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MAKES THEM CONSCIOUS**

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(approximation of the photo in the book)

Comrades,

Some questions of the Party that I want to bring up here are not unknown to you. There is the question of some manifestations, which, although not a line, must be criticized, must be fought against and must be eliminated. The line of our Party is the correct line, the Marxist-Leninist line. However, in the course of its implementation, not only ordinary people, but also some cadres who do not understand it properly, make mistakes in its implementation. Therefore, we must work to avoid mistakes, whether big or small, or, if mistakes are made, we must correct them immediately, while they are still small, and prevent them from becoming worse. One of the good qualities of our Party is that, when it does make mistakes, it recognizes them and takes measures to rectify them. First of all, we must understand who builds socialism. Lenin teaches us that this is a great question of principle, which must be clear to young and old in our country. But even this is not enough, it is important to apply it well in practice. Who builds socialism? Lenin asks.

«Socialism cannot be established by a minority, by the Party. It is established by tens of millions of people, when they learn to do this work themselves. We see our merit in the fact that we are trying to help the masses to get down to this job themselves immediately, and this is something that cannot be learned from books or lectures.» (V.I. Lenin. Works, vol. 27.)

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

Is our Party marching on this road or not? Our Party has marched and continues to march along this road in the full sense of the word. Our Party understood the national-liberation war correctly and therefore did not wage it alone, but with the people. Even after liberation, when the question of the construction of socialism arose, the Communist Party of Albania, by correctly understanding Lenin's theses, did not get down to the work for the construction of socialism only with the Communists, but declared that the new society would be built by the Albanian people, therefore it mobilized and led the masses to implement its program.

We see this correct line of our Party in every field of its activity. Take the work done for the implementation of our five year plans, for example. We all

know that one after the other these plans were drafted and discussed by the broad masses of the people, while, in every case, the leadership of the Party made a synthesis of the great activity of the communists and the people who had got down to this difficult task, achieving successes and overcoming shortcomings for the construction of socialism in the conditions of our country.

Throughout the efforts for the construction of socialism, with each passing year and five-year plan, the leadership and the whole Party have drawn conclusions from all this activity and from all this struggle, have seen where the most advanced experience was, where the mistakes and shortcomings were, where we should concentrate after having completed one five-year plan, and what steps we should take for the five-year plan which we have already begun implementing. In every case, the leadership has given instructions, and this is how it has always acted. These instructions have been discussed with all the masses of the people, analysing the good and bad aspects, thus educating the masses and encouraging them to make proposals, suggestions, and express opinions as to what should or should not be done, what should be done first and what later, how much production should be increased or reduced in this or that sector, etc. On the basis of the great work, there have been tens and thousands of proposals, questions, and discussions and there have been meetings of workers, agricultural cooperatives, peoples council's, executive committees and special meetings of the Government and of the Central Committee of the Party. This is how it was in the past, this is how it was during the drafting of the 5th five-year plan and this is how it will be during its implementation. As a result of this extensive work conclusions were reached which assisted in formulating the theses of the 6th Congress and the draft-directives of the new five-year plan, which finally became law after being approved by the People's Assembly.

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

The directives of the 6th Party Congress have already been taken up everywhere by the communists and the broad non-party masses. Now the question is to put them into practice in a revolutionary way, with the active participation of the people, the working class, the peasantry and our people's intelligentsia, otherwise they will become meaningless and unable to be realised.

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

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

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

However, in the course of time, in various Party and State directives, decisions and ordinances there have been shortcomings and mistakes, as well as things which have not been correct, not in the sense that they have changed the correct general line of the Party, but that this or that particular question. In such cases, once the mistake is discovered, measures have been taken to correct it.

Therefore, we say that during the control in practice of the Party line, which has been worked out to be implemented in this five-year plan, too, the correctness of every directive, as always, should be tested in life.

The issue must be viewed in the light of the relations between the minority and majority, the Party and people. It is the Party which issues the directives, but it is due to the tireless struggle and work of the people, under the leadership of the Party, that all the blessings have been created and the foundations of socialism have been laid in our country. If we say that all these achievements are the work of the Party alone and ignore the people, then we deviate from the correct line and make a mistake. As Lenin teaches us, the minority can do nothing without the majority, not only from the viewpoint that the socialist society cannot be built by the communists alone, but also from the viewpoint that only the basis of the living experience of the masses, can a correct line and a correct leadership in the construction of socialism be worked out and the correctness of the directives be controlled and mistakes avoided if we say that this control is carried out by the Party and State power alone, we are mistaken, but if we say that it is done by the people, and on some occasion even forget to mention the Party, we are not mistaken, because the active and decisive role of the Party in our society is implicit, for our people are closely connected with the party and at the same time are the best judge of its work. But our Party has not made and will not make mistakes in this direction. Nevertheless, there are people who, to hide their mistakes, say and do things which do not comply with the line of the Party. The question of how the Party understands the construction of socialism is of great importance. Socialism is built by the masses of the people, the directives are implemented by the masses of the people, the correctness of the Party is ensured by the participation of the people, and the work to correct mistakes is also carried out with the participation of the people. Nothing can be done without the people. This is one of the great Leninist principles, from which we have never deviated and will never deviate. Let the Khrushchovites, the Togliattists and all the revisionist trash prattle, let them criticise the immortal principles of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin on the party and on the vanguard of the working class. These principles stand as firm as Mount Tomor, they do not alter, but stand as firm as a granite rock. The party is in the vanguard, it is the vanguard of the working class, and it is precisely this which the revisionist «theoreticians» try to refute. The Leninist theory on the party does not alter, it cannot be tarnished by the «theories» of the revisionist trash.

We say that the Party is the vanguard of the working class. But what does this mean? We all know and see everyday how and where the working class

works. It is in constant struggle that it works in mines, in factories, in agriculture, on construction sites, on canals and everywhere, it comes up against many kinds of difficulties and privations and strives to overcome them. But when all this is happening where should its vanguard, the Party, be? It should by all means be on the forefront of struggle and work, in production. This is the place of honour of the communists, otherwise the Party cannot play its vanguard role. Therefore, the Party continually requires that the majority of the communists go into production where they should be in the forefront of work and sacrifice and set their example in every direction. We must never forget this, otherwise we deviate from the Leninist line, we become «bosses» and «commanders». It is the duty of the communists to stand as always in the van of that class which works and clashes with difficulties and hardships. This demands that the leadership of the Party, of the vanguard of the working class, be ensured where the most difficult fronts of struggle and work are;

The question arises; why is it precisely on these fronts that the leadership of the Party must be ensured? So as to ensure the accurate implementation of its directives in every detail, that is, the realization of the desires, aims and aspirations of the working class and the peasantry. Can this noble aim be attained when the majority of the communists become «officials» or when they are accumulated in offices? By no means! To think and act in this way, means to act with the old petty-bourgeois mentality according to which to guarantee the leadership of the Party means that the majority of the communists should occupy the key positions and give orders, that the Party members should command, while the nonparty people should be ordered about. No, in this way the leadership is not guaranteed. The Party leadership correctly understands the needs of the apparatuses, but this has nothing in common with inflating the apparatuses of the people's power, of the economic organizations, of the mass organizations, with communists. Therefore, we should not understand and act upon this question, as some people do, by accumulating as many communists as possible in offices, as though this would ensure the leadership of the Party and state power. If we bring only communists into the state power or only communists into the mass organizations, and if we act accordingly in the sectors of trade, construction, culture and throughout the various levels of socialist construction, then it is clear that we are not properly abiding by Lenin's teachings on this.

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

"The workers must enter all state institutions, they must control the entire state apparatus, and this must be done by the non-party workers who elect their own representatives to the non-party workers' and peasants' conference... We must bring as many workers and peasants as possible into this apparatus... and thus we will stamp out bureaucracy from our institutions. It is essential that the broad non-party masses control all state affairs and learn to govern by themselves.» (V.I. Lenin. Works, vol. 30.)

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

Only by seeing the question in this way can we say that we have correctly grasped the idea that it is the majority that builds socialism, that without the majority, the minority can do nothing. We must understand this well, just as we must understand that the leadership of the Party is essential, as Lenin teaches us. I dealt with this earlier. How do we stand with this question in our country at present? Do we have a correct ratio everywhere between communists and the non-party cadres? Is it necessary for almost everyone in our state or administration apparatuses, in the economic or mass organization apparatuses to be communists? Naturally, it is a bit different with the Party apparatuses; in general the people employed there are required to be communists. Non-party workers cannot be employed there, except for a limited number. Nevertheless, there are jobs in a Party apparatus, which can be done by non-party workers, for it is 1st said that for instance the driver, the door-keeper, the librarian and some other employees should be Party members.

But let me answer the question I posed: how does this question stand in our country? In general it is not bad, but we must recognize that it is not as good as it should be. Therefore, it is up to us to reexamine some questions in this di-rection. This problem does not only concern our Party today. Party has always instructed the communists to throw themselves into the first ranks of the struggle, and after liberation to work where the difficulties are greatest for the construction of socialism and the defence of the victories achieved. In recent years, especially after the measures adopted for the revolutionization of the cadres, exceptionally great work has been done in this direction, and this constitutes one of the greatest merits of our Party. The Marxist-Leninists, the sister communist parties in various countries, regard the measures currently

adopted by our Party to bar the way to the dangerous influence of modern revisionism and right opportunism, as something new to Marxism-Leninism.

Modern revisionism has caused great regression in the international communist movement. What is this regression, who caused it and how should we confront it? The Party of Labor of Albania stood firm on the Marxist-Leninist principles of the party, on the theories of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin, when they were attacked by the traitors, the modern revisionists. In the difficult conditions that were created for the world communist movement, our Party found roads and forms of op. posing the enraged attacks of the enemies not only with propaganda, but also through concrete forms of work. All these powerful revolutionary movements that were undertaken in our country, including the movement for sending cadres into production, etc., constitute that contribution which is being spoken of and which our Party is making today. Our Party has always regarded and should further regard this problem with caution, because in practice, in life, the Marxist-Leninist teachings are not always and in every case applied as they should be. This will be completely achieved when we have divested ourselves of every petty-bourgeois sentiment, of the vestiges of hostile ideologies, when we think and act always as revolutionaries, as the Party would have us to. The sending of a communist to production at any time is correct and is in the interest of the Party and the people, and when it is seen that he is ready to go and goes without hesitation wherever he is required, in response to the Party's call, then we can say that a communist like this is in the vanguard. If the question is seen like this by every party member, this is very positive and indicates that the Party and the communists who constitute it are on the correct road.

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

«There are too many people here in our department and the papers are smothering me, comrades, I don't want to stay any longer in this office, I don't want to remain in the administration, my place is at the grass roots, so I will go to

the railway construction site or to the hydra electric power-station to work as an engineer or master builder».

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

Why on earth are so many communists needed at the apparatus of the Ministry of Commerce? Wouldn't it be better for many of the communists who work here, to go without delay to the grass roots, where the practical struggle is being waged to supply the people properly and to serve them better, to eliminate many shortcomings in this sector, or to protect the people's property from abuse, and to replace them in the apparatus of this department with more patriots and non-party people. At the base these communists would indeed be on the forefront of the struggle for socialism, there where the acute problems emerge and demand solutions, where the greatest difficulties are encountered and must be overcome.

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

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

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

Let us not be afraid that if we act in this way, our studies at the center will be interrupted. We will still carry out studies, but this work can be done quite well, not only by communists, but together with them by non-party working people, such as Naum Stralla (1), who was one of the most learned economists in our country, an honest and able patriot, and this is why he was one of the best advisers of our Party and government. Now, we have many such people. Therefore, let us bring more such non-party people and able patriots into the departments, and send more communists to the grass roots, where they can still carry out studies. By the way, doesn't the Burrel region too need experienced communist comrades to carry out studies? Of course it does. But how are these studies carried out? Often the ministry asks the respective sections of the Executive Committee of the regional People's Council for information which will provide concrete data as a basis for studies. This means that these studies cannot be carried out without the aid of the grass roots. This being so, why shouldn't the person who engages in such studies go work at the grass roots? In this way the studies will be even better because they will be carried out by getting to know the vivid life of the people at close quarters. But there is something still «finer» in the accumulation of the communists in the apparatuses and precisely there where the line of the masses is spoken of. The communists make 55 percent of the total number of cadres in the central apparatuses and in the mass organizations at the center, while in the apparatuses of the mass organizations in the districts 63.1 per cent of the cadres are communists. But there are also differences between the mass organizations. Thus, in the apparatuses of the youth organizations at the center and in the districts the communists, make up 51.2 per cent, in those of the trade unions 67.2 percent, in those of women 65.8 percent. This, in the mass organizations, where day and night we incessantly wear ourselves out speaking and propagating «reliance on the masses, reliance on the masses», precisely in those which we call mass organizations, out of every 100 workers of their apparatuses the majority are Party members. Why is it that non-party elements are not brought into them? Is it essential for all these communists to be in these apparatuses? What are they all in these apparatuses for? Why aren't they sent to work elsewhere and replaced by non-party workers?

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

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

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

The question arises: why has this happened? It has happened for several reasons. We admit the best people in the Party. Being among the best, when young communists happen to be carrying out an important function at the time of their admission to the party, it has been considered proper for them to remain there. Thus, this has happened owing to the aim of raising cadres from the ranks of the best people, and as a criterion, it is only just to select them in this way, but we have been overdoing it in this regard by attempting to have as many communists as possible. Then there is another cause which has led to the creation of this situation. Frequently it is easier for the leading comrades and Party organizations to decide on appointing a cadre to an important post from their office. Sometimes the list of communist cadres ready at hand, therefore, when the need arises, in order to save trouble, they say «why should I appoint a non-party worker to this post of responsibility when I've got a whole list of Party members and know their background, that everywhere they have been, they have done their job well, that they are honest», and so on. Thus, he selects one of the communists and takes him, say, from the trading network of Burrel and brings him to the one in Tirana. In this way, many communists have been appointed to

posts of responsibility, whereas the others, those who are not in the Party, although there are plenty of good people among them, are not sufficiently known. This too has brought about the appointment of more communists than necessary in the administration apparatuses.

Then, there are even such communists, and this is still more dangerous, who try to occupy a cosy corner, who fight to fill some «armchair», position. Such people who think like this and distinguish themselves by such tendencies, know who to curry favor with, they try to take advantage of the occasion to put in a good word for themselves to create a favourable opinion of them among the comrades in responsible positions, directors, chiefs, etc; In order to obtain the coveted post. This is another reason why we have many communists in our apparatuses. Finally, there is yet another reason why we cadres are not drawn from the ranks of the non-party people: lack of confidence in them. This is of major importance in principle. The Party must always be maintained as a revolutionary one, be continually safeguarded as a vanguard Party, so that it truly puts into practice the Marxist-Leninist principle of getting closer to the people, a principle which it must not only declare, but must also implement concretely and completely into life.

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

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

Our Party, in general, has great confidence in the masses of the people and it is precisely owing to this confidence, not in words but in deeds, that it is closely linked with them. The people have seen that the communists have shed their own blood, have made great and innumerable sacrifices, have selflessly fought for the interests of the people, therefore the people have great confidence in the Party and the communists. But it is imperative that we zealously safeguard this great confidence of the masses in the Party, for this is the greatest strength of our Party. Our Party and country have always borne in mind and respected this Leninist principle, therefore both Party and people have developed strong ties of

mutual affection and have complete confidence in one another. This is clear to all and beyond no doubt. The question now is for the Party to preserve and further develop this great principle which has already triumphed in our country, in everyday relations, in personal relations and relations of work. The confidence of the communists in the non-party people must be evident in concrete deeds. Indeed, you may be a Party member and have a Party card in your pocket, but in order to be fully entitled to your card, you must have confidence in those who are not Party members, who do not have a Party card, but who are good people, distinguished workers, honest and endowed with all good qualities. Why should we have confidence only in the person who is a Party member and not in another who is not in the Party, but who is just as loyal to the people and the party, who, if asked «Go, throw yourself into the fire», is ready to make any sacrifice at any time for the Party. It may be that such a person has not joined the Party because he lacks some of the qualities of a communist, but he too is determined, he too is loyally implementing the line, he is, so to say, «a non party bolshevik». A non-party patriot is ready to go anywhere he is asked, to fulfill any task entrusted to him, however difficult, not because he communicates with this or that communist, but because he is convinced that this is the line of the Party and he carries out its instructions due to his love for the Party.

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

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

themselves that they are their own sons and daughters, their best people, therefore, this confidence should be mutually safeguarded and developed.

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

I was pleased with the contribution of comrade Nika Treska, head of the Executive Committee of the People's Council in the town of Burrel, when she spoke of the good contacts there between the councilors and the masses of their electors, in order to solve their problems together with the people. This is precisely the correct road the Party requires us to follow, this is how we must always act in this direction. Nevertheless, it is known that we do not activate the deputies, the members of the regional People's Councils, or the members of the People's Councils of the village as much as we should and in the way we should. And we make a great mistake in not activating them in the affairs of governing the state and controlling the economy. There are hundreds and thousands of the best people, therefore, in the first place, they must learn how to govern the state and the economy, we must teach them to maintain close ties with the masses who have elected them and to bring the voice, remarks and proposals of the masses to the councils, to bring the truth as it exists, without disguising it, without opportunism. Certainly, there are employees of the administration who are honest, but we cannot say that all employees at the administration apparatuses are the same. It is a fact that there are opportunists among them, that there are others who seek to guard their posts, who curry favor with their superiors and when they do not carry out their tasks, try to conceal it. Whereas, when the councilor, in the capacity of one elected by the people, maintains close ties with the masses, he brings the voice of the masses to the council.

But, do the councilors have any powers? Yes, they do, and many at that. Then, why don't we give them these powers in practice? We have said many times how the councils should act, but it should be recognized openly that we do not activate them as much as we should; we have more faith in the people of the apparatuses than in the councilors who are elected from the masses of the people. This has resulted in the apparatuses of the Executive Committees of the regional People's Councils being excessively inflated with appointed people, especially at present under the pretext of the extension of powers. Thus, at present, there are from 120-130 people in the apparatuses of the Executive Committees of the

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

Comrades, are we going on the correct road by acting like this? This is not the first time that the Party has raised the question of activating the elected people. It has emphasized this many times before, and has advised us how to act with them. The councilors are the direct representatives of the people, they are elected by them. The Party, the state empower and the people have granted the deputy the right, when, for example, he observes something wrong in the trading network, or when the electors complain to him that there is partiality in that network, etc., even if he is a worker in a factory or plant, to simply pick up the telephone and inform the director of the enterprises where he works that he must, that every day, go personally to control some of the trading units. It is the Party who teaches him to act like this, whereas the director of his enterprise should not raise obstacles, but on the contrary, should allow him to get down to his task as a deputy in the way he should. Similarly, two or three deputies, and here I am not only speaking of the deputies of the People's Assembly, but of those of the regional People's Councils as well, are in quite a good position to substitute 20-30 employees accumulated in the apparatus of the Executive Committee. But, where are the deputies actually working? One may be working at a boot maker's shop, another at a carpenter's, another a factory, construction site, etc. All of them are representatives of the people, are men of production, men of the class, therefore, if they are activated, they could do much of the work. We have dwelt at length on control by the class, but it seems to me that this question has been somewhat passed over in silence, has been cooled down. But class control means that the working class should stand up and aid the party in carrying out the directive issued. The Party cannot live without the class, just as the class cannot ensure victory and forge ahead without the Party. Both of them, then, collaborate closely with one another.

The working class, when it sees that the Party has inflated its apparatuses, draws attention to it, tells it that a mistake is being made here, informs it that

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

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

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

who might make matters look a bit better or arrange matters only amongst themselves, finishing up with some remark on the registration card. On the contrary, everything should be carried out to the letter so that, when the worker control goes back to the trading sector, it does not find the same situation again, every shortcoming should be done away with, and the situation be improved. Otherwise the workers should go to the Party and demand the dismissal of such a director, because he is to blame for the fact that measures are not being taken to strengthen the situation in his sector, or he should be reprimanded, transferred to some other job, etc. The word of the workers should be carried out within as short a time as possible, because this is the class control, otherwise there is no class control, except in words.

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

Lenin says:

«There should be organized regularly not only general meetings for the masses of workers and peasants, but also meetings for the cadres in responsible positions to render account on their work before masses of workers and peasants. Such meetings should be organized by all means not less than once a month, so that possibilities be created for the non-party masses of workers and peasants to criticize the Soviet organs and their work. Account should be rendered not only by the communists, but by all cadres as well, at all posts of responsibility, in the first place, at the organs of trade and people's economy.»
(V.I. Lenin, Works . vol 20. Rus. edition. 1932)

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

open their mouth. The correctness or incorrectness of the leadership is judged by the masses, and the leadership is responsible to the masses for what it does.

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

There are cases when dealing with some matters, even though we handle them well, some people give us trouble. Here it was mentioned how the people themselves decided on distributing study bursaries. When we act in this way, everything is solved correctly and no-one can say anything against us. Nevertheless, some discontented people may appear, who even in such cases say: «partiality is being shown.»

He believes that the Party does not know how it was done, therefore he thinks he will try to see if he can profit in an unjust way; he thinks since this is a democratic regime, even if he does not succeed in this he loses nothing. The forms of work you have practiced concerning study bursaries are democratic,

therefore as many as such forms as possible should be found for every problem to prevent them from being decided on by the administration apparatuses alone, say for example by the chief of the trade section, because the chief could be flattered by someone who is trying to hide his own dirty linen and trying to make the chief keep his mouth shut, perhaps be even sending him some early season tomatoes, some peaches, or a basket of grapes, and if the chief accepts them, he has no alternative but to help hide this man's dirty linen. Whereas in front of the people they could not act in this manner; the people would not descend to such tactics and when they see that you are not acting correctly, they would pull your ears.

And what has the Party said about the question of the cadres? The Party has instructed that the masses should be consulted about everyone who is to be appointed. If the need arises to appoint a director, first, we should address ourselves to the collective and ask them: «Do you want this director, comrades?» There are cases at present when such questions are posed, but they are frequently formal, for in fact the opinion of the collective is «taken into account» last of all. First the nominee is asked whether he agrees to the transfer, the question is decided by the organ which has him on the list of nominees, then finally the cadre's office is informed, and only after these procedures, when everything has been decided upon, do we go and talk the matter over with the workers to see whether they want this person for their director or not. But, the matter should not be handled like that; the decision should be taken after having first asked the opinion of the workers, after having ensured the workers' consent, and after having urged them to stand up and speak their mind in front of the collective on everything they know about this candidate, to express their opinion on whether he is fit to be a director or not. In a word during the meeting the question should be debated and the opinions discussed. When it is seen that the overwhelming majority has expressed its opinion on the person, then the decision is voted on. This manner of electing and deciding on the cadre is more democratic. And only after this process should the proposal be considered by the organ which has the list of nominees on the basis of his personal file which is presented to the organ. The personal file of the candidate should reflect all that has been said by the workers. Their words should not be scattered to the wind as happens now, so that his file contains on the official's words, the words of the chief of the cadres office. This practice should be changed. A man is better known by those who work and live with him day and night. However able a person in charge of the cadre's office may be, he cannot know everyone from his office.

Someone may appear and say to us: «Hold on, comrades, such things must not be handled in this way. Are there regulations to be observed here, or not?»

Yes, we should answer this man, we have regulations, but the ones which we are talking about are the best regulations, more revolutionary, more just, more democratic and in no way bureaucratic. Therefore, when nominating a person to some post the matter is discussed by the collective, the secretary of the party organization of the base, who is present, absolutely must write to the party on what was said about that person, without keeping anything secret from the committee, so that the personal file reflects the reality and that the decision taken be just and objective.

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

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

We should understand democracy correctly, both within and outside the Party. In the first place, we should be clear that, above all, it is necessary to strive to convince people politically. Political persuasion does not arise of itself, or fall from the sky, but is an entire process, formed through incessant political work among the people, following the correct line of the Party, and is achieved by

explaining everything to them with patience, wisdom, good conduct, Marxist benevolence, by explaining it once, twice, and then, when the other won't listen, with severity. But we should resort to the greatest ruthlessness against the class enemy. The question of political persuasion is closely linked with democracy, If we really seek democracy, we should make efforts to convince people politically, otherwise we will be forced to resort to violence, which the party does not permit, for it pursues the road of convincing the people, the road of democracy.

In this regard there are some people who try and capitalize off our true democracy, and attempt to profit from it for their own narrow interests or in order to satisfy their own personal whims. It happens that someone, although he is a worker, writes asking me «to take measures against the team leader» of his workshop, because one day, on coming to work, the team leader did not wish him good-morning and on this account he put up a flash poster against the team leader. It seems that this man is not in his senses. Even if the team leader did not greet him, what's wrong with that? Maybe, the team leader had something on his mind at that time, and how could we punish our men for such a trifle? But the fact is that in our ranks there are such people as this worker, with pronounced petty bourgeois vestiges in their minds, who go beyond the limit. Instead of addressing himself to the team leader, as a comrade would, such a man as this will take revenge. He should kindly enquire why the other did not greet him, clear up the matter with him. Instead, he leaves no stone unturned before addressing himself to me through a letter. Comrades, this means to abuse the correct democratic forms of our order.

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

Despite this, it is observed that a series of crimes are committed in our country, especially to the detriment of socialist property. Therefore, in this regard great ideo-political work should be done by the Party, the youth, the parents, etc. Special concern should be shown for the young people, especially in the large towns, where some unpleasant manifestations occur, such as pickpocketing, etc., whereas the matter is somewhat different in the countryside. However, we should exert our efforts everywhere to install a conscious discipline, especially among

our youth, without in any way permitting liberalism and anarchy, which we should fight against.

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

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

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

fight and respond there, how able and energetic they are, how they understand Marxism-Leninism, democracy, criticism, etc.

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

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

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

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

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

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

«What happens if the Party itself begins in this or that way to confront the class, by infringing upon the basis of the correct relations with the class, by infringing on the basis of mutual confidence? Generally speaking, are such cases possible? Yes, they are. They are possible:

- 1) When the Party begins to prop up the prestige it enjoys with the masses not by means of its work and the confidence of the masses, but by the means of «unlimited» rights.*
- 2) When the policy of the Party is overly wrong and it does not want to reexamine and correct its mistake.*
- 3) When the policy of the Party is just on the whole, but the masses are not yet ready to grasp it, and the Party does not want or does not know how to wait, so as to enable the masses to become convinced of the correctness of the policy of the Party through their own experience and attempts to impose it on the masses» (J.V. Stalin, Works, Vol. 8)*

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

The Bolshevik Party, in Lenin's time, did not make mistakes. At the time when Stalin was at the head of the Central Committee some distortions were made by bureaucrats, but the fundamental principles of the general line of the Party remained intact. They were trampled to death, when the Party leadership and the state power were usurped by the Khrushchovite revisionists.

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

Thus, for example, at a united agricultural cooperative in Tirana, the secretary of the Party organization of the base gives an order to search all peasants' houses without exception to find out who had stolen a certain amount of olives from the cooperative. Who gave this secretary the right to order every house to be searched? Nobody? This act is a great offence to the people, by capitalizing on the name of the Party. According to the laws of our state, no one can enter anyone else's house without their permission. Neither the Party nor the law allows for someone's house to be searched in contravention to the fixed regulations. Only the prosecutor has the right to issue an authorization of entry into a citizen's house, but the prosecutor, too, should think the matter over well before the search is conducted, he should have concrete evidence that theft or crimes is committed, and only then does he order the police to start the search. Whereas, some communist comrades, taking things lightly and proceeding from the erroneous concept that «the Party can do anything», go and search all the houses of the village merely because one or two persons have stolen some pounds of olives! To allow such erroneous, arbitrary acts which originate from the distorted view that the «party can do anything», leads to the road mentioned by Stalin, when the Party endeavours to prop up its own prestige not by its own work, not on the confidence of the masses, but on its «unlimited» rights.

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

A cooperative member from Elbasan writes me a letter, whose content is really very bitter, extraordinarily bitter. Among other things he wants to know when the Party organization at the Shirjan agricultural cooperative will cease

making mistakes? For it has ordered that all privately owned live-stock be sold or slaughtered. The writer of this letter wonders how it is possible for such a thing to be done. At first, we could not bring ourselves to believe that such an order was issued either, therefore we sent people to verify the matter on the spot. What was the result of the control? It came out that this order was issued by the Executive Committee of the Regional People's Council, by the bureaucrats of the agricultural section. When these «scribes» over there were asked why this order was given to this cooperative, they answered that it was thought that in the future it would become a higher-type cooperative, therefore, privately owned live-stock, according to their distracted minds, should either be slaughtered or sold. This act, which was in open contradiction to the Party line, and which had worn the patience of this cooperative member thin, urged him to write me this letter. But because of this order from the 2,400 ewes owned privately by the cooperative members prior to the issue of this order, about 800 ewes were sold at the time when the verification was being made. When people understood that this was a wrong order, they stood up and demanded an explanation of the Executive Committee which had taken this decision in opposition to the Party line. The people were right.

Such orders, issued in the name of the Party, but which, in fact, run counter to its line, are hostile. Therefore, can we allow these people to commit such monstrosities? No, we can never allow them to, otherwise we oppose the Party to the masses. Therefore, anyone who acts against the directives of the Party, against the masses, should be sent to the people without hesitation, and should tell them personally that the mistake was not made by the Party, but by us bureaucrats, he should apologise and bed the people to give him somewhere to shelter his head, some tatters to sleep on, some job in the fields, and, if the cooperative has enough meat and milk, to let him eat some too, if the cooperative has not let him wait until it produces them.

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

A directive has been issued that the number of goats should be reduced, but this too, should be thoughtfully carried out. We shall reduce their number

only because they damage our forests and yield little, nevertheless, a sling as they are not yet replaced with more productive animals, their number should not be reduced; this reduction should be carried out gradually and carefully, so that our children do not lack food. This is how it will be done with ewes too, although, as is known, we will never aim at completely doing away with them, because a number of them should be kept for the future, too, to meet the needs of the present and of the future, especially for wool, but also that this useful animal eats a part of fodder that other animals do not and turns them into material goods.

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

The Party does not oppose the desire of the people. If its correct line is not well understood, then the implementation of the line must never be imposed on the masses. The Party should continue to patiently explain to the masses, without hurrying or opposing the people. Connected with this, Stalin teaches us:

«Even the greatest Party might be caught unawares, even the greatest Party might be at the end of its tether if it does not draw lessons from history, if it does not increasingly temper the militant readiness of its class everyday. Comrades, to be caught unawares is something extremely dangerous. To be caught unawares means to become the victim of «surprise», victims of panic in the face of the enemy. But panic leads to disintegration, to defeat, to the abyss» (J.V Stalin, Works, Vol 2.)

In our Party work we should always bear in mind these teachings of Stalin. It might happen that the Party opposes itself to the class and gets caught unawares. This might happen not only to a big party, but also to a small one. The

possibility of the catastrophe as foreseen by Stalin, even happening to a big party when it is taken by surprise and does not draw its lessons from history, etc., etc., unfortunately was proved in the Soviet Union after his death. The Bolshevik Party of Lenin and Stalin was not in militant readiness at a certain moment, it is caught unawares by the class enemy. In the Soviet Union this was how modern revisionism emerged which represented the bureaucratic, corrupt elements, the enemy of Marxism-Leninism, the enemy of the Leninist revolutionary norms of the Party, and which had wormed its way into the party and remained hidden there as a cocoon.

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

The people who begin to embark on this regressive, degenerating process, endeavour to exploit the prestige of the Party for their own interests, to raise its name high through hypocrisy. There are those who sincerely try to uphold the name of the Party, and there are those who, under this guise, do nothing but strive to make a fetish of themselves, of their own ego. There are some of the latter kind here and there who, charged with Party work, are always talking about the Party. Why do they do this? They do this to add to their own importance, they stick their chest out to show that they are «the envoys of the Party», to imply that you should weigh your words well when speaking to them, you should listen to what they say and do as they tell you! These are bad, antirevolutionary stands and are maintained by the bureaucrats. These people are inclined, in general, to minimize their own faults, to make them as small as possible, and, possibly, even to cover them up so that they will not be questioned. But, who do they conceal

these faults from? From those who strive to be faultless, who try to spot the mistakes and denounce them, who criticize and take measures to correct them without delay. It is precisely these people that such bureaucrats are afraid of.

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

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

The mistakes committed by some individuals run counter to the line of the Party. Comrades, if such cases are allowed to exist and multiply, if those persons

thinking that the Party enjoys «unlimited» rights are allowed to act freely, the what happened to the Communist Party of the Soviet Union will happen here: arbitrary acts, appropriate and inappropriate measures under the pretext of «defending the Party» and «safeguarding its authority». In fact arbitrary acts lead to separation of the Party from the class, from the masses, to its disarming and weakening, and finally to its liquidation. What Stalin predicted about a Party being caught unawares, must never be forgotten by our Party, must always be borne in mind. Our Party is a strong Party, a Party which zealously defends its norms, which fights and will continually fight for them. Nevertheless, here and there exist some negative manifestations, some tendencies of certain bureaucrats or immature people, and it is precisely against them that we should fight in time, as soon they crop up and we should correct them by all means as quickly as possible.

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

As you know, since the betrayal by the Soviet revisionists, and their stooges, the international Marxist-Leninist movement has been engaged in a severe life-and-death struggle against them. Our Party is in the van of this struggle which we must carry through to the end; therefore, in our country it is indispensable for both the people and the army to be armed and trained in military arts. But we, the Party members and our entire people, parallel with arming ourselves militarily, should first of all be armed with our invincible theory of Marxism-Leninism, we will also find it in the vivid, long and militant experience of our Party. Therefore, we must consider that enlivening of the revolutionary life of the grass root organizations, of the Party Committees at all levels, as an important permanent task of ours. By attaching first-hand importance to the ideological militant training of the Party, by being aware and armed, we shall never be taken by surprise, on the contrary we will be always in the vanguard, in the place of honor in the struggle against the class enemies, whether internal or external, against imperialism and revisionism, until our final victory.

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

Servility is irreconcilable with the nature of the communist, wherever he works, at the center of the grass root. The elected have been brought to the leadership of all levels by the electors, but both sides, the elected and the electors, should collaborate and strive for the implementation of the Party line, without hesitation, and without servility towards one another. Such a revolutionary collaboration leaves no room for timidity, servility, or fear on the part of anyone. It is only in this way that the Party, its Marxist-Leninist line, are defended. Such a stand is a powerful blow dealt by our Party at the reactionary, bourgeois imperialism, anti-Marxist and revisionist ideologies.

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

But facts indicate the opposite. The Communist League organized by Marx and Engels was a party for the proletariat. In many of their writings they have stressed in particular, the need to organize the communist party to lead the working class. The revisionists cannot negate this, it is clear as the rising sun. On the other hand, the revisionists say that Lenin has not only deviated from the ideas of Marx, but that he also distorted them, thus opening the way for the emergence of bureaucracy, etc. etc.; and they make precisely the same accusation against Stalin too.

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

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

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

**Speech delivered at the plenary session of the
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