

**FROM THE REPORT SUBMITTED TO THE 3rd
CONGRESS OF THE PLA «ON THE ACTIVITY OF THE
CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF THE PARTY OF
LABOUR OF ALBANIA»**

May 25, 1956

.....

1. Improving the composition of the Party

As Marxism-Leninism and the experience of our Party teach us, the strength of the Party and the steel unity of its ranks lie first of all in the social composition of the Party, in the quality and the purity of its ranks. This is why the improvement of the composition of our Party has been and remains one of our major problems.

In the period since the 2nd Congress, the party organizations have done more careful work to bring into the ranks of the Party the best, most loyal and resolute people, from the working class in the first place, from the labouring peasantry, and from the people's intelligentsia. As a result of this work, some successes have been achieved in the improvement of the composition of the Party.

While at the 2nd Congress of the Party only 11.5 per cent of the membership of the Party were of worker social status, today workers make up 17.7 per cent of its membership, i.e. there has been a rise of 6.2 per cent. Among admissions to the Party over this period, workers make up 23.55 per cent, members of agricultural cooperatives 6.18 per cent, members of handicraft cooperatives 2.61 per cent, poor and middle peasants 37.5 per cent, and office workers, students etc., 30.15 per cent.

These figures show that, despite some improvement in comparison with the past, we still have not done well in the work of regulating the composition of the Party, especially concerning the faster increase of the number of workers in its ranks. Far from occupying first place among those admitted to the Party, the percentage of workers, in comparison with the percentage of those coming from other strata, especially from the strata of office workers, is still very unsatisfactory.

In our country, all possibilities have been created for the constant improvement of the composition of the Party, because our industry has been set up and extended. The increase of the ranks of the Party with elements from the working class is a vital question for the Party. But it is observed that some party committees and organizations do not tackle properly the problem of preparing elements from the working class for admission to the Party, but often agree to applications from office people and are deceived by their words and attitudes, for they speak and act more skilfully. The party organizations should understand well that the time has come to increase perceptibly the percentage of workers in the total membership of the Party, and to educate the working class elements through active work. Naturally, this

does not mean that from now on we should carelessly fling open the doors of the Party to all workers who want to join it. Admission to the Party should always be made individually, and after a careful assessment of all the qualities of each person who wants to join the Party. It should not be forgotten that the working class does not live apart from the other classes and strata of our people. It swells its ranks everyday with new elements coming from the labouring peasantry or from strata of the town, who bring with them the petty-bourgeois mentality, the psychology of private ownership, etc. Therefore from among the ranks of the working class we should select for the Party mainly elements who, through constant efforts, through a more or less long period of work in industry and the mines, and through organized work for their education, have previously strengthened their consciousness as members of the vanguard class.

There is no doubt that while demanding that the greatest possible attention be attached to the admission of workers to the Party, it should not completely renounce admitting to its ranks workers from other strata, especially members of agricultural cooperatives and those who come from poor strata, staunch and tested elements with an unblemished record, ready to fight selflessly for the cause of the Party. But it should be borne in mind that the overwhelming percentage of admissions should be workers, and that the party organizations should further raise their standards for office employees, middle peasants, etc., applying for the admission to the Party, so as to check the penetration of bureaucracy into the Party...

2. The development of criticism and self-criticism and strengthening of party and state discipline

Since the 2nd Party Congress, successes have been scored in the development of criticism and self-criticism in the Party. By creating a warmed atmosphere, by paying greater attention to the remarks and suggestions of the mass of party members and non-party masses, by improving the education of the communists, possibilities have been created for a broader and more correct development of criticism from the bottom up. This has helped to intensify the activity and raise the initiative of the party members and of the basic organizations themselves, and has at the same time increased the control of the party and non-party masses over the elected organs. In the discussions of important problems in the Party, the basic organizations, plenums, meetings of party activists, conferences and especially meetings to render account and to hold elections, have become true tribunes for the broader development of criticism and self-criticism. Suffice it to mention that in last year's elections, over 59 per cent of those at the meetings took part in discussions, making their suggestions about the work of the party bureaus and committees and the elected organs in general. In some districts, such as Gjirokastra this figure is above 80 per cent. These facts show not only that the boldness of the communists in making fearless criticism has increased, but also that the sense of responsibility of the communists for the overall progress of the work, for the correction of mistakes and elimination of weaknesses at work, has risen. This is a fact of major importance, expressing the militant vitality of the Party.

But the broader development of criticism and self-

-criticism and especially of criticism from below, often runs up against obstacles, which we should remove without fail and without loss of time.

First of all, it is necessary to strengthen further the responsibility of the communists, and the elected organs should render account in an open, concrete way to their electors, because it often happens that reports by the elected organs pass lightly over shortcomings and mistakes, and speak about them only in general terms, minimizing the responsibility of the leading comrades for weaknesses at work. As a result, all the brunt falls on the people at the base. Such methods without doubt hinder criticism from below and place the bureaus, the secretaries of the party committees and other responsible comrades in a privileged position. The mass of the party members and the working people in general need to see the responsible comrades setting an example concerning self-criticism. Sincere admission of mistakes results in the improvement of the cadres and the work. The opposite happens when self-criticism is formal; and unfortunately, there are many comrades who have made a habit of always making 'self-criticism', but continually making the same mistakes in the same things. Obviously such 'self-criticism' is not constructive, and does not serve either the improvement of cadres or of the work; it should be abandoned as soon as possible.

Criticism and self-criticism — powerful weapons of Marxist-Leninist parties — are not empty meaningless slogans. While working, communists too make mistakes; communists are not said to be infallible, but they should make fewer mistakes than other people, because the Party educates them through its struggle and in the process of work. Devoted rank-and-file communists are not afraid

to admit their mistakes; they have the courage to speak the truth squarely to anyone's face. But this is not the case with those elements who harbour petty-bourgeois vestige, like the megalomaniacs, braggards, liars, frauds etc., who have been admitted to the Party by mistake, or who have not made and do not make efforts to benefit from the teachings and struggle of the Party, so as to eliminate these vices. It is essential to analyse these mistakes and shortcomings profoundly before the Party and the masses, and to bring out fully the responsibility of overyone, no matter who he may be, for the failure to carry out tasks and implement decisions. . .

The Central Committee of the Party has also paid attention to the deepening of criticism and self-criticism in the party organizations of the People's Army, and of the border guard units, and in this respect numerous successes have been scored, but it should always be borne in mind that the standards fixed by the Central Committee of the Party for the development of criticism should be strictly observed.

The mass of party members should simultaneously be vigilant not only against formal self-criticism, but also against denigrating, groundless and slanderous criticism, which aim at discrediting honest party members.

One of the most elementary tasks of the party committees and of the organs of our state power is to show constant concern to listen attentively to the voice of the base, to every criticism coming from below, however little importance it has. To assess it carefully, always to solve problems correctly, and regularly to inform the organizations or people who have made criticism of the measures taken to solve the problems, is one of the prin-

cial conditions for the broader development of criticism from below.

Finally, one serious obstacle to criticism from below is the persecution by some responsible people of those who criticize. Comrades, this is a grave matter, but unfortunately there are still people who revenge themselves on those who criticize them.

... It is the duty of the party organizations to submit the activity of every communist, whatever his responsibility, to party criticism. All without exception should be tempered on the anvil of the party basic organization. Some responsible comrades raise objections solely out of megalomania when the basic organization justly criticizes them, but when they are called before the higher organs they accept their mistakes, saying 'yes' a hundred times. Thus, these unsound people combine arrogance with servility.

It is the task of the entire Party to clear the way for the all-round development of criticism. Constant, incessant struggle against shortcomings and weaknesses in the entire work of the party, state and economic organizations and other sectors, is the guarantee of our successes. Every communist, every worker of the Republic should understand that it is his duty to raise his voice right up to the Central Committee of the Party, against shortcomings he notices anywhere and in anyone. Only if all show concern in all matters will the speedy development of the country be ensured along the road defined by the Party.....

*Enver Hoxha. Works, vol. 13,
pp. 271, 417-419, 421-431*

**FROM THE REPORT OF THE POLITICAL BUREAU
OF THE CC OF THE PLA «ON THE FURTHER
STRENGTHENING OF THE PARTY»**

December 13, 1963

.....

IV

**A VERY IMPORTANT TASK FOR THE FURTHER
STRENGTHENING OF THE PARTY IS THE
ENLIVENMENT OF THE INTERNAL LIFE
OF ITS ORGANIZATIONS AND THE
INTENSIFICATION OF THE ACTIVITY OF
THE COMMUNISTS**

In all our work we should always bear in mind that the strength of the Party lies in the activity of its members. Without their vigorous activity, without the sound, free, fruitful and creative participation of party members in the discussion and solution of problems, the great revolutionary tasks of the Party, cannot be carried out

and its life weakens and withers away. «The communists», comrade Enver Hoxha says, «are people with broad horizons, with developed and progressive thinking they are revolutionary people who have new thoughts and this constitutes the genuine strength of the Party. If this great strength of the Party, this Bolshevik dynamism of the party masses is neglected, then the strength of the Party withers, and the committees and leaders remain unworthy bureaucrats.»¹

The consistent implementation of these teachings by our Party is proved by the militant and healthy spirit which prevails in all the party basic organizations, by the revolutionary drive of the communists and of the working masses. Could we have imagined such results, the steel unity, militancy and iron discipline, mobilization and wonderful initiatives, if our Party had not relied strongly on the masses of the Party and people, if it had not raised all questions openly and solved them together with them, if it had not sought their advice? But it is clear to us that, as in all other questions, in this field too we should not be content with the results achieved, that the successes we have achieved should serve as a springboard for new successes. We should make far more efforts to have party democracy, the sharp weapon of criticism and self-criticism, serve always and everywhere as a sure basis for progress, enabling us to throw aside everything alien and old, and to overcome every obstacle. Therefore, we find it appropriate to consider here some problems connected with the further strengthening of democracy in the internal life of the Party.

1) Enver Hoxha. Works, Vol. 7, p. 265-266.

1) *We should insist more on the lively and broadest possible participation of all communists in the discussion and solution of the problems of the Party.*

This is a question of great importance for the Party. It is true that, in general, we have done good work in this respect. There is no indifference in our Party. But behind this generally satisfactory situation are hidden some unpleasant though limited phenomena.

There are comrades in the basic organizations of the Party, and even in the higher organs of the Party, who seldom speak out, or never speak at all. Certainly, it would be wrong to demand that all communists or members of the higher organs should always speak on every issue. This would be excessive. But that they should never open their mouths at the meeting of the basic organization or plenum, is impermissible...

Therefore, we should bear in mind especially:

a) *That we should better prepare and organize the meetings of the basic organizations or plenums.* First of all, importance should be attached to the choice of the questions to be brought up for discussion at the meeting. An ordinary problem which has been discussed many times, which does not arouse particular interest among the communists, does not encourage discussions or electrify the meeting, but make it boring. The Plenum of the Party Committee of the city of Tirana, for example, during the last two years, has several times taken up for discussion, in the same way, the question of inventions, rationalizations and new products. The topic, undoubtedly, is interesting, but if you list one after another the inventions made and the varieties of new products turned out, and if you raise this matter in the

same way several times over, undoubtedly it will lose its interest, and therefore there will not be discussions, or they will be of little value.

The selection of the problem which is genuinely the most important, most preoccupying and most interesting to take up for consideration should not be the concern of the leading comrades alone, the secretaries, or the members of the bureaus, but of the entire basic organization or plenum. As everywhere, here too the common experience and the exchange of opinions is indispensable and invaluable. We should do this much better than we have up to now. This will help to make the life of the Party more militant. Then, in order to organize the meeting better greater attention should be devoted to the preparation of the report and the draft-decisions or the tasks to be put forward. Well prepared party meetings help to develop a more vigorous life, and the broader participation of the communists in the life of the Party.

b) *The concern shown by the communists for the activities of the Party in general influences their broader participation in discussions.* It is evident that there is a narrow understanding of the tasks of the communist, of the member of a party forum, as though he need only work well and be responsible for the work he is assigned to in the sector where he works. Thus not only in the basic organization, but in the plenums too you hear people speak only about «their work» or when some matter of «their sector» is raised. This is not enough for a communist and, especially, for the leading cadres. Every party member should feel responsibility for the work of the Party. To the meetings of the party organizations and, even more so, to those of the higher bodies, they should bring the voice of the masses, their experience, their

demands. If we create this consciousness, then every communist is bound to have something to say and to discuss when questions are raised at the party meeting. We should work to have every communist always come prepared for discussion, so as to give his opinion concerning the questions to be discussed at a particular meeting.

c) *We should make the party meetings as militant and effective as possible so as to raise the initiative of the communists at work.* As is known, party meetings discuss the most important problems, the key problems which bear on the progress of the work and which, therefore, it is essential to discuss collectively, getting the opinion of all the communist, and ensuring the energetic involvement of the collective. The way the party meetings are conducted is the principal expression of party democracy, a concrete expression of the lively participation of the masses of the Party in the discussion and solution of problems. Their role here is very great; party meetings are an irreplaceable form for the development of the forces of the party, to keep them vigorous and give them fresh energies. Thus they not only have a great influence on the problem under discussion, but enliven the entire work of the Party.

Nevertheless, in daily work, this important aspect is very often forgotten. And this is not the case with the basic organizations alone, but also with the plenums, meetings of activists, e'c. As a result, sometimes it is difficult to tell a meeting of the Party from a meeting of the state or economic organs. But this is not all, this is not all we intended to speak about. It is very worrying that sometimes very formal and lifeless meetings are held which do not encourage free discussion, but constrict the communists, and constrict their thinking. In this

respect some comrades who are orderly and correct in their party work, but who have not yet been able to understand properly the essence of the organizational methods our Party uses, often show themselves to be overzealous. Undoubtedly this greatly lowers the value and usefulness of party meetings; we must eliminate this practice as something alien to the internal life of our Party.

2) We should further develop and improve criticism and self-criticism in the Party, as the main weapon for strengthening democracy in the Party, and further invigorating its inner life.

Our Party has always borne in mind this law of development and growth, and a constant struggle has always been waged in its ranks against everything bad, against every alien manifestation, against every shortcoming and weakness. It is precisely due to this that the work of the Party in general has made constant progress. The Party has never become rusty, or suffered from hardening of its arteries.

He who thinks that there will be no mistakes is wrong. The point is to discover the mistakes quickly, criticize them so that we do not repeat them, and draw lessons from them. As there are and will continually be mistakes in our work, we should fight them continually, and criticism and self-criticism should become a habit of the internal life of the Party and a method of our daily work.

To this end, special attention should be paid to the rendering of account by responsible persons, the leading organs, and the elected organs, to the mass of the Party.

The meetings to render account and hold elections in the party basic organizations, party conferences, party plenums, and meetings of activists, are of first-hand importance for the invigoration of the life of the Party, for the deepening of criticism and self-criticism. Their spirit influences and permeates the entire life of the party organizations. Their important function in the life of the Party, as well as the function of the other party meetings, is closely connected with their development in full compliance with the spirit of rendering account, with the stand of the most responsible comrades, and of the members of the higher organs of the Party. But rendering account, and self-criticism for weaknesses observed are occasionally replaced by some comrades with now well-known formulae. Usually, to be formally in order, after speaking about problems, after levelling their fire against others, they add that «I am also to blame for the weaknesses, for I direct such-and-such a sector.» It is common knowledge, the ABC of our work, that the higher organs and the leading cadres are responsible to the party organizations for the sectors they lead. But for the Party, for its work, and for the cadres themselves, it is useful and effective to define where the responsibility lies, where the shortcomings are, and what are their causes. This is elementary for the development of criticism and self-criticism. It is only in this way that shortcomings can be corrected. In this respect we should demand more of the meetings of plenums. There are especially numerous shortcomings in the way the meetings of the party activists are run. There are cases when they are turned into parades of the results achieved, or into ordinary meetings to give instructions. In the districts and in the plenums, the level of rendering account, of criticism and

self-criticism, is sometimes lowered by excesses apparent in the enlarged meetings.

It should be understood and once and for all that without the concrete example of the leading cadres, appeals to discuss freely, to criticize without fear, are empty words for the party members. The cadres should make self-criticism to enable criticism to develop. In every party forum, criticism should begin in the first place with the members of the forum themselves. But we must admit openly that this is not always done, and in some cases not even by some comrades with high responsibility. Some responsible comrades have this stand towards criticism: as long as work goes well, it is the result of common efforts, but they let it be understood that it is mainly the result of their work; when it does not go well, then others are to blame and the self-criticism they make in those cases is such that in essence the blame is passed onto others, to subordinates. We can see this in such a simple but important question as the preparation of materials for the bureaus of the party committees in the districts. The responsibility for these rests with the secretaries, and they sign them according to the sector they are in charge of; but when it comes to criticism, in the majority of cases it is levelled against the instructors.

The stand of the responsible comrades towards criticism is of special importance in the basic organizations of the Party. Sometimes shortcomings here have a broader and more aggravated character. There are very few cases in which persons in posts of responsibility are criticized. Some managers, chairmen of agricultural co-operatives, those in charge of administrative institutions, etc., especially when they are in a privileged position, main-

tain almost the same stand in the basic organization as when fulfilling their functions. They take upon themselves the role of «dividing the blame» among the others, and of assigning tasks. These people should be told where they belong, they should submit fully to the discipline of the Party. There is no distinction among the communists in the basic organization, there they are all equals, party members with equal rights.

... The uncovering of weaknesses and shortcomings, and their just criticism, constitute one of the principal tasks of the party members. The stand towards criticism should be considered as one of the most important indications of communist development, of the devotion of the cadres and party members to the cause of socialism and communism. It should be well understood by all that criticism and self-criticism are a permanent method of our work, without which our Party cannot exist, cannot take up and solve problems properly, and cannot make headway to solve problems, to advance. Therefore, it should do this continually and fearlessly. Indifference, silence, unhealthy friendship, etc., can show only one thing, that the general interest, the interest of the Party, is not the main concern. For the party work to run smoothly, it is of major importance that criticism should be correct, principled and frank, and it should always stem from the aim of promoting the work of the Party. After every such criticism, however severe it may be, our people should emerge stronger and sounder, as brothers and comrades united by a great aim, to which all energies and particular interests are submitted.

3) *Conscious and persistent struggle to carry out all tasks — an indispensable factor for the invigouration of the life of the party organizations, and the strengthening of their role.*

In the life of the party basic organizations we sometimes come across a striking phenomenon: only some of the comrades discuss, make comments, criticisms and proposals, and are assigned to tasks. This is more pronounced at the general meeting of the basic organizations, with a large number of communists. But what concern is shown for the activation of the others? In many cases this question receives only a general answer and this, of course, is not without reason. This serious shortcoming is often spoken of, but people do not stop to determine the necessary organizational measures to correct this fault...

It is especially important to strengthen the spirit of conscious discipline in all communists. The decisions taken, and the tasks assigned, should be carried out without fail, and criticism and self-criticism in the Party should be carried out precisely on this question.

The strengthening of discipline in all these aspects still remains a problem. We should introduce deep into the life of the party organizations the sound practice of carrying out without fail the tasks assigned. If they are not carried out, the entire organization should be alarmed...

Simultaneously, the personal example of the communists should be followed with greater concern, and improved to meet the demands of the time, from every point of view. It is especially necessary to understand that this problem constitutes a great force influencing not only non-party working people, but also party members them-

selves. Life shows that when some comrades only speak of the implementation of decisions, of the discipline of the Party, etc., while they themselves act otherwise, then the decisions and the tasks assigned are left half way...

Our party democracy cannot be understood without iron but conscious discipline. Therefore, when we speak of increasing the role of the basic organizations, of invigorating their inner life, in the first place and above all, we should take into account the strengthening of discipline. In our aid to the basic organizations, this should occupy the chief place. The spirit of iron discipline should characterize all communists, all our cadres. Practice has shown that where there is a breach of discipline, not only are the tasks not carried out, but there is no vigorous and militant party life. For this reason we should place more firmly in the hands of the party organizations the control and implementation of decisions. It is essential that at every party meeting there should be reports on how the tasks previously assigned have been carried out, and if need be the basic organization should try to find the causes of the failure to fulfil them, criticize those responsible, and take immediate measures towards a solution...

*«Principal Documents of the
PLA», vol. 4, pp. 338, 426-433.*

**FROM THE CLOSING SPEECH AT THE PLENUM OF
THE CC OF THE PLA ON THE FURTHER
STRENGTHENING OF THE IDEOLOGICAL
WORK OF THE PARTY FOR THE COMMUNIST
EDUCATION OF THE WORKING PEOPLE**

July 7-9, 1964

.....

**HOW WE SHOULD UNDERSTAND AND IMPLEMENT
CRITICISM AND SELF-CRITICISM**

...I wish to say a few words about how we should understand and implement criticism and self-criticism.

Unlike other weapons, the weapon of criticism and self-criticism cannot only kill you (and we should never use it in this way), but can also cure you, can save you from evil (we must use it in this way, and only for this purpose).

The achievement of its good aims depends on how everyone uses this weapon. It is not so easy, and we should learn how to use it and perfect its use. Criticism

and self-criticism are not material weapons like the rifle which you learn to handle, you train your eye, load it and pull the trigger. No. The weapon of Marxist-Leninist criticism and self-criticism is something else, quite different from the rifle, very complicated, because it has to do with many moral, psychological, political and economic factors, closely interwoven with each other, because they are connected with various periods and different moments of time, etc. You must find your bearings in this labyrinth, among these factors, circumstances and moments which in the majority of cases are not material, which sometimes are factually based and sometimes not, and only then can you pull the trigger. The people say that it takes a pair of oxen to pull the trigger. We should bear in mind how serious the question of criticism and self-criticism is for us Marxists. The difficulties encountered in this respect are not an insuperable barrier; they can and must be overcome, and there are many ways of overcoming them. I shall list here some of them which, from the experience of the life of the Party, have served us in improving this powerful weapon.

We should be always careful to safeguard the educational essence of criticism. Criticism should never have a destructive, vengeful character, it should never be levelled at people hypocritically or with the evil aim of denigrating or offending, especially when it is based on falsehood and slander. Criticism should always be comradely, not only in tone, but especially in content and motives.

Criticism must be well weighed so as to have its effect on the person criticized and on the entire collective, which should also be educated by this criticism. It should be supported by concrete, convincing and correct

facts, and should always be accompanied by educational, moral, political and ideological conclusions.

The person criticized should not come out of the meeting feeling downcast, despised and totally discouraged, but should emerge stronger, and clear-minded, with warmth and confidence that the criticism did him good and helped him mend his mistakes. Criticism levelled against one comrade should have its effect on all. It should serve as indirect criticism to others who have made mistakes, to take that opportunity to make spontaneous, honest, Marxist self-criticism, although they are not the direct target of criticism. In this manner, criticism of one person assumes an essentially social and educational character. As well as this, the correct comradely form of criticism (and this has nothing to do with vague, mild criticism for appearance's sake), truly gives the Party the role of a severe but kind-hearted mother, with a deep love for its children.

In his criticism, the critic should not be guided by the post he occupies in party or state organs, but by party principles; he should not be guided by arrogance and a feeling of intellectual superiority, thinking he knows everything and is infallible. The critic should be able to preserve partisanship in his criticism, retain communist modesty, remain cool-headed, avoid rashness and use strong Marxist logic to criticize, based on facts, with maturity and experience; he should be able to use the facts properly so as to make his criticism Marxist both in content and in form, and really educative.

The appropriate and inappropriate use of criticism, the use of vague criticism, when it should be severe, and of severe criticism when it is not called for, instead of being educative, often has the opposite effect. This power-

ful weapon to educate people must be correctly used, it must be perfected and must be wielded with greater care by the cadres. It should never be used carelessly and irresponsibly; it should not be allowed to become a routine, harming, demoralizing, repressing or alarming people, but should be one of the most revolutionary educative and mobilizing weapons of the Party.

Against morbid critics who have «criticism» on the tip of their tongue, who use it out of place, or who resort to slanders, measures should be taken, party measures, strong critical measures; those who mishandle this weapon should be subjected to severe criticism.

The correct understanding of self-criticism is also of great importance. Marxist-Leninist self-criticism has nothing in common with «confession» to a priest. Honest people, whether communists or non-party members, who can and do make mistakes in life (and no one is immune from this) are not afraid to admit their error, if they are confident in the justice of the collective, in the justice of the Party, in the justice of the state laws, if they are confident in the correctness of the judgment of their comrades and of the party forums, if they are confident in the constant love and concern of the latter, if in the place where they work, live and militate, conditions are created to enable them to speak freely of their errors and faults. These conditions are indispensable if we want self-criticism to become a powerful educative weapon for people. The Party has in general created these conditions, but we should improve and perfect them everywhere, in its organizations, in its leading organs, in work and production centres, in the administration, etc.

Bolshevik self-criticism is made where there is Bol-

shevik criticism. Both influence one another for good, but also for bad when they are not Bolshevik.

If criticism is based on unconvincing facts or slanders, if criticism is made proceeding from one's authority or out of bad temper etc., then the person who is about to make self-criticism will either stop short in amazement, or will be indignant and lose patience, or will try instinctively to defend himself, guided by such petty-bourgeois survivals as spite, concern to maintain his prestige, etc.; this stems from the fact that he has violated the law and communist morality, urged on precisely by such survivals. If a person has made a mistake, there is something wrong with his consciousness, with his world outlook, and in order to correct this, in order to purge this something, we cannot and must not act in the same erroneous way; we should not proceed from the same position which has made him slip into mistakes.

Both following criticism made against a person and following his own self-criticism, it is necessary for the Party to keep closer than ever to him, everyone should keep close to him, because the person in question needs to feel the attention and warmth of the Party, its justice, the justice of its criticism. He needs this more than ever, and we should not forget that he is convalescing. Criticism and self-criticism mark the first step towards his cure, but are not the complete cure, and if we leave him with this much or abandon him to his fate, if we are content only with registering these facts on his party documents, thinking that we have finished the job, we should realize that we are not acting correctly and that bitter results might ensue.

The Party and every communist should know the nature of the comrades, their feelings, character and

abilities, because these play a great role in the correct use of criticism and self-criticism. We might and will meet every type of people, because all are not cast in the same mould. For instance, suppose there is an honest man who has done wrong, but is not in a position to make a deep analysis of his mistake, who does not have the ability to speak at length and fluently, but deeply understands the criticism, and comes out with an open, honest and plain admission of his mistake. There is not shortage of people who will insist that he «delve deeper» into his mistakes, or that he has concealed things even when he has not. Or, suppose we have a dishonest person, who knows how to disguise his mistakes, a person with the gift of the gab, who, even when caught red-handed, makes a lengthy, subtle and cunning self-criticism, but does not himself believe anything of what he says. There is no shortage of dupes who are satisfied with his «brilliant» self-criticism. And thus while the first person continues to be regarded with unhealthy suspicion and receives little support, the second enjoys harmful confidence and people are careless about his bad actions, which he is bound to commit in the future too.

Therefore, the question of criticism and self-criticism is not a simple matter, and should not be understood narrowly. By this I mean that people should not be criticized or make self-criticism only when they make mistakes, or only at special meetings. This is one side of criticism and self-criticism, but not all of it.

Errors should be avoided. This is a main question; in order to avoid errors, people should be taught how to use the weapon of criticism and self-criticism properly; criticism and self-criticism should be developed at work, in the course of work, in various forms. This education should be on a broad scale. How can this be done?.

In the course of work, everywhere people work and struggle, both communists and non-party people may make mistakes. Therefore, all should express freely, courageously, without the least fear, their critical opinion on the work and in the interest of the work; before anyone, before superiors and subordinates, they should have the courage to make their remarks whether correct or incorrect; they should criticize shortcomings and should not wait till the meeting, they should voice their opinion both before and after tasks are performed. Superiors should listen to these criticisms attentively, without arrogance and without thinking that they know everything, and not only should they listen attentively to the suggestions and advice of their subordinates, but they should admit instantly when the latter are right and their view is wrong (here the superior makes self-criticism).

In this way criticism and self-criticism blend together, in this way mistakes are avoided, people are corrected and educated in the course of work, harmful survivals, servility, fear of superiors, fear that someone will take revenge, or that they will be viewed disapprovingly if they dare make comments, are fought against, arrogance, conceit, bureaucratism, etc., are also fought against. All these vices are alien to communists and are the source of much evil.

Only in this way can we build up the sound education in the correct and proper use of the weapon of criticism and self-criticism, which we communists need, so as to do away with many shortcomings and vices observed at work and among people.

But it is impermissible to commit abuses under the guise of criticism and self-criticism, as happens in many cases. Many people try to evade responsibility for serious

crimes and damage they cause to the economy, for flagrant violation of the laws of the state, the regulations of society and the norms of communist morality, by making a perfunctory «self-criticism». In these cases we should not hesitate to send the culprits before the court, where they should be given the punishment they deserve. No leniency should be allowed; it is also necessary to condemn all those who create a thousand and one opportunities for thieves, who damage and abuse socialist property, who, consciously or unconsciously, do the work of counter-revolutionary elements, support the internal and external enemy, and serve the leftovers of those hostile classes and that ideology against which we wage class struggle and put into action the weapons of the proletarian dictatorship...

Enver Hoxha. Closing speech at the Plenum of the CC of the PLA on the further strengthening of the ideological work of the Party for the communist education of the working people. Tirana, 1964, pp. 34-39.

SOME QUESTIONS OF THE REVOLUTIONIZATION OF PARTY ORGANIZATIONS

*From the speech delivered at the 17th Plenum of
the CC of the PLA*

July 13, 1966

... We have established rules for admissions, both in the Constitution of the Party, and in the instructions issued by the Central Committee. These are correct in principle and if they are properly applied, if the demands on the candidate are rigorous, then the results are good. But often this is not what happens, and therefore people come into our Party who do not yet deserve to become party members, or who do not deserve to become members at all.

Why does this happen? Because the recommendations, despite continual warnings, are formal and often made in a spirit of personal friendship or nepotism, the training of the candidate is carried out in an entirely formal manner, or he receives no training at all, and because his training is neither complete, rigorous, sufficient, nor revolutionary. Besides this, the requirements

for admission to the Party cannot be considered fulfilled, as usually happens, if the applicant merely fulfils his work norm, because thousands of workers fulfil or exceed the norm, or if the applicant has technical training, because thousands of workers have this. It is not properly borne in mind that first of all, it is necessary to examine the character of the candidate, his behaviour, morality, spirit of sacrifice, political and ideological clarity (political maturity), revolutionary spirit, and links with the masses.

We assign this serious evaluation and assessment of the candidate, who constitutes the new blood coming into the Party, and his formal training during the probation period to the cares of only one or two people. In fact, the candidate, as soon as he is admitted as such, regards himself as a party member, and the probation period is in name only, and only the colour of the cover of his party card is different from that of the party member. The promotion of the candidate to party membership is in the majority of cases done by asking him a few questions such as how he reads the paper, etc. We must admit that this «routine» procedure is not revolutionary either in spirit or in application. All aim to and may join the party, because we have hundreds and thousands of good people, but we must choose the best of them.

How should we choose the best? Of course, we must single out those who have distinguished themselves, but this is insufficient. These people should pass through a probation period, which I think should be different from the present one, so that the candidate's good qualities are tempered and put to the test to see whether they really exist in him, and whether he retains them and tempers them further in serious tests.

The probation period for the candidate, especially for those who are intellectuals, townspeople or office employees either by profession or by origin, should be carried out where the Party (basic organization and committee) decides, but this does not mean that other candidates are excluded from this rule. The probation period should consist mainly of difficult work, in his own profession or outside it, possibly and mainly away from the place where the candidate has his family, or where he usually lives.

The second main task during the probation period should be the intensive ideological education of the candidate, on which he must be tested before joining the Party. Independent of recommendations, the probation period should be placed under the guidance of the organization and the working collective where the candidate is to be sent to work, and everyone should know that this person is being prepared to join the Party, so he should be in the forefront of work, and act heroically and courageously at work; he should be disciplined and ready to make sacrifices, rigorous in upholding justice and the party line, exacting towards himself, and towards his own consciousness if it is unsound, etc. In this way we shall have revolutionary blood in our Party, and unflinching heroes ready to make sacrifices.

No considerations or excuses should be taken into account in carrying out the probation period, no «I've got a mother to support», or «I've got my wife and children», «my wage isn't enough», «I'm not well», or a thousand other pretexts. If these things are an obstacle to the candidate, then he has no reason to seek to join the Party, better for him to remain outside it.

We still have people in the Party who lead an ordinary pettybourgeois life, go to and from work, do a rou-

tine job, and call it revolutionary, although it is just an ordinary job, like everyone's. And there are some who, when you tell them to shake themselves up, to wake up, or when you transfer them, raise objections, saying that «injustice» is being done, and they even go so far as to say that they have made «great sacrifices», because they have gone to the Party School, where the Party has sent them, on their salary, to be educated. These might be good people, but not good enough to be in the Party.

Party members should be made of another clay, therefore we must mould them properly, and those who do not turn out well should be put aside, because they might spoil the good clay.

The period of revolutionary probation for the candidate should not be short. I think it should not be less than three years, so that the candidate can experience well what tiring work, sacrifice and study are, for only then will he be exacting, strict, mature, and close to his party comrades who march steadily along its road.

Certainly, in this way we shall have fewer spontaneous requests for admission to join the Party than we have today, but those who apply to join the Party will truly understand how great the Party is, and see that it is a honour to be a party member; we are sure that such comrades will pass the test.

... We must give the Party new pure blood, the Party's composition must be entirely revolutionary.

First of all, as regards quality, we should have a strong and tempered Party, and not run after numbers. The orientations issued are important, they cannot be too rigid, but if applied in a stereotyped way, if plans for admissions are worked out in advance, without going deep into the question, why, how many and where, then the results will not be satisfactory. We may criticize our-

selves for a long time, asking «why we have admitted so many», or «why we have admitted few or none at all»; we may criticize ourselves asking «why we have admitted few workers», or «few cooperativists» or «too many townspeople», but it is a fact, I think, that the composition of the Party, the increase and tempering of its ranks, should be a very serious concern of all of us.

We must not become slaves to established forms, but we cannot do without correct revolutionary methods, reinvigorated and enlivened by struggle and experience; we cannot, as some comrades think, completely do away with these forms and leave them free to admit as many as they like, and whoever they like in whatever way and whenever they like. No, we can never allow such a thing in our Party. Party work is of great responsibility, and very delicate, it is scientific work in which many things must be taken into account, as well as various political, ideological, organizational human, physical, mental, spiritual and economic circumstances. In such delicate and important work, it is impermissible to proceed aimlessly, anarchically or spontaneously, but every action, every step, every form and method must be studied, tested, corrected or revised, never for a moment deviating from the basic organizational principles of building the party.

...The Party shoulders colossal tasks. The great economic plan we discussed must be implemented successfully, and we are well aware that its implementation does not consist only in listing figures and percentages on paper, but is very complicated, for it has to do, first of all, with the total allround mobilization of the Party and people. The masses have risen in revolution, they are revolutionizing the entire life of the coun-

try, agriculture, industry, culture, and the spirit of the people. There is no doubt that this is the great achievement of the Party, but we also have people in the Party who do not keep up with the revolutionary drive of the masses, but lag behind them. Here lies the contradiction; these people become inhibitive factors, because, wishing to hide their own shortcomings, they try to hinder others from advancing. Many of them have occupied cosy corners and comfortable posts, they live with dreams of the past, boast of it, and naturally see to preserve their privileges, to criticize others and not to be criticized themselves; they try to be at the head, showing themselves conservative towards the fresh blood which must be infused into the Party. I am not speaking here of those who steal, who violate the norms of proletarian morality, and of the other bad people who should be thrown out of the Party, without the slightest hesitation for they have smuggled themselves into it.

Some basic organizations behave excessively generously, or to put it in plain language, opportunistically, towards some incorrigible party members who have committed repeated mistakes in the line, who have been condemned two, three, four, and even five times by the Party. Such a stand toward this sort of member is justified with the allegation that «he needs to be educated», without thinking that the Party had done a great deal to educate him already, while he himself did not wish to be educated. We must not go on keeping these people in the Party just because they have allegedly done good work for a time, or because they are «technically able». These people, when expelled from the Party, are not enemies, but should continue with their work and do it well, and contribute as hundreds and thousands of

others do, but they do not deserve to be party members, and this moral condemnation should help them in life.

Sometimes people act on the idea that «if we expel these people from the Party, then the number of those expelled will increase». Well, what then? Should we keep these individuals with such harmful vices in the Party, so that they may infect others? Of course, to expel people is not good, but to expel a few is indispensable and those who are to be admitted into the Party should be selected and educated properly in advance. The party members themselves should be in a daily revolutionary struggle against their own shortcomings, they should properly use the weapons placed in their hands by the Party against the shortcomings of their comrades, they should set an example at work, in life and in everything.

One of the decisive tasks of the Party is to educate its members in a methodical, Marxist-Leninist manner, everyday, ceaselessly. In my opinion, campaigns are not suitable for the education of the party members, because when the campaign ebbs, shortcomings and alien attitudes in people's consciousness reappear in varying degrees.

Similarly, it is not advisable, in a pure and monolithic Party like ours, to have campaigns of expulsion or campaigns of admissions. Such actions, I think, can only be allowed when the Party is going through a crisis caused by hostile factionalist activity. The correct Marxist-Leninist road of our Party for the tempering of its members is the revolutionary road and style of work and the persistent educational, political and ideological efforts of its members. Here the good are separated from the laggards, and the bad ones fall away. Thus the Party is educated by the good, but also by the bad who fall by the wayside. Setbacks serve as lessons.

I want to put special emphasis on the great care which the Party should show for its members of long experience, who have waged a long struggle. They are assets of the Party which should be preserved intact and pure, like the apple of our eye. But the Party must educate them too so that they remain always revolutionaries and are consistent till they die, so that they die fighting heroically, because there are and will always be people who grow old physically, this is a law, but it is a law for us communists that we should remain revolutionaries in spirit till we die. The Party should not pat these comrades on the back, but preserve them by engaging them in constant revolutionary work. This does not mean that the Party should not respect and love them sincerely for their struggle, but it should never allow these comrades with a good past in the Party to become parasites, swelled headed or arrogant, it should never allow them to seek advantages and unlawful privileges for themselves and for their relatives, and to place themselves above the Party or become a hindrance to it. This is very dangerous, because it creates in the Party privileged strata with petty-bourgeois and anti-class survivals.

Why do I reiterate these things today, when the Party and the leadership is so well aware of them, the Party and its leadership have continually devoted the greatest attention to them, and it is a fact that we have scored successes? I reiterate them, and I think it does no harm to, for the reason that the Party has great responsibility to our people, it shoulders the main heavy burden of tasks which it must fulfil successfully, and because in our work there are mistakes and shortcomings which we should do away with courageously, with revolutionary work and drive.

The Central Committee and the government should sweat hard in work, they should continually take the pulse of the Party and people, and should take effective, correct, and prompt measures. And this is not all. The leadership of the Party and of the state at the base should also work in this way. But this too is not everything, it will still be inadequate if we do not see to it that the entire Party and all the working people advance at this rate. . .

*Enver Hoxha. Speeches, 1965-
-1966, pp. 484, 486-498.*

**FROM THE REPORT ON THE ACTIVITY OF THE
CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF THE PARTY OF LABOUR
OF ALBANIA**

Submitted to the 5th Congress of the PLA

November 1, 1966

III

**FURTHER CONSOLIDATION OF THE PARTY AND OF
ITS LEADING ROLE**

The historic experience of our Party has confirmed the Leninist thought that the victory of the proletariat over the bourgeoisie, the construction of socialism and communism, cannot be achieved without a revolutionary party of the working class, a party which is loyal to Marxism-Leninism, an organized party which is able to lead and guide the working masses in struggle and work. This is a universal law of the revolution and socialist construction. The weakening of the Party's role no matter to what extent, and every departure from Marxist-Leni-

nist principles, creates for the working class the great danger of remaining disorganized and disarmed in front of the class enemies, it creates the source of ideological and organizational degeneration, the danger of losing the victories already achieved and the liquidation of the Party, the danger of its conversion from a revolutionary party, into a revisionist, reformist and bourgeois party.

The Central Committee of our Party has never lessened its attention to these teachings and has always taken measures to strengthen the Party. The entire experience of 25 years of our Party speaks about this.

During all its life our Party has firmly remained faithful to the ideological, political, organizational and basic principles of Marxism-Leninism, it has in general correctly applied these principles, in conformity with the circumstances and dynamics of their development, by making use of further revolutionary new forms and methods of work. This has made our Party energetic and combative, always linked to the people, a leader of the working masses which it has inspired, guided and educated to struggle, overcome difficulties and win. We shall dedicate in the future also our great attention, our hearts and minds, to the incessant tempering of our Party, to the development and deepening of its combative and revolutionary spirit, to the consolidation of its leading role in all the links of socialist construction.

At the very foundation of the regressive, bureaucratic and counter-revolutionary process, which is taking place in the Soviet Union and in a number of other socialist countries, where revisionists have come into power, rests the gradual degeneration of the Party, as a consequence of its bureaucratization and that of the state machine, of the routine and dangerous formalism which

bit by bit compressed the Party and strangled its spirit and revolutionary impetus. The political, ideological and organizational directives of the leadership of the Bolshevik Party and Stalin, which in their essence were just and revolutionary, were more and more used as empty formulas by the apparatuses and functionaries. In this way, especially during the period after the victorious end of the great Patriotic War and after Stalin's death, the Bolshevik Party began to gradually lose its former vitality. Democratic centralism came to be replaced by bureaucratic centralism, administrative measures prevailed over the revolutionary ones, criticism and self-criticism lost their Bolshevik features, revolutionary vigilance was transformed into a vigilance of the bureaucratic machine.

In such conditions, within the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, within the ranks of the communists, came into being and were rooted non-proletarian and non-class feelings and views. There were developed careerism and servilism, favoritism and moral degeneration, chasing after an easy, comfortable life made up of privileges and personal benefits obtained with as little striving as possible. Thus in the Soviet Union was being created a labour aristocracy of bureaucratized cadres, who were privileged, separated from the people and their life, who did not have class feeling and did not wage class struggle, but were inspired by the bourgeois ideology and bourgeois way of life. This stratum, composed mainly by cadres of the Party, state, economy and intelligentsia became the social base for revisionism. Relying precisely on this stratum Khrushchevite revisionists usurped the power in the Soviet Union, eliminated the proletarian dictatorship, established the revisionist dictatorship and opened the way to capitalist restoration. This bitter ex-

perience should become a great lesson for all real Marxist-Leninists.

... Since its founding our Party has grown, developed and become strong as a revolutionary Party of the Leninist type. Always, in every circumstance, it has fought and is courageously fighting to safeguard the purity of the basic principles of Marxism-Leninism. Our Party has never bargained, neither within its ranks, nor on the international plan, about revolutionary principles. It has not allowed ideological coexistence with concepts alien to Marxism-Leninism. The observation and application into practice of these principles have made our Party strong and characterized by a revolutionary spirit, by a steel-like unity of its ranks, a Party which stands in an unbreakable unity with the people, able to carry out with honour its leading and organizational role, in the past during the liberation struggle as well as at present in the struggle for the building of socialism.

This undeniable reality should not lull us to sleep. The party organizations and its leading organs should not take it easy and come to the conclusion that they have no more to do for the consolidation of the Party. Such a view, wherever it exists, should be rejected as dangerous. Firstly, because we are in struggle and revolution, and therefore the Party and every communist should be always alert, vigilant, mobilized and combative. This is of decisive importance, both in connection with the concrete situation, through which our country is passing, and in connection with the great struggle led by the Party for the further revolutionizing of the life of the whole country, as well as in connection with the violent class struggle which takes place on an international scale. The glorious revolutionary traditions of the Party and

of the Albanian communists which were created during the liberation struggle, should remain as vivid as ever before in all the manifestations of life, in the work for the application of all party decisions. Secondly, because, inspite of the sound situation which characterizes the Party within its ranks, there are still communists who maintain a passive and formal attitude towards the party decisions. In the Party you can also find communists who have lost the qualities of a revolutionary, or who have «got tired», who look only after their personal comfort, without mentioning also some others who exploit their party membership to secure some privilege for themselves. Thirdly, because in the activity of a number of party organizations there still exist forms and methods of work, which slacken the further tempering of the Party, revolutionizing it at the proper pace, there are from time to time quarrels and groups without any political character, but which can change into such that harm party unity and its unity with the people. Within the framework of the situation and of the all-round revolutionary struggle of the Party, these manifestations do not represent any dangerous restraint, but at no moment and by no means should we allow the Party to be disarmed, to get dizzy by successes, to get lazy; we should not allow it to be drowned in dust, routine and bureaucratism, we should not allow that the ideas and pressures of the class enemies deprive us even of a single revolutionary.

Therefore, our main task is to constantly strengthen and temper the Party, to further increase its leading role in the entire life of the country. This is the first decisive condition also for the further revolutionizing of our life at large, the decisive condition to guarantee the victo-

ries already achieved and to reach new bigger victories in our struggle for socialism and communism.

1. Continuously Improve the Party's Composition and its Extension to Safeguard the Purity of its Ranks

In our Party's ranks there are 66,327 communists, of whom 3,314 are candidate members. In comparison to the 4th Congress the Party has had an effective growth of 12,668 communists. This is an important index of the close ties of the Party with the working masses, a fervent approval by them of the correct line of the Party. This is also the result of careful work of the party organizations for the consolidation of their ranks with new blood.

The social composition of the Party is as follows: the workers represent 32.90 per cent of the total number of communists, that is to say 3.24 per cent more than in the 4th Congress; communists, members of agricultural co-operatives represent 25.81 per cent or 2.19 per cent more than in the 4th Congress; individual peasants represent 3.14 per cent or 0.01 per cent less than in 1961; state administration employees, functionaries of the party machine and of mass organizations, as well as the military men represent 37.14 per cent of the whole effective of the Party or 4.80 per cent less than in 1961; various (students and housewives) represent 0.98 per cent or 0.64 per cent less than in the 4th Congress.

As it can be seen, the dynamics of growth of the Party and the tendency of its structural improvement are satisfactory in general. But it is necessary to point out that the communists with their social status as employees without taking into account their good social origin and their long revolutionary term, still make up a high per-

centage, in spite of the limitations that have been put for their admission to the Party.

In the entire effective force of the Party, women represent 12.47 per cent of the total number of the communists, or 2.30 per cent more than in the 4th Congress. This means that the admission rate of women to the Party is still unsatisfactory in this five-year period, that this admission rate does not respond to the impetus, to the vivid, active and revolutionary participation of women and to the magnificent contribution they are making in all fields of the country's socialist construction. The fact that women communists represent only 3 per cent of the total number of females employed in the towns and in the countryside, while men represent 16 per cent, is good evidence of this.

The party organizations should in the future also rely on the main orientation that the majority of people who are to be admitted to the Party, should come from the production centres, from the ranks of the working class and of the labouring peasantry. At the same time, considering unsatisfactory the fact that women within the ranks of the Party still represent a minority, while party members below 30 years of age represent only 27.4 per cent of the effective force, greater attention should be paid also to the admission into the Party of our heroic women and youth, by sharply fighting the conservative concepts and attitudes which are often maintained towards them.

... The composition and extension of the Party, the growth of its ranks and the tempering of the communists should constitute one of the most serious preoccupations for all the party organizations. It should be always taken into account that party work in general and that of the admission of new members and the extension of the

Party in particular, is a work of great responsibility, for which many things should be taken into account, such as the political, ideological, organizational, economic and spiritual circumstances, etc. In such a delicate work the stereotype and formal application of the orientations or of the rules adopted, as well as the tendency to anarchism or to spontaneity, the elimination of every rule or orientations is harmful. We should not become slaves to forms which have been established by us, but at the same time it should be taken into account also that we cannot do without correct, revolutionary, renewed forms, which have been revived by struggle and by experience.

... The organizations and the party committees should pay attention not only to the work of admission but also to the direction of further forging and educating the communists who are active at present in our party ranks, to the work for safeguarding the purity of the party ranks and for the consolidation of party quality.

The members of our revolutionary Party should be loyal to the teachings of Marxism-Leninism, to our Party and people. This means that they should always be revolutionaries, unbent fighters for the defence of the purity of Marxism-Leninism, resolute until death to serve the Party and the people at every moment and under all circumstances, ready for every sacrifice that may be required on behalf of the interests of the revolution and socialism.

The communists should be armed with a steel-like and conscientious discipline, with an iron will for the implementation of the party line, the state laws, for the observance of the good customs of the people. But this does not mean that they are mechanical appliers of the directives. In his work the communist should be creative, he should deepen into the concrete ideological and politi-

cal essence of the party decision and the state law, and in accordance to the conditions in which he is acting, he should organize the work in a manner that they would be successfully applied.

The members of our Marxist-Leninist Party should be conscientious that their being as party members does not bring and will never bring even the slightest personal privilege to the communist. That brings only big, difficult and responsible tasks. He who thinks differently, who makes efforts through the party card to create material or moral privileges to himself, to his family or to anybody else, does not deserve, not even for a moment, the great honour of being a party member.

The communist should be closely linked with the masses, attentively and respectfully listen to what they say, live and work together with the masses, feel their pulse and know their needs, place himself at the head of the masses and lead them. He should be an incompatible enemy against self-conceitedness, arrogance, commandism, favours, against every negligence and underestimation of the masses and their work, he should struggle against everyone who manifests such trends, which are harmful to the interests of the working people, to the Party and to our socialist state.

A good and consistent member of our Party is the one who always takes into account and wages fearlessly the class struggle, outside and within the ranks of the Party, resolutely relying on the fundamental principles of Marxism-Leninism and of the party line. He should know how to distinguish, following a correct dialectical analysis, the good thing from the bad thing, the dangerous from the less dangerous, he should know how to employ the most suitable methods of education and of

persuasion, and leave that of coercion the last. A good and revolutionary party member is the one who by his work and behaviour wins the confidence and the affection of the people, the one who educates and saves those who make errors and who mercilessly attacks with the greatest hatred those who are incorrigible and socially dangerous, the enemies of our people and Party.

Every communist should endow himself with real revolutionary vigilance for the defence of the party line and the purity of its ideals. The party member should be characterized by a clear correctness, without stains in his conscience and activity, he should be principled and should never hide his shortcomings and errors, but should criticize them himself without waiting that the others do it for him. Only thus is he in a position to better criticize the shortcomings of his comrades, to keep vigilance alive and to correct others by his example, by his purity, by his just struggle.

The revolutionary communist should work with a high conscience at the place where the Party has assigned him, and where the Party needs him, always placing above everything the general interest. He should never comply with any unhealthy situation created by the incorrect conclusions and decisions taken by any party or state organ, neither with the errors or arbitrariness of any functionary.

The above-mentioned qualities, which are embodied in the majority of the members of our Party, should become a habit to all the Albanian communists. Without this, cannot be vividly preserved the party revolutionary spirit, without this we cannot even talk about revolutionizing our country's life. Therefore the whole attention of the party committees and basic organizations should be concentrated on the constant forging of communists.

The organizations should be very persistent in this respect. Within their ranks they should prepare conscientious revolutionaries, resolute communists who fully deserve the great honour of membership of the Party of Labour of Albania.

The just way to temper the party members is their more active participation in constructive work, their persistent and constant work in being politically and ideologically educated. It is in daily work and struggle, in the revolutionary impetus of the masses, in the efforts for the application and defence of the party line, that the conscientious revolutionaries will distinguish themselves and grow up, that the indolent fellows, those who occupy easy jobs and live on the dreams of the past will emerge to the surface, that those ill-intentioned persons who have erroneously been admitted to the party ranks will be thrown out. The Party should give everybody his due. It should support the first ones, encourage and educate them to uninterruptedly march forward. It should help the second ones, make them open their eyes and see into what unpleasant position they have plunged, it should explain to them that this position is incompatible with the task and role of a revolutionary, therefore they should immediately abandon the cesspools, integrate in the general revolutionary impetus and place themselves in the first ranks of distinguished fighters. The last ones should be thrown out of the Party ranks as unworthy to participate in its ranks.

The party organizations, in the struggle to improve the quality of their ranks, should pay great attention to the party members who work for a long time in the party ranks and who have a great experience in struggle. They are the treasure of the Party and should be preser-

ved, untouched and pure as the apple of the eye. The Party should also work with them, so that they always remain consequent revolutionaries to their death. They should continue to struggle heroically for the cause of the Party up to the last days of their lives, according to their possibilities, because there are and there will also be in the future such of them, who will get physically old. This is a law. But for us communists it is a law and also becomes a law the fact that spiritually, up to our death, we have to stand and fight as revolutionaries. The Party should not pay its attention towards these comrades by petting them, but by preserving them, by activizing them in constant revolutionary work. The Party should sincerely respect and love them for the struggle they have waged, but it should, by no means, allow these comrades, with a good party record, to be converted into parasites, self-conceited and arrogant fellows, or let them ask unlawful privileges for themselves and for their relatives. This is very dangerous because it creates in the Party privileged strata with petty-bourgeois remnants, which are alien to class and proletarian ideology.

2. The Growth of the Leading Role of the Basic Organizations of the Party and the Further Vitalization of their Inner Life

The orientations given by the 4th Party Congress for the consolidation and vitalization of party life, as well as the important decisions adopted by the Central Committee for putting them into practice, have increased the combative spirit of the basic organizations, have raised

to a higher scale the level of their work. The leading role of the basic organizations in settling different problems of the country's life has constantly grown. At present we have 2,852 party basic organizations, among which 1,586 in the towns and 1,266 in the countryside. As a result, there are few villages and very few institutions, where there are no party organizations yet.

The life and work of the party basic organizations should seriously draw our attention. In spite of the successes so far achieved, there are still organizations which continue to deal with minor current problems, and do not deepen into the main problems of their sectors, and as a matter of fact they have been changed in some instances into mere supporters of the state and economic organs, and sometimes they have lagged at their tail. It should be well understood and should by every means be realized that the whole life of the country, the economy and policy, the culture and ideology, the work at the grass roots and in the army, in every sector, should be carried out under the leadership of the Party. This requires that the basic organizations and the party committees should know how to coordinate their actions in the proper direction, to organize their work according to the features and nature of the problem and of the sector, avoiding confusion and lack of responsibility, encouraging the revolutionary initiative of the working people as well as of the Party or state, of the economic, defence, educational and cultural organs. Thus, the activity of the party organizations should by no means be limited to the role of simple conductor or applier of the directives from above.

The revolutionary vitality of our Marxist-Leninist Party lies in the fact that it courageously discovers the

shortcomings and errors and resolutely corrects them. It often happens that in the work of the basic organizations or the party committees it is the figures about the fulfilment of production plans, of machinery exploitation or of farm work, the figures on the artistic, cultural and political activities, which draw the main attention, and by acting in this manner they think that they are carrying out their leading role. This is a big shortcoming with which we should do away immediately. The sources of many evils are to be traced to such a formal attitude. We should also point out the fact that often, among others, the work with the people has been neglected, that the Party rules, the different forms of work and education, are stereotypically, spiritlessly and lifelessly applied, and no efforts are made to adopt them to the circumstances and situations but on the contrary instructions from the higher organs are expected for everything. In order to achieve their leading, inspiring and organizational role in the sectors where they carry out their activity, the committees and party organizations should, in the first place concentrate their attention on party policy throughout all its aspects. That is to say: how is it applied, correctly or erroneously, in a creative manner or by routine methods, how do the working people understand it and how do they fight for the defence and realization of this policy? The committees and the party organizations should pay their main attention not to figures but to the education of the communists and the working people, because it is the people who create material wealth and who heroically apply the party line, because human being are also those who degenerate, steal or damage socialist property, who violate the state law, etc.

It is our duty to turn the party organizations into

revolutionary centres where Marxist-Leninist creative thought would prevail, where sectarianism and minor work routine without prospect would disappear, where people could be taught to think with their own heads, to freely express their opinions and, through fervent and fruitful discussions, to reach correct conclusions and decisions. To this end it is necessary that in the future also we should incessantly consolidate collective work in the party organizations as well as in the leading party organs. Collective work is one of the main aspects of the application to practice of the line of the masses in party work, it is one of the main principles of its method, it creates all the possibilities, not only to put under discussion and for approval many thoughts by profoundly analyzing them in their opposite, but it also ensures a correct revolutionary settlement of the problems in a sound environment of unity of action and thought. The experience gained during the discussion of the guiding figures of the 4th five-year plan by the working collectives and in the basic organizations of the Party, should be summed up as positive. Ours is a Party with a great revolutionary impetus. It has gained an immense experience. Therefore it has all the possibilities, through persistent work, to clean itself of all shortcomings existing in its work.

The further vitalization of the party organizations is closely linked with the growth of the vanguard role of every communist, as a political leader of the masses, as an outstanding social activist. The sectarianism that is shown in a number of organizations in the activation of the communists, in their division into capable and incapable, is by no means a serious thing. It shows the inability of the organization to lead. The latter should fight against this sectarianism because every effort to

monopolize the work in the hands of some individuals, suppresses the initiative of the cadres and of the masses, weakens and withers the Party. The life and activity of our Party are erected in such a manner that the communist can actively take part in the drafting and application into practice of the party policy by words and deeds.

We have to work according to Lenin's teachings, that alongside the sound centralization in the party organizations we should decentralize responsibility to every party member. The party organization should not allow that within its ranks remain inactivised communists who are lazy and find it hard to carry out party tasks, who do not make any effort whatsoever to raise their ideological level and their ability as social activists. Special work should be done with these communists, individually or collectively, in order that everybody should be tempered at the Party's anvil, should be placed under probation and should be constantly helped and controlled.

The consolidation and development of the inner life of the party organizations requires that every communist take full responsibility for the Party's work, that he, everyday and every hour, think over for the good of the Party's work, that he come to the Party with concrete ideas previously thought out, that he speak and report there on successes and difficulties. The vitalization of the basic organization requires that collective responsibility should be rightly combined with the individual responsibility of each communist. Only thus can the combative spirit of the organization be vitalized and placed on sound positions and the revolutionary impetus can grow. Precisely in this way will the combative force

of every party member grow in strength, in this way each one will make efforts to intensively learn, during the work assigned to him and thus he will increase the value of his work, of the organization and of the working collective led by him.

At the same time, the leading organs of the basic organizations should make more efforts in order to increase the level of their work, in order to submit to the organization useful and rational ideas and proposals, to rightly evaluate the opinion of the communists and of the masses, to master and propagate their useful experience, to rigorously organize control on the application of the decision by each one to strengthen the demand on what has been achieved, to stand as close as possible to communists and working people, in order that the control of the work done should serve as a real school for the cultivation of a steel-like will in overcoming objective and subjective difficulties and obstacles. The question of the control of the work done by every communist and working people, without excluding leading cadres, should become an absolute method of work for every party organization, without which it is impossible to settle the problems correctly, precisely and in due time.

Special attention should be paid to the safeguarding and correct application of democratic centralism, which constitutes one of the fundamental principles of our party structure. The demands according to this principle, such as the subordination of the minority to the majority, of the lower to the higher organs, should not be considered as a simple organizational mechanism, but as a question of profound principled character, which combines into a single unity the conscientious and iron-

like discipline with full democracy, which ensures the successful fulfilment of decisions, which helps the revolutionary remoulding and tempering of the communists and the growth of the guiding abilities of the different party organs. The correct application of the principles of democratic centralism requires the verification in practice of the decisions already adopted, so that this should serve for the remoulding of the majority as well as of the minority. If the correctness of the decision is confirmed by reality, this should serve for the education of the minority that has been against the adoption of this decision. If practice ascertains the contrary, then the majority who have voted for the decision should make self-criticism.

... Our Party has never concealed its errors and shortcomings. It has courageously and publicly discovered and criticized them. The Open Letter of the Central Committee of the Party is a fresh example to everybody. Has this ever shaken the people's trust towards the Party? Has this ever relaxed the combative spirit of the Party, of the cadres, the working people? On the contrary the people are more closely linked to the Party, their love and loyalty to the Party have increased tenfold, the communists, cadres and working people are working with an unprecedented revolutionary impetus. Our practice has confirmed the Leninist teaching that the seriousness of a revolutionary party lies in the fact of what its attitude is towards its errors and shortcomings.

Therefore, not a single party organization, cadre or communist should be afraid of criticism and self-criticism. The Party is and all of us communists are in need of a constructive, sincere and principled criticism and self-criticism. It is a great error to take a bureaucratic and

liberal attitude towards the different shortcomings and errors, no matter to whom they belong, no matter who has committed them. The most correct attitude towards a comrade's error, the most benevolent and principled attitude towards him, is to openly reproach and criticize him, prompted by our concern about him, by the desire to help him, by our preoccupation to correct the party or the state work.

Criticism and self-criticism should not be conducted within closed doors, within the party organizations, but in different occasions it should also be conducted before the working masses. Because the party organizations and the communists do not work and fight separated from the masses, that is why their shortcomings and errors have consequences for the working masses and are not unknown to them. Bringing the criticism of the communists and cadres who make errors before the collective exerts in certain occasions direct influence on raising the fighting spirit of the working people, on eliminating familiarity, and exerts also a great effect in correcting those who make errors.

The mass line consistently followed by our Party cannot be understood and applied without doing away with sectarianism, hesitation, unbased and harmful fear, without placing also the activity of the communists and of the Party under the control of the masses. Certain party committees and organizations, without properly deepening their daily work, make a «closed» life as though party problems should be tackled only by communists. This is a big error. Proceeding from such a conception, it happens also that elections to the party organization or to the party conferences in the districts are held without being known by anyone, as if the Party were an illegal

organization. There is no doubt that the party leaders are elected by communists in the basic organizations and party conferences, but working people are not indifferent towards the problems which are discussed by the communists, towards observations and criticism made by them, towards the tasks they assign to the leaders, whom they have elected. The people have directed their eyes and hearts to the Party, they want the best communists to be elected to the party organs. Therefore, who is in need of such a closed life, of such a harmful sectarianism? Experience has also shown that such «internal» problems as quarrels and close familiar groups among communists, about which also the working people have, of course, been informed, are correctly solved and liquidated, when the opinion of the working collective, the workers or the peasants has been asked for their tackling. Therefore the party organizations should not be «afraid» of consulting the masses, on the contrary they should further strengthen, extend and organize their links with the working people.

Although the role and activity of the party organizations have incessantly been strengthened and vitalized, and the initiative of being acquainted with the problems and of detailing the directives has been further developed, they will need the constant attention and assistance of the party committees. The abolition of tutelage by party committees, or the demand about the growth, of self-action of the basic organizations, does not at all mean that we should reduce our qualified help for the base or break our links with them. The party committees in the districts, as elected party organs, are always responsible for the basic organizations under their dependency, therefore in this respect they should improve the method

of leadership and assistance and control for the base, dealing more profoundly and concretely with the party basic organizations, in order to raise the level of their work. The party committees should further strengthen their links with the basic organizations, abandon their exaggerated practicicism, which urges them to deal out of measure with many daily problems, hinders them from guiding the all-round activity to amass, to work out and sum up, the very valuable experience of the base, in order that this experience should extend to all the work of the Party and to draw just conclusions, to undertake and apply rational measures, to ensure in general success of all the work.

The party committees should dedicate greater attention to party organizational problems, or better, to the application of its organizational policy. They should take effective measures to improve all the work in this respect, so that the party organizations should be in a position to play their leading and organizing role everywhere, in every sector, in the whole life of the country.

.....

Enver Hoxha. Report on the activity of the Central Committee of the PLA. Tirana 1966. 2nd ed., pp. 80-82, 84-89, 92-103.

**FROM THE CONSTITUTION OF THE PARTY OF
LABOUR OF ALBANIA**

Approved by the 3rd Congress of the PLA

*with partial amendments made by the 4th and 5th
Congresses of the PLA*

I

THE PARTY

The Party of Labour of Albania is the organized vanguard detachment of the working class of Albania, its highest form of organization. It is made up of conscious revolutionaries tested in the struggle for the cause of the people and socialism, of vanguard fighters for the application of its general line, who come from the working class, the labouring peasantry, and also from the people's intelligentsia.

The Party of Labour of Albania is a revolutionary militant union of communists with a monolithic ideological and organizational unity, which does not allow any

kind of divisive or factional activity or any kind of deviation from its general line, from Marxism-Leninism.

The Party of Labour of Albania gives overall leadership to the working class in all aspects of the country's life — political, economic, cultural and military. It is the leading force of the Albanian people, defending the vital interests of the people and socialism on a national and international scale.

In defining its policy, and throughout its activity, the Party of Labour of Albania is guided by Marxism-Leninism. Loyalty to Marxist-Leninist principles, their creative application under the internal conditions of the country and the concrete international circumstances, are the source of its strength, its steel-like unity, and its historic victories.

The Party of Labour of Albania is the heir to the brilliant revolutionary patriotic and democratic traditions of the Albanian people.

The Party of Labour of Albania is the direct continuation of the Communist Party of Albania. It was founded on November 8, 1941 by the Albanian communists, based on the Albanian worker and communist movement, through the merging of the communist groups into a single revolutionary party of the working class on a Marxist-Leninist ideological and organizational foundation. It originated from the union of the worker movement with scientific socialism, with the communist ideas which spread in Albania following the Great Socialist October Revolution.

The Party of Labour of Albania was created and tempered as a revolutionary Marxist-Leninist party in the heat of a fierce war against the fascist occupiers, against the local reactionary exploiting classes, against the impe-

rialists and their tools, against the enemies of Marxism-Leninism and of the Party — factionalists, Trotskyites, opportunists and revisionists — inside and outside its ranks.

The Party of Labour of Albania is the leader and organizer of the historic victory of the Albanian people in the National Liberation War against the fascist occupiers and the traitors. On November 29, 1944, the Albanian people won their freedom and complete national independence, overthrew the power of the bourgeois and feudal exploiting classes, and established the people's power. Albania broke away for good from the world capitalist system and started on the road of socialism.

Under the leadership of the Party of Labour of Albania, the people's revolution developed uninterruptedly from an antiimperialist, democratic revolution into a socialist revolution. The People's Republic of Albania was established. The people's power, born during the National Liberation War, was transformed into a dictatorship of the proletariat in the form of a state of people's democracy. This state power served as a decisive weapon to carry out deep revolutionary transformations in the political, economic, social and cultural fields. Land reform was carried out, foreign capital was nationalized, the exploiting classes in the country were expropriated, socialist industry was set up, agriculture was collectivized, and the socialist system of the economy was created. In this way, the economic base of socialism was set up and the principle «from each according to his abilities, to each according to his work» was implemented both in town and countryside. Albania was transformed from a backward agricultural country into an agricultural-industrial one.

The unity of the people around the Party found its embodiment in the Democratic Front of Albania — the direct continuation of the National Liberation Front created by the Party during the National Liberation War, as a political organization of the broad masses of the people. On this basis rests the alliance of the working class with the labouring peasantry under the leadership of the working class.

The immediate objective of the Party of Labour of Albania is the complete construction of the socialist society. In order to reach this objective, it sets itself these main tasks:

— to develop the socialist revolution uninterruptedly and carry it through to the end, on the economic, political and ideological front;

— to ensure the complete construction of the material and technical base of socialism by developing the forces of production at a rapid rate in order to transform Albania from an agricultural-industrial country into an industrial-agricultural one and, later on, into an industrial country with advanced agriculture.

— to develop further and continuously improve socialist relations in production, by enlarging and strengthening socialist ownership over the means of production, by uninterruptedly improving the forms of distribution and methods of management of the socialist economy; to fight to narrow gradually the distinction between the working class and the peasantry, between city and countryside, between industry and agriculture and between mental and manual work;

— to ensure, on the basis of the development of the productive forces and the improvement of relations in

production, the uninterrupted increase of the material well-being and cultural level of the people;

— to strengthen and improve unceasingly the dictatorship of the proletariat, the principal weapon for the complete construction of the socialist society and for the gradual transition to communism.

During the socialist construction of the country the Party has been guided by the principle of self-reliance.

For the complete construction of the socialist society in Albania, it is necessary for the Party to improve its own organization continually on the basis of the fundamental Marxist-Leninist principle of democratic centralism, to guard unity and iron discipline as the apple of its eye, to further develop inner democracy, and the activation and creative initiative of all the communists and all party basic organizations; to strengthen the collective method, as the highest principle of the leading work and control of the Party from the higher to the lower levels, and especially from the bottom up; to strengthen criticism and self-criticism, to discover and eliminate shortcomings and errors, to improve its composition continually with resolute, conscious vanguard fighters for the cause of the Party, the people and socialism, and to intensify the ideological tempering of the communists.

The Party of Labour of Albania is a revolutionary detachment of the international communist movement, holding aloft the victorious banner of the great ideas of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin; its tasks are:

— to preserve the purity of the revolutionary doctrine of Marxism-Leninism and carry out a principled, irreconcilable struggle until the complete exposure and ideological and political destruction of modern revisionism with the Soviet revisionist leading group, which is

the chief enemy in the world communist movement, at its centre, as well as to fight against dogmatism and every other anti-Marxist trend;

— to fight determinedly against imperialism to ensure freedom and national independence, the triumph of socialism on a world scale, and the defence of peace, by strengthening the revolutionary anti-imperialist front directed first of all against US imperialism —the chief common enemy of the peoples the world over;

— to support and help all Marxist-Leninist parties and other revolutionary forces in the struggle against imperialism and revisionism, to support with all its strength the revolutionary movement of the proletariat and the oppressed nations;

— to fight for the Marxist-Leninist unity of the socialist camp and of the world communist movement, on the basis of proletarian internationalism; to fight for friendship and close fraternal collaboration with the people of the socialist countries and for friendship with all the peoples of the world.

In relations with the fraternal socialist countries and sister communist and worker parties, our Party adheres to the principle of independence, complete equality, non-interference in internal affairs, and reciprocal fraternal internationalist cooperation and aid.

The ultimate objective of the Party of Labour of Albania is the construction of a communist society in Albania, in which the principle «from each according to his abilities, to each according to his needs» will be applied.

IV

THE BUILDING OF THE PARTY. INNER PARTY DEMOCRACY

20) The guiding principle of the organizational structure of the Party is democratic centralism. This means that:

a) All party leading organs are elected from the bottom up at meetings of basic organizations, at general meetings of communists, at conferences and congresses;

b) the leading organs are obliged to render account periodically to their party organizations;

c) all party leading organs must listen continuously to the opinion of lower party organizations and the mass of party members, study their experience and solve their problems in time;

d) the lower party organizations must account to the higher party organizations for their work;

e) decisions are taken at the end of free discussions, but from the moment a decision is taken, unanimously or with a majority of votes, all party members are obliged to implement it without further discussion;

f) the decisions of the higher party organs are binding on the lower organs.

21) The collective method is the highest principle of the leading work of the Party; all party organizations implement the principle of combining collective leader-

ship with personal responsibility. Every important question is solved collectively. At the same time, it is indispensable that the individual, too, should fully play his role in the framework of the tasks assigned, in conformity with the rules of collective work.

22) The Party of Labour of Albania is constructed on a production and territorial basis. This means that:

a) party basic organizations are set up in production enterprises, institutions, work centres and other work sites;

b) party organizations in a given territory (in a district, city or the Republic as a whole) are united into a single party organization and have a single leading organ; the party organization and its leading organs in a given territory stand higher than all the party organizations and organs which are active in a part of the territory or in certain work-centres;

c) the party organization which operates in a production centre or work site, as well as its leading organ, is higher than the party organizations which operate in a part or sector of the production centre or work site.

23) All the party organizations settle their local problems independently, provided that their solutions and decisions are not in opposition to the decisions and line of the Party.

24) The highest leading organ of all party organizations is the meeting of the Party (for the basic organizations), the conference (for the district or city party organizations) and the congress (for the entire party).

25) The meeting of the basic organization, the party conference or congress, elects a bureau or committee, which is their executive organ and directs the daily work of the organization;

26) In elections to party organs, voting by lists is prohibited. Voting is secret and separate for each candidate, beginning from the party basic organizations. All party members are ensured the unrestricted right to propose and criticize candidates and to demand the withdrawal of the candidates put forward. The candidates receiving the most votes, and more than half of the votes of those participating at the meeting, conference or congress, are considered elected.

If the members of the Central Committee of the Party of Labour of Albania and the members of the Central Control and Audit Commissions are not elected delegates to the party congress, they take part in its proceedings with the right to a consultative vote. Even if the members of the party committees and members of the control and audit commissions of a given district or city are not elected as delegates to the respective district or city conferences, they take part in their proceedings with the right to a consultative vote.

27) In districts or cities, the respective party committees call a meeting of the activists of their party organizations to discuss important party decisions, as well as important problems of the district or city party organization. At the meetings of the party activists, the committees regularly inform the party organizations about their activity, so they should not meet only to give formal and solemn approval to decisions or issues under consideration, but to discuss genuinely and judge them, on the basis of criticism and self-criticism, and to ensure that decisions are implemented as well as possible in practice.

28) Free, sound discussion of problems of party policy in the various organizations or throughout the

Party is an inviolable right of every party member, which stems from inner party democracy. Only on the basis of inner party democracy can criticism and self-criticism develop, the activity and initiative of the communists increase, and party discipline, which must be conscious and not mechanical, be strengthened.

However, a broad discussion of problems of party policy, especially a discussion throughout the Party, must be organized in such a way as not to allow attempts by a minority to impose its will upon the majority of the Party, or attempts to create factional groups with the aim of breaking the unity of the Party, or attempts at division which shake the strength and stability of the Party.

A broad discussion throughout the Party can be considered necessary only in the following cases:

a) when the need is expressed by some party organizations of districts or cities:

b) when there is no stable majority in the Central Committee of the Party of Labour of Albania on the principal problems of party policy;

c) when, although the Central Committee has a stable majority holding a definite stand, it considers it necessary to verify the correctness of its policy through a discussion within the Party.

Only by meeting these conditions can it be ensured that inner party democracy is effective, and that it is not abused by elements hostile to the Party, or exploited to the detriment of the Party and the working class.

.....

VII

THE PARTY BASIC ORGANIZATIONS

45) The foundation of the Party are the party basic organizations.

The party basic organizations are set up in factories, plants, state agricultural enterprises, machine and tractor stations, and in all other economic enterprises, in agricultural cooperatives, villages, detachments of the armed forces, in the administration and various institutions, as well as in other work centres where there are no less than three party members.

When it is considered necessary, where there are less than three party members, groups of candidates may be set up, or joint groups of the Party and the Labour Youth Union of Albania, or of the Party and the trade unions, in which the party members and the candidate members as well as the members of the LYUA or some of the members of the organization of the trade unions take part. These groups are directed by a party member, appointed by the district or city committee.

The party basic organizations, the groups of candidates, the joint groups of the Party and the LYUA or the trade unions, are approved by the district or city committee, on which they depend.

The meeting of the basic organization is to be convened not less than once a month.

46) In the party basic organizations with a great number of members and candidates for party membership, when it is considered necessary, on the decision of

the district or city party committee, party organizations of sectors may be set up, with the duties and rights of a party basic organization. In these cases the meeting of the basic organization is convened whenever necessary, but not less than once in four months.

In the basic organization and the sector organizations with a considerable number of communists, when it is considered necessary, on the decision of the basic organization, party groups may be set up in workshops, brigades, etc.

It is the duty of the party group to fight for the implementation in practice of the decisions of the party basic organization in the sector where it operates, to intervene at the right time to put right shortcomings, to improve the work and to ensure the active participation of the communists in carrying out the tasks of the Party.

47) In special cases, when enterprises, agricultural cooperatives, institutions and others are spread over a wide area, with broad sectors of work and a great number of party members and candidates for membership, on the decisions of the district or city party committee, more than one party basic organization can be set up. When these organizations have more than 150 party members and candidates for membership, with the approval of the Central Committee, party committees may be set up to lead them.

Such committees may be set up in special cases even in organizations of less than 150 members and candidates for membership, but always with the approval of the Central Committee.

The party committees in state enterprises, in the agricultural cooperatives and institutions, consist of no more than 11 members.

The party committees of state enterprises, agricultural cooperatives and institutions where there are more than 500 party members and candidates for membership, may, with the approval of the Central Committee of the Party of Labour of Albania, be given the rights of a district or city party committee in regard to personal matters of communists, registration of the communists and admissions to the Party.

48) The party basic organizations link the working masses of the city and countryside with the party leading organs. Their duties are:

a) to carry out political, ideological, propaganda, and organizational work for the application of the party line, of its decisions and directives, for the education of the working masses, as well as to direct the press in the production centre or their work place (wall newspapers, etc.);

b) to work to strengthen the party ranks, to preserve their purity, compactness and unity, to admit new members into the Party and to see to the education of the new communists, to defend and respect the rights of the party members;

c) to organize the political, ideological, educational, cultural and vocational training of the party members and candidates for membership, to check whether they have mastered the political and ideological line of the Party, and the essentials of Marxism-Leninism; the basic organizations must become genuine hearths of revolutionaries and great schools of communist tempering and education;

d) to organize the registration of all party members and candidates for membership who take part in the organization and to inform the district or city party committee regularly on their movements and changes;

e) to help the district or city committee in its work; to intensify creative self-reliance and initiative in the application of the line and decisions of the Party, and ensure that every communist is activated to carry out definite party tasks;

f) to lead the masses to take an active part in the political life of the country, to mobilize them in all production centres and work places to fulfil the production plan in quantity and in all qualitative indices, to strengthen work discipline, to develop socialist emulation, to make every effort for the rational utilization of all forces, facilities and reserves existing in their production centre or work place, to spread and analyse advanced experience;

g) to fight against disorder and mismanagement in the state economic enterprises, in agricultural cooperatives and other work centres, as well as against sluggishness and bureaucratism in the state apparatus;

h) to fight for the protection of common socialist property, and to uncover any enemy who attempts to damage it; to make every effort to be as economical as possible, with the aim of ensuring the uninterrupted growth of the country's economy;

i) to fight against backwardness in the countryside, for the further development and improvement of agriculture, and for the continual strengthening of its socialist base; to discover and strike hard at every effort of the class enemy to obstruct the economic, cultural and social advance of the countryside;

j) to listen attentively to the opinions and demands of the masses, to fight to realize them in practice, and to inform the higher party organs about important problems; to see to the improvement of the material and

cultural conditions of the working masses and to satisfy their daily needs;

k) to bear full responsibility for the military training and physical tempering of the population, in order to defend and strengthen the country;

l) to develop criticism and self-criticism and to educate the communists in the spirit of an irreconcilable stand towards shortcomings, to discover and eliminate these, and fight against any infringement of laws and discipline;

m) to educate the party members, and the working masses, in the spirit of revolutionary vigilance, to consistently defend the interests of the Party and state, in the spirit of upholding socialist legality, in the spirit of an irreconcilable struggle of the working class against any attempt by the enemy to undermine the socialist construction of the country;

n) to organize and lead the revolutionary education of the workers and other working masses, and especially of the younger generation; to lead and supervise the activity of the mass organizations set up in their production centre or work place; to develop their role and initiative, and to fight against any attempt to command and replace them.

49) In order to increase the role of the party organizations in production and service enterprises, in cultural and educational institutions, and in the agricultural co-operatives, in order to increase their responsibility for the state of the work in the enterprise, these basic organizations are given the right to check on the activity of the administration.

The party organizations of the ministries and other sectors of administration in the centre, in districts and cities, which, owing to their specific conditions, cannot

exercise the functions of control, must work to strengthen the state apparatus, in order to make it less costly, more flexible, and capable of properly responding to the problems and demands of the base and of workers; they must raise the level of the apparatus in studying problems and analysing the experience gained in work, fight against bureaucratism, the desire for personal ease, sluggishness and procrastination on the work of the state apparatus, against the parochial spirit, against unhealthy familiarity and unjust favouritism, and against every other harmful manifestation.

50) To lead and supervise the daily work of an organization of less than 15 party members and candidates for membership, one secretary and one or two deputy-secretaries are elected. In basic organizations with more than 15 party members and candidates for membership, a bureau is elected; consisting of from 3 to 9 members, including a secretary and one or two deputy-secretaries.

The party organizations of sectors with more than 25 party members and candidates for membership, elect a bureau consisting of from 3 to 7 members, including a secretary and one or two deputy-secretaries.

To lead the party group, a secretary is elected and, when the group has a large number of party members and candidates for membership, a deputy-secretary is also elected.

Meetings to give account and to elect the secretaries, deputy-secretaries and bureaus in the party groups, in the sector organizations and in the basic organizations, as well as to elect the party committees in the enterprises, cooperatives and institutions, are held once a year.

The secretaries of the basic organizations and of the party committees in enterprises, cooperatives or institutions are approved by the district or city party committee.

The secretaries of sector organizations, as well as the secretaries of the party groups are approved by the meeting of the basic organization, while the secretaries of the party groups set up within the sector organization are approved by the meeting of the sector organization.

The secretaries of the basic organizations, the secretaries of party organizations in sectors, and the secretaries of the party groups, must have a period of party membership of no less than one year.

*Constitution of the Party of
Labour of Albania. Tirana,
1966, pp. 1-21, 63-76, 98-119.*

THE FURTHER REVOLUTIONIZATION OF THE PARTY AND GOVERNMENT.

From the speech delivered to the joint meeting of the grass root organizations of the Krraba coal mine, the «Enver» machine shop, the «Wilhelm Pieck» agricultural cooperative, the army detachment No. 5009 and the State University of Tirana.

February 6, 1967

Comrade Communists!

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

Rendering account and elections are an event of major importance to the further consolidation of the Party. In meetings held for this purpose every communist is called upon to draw a balance-sheet of his work and of the work of the organization, to weigh, in the

spirit of criticism and self-criticism, all successes and shortcomings, to formulate the objectives which he will strive to achieve in the days to come, to elect the secretary, bureau or committee from among the comrades who have done better, who claim distinction for their ability as organizers determined to carry out the line of the Party.

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

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

We are constantly waging a major battle to further revolutionize the Party and have achieved good, very good results. Revolutionizing the Party means revolutionizing the communists. The latter should be steel-like soldiers, politically enlightened, courageous, kind, straightforward and frank and, when need be, severe as well. They should deal destruction to everything that is wrong

and decrepit and fight in the forefront to uphold the new and progressive. If what I am saying appears to be general principles then I will be more specific.

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

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

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

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

Still furthermore, how can one consider on revolutionary position the entire party organization of the Lezha district where the scandalous custom of selling off girls in marriage has become a tacit law? The entire Party and country should wake up, throw into the

flames and twist the neck of any one who tramples underfoot the sacred law of the Party in defense of the rights of women and girls. These are problems of major moral and political importance.

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

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

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

Let us take, for instance, the members of party committees or members of the bureaus of local organizations and even the communists of the basic organizations. It is usually claimed that not all are duly mobilized for the various affairs of the Party; the bureau of the party committee is criticized that its secretaries or the secretary of the basic organization fail to organize the work with them, and so forth and so on. These are to the point and just and they should even be more strongly criticized since the only more or less organized and

planned work of the party committees and their secretaries is carried out with the committee instructors, with the people of the apparatus, and now and then, at occasional meetings, with the secretaries of the basic organizations. Looked at and done in this way, this work smacks of bureaucratic officialdom.

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

They may say, «Well, the secretaries do not call us together, they do not mobilize us», and so on. We have, however, never seen these comrades call the secretaries to task for this, and finally, to even throw them overboard if they fail to do their job properly. Let us suppose that the bureaus and secretaries are to blame for this, but we have rarely seen members of party committees avail themselves of the rights the Party has given them and use these rights in a revolutionary way. Rarely, if at all, has any one gone to check, assist, instruct and take steps on the spot in other basic organizations besides his own, or visited and assisted economic organizations besides the one he is directly connected with, without having been assigned to do so. He won't raise a finger without consulting and getting the permission

of the secretary. A party committee member should coordinate this work with the secretaries, should demand facts from the party apparatus, he should discuss with the secretaries what he has seen, what he has done and what he suggests should be done. To take no trouble, no initiative within one's competences but to attend only to the simple tasks under the jurisdiction of one's own basic organization cannot be called a revolutionary style of work. This is simple concern over local interests.

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

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

No, a communist of this type cannot be called an energetic, enterprising revolutionary with initiative. The

Party has no need of such members; its members should know that it is only in revolutionary struggle that heroic communists can be created and tempered.

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

Rendering accounts and elections should set in motion also all the non-party workers of the collective who are not and cannot be indifferent towards successes or shortcomings at work, towards tasks the party organization will assign for the days to come, or as to who will be elected to the leadership of the party organization. Therefore, while getting ready to go to meetings to render account and take part in elections, the communists should talk to workers, discuss with them their ideas, remarks, criticism, and suggestions, and study these carefully, so as to bring to the party meetings not only the opinion of communists, but also that of the non-party masses. A preparation of this kind will go a long way towards conducting these meetings in a militant revolutionary spirit.

... The Central Committee of the Party has constantly emphasized that the grass root organizations should exercise more initiative in their work. But this matter is at times not rightly interpreted. Thus, there exists an idea, according to which, taking up for study the decisions of the party committees in the basic organizations, lays a heavy burden on the latter and curbs their initiative. Taking up for study decisions sent from higher organs should not be considered as something superfluous and unnecessary. Such an idea would be erroneous, for thus it would follow that the Party as a whole should not be informed, instructed either on how to act and

think or on how to impart directions and generalizations of experience gained.

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

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

Our Party leads the great proletarian struggle of the people, and in order to win every battle, it enforces an iron discipline which is such in the Party because it is conscious. These norms of the Party, and the ones I will refer to shortly, should be preserved and strengthened and one should in no way think that, since the Party is in power, that, since we are building socialism successfully, we can afford to be lenient in enforcing the norms of the Party to the letter. By no means. These norms consolidate the Party, make it a vanguard and an invincible Party.

Studying decisions or suggestions pertaining to work, to forms of work and tasks coming from higher organs is essential. Such a thing does not limit the horizons, does

not curb the initiative of any basic organization. But the question is what specific aid is given to them to understand and carry out these decisions under the actual conditions in which the basic organizations live and lead. Here we have a great weakness.

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

An organization should get its bearings, be well informed and understand well the substance of the decisions as a whole and then take up and tackle certain parts of it dealing with its own acute and actual problems. But what happens among us sometimes? Instructions with regard to this work are at times given in a perfunctory way, the seminars are conducted in a general way and this creates a situation in which some secretaries of basic organizations fail to refer the instructions or information received at the seminars to the basic organizations.

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

Therefore, the party committees and the secretaries

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

To forget or ignore the differences of our town from the countryside, the life and customs of the city from those of the country, and to use in an automatic and stereotyped way the same method of work in both the city and country, is bound to yield unsatisfactory results. Secretaries and instructors of party committees pay no great heed in this respect. They do not take duly into account, for instance, that our organs of the press, for various reasons, do not go where they should or as quickly as they should in the country as in the city, that the cultural centre at a cooperative does not function and is not frequented like that of a factory or city, that the backward vestiges in the consciousness of the peasant are guarded with more stubbornness than in that of the worker, that the cultural level of the peasants is still lower than that of the towns-people. Then, what is left for the secretaries and instructors to do? There are two ways; either to plod along like cart horses or to rack their brains to find the appropriate way out. A recipe could hardly be given, for, as I said before, every village or group of villages may have particular ways out in compliance with the situation and environment. But one recipe is infallible and the main remedy to cure and set the work on its feet. It is: to know thoroughly the situation prevailing in the countryside, to know the people and cadres of the village individually, to know their capacities, their inclinations, their will and their hearts,

This holds good also for the city organizations. It is only on this basis that the basic organizations can exercise their initiative and self-action, it is only on this basis that the party committees and instructors can give qualified assistance. Improvement of this shortcoming in the method of work of the committees and basic organizations will help to make the party organizations more combative and capable of leading the work to accomplish better the great tasks lying ahead.

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

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

Our task is to keep tempering our Party so that it may always be militant, dynamic, irreconcilable with deficiencies and weaknesses. In order to achieve this it

is essential to infuse new blood into the party ranks, to admit new members from the ranks of the working class, cooperative farmers, from the most outstanding and revolutionary elements of our intelligentsia. The Constitution adopted at the 5th Congress of the Party clearly defines the conditions necessary for admittance to the Party and the steps to be taken to train candidates. The task of the basic organization is to explain these requirements and their objective well so that they may be correctly understood. If the directives of the Party for admittance are explained well and are correctly understood, then it will be clear that the new requirements of the Constitution do not close the doors of the Party, but on the contrary, fling them wide open. But to whom? To the honest, to the revolutionaries. Whereas for those who are not deserving, they shut them.

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

employee are indiscriminately sent packing to go through a period of trial as a candidate, this means that the directives are not grasped, and this is fraught with risks.

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

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

A candidate may be transferred from his own district but this should not become the rule. When the candidate is a bachelor this can be done more easily. And then, there are many, various and difficult sectors of work in every district to which the candidate can be assigned. The question of education in centres of adverse conditions of work should be viewed also in regard to workers and cooperative members; particular attention should be devoted when dealing with women, especially when they are married and are rearing children, but we should be more exigent towards employees and intellectuals. Thus, the directives of the Party should be interpreted correctly, and the problem of admitting members

on these new grounds to strengthen the Party with new blood should be followed with great care and ceaselessly, for this is a matter of vital importance to the Party.

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

ON THE IMPLEMENTATION OF THE NORMS OF THE PARTY

Right from the time it was founded, our Marxist-Leninist Party has given primary importance to *democratic centralism, to criticism and self-criticism, to proletarian democracy, to a critical analysis of problems and events, to sound secrecy, iron and conscious discipline, to the mass line, class struggle, etc., etc.* Good results in this respect are confirmed by the moral and political situation in the Party, the ideological uplift and revolutionary spirit in the Party and among the people, the realization of the party line without disquieting mistakes, the realization of plans.

It would of course be a mistake and shortsightedness on our part if we felt self-satisfied and said that everything has reached the highest peak, was done to perfection among us. Self-satisfaction, resting on our oars creates that condition of inertness which lets mistakes pass by and covers them up with the idea «we have achieved successes», «now everything goes well», «we

need not bother about certain dangerous manifestations which we may consider as accidental».

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

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

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

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

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

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

Should we devote special attention to this problem and find out the real reasons that hinder the basic organizations from being at their revolutionary peak? Most certainly! Without fail! Or, should we be satisfied with the results we have attained and take no account of the fact that a number of communists take no active part in discussions and debates? Should we be satisfied to say that «they are uninformed», or consider the faults of a communist who is being criticized as merely subjective

and not delve deeper into the matter and come to the conclusion that, though this or that communist is to blame for having erred, we, the basic organization bear a share of responsibility for having failed to help him? Or, when a communist or group of communists fail to accomplish their tasks and fulfil plans, should we merely say that it is their fault, whereas we, the basic organization, disclaim any responsibility if things go badly and solidarize with them when everything goes well? No, by no means!

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

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

I have emphasized at other times that the meeting of the basic organization should be an event of great importance for the communist and in order to make it such it is necessary that better preparations be made by all and not only by the secretary, not only in drawing up a good agenda but also in having all communists take

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

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

We teach and want the broad masses to speak freely, to criticize shortcomings and people with a view to edu-

cating and correcting them. Of course, a thing of this kind cannot be carried out properly by the masses if the Party as a whole, and a communist in particular, do not understand and carry it out properly.

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

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

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

If he violates these norms of the Constitution he is subjected to punitive measures which may reach to expulsion from the Party. But a queer thing happens: the Constitution is not learned, is not used as a basic material by the communists, rank-and-file or leading members. Many of the latter have not read it at all. Some read it and say: «We agree. We know these things well. We abide by them». It is true that we know many things, but then why do we blunder, why do we violate the articles of

the Constitution? This shows that we do not know these articles well. At times we are completely ignorant of them and they have not become a stumbling block for erroneous things in our consciousness, they have not become an inspiration to always proceed along the right path and in a revolutionary manner.

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

If you ask a worker about the amount of his pay, his right at work, the length of his vacations, he will tell you in most accurate terms what they are and on what law they are based. He knows the consequences of coming short of reaching the work targets and all that, but when it comes to the articles of the Constitution he pleads ignorance. We should no longer tolerate a practice of this sort, for this brings about undesirable results in revolutionizing the Party.

Let us take the question of dodging the issue of taking part properly in discussions on various problems at the meetings of the organization. I am not referring here to some mechanical thing that all the members of the basic organization absolutely must discuss everything, but to the phenomenon itself: Why do they not discuss? This should preoccupy us first and foremost.

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

There are no discussions when the problem is communicated to the organization in a cut-and-dry way and

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

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

The only way to invigorate the organization is to prepare for the problems to be brought up for discussion. Only he who grasps the problem can discuss, offer suggestions, criticize, look beyond and propose. If everybody approaches the matter in this way then there is little doubt that good and bad opinions will join issue, will be sifted, the best ones will be chosen and measures will be taken to surmount any obstacle that might lie in the way. But during these debates one will also come to know people for what they are worth. This is what revolutionary struggle is in the organization.

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

to be in touch with the debates in the organization, and formulates them entirely wrongly.

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

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

There is a remedy in each case. We should treat a communist with an intensive doze of ideological education, and cure his subjective and objective shortcomings by the work and endeavours of the basic organization, by a persistent struggle to impart the rules and regulations of the Party and make him observe them strictly and in a revolutionary way. All this should be considered, at the same time, as a broad ideological and organizational education involving all, not merely as a specia-

lity of the cadres engaged in the organization, but of each party member without exception.

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

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

Everybody says «this is right» but, unfortunately, there are also persons «who do not dare» and so on. But who is to blame for this, the Party, its rules, or because it constantly urges them to forge ahead like revolutionaries? If such persons judge the Party by the person who suppresses their correct ideas, who smothers their criticism, it is they, themselves, who are to blame,

nor the Party nor its rules. If such communists allow the person they themselves have invested with function to overshadow the collective strength of the Party, then they are far from understanding the party rules. But there are also persons who are well acquainted with the formal side of the party rules but in whose hearts other petty-bourgeois norms are brewing, in which case the Party should point out these alien «norms» to them, should strive to educate them.

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

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

lective is fully justified in criticizing, and if it turns out that norms and laws are violated, then another course is followed. A process of this kind strengthens our society and does not weaken it. On the other hand it weakens the petty-bourgeois views on life, on the out-dated norms of life which turned man into a slave, which deprived him of his personality, freedom and initiative.

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

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

In nominating candidates we seem to have departed somewhat from the revolutionary procedure we used to follow. Now, under the pretext that cadres have already become familiar figures, we almost fail to look into their biography, or if we do, we just do it formally. This must be looked into correctly regardless of whether we are familiar with the nominee, who should stand before the comrades himself and render account of himself, not to boast of his past merits already recognized by the masses, but to point out concretely where his weaknesses lie in

his work or any erroneous views he may have cherished in his mind, and pledge his word that he will correct them.

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

If we stick to these norms we will see how smoothly

the work will be done and how fast those persons who roam aimlessly in life will be corrected.

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

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

The organized detachment of the working class in our country which is the Party of Labour, is, likewise, not an arena where a class struggle, in the classic sense of the word, is waged, but it leads the class struggle. This means that our Party is a monolithic Party with steel-like unity of thought and action; there is no room in it for anti-Marxist, revisionist, Trotskyite, liberal, social-democrat and other fractions and opposition. It has defined its strategy and tactics always based on Marxist-

Leninist theory and on the objective conditions of our country, connected with its peculiarities and time, analysed in the light of dialectical and historical materialism. Thus, the tactics of the Party cannot evade or run counter to these principles.

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

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

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

proletarian revolution has triumphed everywhere in the world.

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

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

*Enver Hoxha. Speeches 1967-
-1968, pp. 5-36, 41.*

**FROM THE REPORT OF THE POLITICAL BUREAU OF
THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF THE PARTY OF
LABOUR OF ALBANIA, SUBMITTED TO THE 10th
PLENUM OF THE CC OF THE PARTY OF LABOUR
OF ALBANIA**

June 25, 1970

.....

In order to strengthen the leading and organizing role of the Party, it is necessary to centre our attention especially on some of the most acute problems which have to do with the inner life of the Party.

1. *We should unceasingly promote the initiative and independent action of the basic organizations and of every communist.* Without this it is impossible to deepen continually the process of revolutionizing the life of the country and Party, and it is impossible to speak of the vanguard role of each basic organization and each communist. But for this to be done, every organization and every communist should first of all understand and implement correctly the principles and norms which guide and regulate the internal life of the Party. This is essential, since in many basic organizations there are communists who do not keep up with the times, who get tired

and break down in the face of difficulties, who do not carry out the tasks assigned to them as they should, who do not take a leading role, who are not in the first ranks of the revolution, and are not an example for others. We should strive to turn the party organization into a living militant organism — to size up, study, analyse and carry out every decision and task the Party lays before us with full initiative, without always waiting for instructions from above on everything. It should always be active, wise, dynamic, vigilant, and flexible in manoeuvring according to the situation.

It should not be thought that the basic organization functions and acts only when it holds its meetings. Through the activity of the communists, it is present and acts everywhere, in every sector of the cooperative or enterprise, unceasingly, every day and every hour. This requires that each communist should not wait to speak only at meetings, but should also act with initiative outside them, and demand account for every incorrect action of other communists, cadres, non-party working people in the team, brigade or workshop, in the administration, wherever people strive to carry out the plan and implement the party line. . .

The development of initiative calls for better work in forming correct concepts, and deep conviction that the work of the Party should be the concern of all the communists without exception, not just of the bureau, the secretary, or a narrow circle of people. On the other hand, we should organize the work within the basic organization, defining better the place of each communist in the life of the Party, taking into account everyone's abilities and inclination, ideological and political training, cultural and technical level, skill as an organizer, and experience at work. For this purpose it is necessary to

abandon those bureaucratic concepts, methods and forms which hamper initiative and independent action, such as frequent meetings where only instructions and orders, often repeated and dealing with trifles, are given, making numerous general decisions, waiting for everything to come from above, etc. Referring to this, comrade Enver says: «We should promote revolutionary creative initiative to a high degree in our people and in our party and state organs. This initiative cannot be developed without giving people and the organs we have set up all the necessary responsibility. Sound creative thought should be given a free field of action, experimentation and supervision. Otherwise, if we set up one barrier after another (and there are bureaucratic barriers of many kinds, «reasonable» and unreasonable), people's thinking becomes benumbed, narrow, routine and sterile, revolutionary verve is lost, and routine and indifference develop. Through its visible and invisible network, bureaucracy darkens the horizons of creative thought, and at the same time deprives people of the sense of socialist responsibility, puts them in a framework of bureaucratic rules and mechanical responsibility, and keeps them within the bounds of the laws of bureaucracy.»¹

But how can we speak of the initiative and personal example of the communists, when in certain agricultural cooperatives, economic enterprises or brigades, where they work and struggle, things are not going well, and the state plan is not fully realized on time and on the basis of the conditions laid down? Can it be said that there is initiative, independent action and a militant spirit in the seven basic organizations of the Cakran enlarged cooperative, at a time when many serious short-

1) E. Hoxha. Reports and speeches, 1967-1968.

comings are noticed in the organization of work and production, and the economy is run inefficiently? Where is the vanguard role and personal example of the 170 communists who militate in those basic organizations? Of course, under those conditions one cannot even speak of such a thing.

A communist who stands in a really revolutionary position should ask himself each day whether he has discharged his obligations as a communist in the field, in the factory, in society, in the family, in the street, at school, and everywhere among the working masses; what he has given the Party today, whether he has played his vanguard role as an agitator, propagandist, and organizer, as a political leader of the masses as an outstanding social activist. In this way, through an active and militant life, the communist will develop initiative and independent action, and be tempered as a true revolutionary.

.....

Hysni Kapo. Let us raise the organizing work of the Party to the level of the present stage of socialist construction. Tirana 1970, pp. 71-74, 77-80.

ON THE THEORETICAL AND PRACTICAL SIGNIFICANCE OF THE ORGANIZATION OF WORK

*From the 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 on 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, 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 revolutionary 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.

When a new directive is issued the forms of organization 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 organizations, 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 suggestion 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 opinion and suggestions brought to the basic 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 people, 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 gathering — they raise the problem in a principled way in the basic 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 grass root organization should take independent action, should be revolutionary and militant, this should not be understood as meaning only 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 organization. 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 re-

volutionary 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 breaks during work he should call the comrades around him, including 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 basic 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 forms 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, in 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.

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, having 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.

Enver Hoxha. Speeches 1969-1970, pp. 368-376, 379-380.

**FROM THE REPORT ON THE ACTIVITY OF THE
CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF THE PARTY OF
LABOUR OF ALBANIA**

Submitted to the 6th Congress of the PLA

November 1, 1971

.....

V

**WE MUST CEASELESSLY STRENGTHEN AND
REVOLUTIONIZE THE PARTY**

Conscious of its historic mission as leader of the struggle of the whole people for socialism, at its 5th Congress the Party laid down important tasks for the further revolutionization of its life and activity. For this purpose the Central Committee has taken a series of concrete measures for the political and ideological education and tempering of the communists and cadres, for the correct understanding and revolutionary implementation of party principles and norms, for the strengthe-

ning of the proletarian character of its ranks and leading organs, for the further deepening of the line of the masses in the activity of the Party.

The Party comes to this Congress stronger than ever before, with a steel-like Marxist-Leninist unity of its ranks, linked as close as flesh to bone with the working class and working masses, ready to undertake still greater tasks, and determined to carry them out honourably as it has always done.

Without a revolutionary party of the working class, a party loyal to Marxism-Leninism, organized and capable of leading and mobilizing the working masses, neither the victory of the proletariat over the bourgeoisie, nor the successful construction of socialism can be thought of. Precisely because we have always kept this principle in mind and remained loyal to it, the retrogressive process that occurred in the Soviet Union and in some other countries, where the emergence of revisionism and the re-establishment of capitalism began with the degeneration of the party, with the alteration of its class character, with the loss of its revolutionary qualities and spirit, did not take place with us. Precisely because we have followed the Marxist-Leninist teachings on the Party consistently, and fought relentlessly for its uninterrupted tempering and revolutionization, in our country the dictatorship of the proletariat stands steel-strong and invincible, socialism marches ahead, ever triumphant.

The Party of Labour of Albania is a strong, organized Party tested in battle, a Party ideologically and politically pure, determined and able to carry the cause of the working class forward successfully. We are proud of our heroic Party, of its struggle and successes, of its

courage, clearheadedness and vitality. But we should never forget that the class struggle continues, both inside and outside the country; that the pressure of bourgeois and revisionist ideology exists. We should devote our full attention, efforts and abilities to the work for the continuous strengthening of the Party, for its revolutionary education, for the enhancement of its leading role in the whole life of the country.

And this becomes all the more necessary if we keep in mind the majestic and very important tasks this Congress is putting before the Party and the whole people. The successful realization of these tasks, the impetuous development of our whole economy, the transformation in the entire life of the country, demand the total engagement of the mental and physical energies of all the communists and cadres, and the raising of the Party work to a higher level.

The leading role of the Party is ensured through the activity of all the communists and their vanguard example

Our Party upholds the Marxist-Leninist principle, that with the development and consolidation of socialism, far from being weakened, the leading role of the Party becomes ever more strengthened and perfected. This is dictated by the fact that the process of socialist construction becomes more and more extensive and complex. In this process the leading role of the working class is continually enhanced. On the other hand, the participation of the masses in the socialist construction of the country, in the entire social, economic and state li-

fe, becomes more and more active. All these factors make it indispensable to raise to a higher level the leading, educative, organizing and mobilizing role of the Party, which, relying on its ideology, makes the objectives clear and illuminates the road to their attainment.

In our country the leading role of the Party in every aspect of life has been and is indisputable. All the historic victories our people have achieved during these 30 years, the liberation of the country, the establishment of the people's power, the construction of the new socialist society are indissolubly linked with the Party and its wise and farsighted leadership.

The strengthening and perfecting of the leading role of the Party is a permanent and vital task. A profound understanding of this principle, and, especially, the correct implementation of it in practice is especially important.

The leading role of the Party as the guiding force of the entire life of the country extends to every field: ideology, politics, organization, the economy, education, military affairs, and so on. These sectors of the life of the country, which together make up a whole, are led by the Party through all its members, wherever they work, be it in the party or state apparatus, in the mass organizations, in production, or in the scientific and cultural institutions.

The work of the communists in each sector has its own special characteristics, but it also has one thing in common: every communist, wherever he works, should fight to carry out the line of the Party and ensure its leading role. The roots of many of the shortcomings and weaknesses observed in our work lie in confusion of what is specific with what is common.

The communists in the party organs should be conversant with economic problems, the problems of industry and agriculture, of education, culture and the army, independently of the fact that the comrades who work in the respective branches of the state apparatus are directly involved with them. The comrades of the leading party organs should have a good knowledge of all the problems, of course, without going into details, because without this they cannot give proper guidance to the state and economic organs in the performance of their tasks, or to the party organization in mobilizing the masses.

When we say that party organs and apparatuses be acquainted with and take up all the problems of the country's life, we mean that they should view these problems from the angle of specific party work, without going into the technical or material details of day to day issues and without duplicating the work of the state and economic organs. Fundamental in their work is the education and mobilization of the communists and the masses working in different sectors to carry out the tasks they have been charged with to the letter, putting the party organizations and, through them, all the other state, economic or social organizations onto militant positions for the consistent carrying out of the policy of the Party everywhere.

The communists and cadres appointed by the Party to work in state and economic organs, be they technicians or specialists, are first and foremost political people. While engaged in the management of state affairs, in the organization of production, in taking technical and economic measures for the fulfilment of the plan, which is their main duty, they do not and should not see these

tasks with the eyes of a technocrat. As communists, responsible to the Party for the implementation of its line in their respective sectors, they should strive tirelessly to develop a political and ideological understanding of these tasks among the working people, to organize and mobilize them fully.

This is how the leading role of the Party in the whole life of the country is realized, this is how the Party as a whole gives guidance, in an organized and centralized manner.

The leading role of the Party is not achieved through decrees, nor is it imposed through administrative measures. It is won through its correct line, which expresses and defends the vital interests of the working class and the masses as a whole, and through its resolute struggle to carry this line out in actual life. This role is ensured through the revolutionary activity of every communist who, by his personal example and activity, inspires, educates and mobilizes the masses in the struggle for socialism. The Party is made up of its members, and the vanguard role of the Party is meaningless and cannot be carried out without every communist playing his vanguard role.

But are all the communists in the vanguard position of the Party? Each party member should ask himself this question. This question should concern every party organization. It is a fact that although they are not many, within our ranks there are a few unenterprising party members lacking in initiative who harbour backward concepts on work and life, and who, far from setting a personal example and standing in the vanguard, frequently trail behind the masses, just as there are also some who have been left behind by the impetuous development of our life.

Such people sound a discordant note amongst the overwhelming majority of the members of our glorious Party, amongst those who have carried and are carrying heavy burdens on their shoulders, who have performed and are performing mighty deeds, who have fought and are fighting with heroism and self-sacrifice for the all-round progress of our socialist homeland, who deservedly stand on the head of the masses and enjoy their boundless respect and confidence.

The Party should do its utmost to educate these communists, who have lagged behind, to put them in a militant position, to have them march in step with the times and the revolution, so that they may be worthy of and keep the title of a member of our heroic Party.

In our country the whole atmosphere is such as to impel our people forward. Here everything is moving, developing. Our life is active, dynamic, it does not tolerate the passivity and routine that keep people marking time. One of the most important tasks of our party organizations is to find ways, methods, and that revolutionary style of work so that all the communists will be put on vanguard positions, to throw them into battle, actions, into which by their example they draw all the working masses after them.

The fundamental and decisive link that ensures the leading role of the Party in every aspect of our life is the basic organization, where all the instructions and directives of the Party are analysed, explained, and put into practice, the direct connections of the Party with the masses are ensured and the masses mobilized for the achievement of definite objectives, and check-up is exercised on the activity of every communist, irrespective of where he works or the position he holds.

If they are to play their leading, inspiring and organizing role in the sectors where they work, the basic party organizations should go deeply into the main problems and not let themselves be swamped by day to day details. They must arouse all the organizations and put them into motion, not allowing themselves to be transformed into mere levers of the economic and state organs, not concerning themselves only with the figures of the plan, but, first and foremost, with carrying out the policy of the Party in every field. They should fight against bureaucracy, indifference and any other alien manifestations, and especially step up their work with the people, because it is the people who turn the party directives and state plans into reality.

The proletarian composition of the Party and the quality of the communists — a fundamental prerequisite for the Party to remain always revolutionary

The Party, as a living political organism, which grows and is strengthened in struggle and revolution, reflects in its ranks the changes that take place in the social-economic sphere, in the class structure and in the spiritual life of society.

This is an uninterrupted process but by no means spontaneous. It is consciously organized and directed by the Party itself in conformity with the stages of the revolution and the problems it has to solve, relying always upon the teachings of Marxism-Leninism.

During these last five years, thanks to the great all-round political, ideological and organizational work

for the further revolutionization of the whole life of the country and of the Party itself, important quantitative and qualitative changes have taken place in the Party.

The considerable growth of the party membership and, especially, the further improvement of the class composition of its ranks testifies to this. On October 1, 1971 there were 86,985 communists in the ranks of the Party, including 18, 127 candidate members, compared with 66, 327 communists at the time of the 5th Party Congress. Thus, during this period 20,658 communists have been added to the Party.

It is a great joy and victory for the Party and all the people that now, for the first time in history of our Party, the worker communists occupy the first place in party membership. At present they make up 36,41 per cent of all the communists.

This fact testifies to the deep love of the working class for their Marxist-Leninist Party and their boundless confidence in it. It testifies to the correct organizational line consistently and resolutely followed by the Party which has resolutely upheld the principle that a party of the working class must be proletarian not only in regard to its ideology but also in regard to the class composition of its ranks.

The working class has sent its finest sons and daughters to the Party, those who have distinguished and tempered themselves in revolutionary battles and actions. This new blood has brought the determination and iron will, the discipline and revolutionary impetus of the working class into the Party.

In order to preserve and continuously strengthen its proletarian class character the Party has devoted special attention to the improvement of the composition

of its leading organs with workers. Today 55 per cent of the party committees in the districts, 85,2 per cent of the members of the bureaus of the basic organizations in the economic enterprises and 86.3 per cent of their secretaries, are workers by origin, background, or present position. It is a very positive and significant fact that now taking part in the leading organs of our Party, there are many workers who, even after being elected to these organs, continue their jobs as workers in production. This is of great principled importance. The evil turn that occurred in many communist parties which degenerated to revisionism stemmed from the fact that while there were many workers in their ranks, their leading organs were deproletarianized, filled with specialist technocratic, bureaucratic intellectuals and officials.

By opening the way for workers to enter the Party, to take an active part in its leading organs, our Party has put its roots deep into the heart of the most revolutionary and progressive class in society, the class to which belongs the historic mission of being in the vanguard of the struggle for socialism and communism.

In the future, too, we must fight to increase the ranks of our Party with workers who should have priority over all those from the other classes and strata. Real possibilities for this exist now, because the working class is rapidly growing and developing, parallel with the development of the economy and especially of industry...

... The growth of the Party in the agricultural cooperatives, from the 5th Congress onward, has gone normally in conformity with the tasks arising from the socialist construction in the countryside. Communists from the agricultural cooperatives make up 29.70 per cent of

the party membership. Today there is no village without communists, and we have organized basic party organizations in all the sectors of the agricultural cooperatives. But there are still brigades without party groups and even some without a single communist.

The great tasks facing agriculture for increasing production and modernization, the major role it plays in our economy as a whole, as well as the fact that the greater part of our population lives in the countryside, demand the admission of more cooperativists to the Party, with the aim of further strengthening the Party in the countryside and the improvement of its leadership in the agricultural cooperatives, by bringing the Party as close as possible to the basic unit of production, the brigade.

The great revolutionary struggle that has been developed, especially in recent years, for the complete emancipation of the woman, for setting free her inexhaustible creative energies, has been successfully reflected in the composition of the Party. The fact that women comprise 22,05 per cent of the total party membership, as against 12,47 per cent at the time of the 5th Congress, cannot but arouse our enthusiasm.

Women are a colossal force and play a very important role in the all-round development of the country. Great numbers of women have now graduated from the 8-year schools, have been educated in the party spirit and tempered on the anvil of mass actions and various revolutionary movements. Today a correct and healthy opinion about the role of the woman in society is being formed in our country. All this creates the possibility and dictates the need that in the future, too, we should

forge ahead boldly and rapidly in admitting women to party membership.

For our Party, as its entire history proves, the quality of its members, their political and moral characteristics, their ideological formation and revolutionary tempering, their determination to defend and carry out the line of the Party always and under any circumstances, are of decisive importance. Big numbers do not always show the strength of a party. But when numbers are accompanied with high quality, when more and more conscious elements who are ready to carry out the tasks which the Party puts before them enter its ranks, people who at all times put the general interest above everything, then it is transformed into a colossal force. Such people make the Party invincible, keep it always revolutionary, a vanguard and leading force of the entire society.

The demands the Party makes on the communists are continually increasing, parallel with the development of socialism and the emergence of new, more difficult and complex, problems and tasks. Each stage of the revolution demands new qualities and virtues from all the working people, qualities and virtues which should be embodied, first of all, in the communists. Besides their political loyalty and devotion to the cause of the Party, besides their untiring work for the good of the people, besides their internationalist convictions and hatred of the enemy, today it is more than ever necessary for the communists to be advanced people, with new concepts about work, life, family, society, people who love knowledge and culture, who have a thorough understanding of their profession and support technical and scientific progress with all their might, who do not tolerate routine and ignorance, who wage a courageous

struggle against anything that becomes an obstacle hindering the impetuous march of socialist society.

The sound composition and the good qualities of those who are admitted to the Party are not everything. In order to have a strong revolutionary party capable of playing its vanguard role, it is indispensable that all its members should be educated constantly with the Marxist-Leninist ideology and the policy and teachings of the Party, uninterruptedly tempered in the fire of revolutionary struggle and work. This is a vital necessity if the communists are not to become sclerosed, bureaucratized, and degenerate as in the Soviet Union and elsewhere, but are to remain always resolute and consistent fighters for the cause of communism...

Invigorate the internal life and raise the initiative and self-action of party organizations

The enhancement of the leading role and the uninterrupted revolutionization of the Party cannot be conceived, much less achieved, without invigorating the internal life of the organizations of the Party, without the initiative and the active participation of all the communists in the struggle for the working out and implementation of its line.

The Party of Labour of Albania was born, grew up and developed in the tide of revolutionary actions of the working class and the masses. In stern class struggle against the internal and external enemies, in bold actions and profoundly revolutionary movements that transformed the material and spiritual world of man, every communist and basic organisation, every leading party organ has been constantly revolutionized.

During the period we are reporting on initiative and self-action, the spirit of innovation and the revolutionary drive to forge ahead have assumed a broad development and a new content in all sectors, in the economy and culture, in science and technology. All this brought about a new and more flexible style, more original forms of work in conformity with the tasks of the time. Today a high spirit of militancy, of mobilization and responsibility, pervades the life of the Party organizations and the communists.

We must keep this revolutionary spirit alive and incessantly strengthen it so as to make the party organizations ever better self-acting organisms which, with full initiative and responsibility, must analyse and explain, carry out and check up on the directives and decisions of the Party, skilfully grasping and finding ways to tackle the new problems presented by life.

Initiative and self-action are revolutionary concepts of thinking and acting. They are not born of themselves, nor are they provided ready-made by others, but come about as a result of profound knowledge of and penetration into the ideo-political essence of party directives, as a result of the study and correct assessment of the reality, of the opinion and experience of the masses, of the courage to take complete responsibility for the action carried out.

In order to develop the initiative and independent action of party organizations it is necessary to fight with determination against administrative methods and bureaucratic tutelage which, despite the improvements made, can still be seen in the work of the Party. There are leading party cadres and organs who not infrequently tend to intervene and decide everything, or who, under the pretext of keeping close contacts with or «covering»

all the party basic organizations, establish an impermissible tutelage through their instructors, forgetting that in this way they restrict the initiative of the organizations and communists and make them wait for everything from above. This is one of the manifestations of bureaucracy in the Party. Initiative and independent action are limited also when the leading organs load the basic organizations with a multitude of orientations, directives and decisions which are often lengthy, complicated, and vague. This means that the basic organizations are unable to understand, analyze and carry them out, so they are constantly obliged to ask for explanations and interpretations from the higher bodies. Here, we have to do with another manifestation of bureaucracy and intellectualism.

All forms of organization and work should serve to set the basic party organizations and communists in motion, to arouse their initiative, to strengthen their individual and collective responsibility. This should be well understood, especially by the leading party cadres and organs. But it is essential that the basic organizations themselves fight for this. They should be faster to move and more daring, not waiting for ready-made solutions from above for the problems which concern them, and not acting in a mechanical way, without taking into account the character of the directive and the situation in their enterprise, cooperative, or institution. Creative thinking and initiative do not require a big fuss — they should burst out in close connection with the actual concrete tasks and serve their solution.

Initiative and self-action have to do not only with the organization as a forum, but following its example,

every party member or candidate should act in this spirit, day by day in everything. Without revolutionary communists there can be no revolutionary party organizations. In this sense display of initiative is not limited to the active participation of each communist in studying problems within the party organization. The basic party organization is not only its meeting, but the whole activity of all its members taken individually and jointly, before, during, and after meetings, to work out and carry out the line and decisions of the Party everywhere they live and work.

The tasks of the construction of socialism and the problems raised by life are so numerous that there is no practical possibility of having all of them discussed in the party organization. Therefore it is required that every communist have a profound and detailed knowledge of the party directives and decisions, and, according to the conditions of the place where he works, carry them out with initiative, working as an agitator, propagandist and organizer, but always playing a vanguard role. Communists should be neither mechanical appliers nor conformists, but should take complete responsibility for the creative analysis and explanation and fulfilment of directives and orientations, speaking up courageously when the various decisions, orders and directions run counter to the correct policy of the Party, or do not respond to particular actual conditions.

Initiative and self-action as distinctive features of communists are formed and tempered in struggle and work, in daily practical social activity. Through mass actions and movements the revolutionary drive of the communists is merged into a single whole with the crea-

tiveness of the masses, thus dealing a powerful blow at bureaucratic and technocratic methods, laziness and formalism. It is the duty of all the communists, party organizations and committees to extend the method of mass actions to all the fields of life, for in this way party work will be enlivened and will respond better to the drive and enthusiasm of the working class and all the working people.

Of special importance for the strengthening of the Party is a profound ideological understanding and persistent implementation of the norms which regulate its internal life. It is these norms that make the Party steel-like, strengthen its unity of thought and action, ensure the vitality and success of its activity.

Any misinterpretation, any merely formal implementation of these norms has serious consequences, withers the inner life of the Party, stifles the revolutionary drive of the communists, paves the way to the development of bureaucracy in, and degeneration of, the Party. Herein lies one of the main sources of the great tragedy that befell the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. In that country today, although the party norms still bear the label «communist», they are used as levers to subject the Party, and to carry out the will of the revisionist clique in power. Democratic centralism has been turned into bureaucratic centralism through which the dictate of the ruling group of the new Soviet bourgeoisie is imposed upon the Party. Criticism and self-criticism have been transformed into weapons to attack and discriminate against the opponents of the revisionist line, conscious discipline has been replaced with blind submission to bureaucratic authorities. The communist ethics of the party member has yielded its place to the bourgeois morality of the careerists, the servile, and the hypocrites.

Throughout its life our Party has fought unceasingly to keep the party norms unblemished and have them become an integral part of the daily life of the organizations and the communists. This has made our Party invincible, able to face its various enemies and to lead the Albanian people successfully on the brilliant road of socialism.

Having in mind both the positive experience of our Party and the negative experience of the revisionist parties, we should give full attention to this great vital question, and must resolutely fight any manifestation of formalism in the interpretation and implementation of the Leninist norms in party life.

The norms are not an end in themselves nor are they administrative rules. Thus inner democracy, as a very important norm in party life, is not reduced simply to democratic procedure in holding meetings, to taking decisions by majority vote, etc. Democracy in the party has a profound ideological and practical meaning and content. Its essence is that every communist should take an active part in formulating and implementing the party line, freely express his ideas about the work and the people, openly criticize shortcomings, and make self-criticism of his own weaknesses. If understood and implemented in this way, democracy serves the strengthening of the party, the enlivenment of the organizations and the solidarity of the party ranks on the basis of the fundamental principle of its structure and functioning — democratic centralism.

Democracy is strengthened through debates, the clash of opinions and viewpoints, the putting and overcoming of contradictions. The struggle of opinions along correct lines is not an expression of the lack of unity

but, on the contrary, an effective means for strengthening it. Where there is a lack of debate, where there is «peace» and «harmony», there is stagnation, and the democracy and unity have a formal character. Fear of debate is not a characteristic of the communists but a feature of the petty-bourgeoisie and bureaucrats who want no troubles or worries.

But democracy would still remain formal, were it limited only to discussion and debates. It becomes effective and serves the strengthening of the party when the communists consistently carry the decisions taken through to the end, when they act like a single body and have a common will. This is how the unity of thought and action is realized in practice.

The great importance of principle of the Leninist stipulation that, to be a party member, one must accept the party constitution and program, belong to a party organization, and regularly pay membership dues, is well known. But this remains formal if the communist is not an active fighter for the implementation of the party line, if he does not embody in his life and work the communist qualities defined in the constitution, if he is not a vanguard fighter and does not lead the masses in the struggle for socialism. The Albanian communists are not members just to cast their votes, such as the revisionist parties want them to be, but front-rank fighters, people who concern themselves night and day about party affairs and the fate of the people.

The party cannot stand in the forefront of the struggle and forge ahead without mobilizing the masses, without relying upon them, because the work of the party is broad, boundless, and it can never be done by a limi-

ted number of communists. Its links with the masses is another important norm and principle of the party.

The problems of the party are problems that concern the masses, therefore we must seek and find them among the masses, discuss and solve them together with the masses, because it is precisely the broad popular masses that create, build, and transform the world and society. The implementation of this great Marxist-Leninist principle comprises that link in the chain which should be seized to carry all our work ahead. The mass line multiplies the forces of the party a hundred fold, further deepens democracy in its internal life, and strengthens the ties of the party with the people.

The successes in this direction are obvious, but we still encounter formalist and sectarian concepts. There are occasions when the masses are consulted only perfunctorily, when, even if their opinion is solicited about some question, the correct suggestions and proposals of the masses are not properly reflected in the decisions. And when only a few people are consulted, and this is called listening to the voice of the masses, this too, is formalism. Likewise it is not rare for the people to be called together, under the slogan of the line of the masses, unnecessarily and over quite unimportant matters.

On the other hand, some basic organizations are finding it difficult to break out of the narrow framework of work without perspective in which they have shut themselves away. What harm is there, if over any important problem taken up for discussion in the basic party organizations or forums, not only is the opinion of the masses solicited, but also, after each party meeting, the working people are informed about the questions they are interested in, and, together with them, the most appro-

priate forms and means are sought for their solution? What organizational rules are violated if the basic organization comes before the collective time after time to report on how the decisions have been carried out, how the communists, the bureau members, right up to the district plenum members, have worked, or open meetings of basic organizations are held, even when communists' mistakes are discussed? This violates no norm, no organizational principle but it smashes bureaucratic concepts that underrate the opinion and check up of the masses, whereas it deepens the democracy in the inner party life and implements the principles and norms of the party in a revolutionary way.

Placing the entire activity of the party organizations and comunists under the control of the working class and the working masses is a question of great principled importance to prevent the separation of the party from the class and the masses, if we want it to remain to the end a revolutionary party loyally serving the interests of the people. The lack of these reports, departure from the mass line, turning party work into something closed, beyond the control of the class and the working people, made it possible for the revisionists do take the masses by surprise and face them with an accomplished fact.

We should always have this bitter lesson in mind and further deepen the rich experience of our Party on the great road towards the further democratization of party life, the implementation of its norms in a revolutionary spirit, the strengthening of the links of the Party with the masses. In this way the Party will always be as strong as steel, invincible, capable of finding its bearings in any situation and of successfully solving any problem.

The deepening of the mass line cannot be understood without further improving the work of the Party with the organizations of the masses, and its leadership in these organizations. The role of the trade union, youth and women's organizations, as well as that of the Democratic Front, is of great importance in strengthening the links of the Party with the masses, in the revolutionary education and mobilization of the working people in struggle to carry out the tasks of socialist construction. They transmit the party line to the masses and put before the Party and the state the problems that are worrying the masses, but also organize them to take an active part in running state and social affairs and in exercising their direct control over everyone as the all-powerful masters of the country.

The Party has always had a high appreciation of the great role the organizations of the masses play in the system of proletarian dictatorship, therefore it has devoted and continues to devote full attention to them. This attention should in no way be diminished in the future, either. On the contrary, it should be increased, combatting any manifestation of underestimation of the organization of the masses which is still to be found among some party organizations, cadres, or comunists.

The leadership of the Party in the organizations of the masses is the prerequisite that ensures a correct political, ideological, and organizational orientation for the lofty ideals of socialism. Our Party opposes both the viewpoints of the modern revisionists who preach the independence of the mass organizations from the revolutionary party of the working class so as to make them dependent on the bourgeois parties, and the bureaucratic concepts according to which the mass organizations should be mere appendages of the state apparatus,

thus denying them any initiative and self-action, with the aim that everything should be dictated to them from above.

The leadership of the Party is a political and ideological leadership, which means that the activity of the mass organizations is based on the ideology and general political line of the Party, that its directives and decisions are the only source that inspires and guides them in all their activity. From this stems the duty of the party committees and organizations to explain this line and these directives to organizations of the masses in conformity with the specific nature and functions of the latter, at the same time allowing them full freedom of initiative to think and act for themselves in the analysis and explanation, and carrying out of the line and directives.

In this sense the practice of insisting that before the mass organization can act on anything the party organizations must first have a look at it, which is by no means rare, is absolutely alien and harmful.

These bureaucratic practices, which are often excused with the «need for concrete assistance» to the organizations of the masses, with their «lack of experience», in fact show only that some party organizations still have not divested themselves of certain obsolete forms and methods of work.

In the conditions when the ideo-political, cultural, and educational level of the masses has been raised and when their organizations have gained rich experience, it is also necessary to improve the forms and methods of party leadership, which should aim, not at stifling, but at all-round development of the initiative and self-action of the mass organizations, just as they themselves should further improve their style and me-

thod, finding more independent, more flexible, and more varied forms of work.

Particularly careful work has been done for the education of the activists of the mass organizations who constitute a great force and an inexhaustible reserve for increasing the party ranks and for cadres for all sectors. This army of activists does not consist only of the functionaries, or those who have been elected to the forums of the mass organizations, but also of tens of thousands of social activists who work with a high sense of duty as propagandists, agitators and organizers of the masses. The Party and the mass organizations themselves should devote great care to the work of increasing, training, and tempering these activists...

MARXISM-LENINISM AN EVER YOUNG AND SCIENTIFIC DOCTRINE

The leadership of the working class and of its Marxist-Leninist party, a fundamental condition for the defeat of the bourgeoisie and imperialism

... Today the various theories which preach spontaneity in the revolutionary movement, which disparage the role of the conscious factor, which negate the role of theory and of the party of the proletariat, are being activated. The degeneration of the revisionist parties, their transformation into reformist parties, harmless to the bourgeoisie, and the anti-Marxist theses of the So-

viet, Yugoslav, Italian and other modern revisionists that «capitalism is integrating into socialism consciously or unconsciously gradually or radically», that «even non-proletarian parties and organizations may become bearers of the ideals of socialism and leaders of the struggle for their realization», that «some countries where the new national bourgeoisie is in power are going towards socialism, too», etc., have become a basis for the spread of the most extreme views that completely negate the role of theory and the need for a party of the working class. There are also those who pose as pure revolutionaries, who go so far as to declare that in «Marx's theory about the revolution there is neither a place nor the need for a party», that «the vanguard of socialist revolution cannot be equated with the Marxist-Leninist party», that the role of the party can be played «by the active minority» which emerges as a «ferment» in the spontaneous movement, that «the consciousness of the revolutionary organization emerges from the revolutionary action itself».

All these «theories» cause incalculable harm to the revolutionary movement, for they befuddle the minds of the working class and leave it disarmed before the onslaught of the bourgeoisie, which on its part, has reached the acme of perfection in its propaganda methods and means and the organization of the struggle against the revolution and communism.

It is now historically proven that without its party the working class, under whatever conditions it may live or work, cannot achieve consciousness on its own. What turns the working class from a «class by itself» to a «class for itself» is its party. Of course, struggle, and action temper and test the classes, the masses and the

revolutionaries, and teach them many things. But if they lack a political party with a clear-cut program and scientifically based strategy and tactics, the struggle will either stop halfway or fail altogether. And the experience of the present day revolutionary movement and numerous struggles of the peoples of various continents teaches us this.

Even when some of the various revisionists and opportunists admit the need for the existence of a party, they badly distort its role and the organizational principles on which it is built. They proclaim Lenin's ideas on this matter to be obsolete and left behind. In particular they assail the principle that the party is not only the conscious vanguard of the class but also the highest form of its organization, characterized by a unity of thought and action, and to which belongs the leading role in all revolutionary activity in whatever field it may take place. Some of them reduce the party's role to that of an organization of political and ideological guidance and education, or of a centre coordinating information. Others identify it with the guerilla unit or favour equal «partnership» of the Marxist-Leninist party with the other parties and organizations of the working class and the labouring masses.

The leading role of the party of the working class, in the struggle for socialism under conditions of the existence of one party or many parties, is an objective law. The revolutionary transformation of capitalist society along socialist lines is a broad and very complicated struggle waged in many forms and in all the fields — economic, political, ideological and military. In this struggle, the working class enters into alliances with

various social and political forces. All the forms of struggle and organization, all the detachments of the revolutionary movement, should serve one aim. Hence the necessity for the party as a single centre of direction, leadership and organization.

The struggle for socialism has as its theoretical foundation the ideology of the working class, Marxism-Leninism, which is the scientific doctrine that provides the only correct conception of socialism and of the ways to attain it. No other party can uphold, work out, and implement this theory, except the communist party of the proletariat, the party of that class to which the socialist and communist future belongs, which defends the fundamental interests of the workers and all the progressive forces of society and fight for them, the party of the class which, as Marx said, cannot liberate itself without liberating all mankind. If the fate of the revolution is left to a centre of general guidance, to a simple co-ordinating or guerilla organization, it will turn into a blind alley and suffer defeat.

The objective substance of all the «theories» which negate the need for the leading role of the working class and its party, is, in fact, the negation of the revolution, of socialism and Marxism-Leninism. These concepts only bring grist to the mill of the bourgeoisie and the counter-revolution. Therefore, the unmasking of them and the determined defence of the Leninist teachings on the hegemony of the working class, on the leading role of the party of the proletariat and the principles on which it is built and organized today, constitute a very important current task to clear up the

confusion and disintegration which the revisionists have created in this field, in order to promote the revolution and carry ahead the struggle for socialism and communism. . .

*Enver Hoxha. Report to the
6th Congress of the PLA. Ti-
rana 1971, pp: 167-180, 184-196;
202; 209; 216-220:*

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

*From the speech delivered at the plenary session of
the Mati District Party Committee*

February 26, 1972

... We say that the Party is the vanguard of the working class. But what does this mean? We all know and see everyday how and where the working class works. It is in constant struggle that it works in mines, in factories, in agriculture, on construction sites, on canals and everywhere, it comes up against many kinds of difficulties and privations and strives to overcome them. But when all this is happening where should its vanguard, the Party, be? It should by all means be on the forefront of struggle and work, in production. This is the place of honour for the communists, otherwise the Party cannot play its vanguard role. Therefore, the Party continually requires that the majority of the communists go into production where they should be in the forefront of work and sacrifice and set their example in every direction. We must never forget this, otherwise we deviate

from the Leninist line, we become «bosses» and «commanders». It is the duty of the communists to stand as always in the van of that class which works and clashes with difficulties and hardships. This demands that the leadership of the Party, of the vanguard of the working class, be ensured where the most difficult fronts of struggle and work are.

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

culture and throughout the various levels of socialist construction, then it is clear that we are not properly abiding by Lenin's teachings on this.

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

«The workers must enter all state institutions, they must control the entire state apparatus, and this must be done by the non-party workers who elect their own representatives to the non-party workers' and 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.»¹

In this question we should bear the future in mind, too, when we reach communism. Then, there will be neither party nor state, because the people will govern themselves. To this end, the Party should teach the non-party masses of the people, from whom it has emerged, the working class, the peasantry and all the working people, how to govern 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 questions in our country at present? Do we have a correct ratio everywhere between the communists and the non-party cadres? Is it

1) V. I. Lenin. Works, vol, 30; p. 400,

necessary for almost everyone in our state or administration apparatuses, in the economic or mass organization apparatuses to be communists? Naturally, it is a bit different with the party apparatuses; in general the people employed there are required to be communists. Non-party workers cannot be employed there, except for a limited number. Nevertheless, there are jobs in a party apparatus, which can be done by non-party workers, for it is not said that for instance the driver, the door-keeper, the librarian and some other employees should be party members.

... 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.

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

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

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

... 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 violation, it will take ruthless measures against all those who commit them, whoever they are.

... If a Party instructor goes to the grass root level and makes a wrong explanation of the directive, the communist should tell him: «I don't agree with what you say, for I have the directive of the Party clear in my mind. I have the Constitution of the cooperative, which permits me, as a cooperative member of the highlands, to keep one cow and ten ewes in my private plot, and now you come and tell me to slaughter them; but I will not!» If some amendments are made to the Constitution, this will not happen without first taking into account the opinion of the cooperative members in the highlands of the Mati 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 mem-

bers with milk, then no reduction at all will be effected.

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

Connected with this, Stalin teaches us:

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

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

1) J. V. Stalin. Works, Vol. 11; p. 68.

In the Soviet Union this was how modern revisionism emerged which represented the bureaucratic, corrupt elements, the enemy of Marxism-Leninism, the enemy of the Leninist revolutionary norms of the Party, and which had wormed its way into the Party and remained hidden there as in a cocoon.

We should bear in mind the historic experience taught by Stalin, we should bear in mind that experience of the Bolshevik Party which found itself unarmed in face of modern revisionism, precisely because in its work it neglected reliance on the masses. Stalin foresaw what could happen to a party if, under the stress of bureaucratized apparatuses, it relies more and more on its «unlimited» rights. Do not think that this slide came all of a sudden. No! Here we have to deal with an entire process, a regressive process, when under the guise of its great authority, the revolutionary norms of the party are distorted, 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 wormeaten 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 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 in common struggle and work. In actual life, this line is still better understood, formed, tempered and tested by the party itself, by the class, by the masses. Whoever separates these factors from one another, slips and deviates from the line. The people who slip tend precisely towards separating these factors, they try to hide themselves from the party control, from its norms and regulations, they aim at hiding themselves behind the authority of the party, they stick their chest out boasting: «I'm the authority». These people, instead of reflecting on the remarks of the masses, try to cover up their shortcomings, discuss things quite abstractly, demanding to be heard, because they

are supposed to be in the right. In order to hide their mistakes and avoid criticism addressed to them, they try to indentify themselves with the party and thus defend themselves and escape criticism. When they see themselves threatened by imminent criticism, they make a great fuss saying that «the Party should not be criticized», that «the Party is infallible», etc.

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

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

... The Leninist party norms are made the target of a subtle attack by the revisionists of all hues, who aim at liquidating the parties of the Marxist-Leninist type, in order to ensure the victory of capitalism and imperialism and to defeat the working class. The revisionists resort to all ways and means to attack Leninism, its principles for party building and its norms, which make it militant, active and the vanguard of the working class. Furthermore, the Italian revisionists go so far as to tell such ignominious lies as that Marx himself had not 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 of the proletariat. In many of their writings they have stressed, in particular, the need to organize the communist party to lead the working class. The revisionists cannot negate this, it is as clear as the rising sun. On the other hand, the revisionists say that Lenin has not only deviated from the ideas of Marx, but that he has also distorted them, thus opening the way for the emergence of bureaucracy, 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 a strict discipline. According to them, the party line, its leading role, in opposition to what Lenin has said, dwindles to nothing. According to the revisionists, the party committees in capitalist-owned factories, can play a certain role only if they urge the workers to make

economic demands, and not political demands. Such theories and other similar ones were condemned and refuted by Lenin in his time. Therefore, the modern revisionists' propaganda and that of all enemies of socialism, which are spearheaded so 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.

Enver Hoxha. Socialism is built by the masses, the Party makes them conscious. Tirana 1972, pp. 12-15, 42-45; 48-53; 55-57.

C O N T E N T S

	page.
From the resolution of the meeting of the principal communist groups of Albania for the creation of the Party November 1941	3
Report delivered to the 1st consultative meeting of the activists of the Communist Party of Albania (April 8, 1942)	10
From the resolution of the 1st consultative conference of the Communist Party of Albania March 17, 1943	42
From the instructions of the CC of the CPA on matters of party organization February 10, 1947	47
From the letter of the Central Committee of the CPA to all party organizations on maintaining secrecy June 1, 1947	55
From the resolution of the 11th plenum of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Albania September 24, 1948	57

	page.
From the report to the meeting of the Tirana party activists on the analysis and conclusions of the 11th plenum of the CPA	
October 4, 1948	64
From the Constitution of the Party of Labour of Albania	
November 18, 1948	70
From the resolution of the 1st Congress of the Communist Party of Albania	
November 19, 1948	78
From the letter to the party organizations at the grass roots and in the army concerning inner party democracy	
March 6, 1949	91
From the decision of the plenum of the Central Committee of the PLA «On the tasks of our Party in the light of the resolution of the Information Bureau»	
December 27, 1949	97
For the further improvement of the internal situation in our country	
December 28, 1949	99
From the resolution of the plenum of the Central Committee of the Party of Labour of Albania on the factional activity of the anti-party group led by Abedin Shehu, Niazi Islami and Shyqri Këllezi	
March 6, 1950	108
From the resolution of the Plenum of the Central	

	page.
Committee of the Party of Labour of Albania «On the political situation and the work of the Party» February 23, 1951	111
From the report to the 2nd Congress of the Party of Labour of Albania «On the activity of the Central Committee of the Party of Labour of Albania» March 31, 1952	115
From the resolution of the 2nd Congress of the Party of Labour of Albania on the report «On the activity of the Central Committee of the Party of Labour of Albania» April 6, 1952	134
From the report submitted to the 7th plenum of the Central Committee of the Party of Labour of Albania «On the situation of the organizational and political work of the Party and the measures for its strengthening» May 11, 1953	139
On further improving the method of party work in the countryside September 22, 1954	151
From the report submitted to the 3rd Congress of the PLA «On the activity of the Central Committee of the Party of Labour of Albania» May 25, 1956	153
From the report of the Political Bureau of the CC of the PLA «On the further strengthening of the Party» December 13, 1963	160

From the closing speech at the plenum of the CC of the PLA on the further strengthening of the ideological work of the Party for the communist education of the working people	July 7-9, 1964	171
Some questions of the revolutionization of the party organizations	July 13, 1966	179
From the report on the activity of the Central Committee of the Party of Labour of Albania	November 1, 1966	188
From the Constitution of the Party of Labour of Albania	209
The further revolutionization of the Party and government	February 6, 1967	226
From the report of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Party of Labour of Albania, submitted to the 10th plenum of the CC of the Party of Labour of Albania	June 25, 1970	255
On the theoretical and practical significance of the organization of work	June 26, 1970	259

page.

From the report on the activity of the Central Committee of the Party of Labour of Albania

November 1, 1971 268

Socialism is built by the masses, the Party makes them conscious

February 26, 1972 296

Lek 6