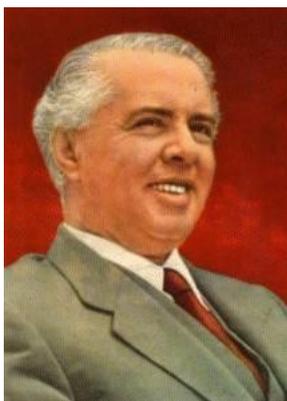


## **On the Theoretical and Practical Significance of the Organization**



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**When we talk about the Party's organisational problems, we must ensure that we never simplify them, restrict them and minimise them by simply reducing them to certain known organisational standards or rules. I insist on this because it is sometimes believed that these problems include only a few issues, such as: the Party's organisational work in grassroots organisations, party membership, organising meetings and some other similar activities. On the one hand, such a mechanical conception of the Party's organisational problems is too narrow and, on the other, it is not fair to conceive the Party's organisational work as limited to enacting or taking certain purely practical measures, without a political-ideological content and without a clear perspective on the breadth and depth of the result sought.**

**The great educators, Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin teach us that in the struggle against the bourgeoisie, for the triumph of the proletarian revolution, the working class has nothing more to oppose the force of oppression and exploitation of the capitalist order than the force of its iron organization and class consciousness. Even after the seizure of political power, in the work of building socialism and communism, it is above all thanks to its organizing work and its conscious revolutionary action that the working class manages to overcome numerous obstacles and difficulties. Now, both to overthrow the bourgeoisie of power and to build the new society, an iron organization of the working class absolutely implies, in the first place, the organization of the proletariat party. Without the organisation of this party, the political and ideological line of the proletariat cannot be successfully implemented. This organization favors, regulates and accelerates the process by virtue of which, in the material and revolutionary conditions attained, the subjective factor, the working class, delivers the**

**final and decisive blow to destroy the old capitalist world and replace it with the new world of socialism and communism.**

**Therefore, for the ideology and politics of the working class to be successfully put into action, much attention must be paid to the role and organizational strength of the Party. Otherwise, no lasting victories or successes can be achieved, neither in the struggle against capital, nor in the struggle to maintain political power in the hands of the proletariat, power without which one cannot take the slightest step forward in building socialism and communism.**

**It is from this perspective that one must fight for the improvement of the Party's work of direction and organization. An in-depth understanding of the Party's role of leadership and organization, education, and execution is an indispensable premise for having a Party of the proletariat that is powerful, tempered in battle, capable of correctly understanding all problems, both politically and ideologically, in any situation, a Party that knows how to perfectly organize its work to apply its line. And its line is rich and presents many aspects. Therefore, we must be well persuaded that a fair understanding of the Party's organizational issues provides us with a weapon to correctly organize the work everywhere, in all sectors, to carry out the tasks that each new stage of development presents us with.**

**The organisational issues of the Party cannot be detached from its work in relation to all the tasks and all the diverse problems that constitute its line. Politics cannot be conceived separately from the organisation that tends to implement this practical line, and neither can be conceived nor implemented as far as our Party is concerned, without being inspired, impregnated and guided by Marxist-Leninist ideology. By moving forward firmly and with a revolutionary step, our Party acquires a force of steel and becomes capable of correctly solving political, ideological, economic, cultural and military problems.**

**It is known that the Party's organizational work, its forms, methods and style are not an inert thing, but rather a dynamic, changeable thing, which must be modified according to the stage of development of material factors and subjective factors, according to the needs of the Party's own strengthening, of Power and of the socialist socio-economic order as a whole.**

**As we know, today the whole life of our country is characterized by the number of revolutionary initiatives and movements and by a large participation of the masses. The working class, the cooperative peasantry, all manual and intellectual workers are engaged in mass actions. The school and university youth participate largely in productive work in the cities and countryside. The entire population has been integrated in a systematic military preparation and training in the country.**

**Everywhere workers are fighting for the strengthening and deepening of socialist democracy, to increase and extend their active participation in the direction of the**

**country, the economy and culture. We have many other testimonies of the same kind. The problem arises: can we continue the Party's organisational work in all its forms? This rhythm and these methods can serve us to carry out the new tasks, to solve the new problems that this revolutionary situation, this revolutionary impetus, brings about? Of course not.**

**What should we do then? We must reflect, look for and find new ways of working and organizing, appropriate to new situations, which will open the way to new phenomena and contribute to their development and improvement. The old methods and forms of organisation work do not allow the tasks to be carried out and the problems that the conduct of mass actions and mutual assistance raise not at the level of a team or a cooperative brigade, but at the level of the whole cooperative, and this is not only within the limits of the latter, but may also be true for state enterprises.**

**When a directive is given, the forms of work organisation that will enable it to be put into practice are also defined. Everyone, and first and foremost the Communists, must make a strong contribution so that the directive formulated, and the organisational forms accompanying it, are the fairest, most appropriate to the problem given. In the same way, everyone, and first and foremost the Communists, must fully understand the directive, which will then enable them to put it into practice.**

**However, both a directive in itself and the organisation of its implementation may involve mistakes. These mistakes are revealed in practice, and the directive must not be followed passively, but in a revolutionary way. What do I mean by this? I mean that all workers, whether communist or non-partisan - who see defects in the course of their work and who have good ideas on how to correct them and even clearer perspectives on the problem raised - must propose rectifications.**

**Likewise, the idea that a communist or a worker without a party should not be able to put forward such suggestions except to the grassroots organization or management is not fair either.**

**No one forbids direct discussion for the improvement of work; on the contrary, the Party supports it and encourages it. The better the suggestions and proposals, which the grassroots organisation or management receives, have been prepared and discussed externally, the better it will be. By discussing their problems even outside the organisations and official channels, workers, party members or non-party members do nothing wrong; on the contrary, they do well to discuss a recommendation or a directive riddled with errors, a lame form of organisation, and after having confronted their ideas - which is not necessarily done at official meetings - they do well to present the problem to the grassroots organisation or the management, as the case may be, to discuss it this time in a collegial way and, if necessary, make decisions.**

**When we say that the grassroots organisation must act on its own, show itself to be revolutionary and combative, we do not understand why it should behave in this way**

**only as an instance, but that, like the organisation, each of its members must also act in this way in practice. Without revolutionary communists there can be no revolutionary organization. Therefore, if a communist, armed with the decisions and directives of the Party, does not show himself to be active on each problem and in each of his daily revolutionary activities, does not strive to find the appropriate forms of organization, the most suitable methods and style of work, he cannot perform his role as a leader, as a communist.**

**He can and must, if necessary, also act in isolation to apply a given directive and not contemporize, as certain communists do who are not capable of the slightest initiative and pretend to cling to established organizational forms, in the expectation that the grassroots organization will come together to criticize any comrade who infringes the directive or discipline.**

**And why should a communist, in the factory or elsewhere, wait for the regular meetings to criticise a comrade? In the minutes of rest he can call his comrades and, in particular, the one who has to criticise, and tell him some truths. What rule is broken then? None. On the contrary, the comrade corrects himself. And if he doesn't correct himself, then his case should be raised at the base meeting.**

**If we act in this way for all the problems that arise before the communists in their daily lives, many questions and directives will be rectified, many forms of work organisation improved, many problems of principle and full interest will be raised for the grassroots organisations and for the instances of the Party and the State.**

**We say that thinking is a reflection of the material world, but it often happens, especially those who do not reflect deeply on these problems, to consider thinking anything that is not subject to coordination and organisation, when in fact thinking, in all cases, whatever form it takes, is accompanied by a form of organisation, coordination, disposition. In reality, in our thoughts, when they reflect reality correctly, the same organization, the same disposition that exists in the outside world, in other words, logic, the objective dialectics of the material world, is manifested. On the other hand, for the thought to be clear and understandable, for the one who conceives it, and for others for the most part, it must absolutely be organized, ordered, arranged. If the ideas do not appear obscure, the problems will be posed to bring-mouxe, the conclusions drawn will not be logical.**

**We must attach great importance to organisational problems, which concern all problems, because organisation has a profound theoretical and philosophical significance. The life of society develops according to certain laws, just as nature has its own laws. Like it or not, the laws act, they fulfill their work. But men are not helpless before them. They are able to know them and use them to promote production and the life of society as a whole. The possibilities of knowing and using laws vary according to social systems. With the transition to socialism, these possibilities increase immensely. This is where the great qualitative shift in society's development**

**takes place, a shift defined by Engels as a shift from the realm of necessity to that of freedom. But possibilities are one thing and their realisation in practice another.**

**A wide and just use of the laws of society and nature in favour of development, in all respects, of society and of man, depends directly on our work of organization, on the creation of the conditions and on the adoption of the indispensable measures that make possible a fruitful action of these laws. An organization of work that does not take into account the requirements of objective laws would create serious dangers that would lead to serious failures.**

**The organization should not be considered as a secondary thing, it constitutes the basis for the application of a law, of a given directive, and is an integral part of them. A perfect organization, in any field, is something scientific and very important. A perfect scientific organisation helps not only to implement a law, a given directive, science in general, but also to promote the latter, to reveal the unknown aspects of laws and phenomena. On the contrary, a bad organization, non-scientific, which does not take into account all objective and subjective data, is harmful to theory and practice, it stops them. Thus, the organization constitutes this important element which participates, at the same time, in theory and practice.**

**If a physicist or a chemist does not organize his work well, scientific laws cannot find the desired application, they cannot act. He cannot draw conclusions or be led to new discoveries from phenomena and facts which, in reality, did not come about, or which were produced defective, because the organization of work, instead of being perfect and scientific, was insufficient. This is what is produced in all fields, in industry, agriculture, education and culture; it is, of course, also what happens in theoretical work; just as in revolutionary Party practice.**

**Organization is a powerful means that helps to promote development, practical activities, thought; it is a science that is not born spontaneously in man, but which is acquired in work; it is a science without determined limits, which is not identical for all activities and at any time, nor established once and for all in a stereotyped form. Perfect organization is an art that is based on vast theoretical, political, scientific and organizational knowledge, that knows how to judiciously combine data, that seeks a clear vision of the objectives to be achieved, that is characterized by a progressive, revolutionary spirit, that does not fear difficulties, but that foresees them. The perfect organization is based on a firm will and tireless work; it takes into account the gains of time, the application of the latest technique, as well as other data.**

**If we therefore consider them from this perspective, we will easily understand the great importance that we must attach to organisational problems.**

**The Method and the Working Style**

**I would now like to dwell on another problem too: the work to be done with people, to clarify what the method and style of work should be. We all know well that an organization as perfect and of the highest possible degree of the general activity of the Party - like the great socialist organization of production, like a work of magnitude with the continuously increasing and collective participation of the masses - could not be carried out without work that is better organized, more qualified and more attentive to people. In the realization of this goal, along with its Marxist-Leninist content, with its revolutionary class militant spirit, the method and style of our Party work play a very important role. It is a matter of penetrating, through our work, the spirits and hearts of the masses and individuals, of convincing them collectively and individually, of touching and moving them, of stimulating them and committing them to action, of exalting them to the struggle for the great cause of the Party and the revolution. It is a complex work. It requires persuasive propaganda based on solid scientific foundations. And it is, at the same time, a particular art that the whole Party, all our paintings, our organizers and our propagandists must possess.**

**The formation of socialist consciousness is a complex process. In the course of this process, we clash as much against the social psychology of men as against their individual psychology. It is therefore essential to know both social opinion as a whole and to know not only their political-ideological opinions and their behaviour in general, but also their psychology, their mentality in life, their needs and their demands, not only on the material level, but also from a social and psychological point of view. And if we work carefully, we will see that these phenomena have dominant traits, differentiations and shades that vary according to the different social strata, the different ages, the sex, which varies from the plain to the mountain, from one region of the country to another, not to mention its particular manifestation from one individual to another. In our work with people, in our work of organisation, propaganda and education with them, we absolutely must take into account all these phenomena.**

**As Marxist-Leninists, it is clear to us that the expansion of each individual's personality is only possible within a community.**

**That is why we attach particular importance to the forms and methods of general organization of collective work, as well as to the education of men within collectives. But, at the same time, the Party never ceases to stress the need not to be satisfied with the general work carried out in the collectives, not to limit ourselves to this work alone, not to ignore the individual particularities of men, the concerns that are proper to them, but, on the contrary, to be active in this field, to know and deal with these concerns in depth, to give them a fair solution, also adapting to them the appropriate individual attitudes.**

**Precisely in this way, at the same time as a science and as an art, the Party faced work with people. It acted in this way during the National Liberation Struggle, conducting at the same time a vast mass work and a differentiated and individual work**

**together with pioneers, young, old, women, peasants, intellectuals, etc. It will be enough, finally, to recall in this respect the great work carried out in recent years for the resolution of acute social and ideological problems, particularly in the fight for the complete emancipation of women and the elevation of the personality of young people in all its aspects, in the fight against religion and backward customs; remembering the ability and skill of our Party in the struggle to solve these problems by penetrating precisely into the consciousness and psychology of people, both the masses and individuals, boldly throwing down what is outdated and supporting with all our might the new revolutionary and socialist, who flourishes in his fields equally.**

**But it is not fair to be content with what we do and not see the serious defects in working with people. We should not be content with an external overview and tables of all social phenomena, especially with regard to the inner spiritual universe of men. If we stop there, we will not be able to fight actively against formalism and bureaucracy in working with people, against the standardization and uniformity of this work. We will then see problems of an ideological and political nature raised before us.**

**The Party's work is first of all a work together with the people and it is multiform, because the men themselves are different, with their interests, their demands, their problems and their concerns of the most varied. Their life is a complex set, and that is why the Party should try to touch this set and not be unilateral in its work. One should not ask only for work from men, production, high yields, the realization of plans. These demands are justified, indispensable and important, but do not constitute a goal in themselves. Our land, all that has been produced and created has been in the name and interest of working man. From this point of view, it is necessary to criticize and severely denounce the method and practice of certain cadres, especially the organs of power and economy, who are interested in everything, from bolts to cows, but forget what is essential and determining in all work - man, the concern for his life, his health, his safety at work, his hygiene, his rest, his education and his leisure, the concern to assure him of the most appropriate environment, etc.**

**The men of our land are wonderful. They are characterized by proletarian simplicity, a spirit of sacrifice and self-denial, enthusiasm and a determination to throw themselves even into the fire for the cause of the Party and the people. This is a high manifestation of trust in the Party, a manifestation of the close links that unite it with the people. It is a colossal force, the force that makes our Party invincible and our people indomitable. We have an obligation to channel this enthusiasm, this trust in the Party, to use it as a powerful weapon to overcome all obstacles and overcome all difficulties, to constantly promote our revolution and our socialist construction. But in this regard I would like to stress that we must not tolerate any vague speculation about these high virtues of our workers. And that we must even condemn any demonstration of this kind. If the men of our land are simple and unassuming, that is no reason to worry less about the satisfaction of their just and legitimate material and spiritual needs. Or if the men of our land are ready to respond to any appeal from the Party it is**

**not fair. And, moreover, there is no reason for us to make them gather hours before the rallies or demonstrations begin. Just as it is not fair that we get people up before the dawn for mass actions, when the work is effectively done during the day and carried out in a few hours. Either certain comrades have no confidence in the enthusiasm of the masses, or they try by these means to cover up their weaknesses in the organization of work, unless they are both at the same time.**

**Working with people requires in-depth knowledge of the Party line, intelligence and tact in its application. Not all problems can be studied and solved through forms of work that bring the masses together, in meetings of the Democratic Front, Youth, Professional Unions, or by the press. In particular, when it comes to social and family problems that affect the intimate life of men, often the intervention, not always founded, instead of having a salutary effect, is harmful, raises great unjustified concerns in people, deeply touches their self-love and leads some of them to painful and condemnable actions by our proletarian morality.**

**Let us not forget that men have hearts and feelings, that they have their dignity and their personality, that not only should we not trample underfoot, but we should also protect and reinforce the path that the Party indicates to us, fighting all attitudes or arbitrary actions on the part of anyone.**

**This is not a question of covering up the weaknesses or mistakes of one person or another, but of knowing how to find the most appropriate ways, forms and methods of working to achieve the goal.**

**It is a work of such a nature that, in order to carry it out successfully, it is necessary to penetrate into people's souls, to know in depth their thoughts and their worries, their interests and their concerns. In order to do this, common sense and malleability are needed, both in working with people, in order to create in relationships with them a warm atmosphere and camaraderie that allows everyone to express their ideas freely, to present problems openly, and to expand as well as with the most intimate person. We know that during the discussion on worker control, the workers and the peasants raised many problems, made many observations about work and men. But until then all these things had been kept in closed containers, hidden. Why? Because they were drowned under bureaucracy, officialism. The Party took and must constantly draw lessons from these cases. It is a matter of great importance, because it concerns its relations with the masses, the relations of the cadres with the workers, the defence and the development of basic democracy.**

**26 June 1970**