments from the United States of America and other capitalist countries flooded into the Soviet Union and the other «socialist» countries. In other words, the capitalists

are financing the «construction of communism» in the Soviet Union. Now, as is known the Titoite groupings, the Soviet revisionists, and all the Warsaw Treaty member countries implement the Trotskyite-Bukharinite theories about the integration of U.S. capitalism, Bonn revanchism, and Japanese militarism into socialism.

Modern revisionism, as a powerful bourgeois anti-Marxist and anti-Leninist trend, having come to power in the Soviet Union and in the other socialist countries, would carry out in these countries the transformation of the socialist society into bourgeois society, would give world capitalism tangible proofs that this transformation is real, that revisionists and capitalists could enter talks, could come to terms, could adopt joint decisions in their common interest against socialism and the revolution. The forms and masks that they used were indispensable, efforts were made, just as today, to cover everything with the name of Lenin. The capitalist reforms of the Soviet Union, according to the Khrushchevite revisionists, are «Leninist» measures, «the party of the entire people» is a «Leninist» concept, the denunciation of Stalin as a «criminal» was «Leninist». To put the Soviet Union up to auction and sell its riches to the capitalists, this is «Leninist»; to attack and occupy a socialist country like Czechoslovakia is «Leninist», to keep the socialist countries occupied by the Soviet armies, although 20 year have elapsed since the end of the war — again this is «Leninist»; to attack socialist China and Albania, this is «Leninist», just

as the alliance of the Soviet revisionists with the United States of America and the agreements they have signed with the Bonn revanchists and Japanese militarists are «Leninist». And the list is far from complete.

The Soviet Khrushchevite modern revisionists are the greatest traitors international communism has known so far, because, by betraying Marxism-Leninism, they have put the Soviet Union, its great prestige won thanks to the heroism of the Soviet people, its economic and military power, against the revolution, against the world proletariat, against the liberation of the peoples. From a base of the revolution they have turned the Soviet Union to a prop of world capitalism. Therefore, to support these traitors is to betray the revolution and the peoples.

The Khrushchevite peaceful coexistence, which the Party of Labor of Albania exposed with all its strength, is a reactionary counterrevolutionary, political platform, which aims at the destruction of socialism, which assists the struggle against Marxism-Leninism and supports world capitalism which has plunged into great crises. In a word, it is aimed at extinguishing the revolution and the national-liberation struggles of the peoples.

The peace which the peoples of the world want and strive for, is not to the taste of the U.S. imperialists. Soviet social-imperialists, world capitalism. They are enemies of peace. To them peace means their domination over the world, over the peoples. To rule to enrich themselves, to extend

their spheres of domination and plunder, they are bound to suppress the resistance of the peoples and enter into conflicts with and wage predatory wars with others who have the same aims. Imperialism, social-imperialism, and the whole of world capitalism, continue to live according to this policy, therefore at any time, whether of «relative peace» or of «local war», the various imperialists are always preparing to unleash local partial or world wars. During these preparations they demand that the peoples sit quiet, approve and applaud their actions. Those who oppose their dark aims are labelled as warmongers, as enemies of peace, against the lowering of tension. And if the peoples rise, arms in hand, for the freedom and independence of their countries, aircraft, cruisers, and tanks, are rushed to suppress the «rebels».

All these atrocities are committed in the name of «peace», of «peaceful co-existence», in the name of the capitalist bourgeois «culture and civilisation».

Capitalism and the great imperialist powers have unleashed the wars in the world. Now they are preparing again and will unleash them if the revolution does not deprive them of this possibility. They cover up their actions, their predatory wars with formulae, with demagoguery. Besides the club and bomb, they have set up broad propaganda network everywhere, a host of parties with all sorts of pseudo-democratic, pseudo-socialist and revisionist labels, to deceive and poison public opinion, to split the unity of the peoples in struggle and revolution against capitalist domination. Therefore, no one

who fights for the cause of the revolution and the people can sit by with folded arms in the face of this imperialist-revisionist course, before their aims and maneuvers. To react, to rise against all the evil and deception of this course means to serve the cause of the people.

The Albanian people, their Government and the Party of Labor of Albania that leads them, have declared open war on this course and its protagonists: the U.S. imperialists, the Soviet social-imperialists, and the reactionary bourgeoisie. Albania has endured great suffering and misery at their hands. Towards their peoples, we have been and are friends. But if Albania has not been wiped from the map of Europe, this is due to the heroic struggle of her own people. This should be clear to everybody abroad. The internal factor has been decisive, — without it there would have been no free Albania. The external factor, that of the heroic Soviet Army, was the secondary factor. And this is true today and will to be true tomorrow as well. Socialist Albania is and will continue to be, free, independent, sovereign, because it is strong, because it is a truly socialist country.

The policy of the People's Republic of Albania is clear and firm in defence of the lawful interests of its people and those of the freedom of the peoples and the revolution. Its policy enjoys the sympathy and support of all the progressive and revolutionary peoples. It is hated and fought only by our enemies, while it is respected by all logical

men, whether or not they agree with us. This is the reality and it is very positive.

We never separate words from deeds, do not conceal our opinions, but express them openly, we do not recognize the bourgeois labels, nor can we apply them to the bourgeois states with which we have established relations. We are correct in our relations with other states and we demand the same behavior towards our country. We have never held out our hand to anybody for charity, and neither shall we ever do so. We are not revisionists. The life of every citizen is sacred to us. We do not sell our Homeland and the freedom won with so much blood for rags. Advantageous trade, yes, we have and we will have ever better commercial relations with all those capitalist countries which desire it and which behave correctly towards the People's Republic of Albania. We are ready to increase our trade relations with them.

The Soviet revisionists will say, as usual: «What sort of Marxists are you to trade with the capitalist countries and not with us!» We say to them: «You are renegades, you are among the worst capitalists. However, from the viewpoint of state interests, if we were to consider trade with you, do not forget that you have great debts towards Albania, political, ideological and economic debts, and even if you were to settle them completely and publicly the People's Republic of Albania would still think twice about whether you are worthy to have some exchanges of commercial goods. And this is an entirely Marxist stand, because by expos-

ing you the revolution and communism gain. You are demanding that we should open at least a small window to you so as to have it as capital for the exculpation for your great betrayal, but you should understand well that we would not give you even a drop of water on your deathbed.

Our attitude towards you has been carefully weighed, is correct and adopted in the light of Marxism-Leninism. The documents of our Party prove this, they prove our Marxist patience and your fascist savagery, our political maturity and your adventurism. You hit us, we fired a volley at you; you thought you could liquidate us, we overwhelmed your plans, exposed you, and the world recognized your real countenance.

The Second World War ended 25 years ago. However, with the exception of a few states, all the other so-called free, independent and sovereign states of Europe, are occupied by foreign armies, by the Soviet and U.S. armies. The irony is that while these two imperialist states never stop talking about peace and the freedom of the peoples, about democracy and national sovereignty, about complete and total disarmament, about the prohibition of atomic weapons, in reality, as their imperialist policies coincide they are becoming friendly with one another, have signed a series of treaties, have divided their zones of influence and their coordinated actions are seen everywhere in the world. The armies of these two big powers keep Europe under occupation, they are armed to the teeth and continue to arm themselves, one under the sham slogan

of the «defence of the free world» and the other under the sham slogan of the «defence of the socialist world». They have perfected and built up large stockpiles of atomic weapons and are doing everything in their power to preserve their atomic monopoly. France, which is independently developing her atomic power and, in this way, disturbing their tranquillity and foiling their hegemonic plans in Europe, is for them a «rebel». But, in particular, it is the glorious socialist China of Mao Tse-tung, which also possesses the atomic bomb, that is such a nightmare to the U.S. imperialists and the Soviet revisionist social-imperialists that they even mistake the aerials of our radio-stations for missiles.

The People's Republic of Albania has its word to say on all these problems and she has always said it and has acted accordingly. And so she will continue, always. She has faith in the justice and support of the people.

The NATO treaty is an aggressive alliance in which the United States of America and the German Federal Republic are dominant. Its aim is to fight communism and keep all its member countries under the heel and dictate of U.S. imperialism. The aggressive NATO forces oppress the peoples of Europe and dictate the U.S. hegemonic policy to them. The so called «independent internal and external policy» of the NATO member states is just as free and independent from U.S. dictate as the internal and external policy of the Warsaw

treaty member countries is free and independent from the Kremlin dictate.

With the betrayal by the Soviet revisionists, the Warsaw Treaty has been transformed into an instrument for the enslavement of the peoples of its member countries. That is an aggressive treaty, as has been proved by the occupation of Czechoslovakia and the invasion threats against Rumania, Yugoslavia, and Albania. Socialist Albania withdrew from this treaty, and the Khrushchevite revisionists called us traitors to socialism, while the capitalist states welcomed this move in hope that we would make approaches to them. But both sides were disillusioned. We pursued the only correct Marxist-Leninist road, we helped socialism and we were not among those who tied themselves up with the capitalist states.

Together with the exposure of the Moscow revisionists, the Party of Labor of Albania also exposed the activity of their stooges in the satellite countries. When we were exposing the Novotny clique and later the Dubcek clique, Brezhnev and Kosygin were kissing them. We know how things ended for them and for Czechoslovakia. Indeed it should be pointed out that to justify their rape of Czechoslovakia the Soviet revisionists, did not fail to proclaim that the Dubcek clique was collaborating with the Bonn revanchist government. Now Czechoslovakia, which is called «an independent and sovereign socialist country», lives under the heel of the invader, under the terror of the invader and the local Quislings, while the Kremlin

clique has signed a treaty of friendship with the Bonn revanchists.

The Soviet modern revisionists say that tension in Europe has been lowered, but, every month the Warsaw treaty armies carry out more military exercises than there are Sundays in the month. They say that they must be prepared against the enemy, but the German revanchists, the plotters of yesterday, have become the «fine men» of today. The Moscow-Bonn treaty was signed, and it was proclaimed that allegedly peace had been secured in Europe, that allegedly German imperialism and Soviet social-imperialism had guaranteed the borders of the states of Europe. Nobody was asked about this treaty, but the revisionists claim that everybody should accept and applaud it. In Europe, however, there is a small socialist republic, Albania, which not only does not accept it and does not applaud it, but, on the contrary, denounces it publicly and this not in a spirit of contrariness, but for sound reasons. We think that there are other states in Europe too which cannot agree with this treaty, but at the moment only the voice of Albania can be heard in opposition to all those who approve it.

Why are we against this treaty?

Germany came out of the war as a defeated power after inflicting great suffering on mankind. She should have signed a peace treaty with all those countries who fought against her and won. The clauses of this treaty should have been such that German revanchism would never again be able to hurl the world into a new slaughter. By signing

the Moscow-Bonn treaty, the Soviet Union capitulated to the imperialist powers, to German revanchism, and trampled upon the rights of all the peoples who shed their blood. On this occasion, too, the revisionist Soviet Union showed itself as a state which defends only its own chauvinist imperialist great state interests to the detriment of other peoples.

A peace treaty with Germany should have publicly and internationally confirmed the existence of two German states. The Moscow-Bonn treaty left this aside, violated the sovereign rights of the German Democratic Republic, accepted the status quo of Berlin, perhaps made other concessions to the German revanchists, and placed the German Democratic Republic at the mercy of the coordinated will of the Kremlin and Bonn.

The Soviet revisionists have made the German Federal Republic their equal partner, have greatly raised its credit in Europe and in the world, while the capitalist countries, the allies of Bonn's Germany, have neither recognized the German Democratic Republic, nor do they even want to mention it by its name, but as «the Pankov government».

The Moscow-Bonn Treaty did not consider Poland as a partner worthy to participate in it, and the question of the Oder-Neisse border is left to be settled through indirect channels, or behind the scenes, which of course, leaves the way open for the continuing subjection of Poland to the Soviet revisionist blackmail. Naturally, this is linked with the fact that Bonn does not want to

recognize the borders of the German Democratic Republic.

The Moscow-Bonn treaty has been constructed in such a way that the Soviet revisionists will get the lion's share of Bonn's loans while their satellites, who must obey Moscow's dictate, will get only the crumbs. This is why the Warsaw Treaty armies are found in all the other revisionist countries: they are there to keep a tight rein on the desires of the lackeys.

The Munich treaty is not mentioned at all, and this shows that the present clique in Czechoslovakia is an obedient Soviet puppet.

The big fuss about the Moscow-Bonn Treaty as a factor to lower tension in Europe is a fraud, for this ill-famed treaty will sharpen the contradictions between the capitalist countries of Europe and its three main beneficiaries, the United States of America, the Soviet revisionists, and the Bonn revanchists.

It is also quite clear that this treaty aims at creating a certain tranquillity in Europe, at freeing the hands of the U.S. imperialists and Soviet social-imperialists to settle in their favor, that is, to extinguish, the liberation struggles of the Vietnamese and the other peoples of Indo-China, of the Arab and Palestinian peoples, of the peoples of Africa, and to prepare for their major aggressive war against China.

The ink on the Moscow-Bonn treaty was scarcely dry before the renegade Brezhnev hastened to Kazakhstan, Tajikistan, and Kirghizia, and

Marshal Grechko to Mongolia, all areas bordering on the People's Republic of China, where the Soviets are building up large military forces. No propaganda whatsoever can cover up the anti-China character of these visits.

For these and many other reasons, how could the People's Republic of Albania consider as just, such a treaty concluded between two imperialist powers, one, a defeated but unpunished imperialist fascist power, unrestrained by a peace treaty, and the other an imperialist-expansionist power which plots against and threatens the freedom and independence of Albania? And if we consider this treaty from a European viewpoint, it is signed between two imperialist powers which want to make the law in Europe. Although the hegemony of the Soviet revisionists and German revanchists, has the blessing of the United States of America at this stage and a «sickly smile» from Britain and, especially, from France, its sole aim is to elbow the others out, until a new international conflagration has ripened. The Germany of Bonn is like the kidney in the middle of the fat. She is the first partner of the United States of America in NATO, she is the first economic power in the Common Market, and now she has become the partner of the Soviet Union, as well. Weimar began with the Willy Brandts and ended with Hitler. This new polarization of the European and world imperialist aggressive forces is aimed at strangling France. They seek to crown such actions with another aggressive act, the «European

Security», which would mean nothing other than the subjugation of the European states to the dictate of the United States of America, the Soviet social-imperialists, and the German revanchists. This is a new pact of the Briand-Kellogg type, and we know who concluded that pact and how it ended.

One would have to be naive in politics not to detect the aims of these imperialist plots; one would have to ignore or betray the cause of the peoples if one were not to fight these plots, or show remarkable short-sightedness in the case that one sees them but hopes that the conjunctures will change of their own accord. The rise of the Hitlerites is still vivid in the memory of men. It was neither Albania nor the Scandinavian countries which set Europe on fire, but Hitlerite Germany.

The People's Republic of Albania is against the so-called «European security», for it spells European enslavement, suppression of the freedom, democracy and independence of the European peoples by the great imperialist powers and all the capitalist groupings ruling the other countries of Europe and which are blindly following in the wake of this criminal activity.

Some say, «You Albanians are crazy, you are going against the whole world». This is not true. We are not crazy and, far from going against the majority, we are with the whole world against the minority. We are the majority, our enemies are the minority, and we shall defeat them.

The fact is that all this hatching up of imperialist plots by the minority, is being done in a

great fever of uncertainty for the ruling cliques. The peoples of Europe are moving, the workers and youth are moving, the fire of revolution is building up. Herein lies our indomitable strength. The enemies and their agreements will be consumed in its flames.

The so-called «European security» under the sponsorship of the two great imperialist powers, the United States of America and the revisionist Soviet Union, aims not only to enslave Europe, but also, and this is the main aim, to give a free hand to these two aggressive powers to dominate the world.

Blood thirsty U.S. imperialism cannot live long if the people of the world whom it mercilessly oppresses and exploits make its life impossible by rising in liberation struggle against it and the satellites which support it. The economic might of U.S. imperialism has built up and is constantly expanding a great atomic arsenal, has established military bases the world over, and wherever dollars, intrigues, and subversion do not achieve its ends, its armed forces intervene.

But the course of events in the world shows that U.S. imperialism is being shaken to its foundations, that its striking force has been greatly weakened. Within its empire and in the ranks of its aggressive alliances, too, it is going through serious crises, it is being eroded by contradictions which not only cannot be solved, but are constantly growing and deepening.

All this great crisis that world capitalism,



headed by U.S. imperialism, is going through, is due to the rise of the impetus of revolution in the world, to the revolutionary struggle of the world proletariat, to the national-liberation struggles of the peoples on all the continents. The economic crises, the military defeats the U.S. imperialists are suffering in their armed clashes with the peoples, the mighty strikes of the workers in all the capitalist countries, the armed occupation of the liberated countries, the fascist terror they are exercising everywhere to suppress the black people, students, etc. who have launched an offensive for their rights — all this shows nothing else but the rise of the revolutionary struggle and the weakening of the imperialists and Soviet revisionists. The peoples have seized them by the throat, therefore, to keep on their feet, on the edge of abyss, they are speaking a great deal about «peace», «the status quo», the triumph of «peaceful coexistence», the settlement of conflicts «in a peaceful way», the «great role of the UNO», in which the Soviets and Americans are dominant and where useless talks are going on, about the «peace-making» role of a certain Jarring, etc.

Soviet social-imperialism, together with U.S. imperialism, is also playing this main role in suppressing the popular revolts. The Soviet revisionists have become the main partner of the United States of America in every field. The basis, the principle of their policy is the friendship and secret diplomacy with the United States of America. This is in the interests of both sides, especially, of the

Soviets to avoid exposure. The «anti-imperialist» words uttered by the Soviet revisionists in public are sheer demagoguery. Nobody believes them now, and neither the United States nor any other capitalist state gets annoyed about them. They are looking to their own affairs, for the policy of the Moscow revisionists is to their benefit, and maintain and extend the secret diplomatic links between them.

The Soviet revisionists attack and oppress free countries, set up military bases and markets to suck in the wealth of other peoples, extend their empire and exploit the naivety or difficulties of others. They are trying to contain the impetus of revolution, to extinguish the national-liberation struggles of the peoples, they come to terms with the Americans and betray the cause of the peoples fighting for freedom, independence and social progress, they are striving together with U.S. imperialism and Japanese militarism, to encircle socialist China with a ring of fire. And they do all this «in the name of Lenin and Leninism».

But all this treachery will be overwhelmed by the revolutionary struggle of the peoples. In the final analysis, the glorious and revolutionary Arab people cannot be hoodwinked by the false friendship of the Soviet social-imperialists who have profited from their temporary difficulties to occupy their harbors, and seas, for the purpose of quelling their just liberation struggle against the sionist fascists and U.S. imperialists. The two aggressive imperialist powers are interested in putting down

deep roots in the Near East, in securing economic, political, and military bases to oppress the peoples of these countries, to lull them to sleep with idle talk, to demoralize and corrupt them and afterwards, from these bases, to take further steps to occupy Africa, Asia, and other countries, to kindle colonial and predatory imperialist wars on the various continents.

The Albanian people love the Arab people for they are their brothers and friends in both good times and bad. In these times of revolutionary and liberation struggles we stand close beside them, have supported and will always support them by every means. We have faith in the triumph of their just struggle, but to triumph as quickly as possible over their common enemy, demands the steel-like unity of all the Arab peoples in their armed struggle. The sionists, the U.S. imperialists and the Soviet revisionists are seeking to split, to disarm, to dictate a peace to the Arab peoples which cannot be in their interest, but in the interest of the enemy. The arms they have been given are under Soviet control, they are not used for the sacred Arab cause, but are used precisely to deceive the Arabs, to tie their hands, and to drive them like lambs to the slaughterhouse. The infamous «Rogers» plan, to be accurate, should be called the «Rogers-Gromyko» plan. Our Arab brothers will certainly not fall into this terrible trap. By means of devious maneuvers, the Soviet and U.S. armies may be stationed on both sides of the Suez canal, and then how much use will

all the Soviet arms in Arab hands be! But the Arab people did not fight heroically to expel one imperialist from the Suez Canal only to have it occupied now by two others.

Dayan's shouts find their response in the secret actions of the Soviet revisionists, but the heroic rifle of the Palestinian Arab brothers is the most glorious answer which will smash this great enemy conspiracy. Therefore, right now the just Palestinian partisan war is the vanguard of the all-round and general struggle which must be waged by the Arab people everywhere and should be supported heart and soul. Our Arab brothers will know to raise high the banner of the liberation struggle against the imperialists and sionists, will know how to foil the Soviet revisionists' schemes and all the provocations organised by the CIA agencies which have evil aims towards the liberation struggle of the Palestinian people and of all the Arab people.

For years on end, U.S. imperialism has been suffering colossal defeats in Vietnam because the Vietnamese people have fought heroically, unwaveringly, and in complete unity. The USA is now facing catastrophe in Vietnam, political, military and strategic catastrophe. For years on end, too, the Soviet revisionists, have been helping U.S. imperialism in Vietnam by attempting to extinguish the struggle, by calling for a compromise peace, secretly preaching two Vietnams, just as they openly accept two Chinas, or two Cambodias with their recognition of the treacherous Lon Nol go-

vernment. But the Soviet revisionists have not succeeded in their intrigues and will never do so. The heroic struggle of the Vietnamese people will drive the U.S. imperialists into the sea. They know that, in their life and death struggle against U.S. imperialism and its Saigon puppets, they have People's China as a great and powerful rear area of their liberation war. The Albanian people have been and will always be heart and soul with the heroic Vietnamese people and with their mighty struggle against U.S. imperialism and its Saigon puppets. Geographically, we are far away from that fraternal people, but our hearts beat together, their sufferings and their victories, are ours too. The victory of the Vietnamese people is certain, the U.S. enemy will be driven into the sea together with its puppets from South Vietnam, Cambodia, and all Indochina.

The Party of Labor of Albania and the Albanian people see in the great and glorious socialist China of Mao Tse-tung the blazing beacon light for the peoples of the world marching to revolution, the steel pillar of revolutionary Marxism-Leninism, the great, sincere and invincible supporter of the peoples fighting for freedom, the sworn enemy of U.S. imperialism, of Soviet social-imperialism, and world reaction. All the progressive peoples of the world see China as their great friend who helps them sincerely, in every way, courageously, and without the slightest trace of self-interest, just as it should be with a true socialist country, where the all-conquering thought

of Mao Tse-tung has triumphed. In no country of the world outside China can you see a Chinese soldier, nowhere in the world can you find a single Chinese military base. There is no people or state in the world that claims it has been occupied by China. All the peoples and states — and they are not few — who have sought and received financial aid in the form of loans from socialist China or trade with her, have nothing but words of praise and gratitude for her generosity, for her correctness, or the exemplary conduct of her people, for her fairmindedness and simplicity in relations, for the rapid aid she gives, with absolutely no political strings attached. Every commodity China sends to the friendly and allied peoples is of high quality, which proves the deep political significance China attaches to the aid it gives its friends, and at the same time, confirms the high technical level the People's Republic of China has reached in the development of her socialist economy and culture.

But the aid China extends to the peoples of the world first and foremost, from the political and ideological point of view, is colossal, because the glorious thoughts of Mao Tse-tung have educated a Marxist-Leninist party and a great people of 700-800 millions, and the policy of the Chinese state, too, is a correct and glorious policy in the interests of socialism, the revolution, the national-liberation struggle and the freedom and independence of the peoples. Therefore, the communist parties, the revolutionaries, the peoples of the

world and the progressive states, have in China and Mao Tse-tung a great comrade, a friend, a brother, an assistant and supporter in any situation, in sunshine or in times of storm.

Without socialist China not a single important international problem can be solved correctly. There is no force on earth to hinder the forward march of socialist China and of her comrades and friends. Those who try to hinder this march will be trampled down, and the first to be trampled by this colossal force will be the U.S. imperialists, the Soviet social-imperialists and the reactionary world bourgeoisie. And it is for this reason that the counter-revolutionary coalition, these sworn enemies of the peoples are plotting against China, are forming new alliances in Europe for the purpose of sending their armies to her borders, are trying to enliven old aggressive alliances and to create new ones against China in Asia, are financing, and even selling, Siberia to fascist Japan, in order to incite it to a new bloody war against China. But what will come of these frenzied preparations? Only shameful defeats for the enemies of China, of the peoples, of socialism and the revolution.

China, the great and respected ally of socialist Albania, is growing stronger and more tempered day by day, as is our great friendship. China and Albania are brothers and friends and there is no force in the world to separate them. Whoever touches Albania has touched China, whoever touches China has touched Albania. We are linked by the same ideals, the same aims, the common struggle

against the same enemies, by socialism, communism, and Marxism-Leninism.

In both our countries socialism is being constructed successfully and rapidly, we spare nothing to help each other. China, and Mao Tse-tung personally, give great, unsparing internationalist assistance to the development of our economy, and for this we thank them whole heartedly.

Such are the events, such are the facts. Our Party, our Government and our people are acquainted with them and analyze them every day, draw conclusions and act Party-People-Government in complete unity. Herein lies our strength, herein lies the strength of Marxist-Leninist analyses of events in the world and of the decisions taken and carried out with such success in our country.

This is why the policy of our Party and Government is a correct, courageous and principled policy, this is why it is defended and implemented by our people, this is why comrades and friends abroad love and respect the People's Republic of Albania, the Albanian people, and the Party of Labor, and this is why our enemies, whom we do not fear, hate us and fight us.

Dear Comrades,

The present situation of our Fatherland is excellent, its future is assured. For this our Party and our wonderful people are working tirelessly day

and night. The brilliant prospects opened before us strengthen our confidence in our own strength and inspire us to greater and bolder deeds to make socialist Albania still stronger, still more beautiful, and the life of our people still happier and more prosperous.

Through the new elections, on September 20, by taking part, one and all, and voting for the candidates of the Democratic Front our people will show the high political maturity which characterizes them, will manifest once again their steel-like unity round the Party and their People's Power and will score another brilliant victory, which will strengthen and consolidate the firm foundations of the People's Republic of Albania even more.

Long live our heroic people and may their unity in the Democratic Front grow ever stronger!

Long live our glorious Party of Labor!

Long live our People's State Power and may it grow ever stronger!

Glory to Marxism-Leninism!

## **STUDY MARXIST-LENINIST THEORY LINKING IT CLOSELY WITH REVOLUTIONARY PRACTICE**

*Speech delivered at the Solemn Meeting  
Commemorating the 25th Anniversary of the  
Founding of the «V. I. Lenin» Party School.*

*November 8, 1970*

Dear Comrades, Students and  
Members of the Faculty!

On behalf of the Central Committee and in my own name, I heartily congratulate you on the 25th anniversary of the founding of our Party School which bears the name of the great Lenin. This jubilant anniversary coincides with the present celebration of the 8th of November, a date of extraordinary importance for the Albanian people, because the glorious Communist Party of Albania was founded on this day, 29 years ago. We have many reasons to rejoice. Now we are adding to them the inauguration of the new and beautiful building of your school.

During these twenty five years, the Party School has become, and will continue to be, the fiery hearth for the education of the communists in the spirit of our glorious theory, Marxism-Leninism, of the vivid and life-giving teachings of our Party and of progressive revolutionary culture in general.

More than 7,000 Party cadres have sat at the desks of this school. This is a significant figure, not only as regards the number of cadres, but more so, as regards the great educational, theoretical, practical and revolutionary work, which they have done and are doing within the Party, in the affairs of our state of the dictatorship of the proletariat, in our economy and culture, and within the organizations of the masses. They have been and continue to be the best of educators, organizers and courageous men of action. They are the main pupils, instructors and assistants in the spreading of the Marxist-Leninist theory of our Party among the masses of the people in breadth and depth.

Of course, the Party cadres, who have graduated from the «V. I. Lenin» school, have been characterized by their simplicity and they must always be unpretentious, they must struggle within themselves against intellectualism and must not assume, that by graduating from the school, they have become the «elite» of the Party, that the school has taught them everything, and consequently, that others should listen to and learn from them, whereas they themselves have nothing to listen to or learn from others. The opposite of

these viewpoints is taught in our «V. I. Lenin» Party School through the mastering of Marxism-Leninism.

Here, in the Party School, a synthesis is made of the colossal and incalculable wealth of our doctrine, of the brilliant revolutionary activity of the Party of Labor of Albania, and of the tens of thousands of the communists, of our heroic working class and of the broad masses of the working people. Therefore, this school should be regarded as an aid, as a means through which the Party further arms its people so that they can enter again, with renewed strength, into the waves of the revolution in which the happiness of the people of our socialist Homeland is forged.

This school advances from year to year, the level of the lessons given by the staff is raised, the teachers themselves rise to higher levels by mastering revolutionary theory and practice more profoundly, the students come very much better prepared than before, because now, not only are they not lacking in general culture, but they have a long experience of struggle and efforts in the work of the Party and the State. The development of the school, the more vivid linking of theory with practice and the continuous revolutionization of the style and method of work have yielded, and will continue to yield good results. I congratulate you on the satisfactory results you have attained.

We, the communists, and all the workers, are called upon to be armed with two kinds of wea-

pons: with fire arms, and with the ideas of Marxism-Leninism. A revolutionary needs both of these weapons to make revolution and carry it through to the end. Ever since those difficult but heroic days of the National-liberation War, when the destiny of our Homeland and of our people was decided, our Party has instructed the communists to learn with persistence not only how to handle the rifle but also how to master the ideological weapons, the ideas of Marxism-Leninism. And after the liberation of the country, while always keeping the rifle ready, our communists and working people, on whose shoulders fell the heavy burden of destroying the old world and of building an entirely new society, socialism, set to work with even more persistence to master the basis of our infallible theory — Marxism-Leninism, as the guiding compass to lead them into action in the concrete conditions of our Homeland. This has been and remains a permanent task of first importance for everybody.

We, the Albanian Marxist-Leninists, came to the philosophy of Marx through our revolutionary practice, we fought with all our might against the feudals and the bourgeoisie, against their reactionary regime which oppressed the people, against the regime of the deepest ignorance, against the barbarous exploitation of mankind by a handful of people. We hated religion with all the power of our reason, because the revolutionary practice of our people had clearly brought to light the profoundly reactionary and anti-popular role of re-

ligious doctrines, which supported the feudal-bourgeoisie of the country and the foreigners who oppressed us. The centuries of neverceasing revolutionary struggles had made our people a revolutionary people. They could conceive neither their existence as a people nor the positive changes in their social life except by way of war and revolution. Their uprisings have always had a pronounced anti-imperialist, anti-feudal, anti-bourgeois and anti-religious character. Certainly, here we cannot yet speak of any inspiration or guidance from the philosophy of Marx, which was properly crystalized among us only after the founding of the Party. But amongst the people, and amongst the small working class, still at its initial stage, our Party found a fertile field for radical transformations, for a great social revolution which was to overthrow the old social system of the feudal-bourgeoisie, and establish socialism.

Through their revolutionary activity, in the process of transforming their social conditions, the people transform themselves as well. Thus, we observe a great transformation in our working class and our peasantry which has embraced collectivization. Even our intelligentsia is no longer the old one, neither as regards its numbers, its origin, nor its cultural level. Not only has the ideological and political level of the working class been raised and tempered on the revolutionary road, but its class consciousness educates and leads the peasantry and the other strata of the population in our country. The educational and cultural level of our new man

has been raised and is continuously on the rise, to respond to the needs and conditions created. All these revolutionary transformations of our people are the fruit of the transformations in the social conditions, which were brought about by the people's revolution. Thus, our development proceeded along such lines because our Party faithfully applied the teachings of Marx, whose philosophy has always illuminated the road of our policy.

Engels teaches us, that up to our day history develops as a natural process, and, in general, is subject to the same laws of motion which act in nature, but with its own specific peculiarities, for here we have to do with the activity of conscious beings, men. People are always in movement and activity, they act to realize definite aims and desires, and history is nothing but all this activity of theirs. However, all the people do not always have their aims, or the means and manner of attaining these aims, properly crystalized. Besides this, the aims and desires of men are not identical, — this depends on the place man occupies in society, in conformity with the social relations existing in the historical period in question. Therefore, history, as Engels has pointed out, is made in such a way that the final result always emerges from the conflicts, from a great number of individual conflicts, each of them conditioned by a host of conditions of existence. There are, therefore, in the historic process, innumerable forces which oppose one another, and from them there emerges a resultant which is the historical event.

Naturally, this is typical of the exploiting society, where private ownership divides men and classes, counterposes their interests and aims, where the law of blind spontaneity holds sway. But even in socialism, although in this stage private ownership has been eliminated and society is developed in a conscious way, even here, owing to the fact that people live and act under different conditions and circumstances, owing to the fact that there exist essential differentiations among friendly classes, between the town and the countryside, between mental and manual labour, we encounter different interests and aspirations and opinions, a series of contradictions, and so on.

There are communists who may have learned these ideas of Engels and of Marxism-Leninism in books and at school, but when it comes to the point of analyzing and confronting them with the sundry occurrences of life and of applying them in practice, then they get stuck, they do not see the problems correctly, they fail to understand that people have various ideas and desires, which very often clash with and oppose one another. These comrades think and demand that the «resultant», Engels speaks of, should be attained without the struggle of opposites, without the clash of opinions pro and con, that it should be attained in a dogmatic manner, with one stroke of the conductor's baton.

At various meetings it is noticed that some directors are afraid of discussions «which are out of tune», which go beyond the stereotyped formu-



las. They think that everything should proceed smoothly. Such a method is the reason that opposing opinions are expressed outside the meeting. In this case, the alarm is sounded about something which is said to have been understood «theoretically», but which in fact, has been neither understood nor applied correctly. But, we are aware that it is difficult to stifle complaints. For instance, he who got his flat ceased to complain, and this contradiction was solved, whereas he who has been overcrowded for years on end will keep complaining. This contradiction impels us to think out ways of solving it as soon as possible, not by saying «hold your tongue, shut up» to the man whose needs have not yet been fulfilled, but by finding new forms of work and by mobilizing the masses in actions with concentrated blows to build many apartments and build them as quickly as possible. Thus, by striving to overcome the difficulties and contradictions which emerge in the process of the work for the building of houses through actions with concentrated blows, we shall solve the housing problem in the towns within 3-4 years. The same applies to all the problems of life, be they big or small, which are set before us to be solved, and which comprise the great historical «results», the forward march along the road to the complete construction of socialist society and, eventually, of communist society. Listen how neatly and correctly a worker mechanic has expressed this dialectical law of the clash of opinions, as a great motive force of our society. «We mechanics», he

said, «like these frictions, because when two metals are rubbed together they produce heat which is transformed into mechanical energy. Similarly, with ideas: the more ideas are thrashed out, . . . the more heat and energy they will generate, and, as consequence, the production and the well-being of the workers will go ahead».

If we get a good grasp of our theory and know how to link it up with life, then many many things become clear. Even from the single example I mentioned we may see why we should not be afraid of discussions, of the clash of ideas, why we should not be afraid of criticism, and why we should not confine self-criticism to a few personal things, why we should develop it on a still wider scale. This does not, in any way, lower the authority of an institution or a department, but stirs them into action to solve the contradictions emerging from life correctly and promptly. This is an entire education which the Party is, and should be, carrying out among the ranks of its members and the people.

It is up to us, the communists, in the first place, to understand our theory profoundly and then to teach it to the broad masses of the people. Questions of theory are not one-sided, nor is it enough that they should be known, understood, and applied only by a few; they should be understood and applied correctly by all the people, for all of them have their tasks and duties, and no one, old or young, can escape either from his personal responsibility, or from that of the collective.

When we study the revolutionary history of

the Albanian people from ancient times up to the present day, we understand the magnificence of the materialistic dialectics of Marx and the futility of the attempted criticisms which have been and are directed against his immortal philosophy.

Dialectics is the theory of development. In working it out, Marx based himself on Hegel's dialectics, but he radically transformed it, turning it into its opposite from a dialectics based from top to bottom on the development of the idea, to a dialectics with both feet planted on materialist concepts. In Marx's dialectics, the decisive and «active aspect» of development is not «the dynamism of spiritual activity», that is, the idea, but human practice, namely, the practical material activity of men for the transformation of nature and of society. This great historical formulation of Marxist-Leninist philosophy, which characterizes the materialist dialectics of Marx, as distinct from the idealist dialectics of Hegel, is known to all. We, the Marxist-Leninists, learn it thoroughly, for it is the basis of our philosophy. It took our great revolutionary thinkers decades on end to wage a great struggle, in theory and practice, in order to affirm these major principles against the idealist, anti-Marxist philosophers, against the reactionary bourgeoisie, and against their various political and ideological schools. The materialist development of world history, the revolutions during various historical periods, up to the proletarian revolution of our century, which brought the working class to power and established the dictatorship of the pro-

letariat in many countries, verified the fundamental theses of Marxism-Leninism. Naturally, the struggle continues and will continue between revolutionaries and counter-revolutionaries, between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie, between the Marxist-Leninists and the anti-Marxist-Leninists.

In our times, the modern revisionists, with the Soviet revisionists at the head, while waging a fierce battle against Marxism-Leninism try to preserve the external appearances of the theoretical formulations of the Marxist-Leninist doctrine, obviously for the purpose of using them as a mask, but, on the other hand, they strive to deform them, to deprive them of their revolutionary essence, in order to fight communism and revolution. By interpreting the materialist development of history in a falsified way, these enemies of Marxism, try to present the materialist dialectics of Marx upside down, and to set it on a new pedestal, transformed to that of the neo-Hegelians.

Upon us, the Marxist-Leninists, falls the great task of fighting in defence of our Marxist-Leninist theory against the new falsifiers, and in order to wage this struggle properly, we should not consider the theoretical formulations of our doctrine, which we learn at school or in books, just as correct historical observations, representing the revolutionary struggle of our great leaders in certain periods. On the contrary, every thought of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin should become for us the object of deep reflection, so that we may understand their essence and adapt them correctly, in a

creative and not in a dogmatic way, to the actual period in which we live and fight, to the specific historical conditions of our country, to our social development, to the problem which demands solution.

It is precisely in this complex struggle for our education with the theory of Marxism-Leninism, so that we apply it in a creative way, that we can never shut ourselves away and regard our duty as accomplished, if we fail to follow with vigilance the falsification of our theory by the modern revisionists and the other ideologists of capital, if we fail to wage a fierce, incessant ideological and political battle against them, countering them, at the same time, with our successes in the construction of socialism, attained by following the life-giving lessons of Marxism-Leninism.

The study of Marxist-Leninist science is the only road to enable us to explain the phenomena and facts of life in a correct way, to clarify the present and illuminate the future. Its study arms people so that they are not satisfied to analyze facts and phenomena merely by their external appearances, by what appears on the surface, but by delving deeper into them, by discovering their content, their essence, the objective laws that guide their social development. For, it is not rare for it to happen that the external form of social processes and phenomena distorts the essence hidden below, so that it seems something new, normal, progressive, whereas in essence it is completely the opposite.

Let us take, for instance, one of the basic questions of social relations in capitalism. From their

surface appearance they create the impression that relations of equality exist between the workers and the capitalist: «I give you as much as you give me», as though he pays the worker for all the work he has done, as though the capitalist is the producer of capital. But this is not so. It is known that the capitalist pays the worker for only a part of his work, while, for the rest of the work he does not pay him, but appropriates it. It is precisely this unpaid part of the labour of the workers which produces and increases capital. Herein lies the source of capitalist exploitation, herein also lies the brilliant discovery of that «mysterious something» in the principal relations between the worker and the capitalist which Marx named surplus value.

Thus, it is the Marxist science which demonstrated that the laws regulating and directing production in capitalism are represented on the surface in such forms as to hide their real nature and to create the contrary impression among the people, that is, as though they are the most correct, most natural and ever lasting forms. The whole of this illusion is created by the capitalists to mask their exploitation of the workers and the unavoidable contradictions which erode the capitalist order from within and lead it to the grave.

Even at the present time, the apologists of capitalism and the modern revisionists, by speculating on some, new external manifestations such as the spread of state-monopoly capitalism, the creation of so-called «workers councils», which, allegedly, take part in the management of the capitalist en-

terprises, the Titoite revisionist theory of workers' self-administration, and so on and so forth, try to create the illusion that the capitalist exploitation has been done away with, and that the differentiation between the worker and the capitalist is being wiped out. Scientific Marxist-Leninist analysis of these phenomena completely exposes this new fraud and shows that far from being wiped out, the capitalist exploitation, has been further intensified.

No matter what external change the capitalist order may undergo, no matter what sort of mask it may put on, what «theory» it may create, — and it always creates such theories, adapting them to the circumstances which arise from the sharpening of the class struggle, — it remains an oppressive and exploiting order. This order must be destroyed and it will be destroyed through the proletarian revolution; the capitalist relations will be replaced, without fail, by the new socialist relations, the means of production will be taken from the hands of the capitalists and will be turned over to the ownership of the working class itself.

The opponents of Marxism try in vain to attack the theory of Marx on the pretext that it deals with abstract reasoning, with «the abstract quintessence» of processes and phenomena allegedly departing from facts and concrete data, from the historical reality. This is a gross falsification. Whereas we, the Marxist-Leninists, draw the great lessons from the method used by Marx in the analysis of capitalism in his immortal work «Capital» that, in order to probe into the objective reality, it

is not sufficient only to gather and present the facts, but it is necessary to make generalizations, to draw scientific conclusions and abstractions, it is necessary to discover the laws guiding the phenomena of social development. Otherwise, one remains on the surface of things, falls into practicicism, or into various other mistakes.

In socialism, too, owing to the fact that even here the old fights for survival often by clothing itself in the garb of the new, it may happen that the external appearance does not reflect the true essence of phenomena. Therefore, we should know how to avoid remaining on the surface, but base ourselves on the scientific theory of Marxism-Leninism and penetrate from the external manifestations into their essence, to discover the deep causes which lie at the root of things, and the social laws which guide their development. Only in this way shall we be able to distinguish the new from the old, the progressive from the conservative and reactionary.

We should educate our men to judge the phenomena of social development on a materialistic scientific basis, with the aim of ridding them of idealistic viewpoints or hang-overs, of simplistic superficial ideas. According to the teachings of Marx, the working class is not and must not be utopian. It should not idealize the decrees and think that everything is done and performed by means of decrees and ordinances. It should know what the decrees are, what they serve, and what their origin is. In the first place — and this is important

— our working class should have a clear idea of the essence of the problem, it should be clear that its emancipation, its liberation from the shackles of capital, the development of the society which it has created and which develops continually towards perfection, was in no way done by decrees, but has passed and will continually pass through prolonged struggle, continuous historical strivings and processes, which bring about the transformation of society.

Therefore, the impression should not be created that the victories attained so far and the radical transformations which have taken place in our country, in our society and among our people, are the result of decrees and ordinances; on the contrary, the decrees and ordinances are the outcome of some problems which have emerged from the objective historical processes, from the struggle and efforts exerted for the all-round transformation of society and the people. Thus, the decree in itself cannot bring about social development, it is the reflection of this development, a norm which aims at adjusting and assisting this development. It is the objective development of society, which dictates the transformations, creates contradictions which demand solution. It comes into opposition, for instance, with the written and unwritten laws and customs of the old overthrown society, with a mode of life incompatible with the new development of the forces of production and of the new socialist relations in production. Here begins the making of a decree or ordinance, which is dictated by the necessity to overcome the con-

traditions created. Therefore, it is not the offspring of arbitrariness or of subjective fantasy.

Hence, our laws, decrees, and ordinances, should always emerge from a deep scientific materialist knowledge and analysis of the conditions of real life. Hence, also, as often as the objective conditions change, as often as development creates new contradictions and problems, so often should this be accompanied by the reexamination and amendment of our decrees and ordinances. Any idealizing or making a fetish of what was decided yesterday under given conditions, becomes an obstacle to development and leads to bureaucracy when these conditions have changed.

The objective development of nature, like that of human society, is materialist and dialectical at the same time. Therefore, by reflecting the phenomena of the real world in a correct way our Marxist-Leninist science too is, materialist and dialectical at the same time.

There are people who, though posing as materialists, give priority to their ideas and consciousness; and there are others, also, who call themselves materialists, but according to whom, only economic development is important, economic development alone allegedly brings about the automatic transformation of society as a whole, therefore, the subjective factor is entirely powerless and does not play the slightest active role in historical development. Naturally, both of these categories of people are mistaken and do not have as clear an understanding as they should of the fundamental prin-

ciples of our philosophy, of the materialist dialectics.

In essence, social life is a material process, because it is based upon work. Man should be closely linked with work, he should like it and understand theoretically what work is. According to Karl Marx, work is a process carried out between man and the environment. Man himself acts upon matter as a natural force. Therefore, man cannot be thought of as detached from nature, it cannot be conceived that the elements of nature react upon him and he stays inactive before them, does not act as a creature who has, and should play, the part of a natural force. In order to live, man needs to be fed, to set in motion all his physical and mental forces, his hands and feet and muscles, his body and brain, in short, he must work to discover, process, and construct the various things of nature, so that they may serve him in his life.

What occurs in this natural process? By acting upon the outside environment man transforms it, but in this process he also transforms himself at the same time, develops his own tastes and capacities. Therefore, the starting point for man, according to Marx, is his work, in that form which pertains exclusively to man, for there are animals that work, too, but their work differs from that of man. The results achieved by man exist before hand as ideas in the imagination of the worker, a thing which does not occur with the bee when it constructs its hive, Marx says. That is to say, man not only changes the form of natural things but, at the same time, he realizes his own purpose, of which he

is conscious, a purpose which defines as a law the way he is to act and to which he should subject his own will.

As a material process of the action of man on nature for the transformation of nature, of himself, and society as a whole, work is, in the first place and mainly, the activity of the broad working masses, of the workers and peasants. They are the decisive force which carries social life upon its shoulders and carries social development forward. Therefore, the intellectualist and bureaucratic concepts which overrate the role of men engaged in mental work and try to place them above the working class and the working masses, are completely idealistic, anti-scientific, and alien to our Marxist-Leninist ideology.

Engels explains that, in the last analysis, the most important factor, the decisive factor in history is the «production and reproduction» of material existence. This should be understood, he teaches us, because the economy is the basis, but not the only determining factor, for there are also other elements in the superstructure, such as the political forms of the class struggle and their results, the constitutions established by the victorious classes, the juridical forms, the religious concepts, the various political theories, and so on. All of them exert their influence through their actions, and, naturally, leave their traces. «There are, therefore», Engels says, «action and reaction from all these factors», but from among them the economic factor comes into relief, stands out, and exerts its in-

fluence. This is the most important factor among all these other factors, which finally opens the way.

If the objective process of the development of our society is studied, it will be clearly seen on what basis the transformation of the people's consciousness was brought about and how the new ideas which were created by the new social conditions flowed out. In order to have this process properly understood and not to permit vulgar conclusions, according to our dialectical method, all the transformations brought about by the development of our society should be studied as they arise, as they develop and advance, as they disappear, and finally, as they are transformed and replaced by new ones.

But the classics of Marxism-Leninism teach us that the role of ideas in social development cannot be denied. Engels attacks «economic materialism», that which pretends that only the development of the economic forces is important. «This is vulgar materialism», Engels says.

Nevertheless, it should be always borne in mind that ideas do not play the decisive role, and this is brilliantly explained by Marx. Ideas themselves are the product and the reflection of the material development of society. By transforming the material conditions of society, men create a new consciousness, in the process of the social development they also create new ideas in conformity with the material situations created. Thus, it is the changes in the material development of society that are the basis from which new ideas and a new conscious-

ness arise. Just as materialism in general explains consciousness from being, and not man from the idea, so also should social consciousness be explained by social being.

While fighting against the danger of idealist subjectivism which ignores the decisive role of the economic factor, at the same time, and in a Marxist-Leninist manner, our Party appreciates the great and active role of ideas and of the superstructure in general, rejecting any manifestation of fatalism and of bowing to spontaneity. The great process of the revolutionization of the entire life of our country, of carrying our socialist revolution uninterruptedly ahead and of blocking the way to the danger of revisionism, and the return to capitalism, has to do, in the first place and above all, with the revolutionization of the socialist superstructure, of the Party and the State of the dictatorship of the proletariat, of the school and of culture, especially, with the revolutionization of the workers' consciousness. This is a practical application, a further concretization and development, of the teachings of Marxism-Leninism on the great and active role of the subjective factor in history.

The continuous development of our socialist society, which is carried out through the birth and overcoming of various contradictions, has led to the revolutionization of production, and together with this of the consciousness of the people, also. These material changes in the productive forces and in the relations of production, create such conditions that people who take part vigorously in this unin-

interrupted revolution create new ideas, appropriate to the situation which has been created. And the ideas too, are tested in the development of the revolution. Those which are not in conformity with the situation and become restrictive are combatted, eliminated, and replaced. But it is not the struggle of ideas which causes the advance of the objective social development, but the latter is the basis which leads to the birth of new contradictions, and, consequently, to the birth of new progressive ideas in struggle with the old or reactionary ideas which die.

Therefore, the main thing is to know whether the people, the classes, act in harmony with the objective current of history or against it. The decisive question is, that by making objective analyses we must manage to educate the working class, the most revolutionary class, and the other classes and strata — its natural allies — and make them march in conformity with the objective progressive current of history. Here emerges the great role of the revolutionary theory, which, as Marx says, «becomes a material force when it grips the masses»

In accordance with the objective social conditions under which they live, the people, the classes, have their interests, aspirations and aims. Their objective interests turn into consciousness and into revolutionary or reactionary action.

When we analyse the social development of our country, we see that the people and the classes (workers and peasants) desired a change in their deplorable social situation, a change in the old relations of production. This desire was the result

of real sufferings, of their material social situation which they felt on their own backs, it was the result of their recognition of this situation which brought about a change in their consciousness and ideas, which opened up to them the prospect of the organisation of forces to make material changes in our society, which was developing slowly. Thus it was the objective development which created the conditions for the spread of the new ideas, which were gradually concretized and launched the broad working masses into action. Thus, the action of the masses which made the history of our country, was subject to the laws of historic development, as the materialist philosophy, created by Karl Marx teaches us.

The profound understanding of our Marxist-Leninist doctrine shows how correctly our Party has viewed these cardinal problems of the development of our society, and, in the first place, the motive force of social development, the class struggle, as well as the «production and reproduction» of material existence as the determining factor, naturally without forgetting the other factors. If the important materials published by the Party throughout the various periods of the historical development of our country after the liberation are perused with care, it will be seen how the economic problem opens the way by creating the material conditions for the solution of many problems of the superstructure. The conflicts, the clashes, «the action and reaction of all these factors» of which Engels speaks, are clearly apparent there.



He who does not understand the materialist dialectics of social development, who does not understand that this development is a relatively long process which proceeds through the struggle of opposites, he who draws conclusions about everything from ideas alone, is not in a position to understand the stages of development and the tasks and problems pertaining to each of them. Such a person might very easily feel himself in a dilemma and ask: «Why didn't our Party, which is atheistic, maintain the stand which it maintains today towards religion, towards the church and the mosque, right at the start?» He cannot manage to understand that our Party has always upheld and consistently upholds its atheist, antiidealist, materialist world outlook. But only at the present stage of development, when the necessary material conditions for this had been created, did the broad masses of our people become conscientious fighters against the religious world outlook, and kick out the churches, the mosques, and their dogmas.

Such a person has equally hazy ideas about the question of small private property and its elimination, especially, in the countryside. He cannot understand why, when the first steps of our revolution were being taken, when the agrarian reform was taking the land by force from the beys and landowners, the usurers and rich peasants and distributed it among the landless and landpoor peasants, the Party said that the private property of the laboring peasant was not to be touched. But in this vital question for the future of socialism,

the Party could not have proceeded imprudently and skipped the stages. It acted according to the teachings of Marx and Engels, who have said: «The proletariat should not speak at once of doing away with private property, the question should be approached in such a way as to bring the peasant to collectivization by the economic road». And this is the way he came in our country. As a result, small private property in land was transformed into collective property when the necessary economic and ideopolitical conditions had been created for this.

Or, let us take the question of the nationalization of land, which is the principal means of production in agriculture. As it is known, this was not expressly done, and, due to the objective conditions and reasons of Albania at that time, the Party acted correctly. But all legal measures have been taken in our country to prevent the land from being used as individual property. Actually this, too, can not be sold, rented, or inherited. This piece of land has been left for the personal use of the cooperativist family only.

Our people's revolution made laws which, in practice, nationalized the land. It carried out the agrarian reform and took over that property which exploited the work of others. Gradually, as he was convinced by following the economic road, as Marx and Engels advocated, our peasant approached collectivisation of the land and other means of production. He keeps only the small plot of land which he tills personally. On the same «economic

road» the peasant keeps reducing the size of this personal plot of land, until it will completely disappear as property for personal use and will be united with the collective property, which will eventually, after a still longer process, turn from the common property of the group into the property of the whole people. This will not be brought about by means of decrees but will be the historical «resultant» of a continuing process of the economic, social, ideo-political development of the whole country, and especially, of the countryside and of the cooperativist masses.

As you know, it was announced these days that the electrification of all the rural areas of our country has been successfully completed one year ahead of schedule. This is another great victory of our Party and people in their struggle to complete the construction of our socialist society. The supply of the countryside with electric power is the first important step towards its thorough electrification, towards that great transformation of the means and the technology of agricultural production at which the Party aims, which will put our agriculture completely on the road of modern, intensive development. But, at the same time, the electrification of the countryside will give a new powerful impulse to the revolutionization of the consciousness of our cooperative peasant, to the dissemination and further implanting of socialist ideas and culture, of the new way of life. This new and brilliant victory was attained as a result of the revolutionary impetus of the masses,

an impulse which did not burst out spontaneously, but as a direct result of the objective and subjective transformations in their life. The successful realization ahead of schedule of this great action, which is not only economic, but also political, ideological and cultural, shows that the decision taken by the Party was correct and timely, because its implementation had been prepared by the whole development of the country. Thus, in this case, too, the Party acted in accord with the Marxist world outlook, which teaches us that every step in life must be taken after all the material and spiritual premises have been created for it.

Comrades,

We learn Marxism-Leninism at school not for the sake of satisfying our curiosity, or only to enrich or develop our intellects, but to be as useful as possible in life, to accomplish the tasks set by the Party as successfully as possible, to be conscious revolutionaries capable of promoting the cause of socialism and communism in our country. This is attained when the Marxist-Leninist theory is learned, not in an abstract manner, academically, in a bookish way, but in close contact with life, with the revolutionary practice of the masses.

To master Marxism-Leninism means to master its fundamental principles and laws, its world outlook and methodology, the Marxist-Leninist way of interpreting things and solving problems. Learn-

ing the Marxist-Leninist definitions on this or that topic, on this or that law of Marxist philosophy or political economy, has its own importance. But what is of greater importance is to learn how to be guided by these laws in life, how to solve the concrete problems facing us on the basis of these laws. It is important to know the history of the Party, its glorious road, but it is of greater importance to get a thorough understanding of the starting point and the methods used by our Party in solving the problems under different circumstances, and from this to learn how to solve them today under new historical conditions. The task of the Party School is not just to impart to these cadres of the Party some Marxist knowledge, but to arm them in such a way that they may orientate themselves in life, to form in them that Marxist manner of thinking and acting. Understood in this way, we say that Marxism-Leninism should serve us as a guiding compass.

Life is always in motion and development, it continually gives rise to new problems, the social conditions change incessantly. Let us take, for example, life in our country. We have entered a new stage of the development of our revolution and socialist construction. This stage has brought forth a series of new problems, such as the complete construction of the material and technological basis of socialism, the perfecting of the whole system of relations of production, the strengthening of the dictatorship of the proletariat and the struggle against the danger of bureaucracy, the

development of the technological and scientific revolution, the workers' control, and many others. Ready-made answers to such problems cannot be found and we must not look to other people to solve them. Therefore, the mastering of Marxism-Leninism should not be dogmatic but creative.

This implies that in the work of the school an important place should be occupied by the profound and all-round study of the reality of our time, of the great problems raised by life and put forward by the Party, by analyzing and interpreting them in the light of Marxist-Leninist theory.

From this point of view, the practice of sending students and teachers to the base for the study of various themes as well as their participation in productive labor, in military training, or in mass movements and undertakings, is something good, to be further developed and perfected. Naturally, this should not be done to the detriment of mastering theory, which occupies and should occupy the principal place in the work of the school. On the contrary, these things should lead to a more profound, more active, and more tangible grasp of the theory.

Our Party, shoulder to shoulder with the Communist Party of China and with all the Marxist-Leninist forces in the world, has been and is still waging a resolute struggle of principle against revisionist betrayal. Marxism-Leninism has assumed and is assuming a new development in this struggle. In the process of this struggle we have gained a deeper grasp of the lessons of Marxism-Leninism, we

have learned still better how to recognise friends and enemies, good and evil, the revolutionary and the counter-revolutionary. Thus, the law of the struggle of opposites, as the source of every movement and development, finds full application in the development of Marxism-Leninism itself, too, as well as in the process of knowing and mastering it. Hence, an important task for the Party School, is to acquaint the cadres and communists with the history of this struggle and to teach them Marxism-Leninism not in a simple way, by presenting the Marxist theses, principles and conclusions «passively», but in struggle with the viewpoints and arguments of its ideological opponents, in the first place, of the modern revisionists. Only thus is it possible to master the ideas of Marxism-Leninism in a thorough and active way and to form lasting Marxist ideological convictions.

The revolutionary concept of study which should be implanted by the school in every cadre is that everyone should not merely read for the sake of reading, but that each should confront himself with what he reads, reflect on it, find out its good aspects and the positive experience, find out where the weak points lie, and what tasks emerge from it.

The mission of our school is not merely to impart knowledge to people, but also to train them as revolutionaries; not only to give them a correct theoretical world outlook but also to cultivate lofty moral and political qualities among them.

The comrades completing the schools and

courses of the Party should always bear in mind that every thing is not solved with graduation from school. Every communist must learn continually, with will-power and persistence. He cannot advance without learning, and without learning seriously. He cannot be guided by practicism. Therefore, the Party instructs us: Never tire of learning, never interrupt your study! To continue studying following graduation means to deepen and extend further what you have learned at school.

The contribution of the Party School is great and this is evident everywhere. It is seen in all the successes which are being achieved by the Party, in the correct revolutionary stand of the cadres, in the great impetus of the Party for the revolutionization of the country, in the struggle of the masses for the application of its line, and so on, and here it is clearly seen how mature our cadres have become. This is so because they have mastered the Marxist-Leninist theory in the process of their work, as well as in the Party School.

Let us mobilize all our efforts, comrades, to master Marxism-Leninism, the ideology of our Party, which shines brilliantly and shows us the road to victory, the road to communism, the road to happiness!

Glory to Marxism-Leninism!

Glory to our Party!

Long live the 25th Anniversary of the Party School!

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