

# N.Z. COMMUNIST REVIEW

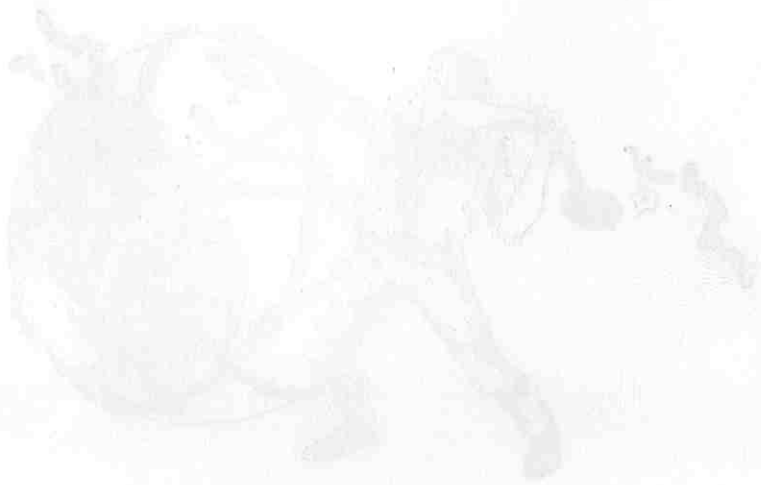
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**LEADING ROLE OF THE WORKING CLASS  
OPPOSE THE PARTY "EIGHT-LEGGED ESSAY"  
(MAO TSETUNG)**

**WOMEN'S LIB IN ALBANIA**

SEPTEMBER, 1973—20c



THE HISTORY OF THE WORKING CLASS  
IN THE UNITED STATES  
BY  
W. L. GAYLEY

W. L. GAYLEY - THE HISTORY OF THE WORKING CLASS IN THE UNITED STATES

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# The Leading Role of the Working Class

Following the triumph of the Great October Revolution in Russia, socialism was transformed from a scientific theory into a living reality. Until the time of the revisionist betrayal it went from victory to victory on the basis of the scientific theory of Marxism-Leninism, demonstrating its indisputable superiority over the capitalist order in all fields. It was precisely the abandonment of the teachings of Marxism-Leninism and the fundamental principles of construction of socialism that led to the turning back of the Soviet Union and a number of other countries to capitalism and the smashing of the victories that the revolution had scored there.

But this was not the only great harm the revisionists inflicted on the socialist movement. To pave the way for their betrayal, they launched all-out attacks on the revolutionary line pursued by the Bolshevik Party led by Stalin and the whole historical experience of the dictatorship of the proletariat; they sowed doubts about the validity of Marxist-Leninist science for the solution of present-day problems about the ability of the working class to bring about the revolutionary transformation of society, and about the leading role of the Communist Party, all of which are truths verified in the practice of a number of countries over many years. The confusion of anti-Marxist concepts which they spread has been made even worse by the demogogy of the revisionists who continue to portray the capitalism restored in the Soviet Union as socialism.

Today, the ideologists openly on the side of imperialism allege that Marxism-Leninism is obsolete and invalid because modern "industrial society" or "post-industrial society" is radically different from the capitalism of the days of Marx and Engels. It has become a "consumer society", "affluent society", into which the working class is being integrated as "co-owner" and "co-manager" of the economic enterprises. Society, allegedly, is becoming deproletarianised, consequently there is no validity in the theory of class struggle, no basis for class antagonism, and absolutely no need for proletarian revolution.

## REVISIONIST ANTI-SCIENTIFIC NONSENSE

The revisionist ideologists, who claim to be for socialism but in fact support imperialism (social-imperialism) accept the idea of the peaceful transition of capitalism into socialism through the technical-scientific revolution. For sake of appearances they still talk of revolution but "non-violent revolution", in which capitalism is gradually changed into socialism through a process of reforms, which requires neither class struggle nor the organisation of the

working class under the leadership of its revolutionary party. Indeed they go so far as to claim that other classes can lead the social transformation from capitalism to socialism, and that this is actually occurring in certain former colonial countries where the national bourgeoisie is the leading force.

All this anti-scientific nonsense is designed to confuse the working class and to cover the class aims of the old bourgeoisie and the new revisionist bourgeoisie, the struggle for which they are constantly increasing in intensity and scope.

**Neither the necessity for the socialist revolution nor the conditions that make the working class the decisive force in contemporary social development, the leading force in the struggle for the revolutionary transformation of the capitalist world, have diminished in the least. The question of hegemony in the revolution is of great principled importance, for it is on who is at the head of it, who is leading it, that its direction, its consistent development, and its very fate depend.**

In the "Manifesto of the Communist Party" published by Marx and Engels in 1848, we read . . . "Of all the classes which stand face to face with the bourgeoisie today, the proletariat alone is the really revolutionary class. The other classes decay and finally disappear in the face of modern industry, the proletariat is its special and essential product", and its concluding lines: "The proletarians have nothing to lose but their chains. They have a world to win. Working men of all countries, unite!"

Despite all the changes that have taken place in the contemporary capitalist world, the working class is stripped of any kind of ownership of the means, management, organisation, or aims, of production. The so-called "consumers' society" has been created, not to fulfill the needs of the working people, but to intensify their exploitation and multiply the profits of the capitalists, e.g., the hire-purchase racket. The fact is that the profits of the monopolies and trusts have reached astronomical proportions, just as it is a fact that in the most advanced capitalist countries the struggles of the workers have reached unprecedented levels of participation. Over the past five years in particular, the repeated economic and financial crises of the capitalist world, the rapid increase in the level of inflation, the growing unemployment which now involves a vast army of several millions permanently unemployed, the rising cost of the basic necessities of life, the continuing crisis in education and health services, along with the tremendous upsurge of the workers' strike struggles and protests against their situation, demonstrate that the fundamental contradictions of capitalist society are becoming increasingly acute.

### **DECISIVE ROLE OF THE PROLETARIAT**

It is not for frivolous reasons that the workers of France, Italy Britain and U.S.A. are coming out on strikes, demonstrating in the streets, occupying factories, in greater numbers than ever before in

history, but because their life is very difficult, because the capitalist machine oppresses them, turns them into mere tools, dehumanises them.

Far from any deproletarianisation, in capitalist society the weight and role of the proletariat is constantly increasing. It is the decisive force in social production. Let the working class knock off for just one day and the entire society is in turmoil.

It is not only because it is the most exploited class that the working class is the most revolutionary. This is primarily because it is the class most intimately connected with the most advanced means of production which it operates in the process of the production of commodities. In its daily life it is faced with the restriction of the productive forces imposed by the private capitalist ownership product.

What is more, the very conditions of capitalist industrial production, bringing workers together in ever-larger enterprises, engender the discipline, organisation and sense of class solidarity that no other class can achieve and which are indispensable qualities in the class which has the task of overthrowing such a powerful and well-organised enemy as the bourgeoisie and its state power.

### **THE LUMPEN PROLETARIAT**

It is because of the lack of these qualities that the lumpen proletariat can play no revolutionary role. Some people think that by "lumpen proletariat" we mean simply the most poverty-stricken and oppressed workers, or even unemployed, but this is not so. The lumpen proletariat is not part of the working class. It plays no part in social production, derived from the petty-bourgeoisie and other historically obsolete classes, stripped, by the normal functioning of capitalism of any property with which to exploit workers. We define the lumpen - proletariat as those who live a parasitic existence amongst the poor as thieves, pimps, racketeers, the social scum ready to hire itself out as fascist spies, thugs and assassins, just as long as there is money to be made. Having completely embraced the capitalist principle of putting personal interest above everything, it has no interest in the overthrow of the bourgeois order.

The struggle for socialism has as its theoretical foundation the ideology of the working class, Marxism Leninism, which provides the concept of socialism and ways to achieve it verified in practice. Only the Communist Party of the proletariat is capable of working out, upholding, and implementing this theory, the party of the class to which the socialist future belongs, which defends the fundamental interests of all the working people, all the progressive forces in society and fights for them, the party of the class which, as Marx said, cannot liberate itself without liberating all mankind.

**But before it can play its historic role as the leading class in the**

socialist revolution, the working class must first become conscious of this role. History has proved that the working class can become conscious of its role only through its Marxist-Leninist party. In struggle and action the classes, masses, revolutionaries will be tempered and learn many things, but if they lack a political party with a clear-cut programme and scientifically based strategy and tactics, the struggle will either fail altogether or stop halfway. Its Marxist-Leninist party is the highest form of organisation of the working class which provides a single centre of direction, leadership and organisation, over all the various detachments of the revolutionary movement.

The vanguard position of the Communist party does not come about through self-proclamation, but is won through its correct policy which expresses and defends the vital interests of the working class and the masses as a whole, and through its resolute struggle to carry out this policy in actual life. This role is ensured through the revolutionary activity of every communist who, by his personal example and activity, inspires, educates and mobilises the masses in the struggle for socialism.

In the reality of New Zealand today, where the working class has a long and glorious history of solidarity in class battles, where the spontaneous upsurge of the working people against the injustices of capitalism has spread so wide as to embrace groups which are by tradition conservative and non-militant, such as teachers, nurses and public servants, the Communist Party faces the grave and responsible duty of building and strengthening its links with the working class and the working masses, raising the level of socialist consciousness, and mobilising the masses in revolutionary struggle under its leadership.

### **ROLE OF RADICAL YOUTH**

From the relatively low level of socialist consciousness among the working class, from the apparent conservatism of N.Z. working people generally, some comrades mistakenly think other forces can play the leading role in the revolutionary struggle. In recent years, for example, the radical youth and students have been in the lead in the anti-apartheid, anti-Viet Nam war, anti-imperialist protest movement. They have played an invaluable role in revitalising the political scene in N.Z., lifting it out of the suffocating pacifism, legalism and parliamentarianism, into which it had declined in the years of the post-war boom. But the radical youth and students are just a tiny minority of the masses. For the revolution even to appear on the agenda, the vast majority of the masses must swing into action behind the most revolutionary and advanced class, the working class.

Since the most essential and fundamental activity in any society is its economic activity to produce the means of subsistence, the most decisive classes must be those which carry out this produc-



tion. In N.Z. these are the industrial working class and the working people of the countryside. The latter comprise workers, share-milkers, working farmers, contractors, who work in cultivation, earth-moving, harvesting, haymaking, shearing, and so on. They work isolated or in very small groups, have varying amounts of property in means of production, but by and large all suffer exploitation under capitalism, especially through interest and mortgage payments. In all they amount to only about 200,000 people (plus wives and families), but their place in the economic life of N.Z. is such that without their productive effort, the economy would stop for lack of foodstuffs and industrial raw material. For the revolution to triumph and become consolidated, it is essential that the working class win these working people of the countryside as firm allies.

**When the C.P.N.Z. succeeds in its task of making the masses conscious of the necessity for the socialist revolution, organise the working people of the countryside, the youth and students, Maoris and Polynesians, the women, as allies under the leadership of the working class, at the appropriate moment, the masses will move and the socialist revolution will triumph in New Zealand too.**



# Stereotype Style Stifles the Revolutionary Line

**A**s a form, the Party 'eight-legged essay' is not only unsuitable for expressing the revolutionary spirit but is apt to stifle it", says Mao Tsetung in the following article. In previous articles we have seen how anything that stifles the revolutionary spirit is helping the counter-revolutionary revisionist line and harming the revolutionary working class Marxist-Leninist line. In "Oppose the Party 'Eight-legged Essay'", Mao Tsetung examines this in great depth.

If we can read his article without applying the principles contained in it to the local scene then we should examine ourselves for further symptoms of stereotyped sickness. If we apply these principles in parrot fashion or like a standover merchant or like a skite "blinding the ignorant with science" then we have further symptoms. If we apply the principles only once and then forget about them then we are exposed to the bug again.

Stereotypism is a constant menace for the simple reason that it is very easy to wear the same old habits day after day. But objective reality is constantly changing and so are the subjective reflections of it in the minds of the people. Yesterday's correct analysis and communication can become tomorrow's stereotype goof. Continual examination and self-examination are required.

This affects all our forms of examination and communication — branch and other meetings, reports, articles, speeches, bulletins, smoko discussions, even our chats over the garden fence and even our method of thinking. They must be continually examined to see that old forms are not stifling the new developing aspects. As a positive example of a fresh, lively approach to a serious topic, we commend readers to study Mao's own style as well as the content of his article. We also draw attention to the interesting style of reporting on the Albanian Women's Congress by Joan Eastwood in this issue — it puts lively flesh and blood on the scientific political bones and makes them as alive for New Zealanders as for Albanians.



# Oppose the Party "Eight Legged Essay"

— Mao Tsetung.

(Speech delivered at a cadres' meeting in Yen-an, February 8, 1942).

Comrade K'ai-feng has just stated the purpose of today's meeting. Now I want to talk about how subjectivism and sectarianism use the Party "eight-legged essay" as an instrument of propaganda or a form of expression. We oppose subjectivism and sectarianism, but if the Party "eight-legged essay" is not eliminated, the two will still have a hole to hide themselves in. If we also abolish the Party "eight-legged essay", we shall checkmate both subjectivism and sectarianism and showing these two monsters in their true colours, we can easily annihilate them — just as "everyone calls 'Kill it!' when a rat is seen to run across the street."

It would not be a serious matter if a person were to write Party "eight-legged essays" merely for his own perusal. If he gives them to another person to read, then the number of people concerned is doubled and the harm is great enough. If he further has them posted on the wall, or mimeographed, or published in newspapers, or printed in the form of a book, then the problem becomes very serious indeed, because many people will come under their influence. Writers of Party "eight-legged essays", however, always wish to have a large audience. Thus it becomes imperative to expose and abolish the Party "eight-legged essay".

The Party "eight-legged essay" is a brand of foreign "eight-legged essay". The latter was combatted by Lu Hsun (1) a long time ago. Why then do we now call it the Party "eight-legged essay"? Because, besides the exotic flavour, it has also the smell of native soil. Perhaps it too can be counted as some kind of creative work! Who says that our people have no creative work at all? Here is one! (Uproarious laughter).

The Party "eight-legged essay" has a long history in our Party and, especially during the Agrarian Revolution, it became sometimes even quite rampant.

Viewed historically, the Party "eight-legged essay" is a reaction to the May 4 Movement.

During the May 4 Movement, modern-minded people opposed the classical diction in favour of the vernacular, and the traditional dogmas in favour of science and democracy; in all this they were quite right. At that time, the movement was lively, progressive and revolutionary. The ruling class of that time indoctrinated students with Confucian teachings and compelled the people to believe re-

verently in the whole Confucian caboodle as if it were religious dogma, and all writers wrote in the classical style. In short, at that time the things written and taught by the ruling class and its toadies were in the nature of the "eight-legged essay", of dogma, whether in form or in content. These were the old "eight-legged essay" and old dogma. In exposing to the people the ugliness of the old "eight-legged essay" and dogma and calling on them to oppose both, the May 4 Movement made a great achievement. Another of its great achievements which is linked to this is the opposition to imperialism, but the struggle against the old "eight-legged essay" and dogma remains one of its great achievements. Later on, however, the foreign "eight-legged essay" and foreign dogma came into being. Having departed from Marxism, certain people in our Party developed the foreign "eight-legged essay" and foreign dogma into subjectivism, sectarianism and the Party "eight-legged essay". These are the new "eight-legged essay" and new dogma. They are so deeply ingrained in the minds of many comrades that even today it calls for great efforts on our part to carry out the work of reform. Thus we see that the lively, progressive and Revolutionary May 4 Movement which fought against the old feudal "eight-legged essay" and dogma was later turned by some people into its very opposite, and the new "eight-legged essay" and dogma emerged. These things are not lively but dead and stiff, not progressive but retrogressive, and not revolutionary but an obstacle to the revolution. That is to say, the foreign "eight-legged essay" or the Party "eight-legged essay" is a reaction to the very nature of the May 4 Movement. The May 4 Movement, however, had its own weaknesses. Many of the leaders of that time still lacked the critical spirit of Marxism and the method they used was generally that of the bourgeoisie, i.e. the formalistic method. They were quite right in opposing the old "eight-legged essay" and dogma and in advocating science and democracy. But with regard to the existing conditions of that time, to history and to things foreign, they lacked the critical spirit of historical materialism and regarded what was called bad as absolutely, totally bad and what was called good as absolutely, totally good. This formalistic approach to problems affected the subsequent development of the movement. In the course of its development, the May 4 Movement branched out in two directions. One section of people inherited the scientific and democratic spirit of the May 4 Movement and remoulded it on the Marxist basis; this is what the Communists and some non-Party Marxists have done. Another section took the road of the bourgeoisie, and this marked the development of formalism towards the Right. But the Communist Party was not all of a piece; a section of it, failing to hold firm to Marxism, went astray, and committed the mistake of formalism, i.e. of subjectivism, sectarianism and the Party "eight-legged essay", which marked the development of formalism towards the "Left". From this it can be seen that the Party "eight-legged essay" is on the one hand a reac-

tion to the positive elements of the May 4 Movement and on the other a legacy, continuation or development of its negative elements, and is not something accidental. It is good for us to realise this point. If it was revolutionary and necessary to fight against the old "eight-legged essay" and old doctrinisation during the period of the May 4 Movement, so it is for us at present in the light of Marxism to criticise the new 'eight-legged essay' and new doctrinairism. If there had been no fight against the old "eight-legged essay" and doctrinairism at that time, the minds of the Chinese people would not have been freed from their bondage and China would have no hope of freedom and independence. The May 4 Movement marked merely the beginning of this undertaking, and the complete deliverance of the whole people from the domination of the old "eight-legged essay" and doctrinairism still requires great efforts on our part and remains for us a tremendous piece of work on the road of revolutionary remoulding. If today we do not also oppose the new "eight-legged essay" and new doctrinairism, the minds of the Chinese people would be in the bondage of another kind of formalism. If we do not get rid of the poison of the Party "eight-legged essay" and the mistake of doctrinairism found among a section (only a section, of course) of comrades in our Party, then the lively revolutionary spirit cannot be aroused, the wrong attitude towards Marxism which has hardened into a habit cannot be rectified, true Marxism cannot be widely disseminated and developed and, furthermore, a vigorous struggle cannot be conducted against the influence of the old "eight-legged essay" and dogma among the whole people or against that of the foreign "eight-legged essay" and foreign dogma among many people, nor can the goal of destroying and abolishing all these things be attained.

Subjectivism, sectarianism and the Party "eight-legged essay" all three are anti-Marxist and are needed not by the proletariat but by the exploiting classes. They reflect petty-bourgeois ideology in our Party. As China is a country with a very large petty bourgeoisie, our Party is surrounded by this enormous class, and it is natural that a very great number of our members of this class origin join the Party without shedding their petty-bourgeois tails, long or short. The fanaticism and one-sidedness of petty bourgeois revolutionaries, if not checked and rectified, are liable to engender subjectivism and sectarianism, one of whose forms of expression is the foreign or Party "eight-legged essay".

It is not easy to liquidate these things and sweep them clean. We must do it properly; in other words, we must use persuasive reasoning. If our reasoning is persuasive and to the point, it will be effective. In reasoning, we must begin by administering a shock and shouting at the patient, "You are ill!" so that he is frightened into a sweat, and then we tell him gently that he needs treatment.

Let us now analyse the Party "eight-legged essay" and see where its evils lie. We might also present an "eight-legged thesis"

in the manner of the "eight-legged essay" by way of administering poison as the antidote of poison, and call it "The Eight Serious Indictments".

The first indictment against the Party "eight-legged essay" is that it fills endless pages with empty talk. Some comrades love to write long articles, but such articles, void of matter, are veritably like the "foot-bandages of a slut, long as well as smelly". Why should they write things so long and yet so hollow? There can be only one explanation — they are determined not to let the masses read them. As their writings are long and hollow, the masses will shake their heads at the sight of them, let alone read them through. Thus the only thing for these comrades to do is to bluff naive people, thereby spreading a bad influence and fostering bad habits. The war against aggression which the Soviet Union has been fighting since June 22 last year is simply gigantic, yet Stalin's speech on July 3 was only the length of an editorial in our Liberation Daily. Had any of our gentlemen written that speech, it would have run to the horrible length, of at least scores of thousands of words. We are now in a period of war and should study how to write short and pithy articles. Although there is yet no fighting here in Yenan, our troops at the front are daily engaged in battles and people in the rear are all saying that they have lots of work to do. If the articles are too long, who will read them? Some comrades at the front also like to write long reports. They take pains to write them and send them here for us to read. Yet who has the courage to read them? If long and hollow writings are not good, then how about short and hollow ones? Not good either. We must ban all empty verbiage. But our first and foremost task is to throw immediately into the dustbin the slut's long and smelly foot-bandages. Some might ask, "Isn't Das Kapital very long? What are we to do with it?" That is very simple; go on reading it. A proverb has it "Sing different songs on different mountains"; another runs, "Regulate the appetite according to the dishes, cut the dress according to the figure". Whatever we do must be done according to actual conditions, and writing articles and making speeches are no exceptions. What we oppose is the long-winded "eight-legged essay" void of matter, but we do not mean that all good writings should be short. Of course we need short articles in war-time, but above all we need articles that have substance. Articles devoid of substance are the least justifiable and the most objectionable. The same applies to speeches; we must stop all empty, long-winded tirades.

The second indictment against the Party "eight-legged essay" is that it is pretentious with a view to bluffing people. Since some Party "eight-legged essays" are not only long and hollow but also deliberately pretentious in order to bluff people, they contain the worst kind of poison. To fill endless pages with empty talk may still be called childish, but to be pretentious with a view to bluffing people is something more than that — it is downright knavish. Lu



Hsun criticised people who sinned in this respect, saying: "Making insults and threats is emphatically not fighting". (2) What is scientific can bear criticism at any time, for science is truth and stands in no fear of refutation. But subjective and sectarian stuff expressed in articles and speeches in the style of the Party "eight-legged essay" is mortally afraid of being refuted; it is very cowardly and therefore resorts to pretentiousness to bluff people, as if it could bluff people into silence and then return home in triumph. Such pretentiousness will not help bring truth to light but will be an obstacle to its discovery. Whatever is true never poses to bluff people; it talks and acts simply and honestly. Two terms used to appear in the articles and speeches of some comrades; one was "ruthless struggle" and the other "merciless blows". These measures are entirely necessary in coping with the enemy and the enemy ideology, but it is wrong to apply them to our own comrades. It often happens that enemies and enemy ideologies infiltrate into the Party, as described in Item 4 of the Conclusion of the "History of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (Bolsheviks), Short Course". Against our enemies, we must beyond doubt adopt the measures of waging ruthless struggle and dealing merciless blows because they are applying the same measures against the Party and any leniency on our part will make us fall into the very traps laid by these villains. But we should not employ the same measures against comrades who have occasionally committed a mistake; in their case we should apply the method of criticism and self-criticism, i.e. the method described in Item 5 of the Conclusion of the same book. The reason why even in such cases some comrades used to resort to "ruthless struggle" and "merciless blows" was that, on the one hand, they failed to define their own objective and, on the other, they were pretentious in order to bluff people. The method of pretentiousness and bluff will never do, no matter whom one is dealing with. For against our enemy such a tactic of bluff is utterly ineffective, while to our own comrades it is simply harmful. The exploiting classes and the lumpen-proletariat usually resort to it, but the proletariat does not need it. For the proletariat there is only one weapon that is the sharpest and the most effective, namely, the serious and militant scientific attitude. A Communist lives not upon bluff, but upon the truth of Marxism-Leninism, upon the spirit of seeking truth from facts and upon science. As to the idea of attaining fame and position by pretentiousness, it is, needless to say, simply contemptible. In short, when any organisation makes decisions and issues instructions, or when any comrade writes articles and makes speeches, only the truth of Marxism-Leninism and usefulness are the stand-by. Only by means of this stand-by can we achieve victory in the revolution; all others are futile.

The third indictment against the Party "eight-legged essay" is that it shoots at random and disregards the audience. A few years ago, the following slogan was seen on the city wall of Yen-an: "Working

men and farmers unite to win victory in the War of Resistance". The idea of the slogan was quite good, but the character (—\*) (Kung, meaning working), with its second stroke changed from a perpendicular line into a zigzag, was written as (—\*). How about the character (—\*) (Jen, meaning men)? It had three stripes on its right leg and became (—\*). That comrade who wrote them was no doubt a disciple of ancient writers and scholars, but how odd that he should have written such characters on the wall of Yenan at a time of the War of Resistance! Perhaps he had vowed not to allow the common people to read the slogan, for it would be difficult to explain it otherwise. Communists who really want to do propaganda work must consider their audience and think over the question of who are to read their articles and hand-writing, or to listen to their speeches and talks; otherwise it is as good as making up their minds not to be read or listened to by anyone. Many people often take it for granted that what they write and say is easy to understand, but actually this is not true at all. Since their writings and speeches are Party "eight-legged essays", how can people understand them? The saying "to play the harp to a cow" implies a gibe at the audience. If we replace this connotation with the idea of respect for the audience, then the gibe would be turned against the player. Why should he strum away without considering his audience? The Party "eight-legged essay" is even worse — it is simply like a raven cawing insistently to the masses of the people! When one shoots an arrow, one must look at the target; when one plays the harp, one must consider the audience. Can one then write articles or make speeches without taking the readers or audience into account? Suppose I make friends with someone, no matter whom. Can I become his bosom friend if we do not know each other's mind and what is on it? It will never do for those engaged in agitation work simply to rattle on without investigating, studying and analysing what constitutes their audience.

The fourth indictment against the Party "eight-legged essay" is that its dry, savourless style suggests the "piehsan". (3). Like our Party "eight-legged essay" such starvelings, called in Shanghai "little piehsan" are very wizened and ugly-looking. If an article or a speech merely repeats a few catchwords in the manner of a school-boy's composition without a trace of spirited and vigorous language. isn't it rather like a "piehsan" who is insipid in speech and repulsive in appearance? In the case of a person who entered primary school at seven, went to middle school in his teens and graduated from college in his twenties, we cannot blame him for the poverty and monotony of his language because he has never come into contact with the masses of the people. But if we revolutionaries who work for the masses do not learn the language of the masses, we cannot work well. Now even many comrades engaged in agitational work

\* (A Chinese character. — Ed.)



do not learn that language. Consequently their agitation is extremely insipid and their articles find few readers and their speeches few listeners. Why should we bother to learn language and, what is more, study it intensely? Because one cannot learn a language unless one studies hard. First, we must learn language from the people. The people's vocabulary is rich, lively and expressive of real life. Since many of us have not mastered language, our speeches and articles contain few sentences that are lively, effective and powerful, but are like the "piehsan" a mere bundle of rigid muscles, disagreeably emaciated and not like a man enjoying good health. Secondly, we must absorb what we need from foreign languages. We are not to adopt foreign expressions mechanically or to use them indiscriminately, but to absorb from foreign languages all that is fine and suits our needs. As it is, the Chinese vocabulary is insufficient, and we have already incorporated many foreign expressions into our current vocabulary. For example, we are now at a meeting of "Kanpu" (cadres), and the term "kanpu" is derived from a foreign expression. We have yet to absorb many more foreign things that are fresh, not only the progressive ideas but also the new expressions. Thirdly, we must also learn to adopt what is still alive in the language of the ancients. Because we have not exerted ourselves to learn language, we have not made full and reasonable use of much that is still alive in the ancient language. It goes without saying that we are resolutely opposed to the use of expressions or classical allusions that are already dead, but what is good and useful should be taken over. At present, since those who are too deeply poisoned by the Party "eight-legged essay" refuse to make any painstaking study of what is useful in popular, foreign and ancient languages, the masses do not welcome their uninspiring agitation and neither do we need such worthless and incompetent agitators. Who are the agitators? Not only the teachers, the journalists and the writers, but also our cadres working in all fields. Take the military commanders, for example. Though they make no public statements, they talk to the soldiers and make contact with the people — isn't that a form of agitation? Whenever a person speaks to others, he does agitational work. And unless he is dumb, he always has a few words to say. Thus it is imperative that our comrades should study language.

The fifth indictment against the Party "eight-legged essay" is that it arranges items into A, B, C, D . . . as if setting up a Chinese drug-store. Go and take a look at any Chinese drug-store; there you see a cabinet with innumerable drawers, each bearing the name of the drug: toncal, foxglove, rhubarb, saltpetre—indeed everything that should be there. This method has been picked up by our comrades. In their articles and speeches, their books and reports, they first use the Chinese capitalised numerals, then the Chinese small numerals, then the characters of the ten heavenly stems, then the twelve horary characters, and then A, B, C, D, a, b, c, d, the Arabic

numerals, and what not. How lucky that the ancients and foreigners have made all these symbols for us so that we can open a drug-store with greater ease! An article bristling with such numerals and symbols neither formulates problems, nor analyses them, nor solves them; it is neither for nor against anything; for all its verbiage, it has no real content and remains a drug-store. I am not saying that characters like those denoting the ten heavenly stems, etc., are not to be used; all I say is that the approach is wrong. The method imitated from the Chinese drug-store, with which many of our comrades are now infatuated, is the most rudimentary, infantile and philistine of all methods. It is the method of formalism which classifies things according to their external features instead of their internal relations. If, merely according to the external features of things, a person arranges a conglomeration of concepts not internally related to each other into an article, a speech or a report, he is indulging in mental gymnastics and will induce other people to do the same and make them contented with a superficial arrangement of items in heavenly stems order, etc, instead of using their heads to ponder problems and the essence of things. What is a problem? It is the contradiction of things. Where there is an unsolved contradiction, there is a problem. Once a controversy arises on a problem, you must be in favour of one side and oppose the other; and you must formulate the problem. To formulate the problem, you must first make a general study of the two main aspects of the problem or contradiction so that you may understand the nature of the contradiction; this is the process of discovering the problem. Through general investigation and study the problem can be discovered and formulated, but it cannot yet be solved. To solve it, you must further make a systematic and minute investigation and study: this is the process of analysis. Even in formulating a problem an analysis has to be made, otherwise, faced with a chaotic mess of phenomena, you will not know where the problem or contradiction lies. The analysis in question, however, refers to the process of a systematic, minute analysis. It often happens that, although the problem has been formulated, it cannot be solved; this is because we have not brought to light the internal relations of things or completed the process of such a systematic, minute analysis, and are consequently unable to see clearly the features of the problem, to make a synthesis and to solve the problem properly. An article or a speech, if it is important and can serve as a sort of guidance, should first set forth a certain problem and offer a solution; in this case no formalist methods are of any use. Since such infantile, rudimentary, philistine and thoughtless formalist methods are very fashionable in our Party, we must expose them so that everybody will learn to use the Marxist methods to observe, formulate, analyse and solve problems, that we can do better work and attain victory of the revolution.

The sixth indictment against the Party "eight-legged essay" is

that its irresponsibility does harm to people everywhere. All the offences indicted above are due partly to infantilism and partly to deficiency in the sense of responsibility. Take for instance the washing of our faces. We all wash our faces every morning and many of us even do it more than once a day and look carefully into the mirror after washing to make some "investigation and study", in case we have not done justice to our faces. Just think, what a sense of responsibility! If our articles are written and speeches made with the same sense of responsibility, they wouldn't leave much to be desired. If your stuff is not good enough to see the light, then tuck it away. Always bear in mind that it may influence the thoughts and actions of others! If a man has not washed his face for several days, that of course would be quite bad; if he has washed it but has left a smudge or two on it, that of course would not be good form; but in neither case is there any serious danger. The case is entirely different in writing articles or making speeches, for they are intended exclusively to influence people and, in taking them lightly, our comrades show themselves really lacking in a sense of proportion. Many people write articles and make speeches without preliminary study or preparation and, having finished writing them, they do not even bother to go over them a few times, in the same way as they would look into the mirror after washing their faces, but carelessly send them to the press. The result is often like this: "A thousand words from the pen in a stream, but ten thousand 'li' \* away from the theme"; these writers seem to be geniuses, but really do harm to people everywhere. This bad habit arising from a deficient sense of responsibility must be removed.

The seventh indictment against the Party "eight-legged essay" is that if the whole Party is poisoned by it the revolution will be endangered. The eighth indictment is that the dissemination of this poison will cause harm to the nation. These two indictments are self-evident and require no explanation. In other words, if the Party "eight-legged essay" is not rectified but is allowed to develop, the consequences will be so serious that the worst will happen. The poison of subjectivism and sectarianism hidden in the Party "eight-legged essay", if allowed to spread, will do harm to both the Party and the country.

The aforesaid eight counts form our declaration of war on the Party "eight-legged essay".

As a form, the Party "eight-legged essay" is not only unsuitable for expressing the revolutionary spirit but is apt to stifle it. To develop the revolutionary spirit we must throw away the Party "eight-legged essay" and adopt the lively and vigorous Marxist-Leninist style in writing. This style has long been in existence, but it is not yet enriched and popularised. Once we have destroyed the foreign "eight-legged essay" and the Party "eight-legged essay", this new style will be enriched and popularised and the Party's revolu-

\* Unit of measure — 27 4/5 li equals 10 miles.

tionary undertaking will be pushed forward.

The Party "eight-legged essay" is not, however, confined to articles and speeches; it is also found in the agenda of meetings: "1. Opening announcements; 2. Reports; 3 Discussions; 4. Concluding remarks; 5. Adjournment." Is it not also in the style of the Party "eight-legged essay" to repeat this procedure rigidly over and over again at every meeting, large or small, here and everywhere? Reports presented at meetings almost invariably contain the same points: "1. the international situation; 2. the national situation; 3. the situation in the border region; and 4. the situation in our department," and the meetings often last from morning till night, at which those who have nothing to say also take the floor as if they owed it to others to do so. In short, there is a complete disregard of the actual conditions as well as a strict adherence to the rigid old forms and practices. Shouldn't we correct all these things?

Many people nowadays advocate transformation along national, scientific and popular lines; this is very good. But what we mean by "transformation" is a change from top to bottom, from the outside to the inside, whereas some people advocating "transformation" have not even changed a bit. I would therefore advise these comrades to change a bit before they proceed to "transform" things; otherwise they are still in the coils of doctrinairism and the Party "eight-legged essay" — this is to have sharp eyes but clumsy hands, to have great ambition but little talent and this will prove futile. Great care should be taken for instance, by those who talk about transformation along popular lines but actually do things as their small groups see fit, for some day they may meet a member of the populace and be told, "Gentlemen, let me see your 'transformation'!" Then they will be in a fix. Those who do not just prate about transformation along popular lines but really hope to carry it out must honestly learn from the common people, or else they will never be able to "transform" things. If those who daily shout about transformation along popular lines cannot even say three sentences in the language of the common people, then obviously they have never made up their minds to learn from the common people and what they really mean is transformation along the lines of a small group.

Distributed at today's meeting is a pamphlet entitled "A Guide to Propaganda" containing four articles which I advise our comrades to read over and over again.

The first article, selected from the "History of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (Bolsheviks), Short Course", deals with the way Lenin carried on agitation. It describes how Lenin wrote leaflets:

"Under Lenin's guidance, the St. Petersburg League of Struggle for the Emancipation of the Working Class was the first body in Russia that began to link socialism with the working-class movement. When a strike broke out in some factory, the League of Struggle, which through the members of its circles was kept well

posted on the state of affairs in the factories, immediately responded by issuing leaflets and socialist proclamations. These leaflets exposed the oppression of the workers by the manufacturers, explained how the workers should fight for their interests, and set forth the worker's demands. The leaflets told the plain truth about the ulcers of capitalism, the poverty of the workers, their intolerably hard working day of 12 to 14 hours, and their utter lack of rights. They also put forward appropriate political demands".

You see, one must be "well posted on the state of affairs", and tell "the plain truth". Again:

"With the collaboration of the worker Babushkin, Lenin at the end of 1894 wrote the first agitational leaflet of this kind and an appeal to the workers of the Semyannikov Works in St. Petersburg who were on strike".

To write a leaflet, one must consult with comrades who are well posted on the state of affairs. On the basis of such investigation and study, Lenin wrote his articles and did all his work.

"Every leaflet greatly helped to stiffen the spirit of the workers. They saw that the Socialists were helping and defending them."

Don't we agree with Lenin? If we do, we should work in the spirit of Lenin. That is, we must do as Lenin did, and not fill endless pages with empty verbiage, or shoot at random, or become cocksure braggarts.

The second article is selected from Dimitrov's "Report to the Seventh World Congress of the Communist International". What did Dimitrov say? He said:

"We must learn to talk to the masses, not in the language of book formulas, but in the language of fighters for the cause of the masses, whose every word, whose every idea reflects the innermost thoughts and sentiments of millions."

And again:

"Furthermore, it must be borne in mind that **the masses cannot assimilate our decisions unless we learn to speak the language which the masses understand.** We do not always know how to speak simply, concretely in images which are familiar and intelligible to the masses. We are still unable to refrain from abstract formulas which we have learned by rote. As a matter of fact, if you look through our leaflets, newspapers, resolutions and theses, you will find that they are often written in a language and style so heavy that they are difficult for even our Party's functionaries to understand, let alone the rank-and-file workers".

Well, didn't Dimitrov put his finger on our weak spot? True, the Party "eight-legged essay" exists in foreign countries as well as in China, and is apparently a common disease. (Laughter). But at any rate we must cure ourselves of it quickly according to Comrade Dimitrov's advice.

Every one of us must make this a law, a Bolshevik law, an elementary rule:

**“When writing or speaking always have in mind the rank-and-file worker who must understand you, must believe in your appeal and be ready to follow you. You must have in mind those for whom you write, to whom you speak”. (4).**

This is the prescription made out for us by the Communist International, a prescription that must be followed. Let this be a law for us!

The third article, selected from the “Complete Works of Lu Hsun” is the author’s reply to the “Great Dipper” magazine (5) on how to write. What did Lu Hsun say? He laid down altogether eight rules of writing, some of which I should like to mention here.

Rule I “Pay close attention to all kinds of things; observe more, and do not write if you have seen only a little”.

He said that we should “pay close attention to all kinds of things”, not just one thing or half of it. He asked us to “observe more”, not just cast casual glances. How about us? Are we not doing exactly the opposite in writing about the little we have seen?

Rule 2: “Do not force yourself to write when you have nothing to write about.”

How about us? Do we not often force ourselves to write a great deal when we have evidently nothing to say? It is sheer irresponsibility to pick up the pen and force oneself to write without any preliminary investigation or study.

Rule 4: “When you have finished writing, read what you have written at least twice, and do your best to strike out ruthlessly redundant words, sentences and paragraphs. Rather condense the material for a novel into a sketch than spin out the material for a sketch into a novel”.

Confucius advised, “Think twice”, (6) and Han Yu also said, “A deed is accomplished through thought”; (7) both were referring to matters in ancient times. Today matters have become very complicated and sometimes it is not enough even to think three or four times. Lu Hsun said, “Read what you have written at least twice”, but how many times “at most”? That he didn’t say; in my opinion, it does no harm to go over an important article more than ten times and revise it carefully before it is published. Articles are the reflection of objective events and things which, with their intricacy and complexity, must be studied over and over again before they can be exactly and properly reflected; to be crude and careless in this respect is simply to be ignorant of the A.B.C. of writing.

Rule 6: “Do not crudely coin epithets or the like that are intelligible to none but yourself”.

We have “crudely coined” too many expressions, all of which are “intelligible to none” but ourselves. Sometimes a sentence of mediately into the dustbin the slut’s long and smelly? foot-bandages. forty or fifty words is packed with “epithets or the like that are intelligible to none” but ourselves. Many who are never tired of glibly professing themselves followers of Lu Hsun are exactly the



people who turn their backs on his teachings.

The last article is a comment on how to carry on agitation in keeping with national usage, given by the Chinese Communist Party's Central Committee at its plenary session (the sixth since the Sixth National Congress). At this session held in 1938 we said that any "talk about Marxism apart from China's characteristics" is "only Marxism in the abstract, Marxism in the void". That is to say, we must oppose all empty talk on Marxism, and any Communist who lives in China must study Marxism in connection with the actual conditions of the Chinese revolution.

"The foreign 'eight-legged essay' must be banned, empty and abstract talk must be stopped, and doctrinairism must be laid to rest to make room for the fresh and lively things of Chinese style and Chinese flavour which the common folk of China love to see and hear. To separate the content of internationalism from national forms is the practice of those who understand nothing of internationalism; we on the other hand want to link up the two closely. In this matter there are within our ranks serious mistakes which should be conscientiously corrected."

In that article we called for banning the foreign "eight-legged essay", but some comrades have actually been promoting it. In that article we demanded that empty and abstract talk must be stopped, but some comrades have been obstinately keeping on with it. In that article we called for laying doctrinairism to rest, but some comrades have dragged it out of bed. In short, this report endorsed by the plenary session of the Central Committee was dismissed as merely idle words by many people who seemed as if wilfully opposed to it.

Now the Central Committee has decided that we must cast off once and for all the Party "eight-legged essay", doctrinairism and the like, and that is why I have talked at such length. I hope that comrades will think over and analyse what I have said and each make an analysis of his own particular case. Everybody should think things out about himself, talk the results over with his close friends and the comrades around him and overcome effectively his own defects.

(From a publication of the People's Republic of China. Footnotes by the publisher).

#### FOOTNOTES

(1) The "eight-legged essay" is the prescribed form of essay in competitive examinations in feudal China from the fifteenth to the nineteenth century. It is made up of eight parts. The first four parts serve only as an introduction and are comparatively short, while the second four parts are the main body of the essay in which the theme is developed. It is called the "eight-legged essay" because each of the second four parts contains two paragraphs forming antithetical "limbs". It is an extremely formalised manner of composition in which phrases and paragraphs are arranged in a rigid pattern, and even the number of words is prescribed. The foreign

"eight-legged essay" was developed and propagated by a group of superficial bourgeois and petty-bourgeois intellectuals after the May 4 Movement in 1919. It was rampant for a long time among the revolutionary ranks in the cultural fields. In many of his writings Lu Hsun castigated the foreign "eight-legged essay" as practised by these people. In criticising it, he wrote, "The 'eight-legged essay,' whether old or new, must be wiped out . . . for example, any writing—which contains only invectives, threats or even verdicts, while refusing to apply formulae derived from science concretely and practically to interpret the new things and new phenomena occurring every day, but only copies a set of formulae and tries to fit them at random into every matter — is also a kind of 'eight-legged essay'". (Complete Works of Lu Hsun, Vol. IV).

(2) Title of an essay included in Northern Dialect with a Southern Accent (Complete Works of Lu Hsun, Vol V).

(3). The name in Shanghai dialect for those who have no legitimate occupation and live on beggary or theft. Such people look generally underfed and emaciated.

(4) Georgi Dimitrov: "Unity of the Working Class against Fascism".

(5). The "Great Dipper" was a monthly published from 1931 to 1932 by the League of Chinese Left-Wing Writers. This letter is included in "The Divided Mind", the "Complete Works of Lu Hsun", Vol. IV.

(6). See "Confucian Analects", Book V, "Kung-ye Ch'ang". (Cf. "The Chinese Classics", Vol. I, p. 180, translated by James Legge, Oxford, 1893).

(7). Han Yu, famous Chinese writer who flourished between the late eighth century and the early ninth century. In his "Apology for the Scholar", he wrote: "A deed is accomplished through thought and ends in failure through lack of thought".



# Albanian Women March On to Complete Liberation

Report on Albanian Women's Congress, June, 1973.

— Joan Eastwood.

**The Seventh Congress of the Women's Union of Albania, held this year in the northern town of Shkodra, began on June 11th. The moving welcome given the delegates on the last part of their journey to Shkodra gave a foretaste of the militancy and enthusiasm of the Congress itself.**

Buses bringing delegates from all over the country formed a long colourful line with banners waving from the vehicles. As the buses passed through villages on the last part of their journey people lined the streets to cheer and wave, and groups of young people in traditional costume danced in the street. Banners of welcome hung across the road, slogans and posters were very much in evidence, and in many windows flags were flying — red flags and the national emblem, a black-double-headed eagle on a red background.

This was the first time the Congress of the Women's Union which takes place every five years, has been held in Shkodra, and the people of Shkodra were proud to be hosts and showed great hospitality to their visitors. The venue was the big Shkodra sports palace, formerly one of the largest cathedrals in the Balkans. Since a broad popular movement six years ago, the result of many years of ideological work, led to the closing down of the churches, many have been put to such use, serving as youth and sports centres, theatres etc. 1400 delegates from all parts of Albania attended the Congress as well as nearly 30 foreign delegates and about 600 observers. There were many contrasts among the delegates — young, brightly-dressed women from co-operatives and towns, co-operativists in the traditional dress of their regions, old black-clad women whose sons had died in the war for national liberation, middle-aged women who had themselves been partisans in those days. But all showed the same enthusiasm and warmth, enthusiastically greeting party and state leaders who were present for most of the proceedings, listening attentively to the many speakers who took the floor.

## EMANCIPATION OF WOMEN

It is only possible to mention here some aspects of the lengthy detailed report delivered at the Congress by Vito Kapo, President of the Women's Union, entitled "Report on the activity of the General Council of the Women's Union of Albania and the principle tasks emerging from the Sixth Congress of the Party of Labour for the complete emancipation of women". She spoke of how the Party

from its founding had stressed that women could win their freedom and rights only by linking their struggle with the national-liberation cause, with the cause of the working class, with the cause of all the working people. Under the Party's guidance the country was liberated, people's power was established and far-reaching transformations were carried out in the political, economic and social fields. Thus women were able to emerge as free partners in society having equal rights with men. She emphasised the great work the Party has always done for the emancipation of women and the unity between the Party and the masses of the people which made this possible.

**The Albanian experience so far, she said, has been proof that socialism is the only social order which creates all the conditions for, and is in a position to bring about the all-round emancipation of women and of all the people.**

It is not possible to speak of the freedom of the working class, the youth and women, without having a free nation and state. This is why the Party has always linked the problem of women with that of national and social liberation.

Since the last Congress, she said, there had been an increase in the numbers of women working and in the effectiveness of their work; (today about 46% of the total number of working people are women, compared with 36% in 1960); there are more women in qualified jobs and leading posts, although as a result of the lower level of qualification of women and conservative concepts that are to be found among men and women, there are still too many women doing less qualified and more tiring jobs and there needs to be a greater struggle to encourage women to improve their education and to be more courageous in taking more responsible jobs. Here attitudes of both men and women must be fought against — the tendency of men to seek domination and of women to be submissive. The educational level of women has improved and new opinions have been created about the role of women both in society and in the family.

## **PARTICIPATION IN PRODUCTION**

The participation of women has increased in state and social affairs, and in all elected organs of people's power at national and local levels. Women now represent 22% of Party members (compared with 12% at the time of the Fifth Party Congress in 1966); 27.3% of deputies to the People's Assembly (16.3% in 1971); and 45.8% of those elected to the local organs of people's power (36.1% in 1971).

Vito Kapo pointed out that the final solution of the problem of the emancipation of women is closely linked with the fate of the revolution in Albania, quoting comrade Enver Hoxha who said that **"Experience shows us that we must measure advance and progress with the advance and progress of women. The Party and the working**

**class must measure the advance towards the complete construction of the socialist society with the deepening and advance of the women's revolution in the framework of the proletarian revolution. If the women lag behind, the revolution marks time".**

The participation of women in social productive work is considered not only as a source of income and a prerequisite of economic freedom, but also a factor for strengthening political consciousness and ideological education, as a decisive factor for affirmation of women's personality, for the attainment of complete equality with men in all fields. She spoke of anti-scientific theories being propagated in the capitalist and revisionist world which aim to keep women outside the sphere of social productive work, away from the struggle of the proletariat and revolution. They try to justify the relegation of women to the home and the upbringing of children, and consider women's participation in production as only an economic factor and not as a factor contributing to their emancipation. She stressed that the Albanian experience has demonstrated that social productive work broadens women's horizons, increases their knowledge and equips them better for the task of rearing their children.

Two directions of work with women in order to mobilise them to respond to the demands of the current five-year plan were stressed: Firstly, to draw into work those women who are not yet involved in production and to encourage unselfish attitudes about the kind of work they are prepared to do; and secondly, to strive for better organisation and proletarian discipline at work and the raising of technical training. This question of technical training and qualifications is very important because the fact that women's qualification level is still lower than men's means that they do not meet the needs of the advanced technology being applied in Albania and hinders the elimination of discrepancies between men and women with regard to qualified work, leading posts, decision-making and scientific activity.

Vito Kapo spoke about the deepening of the class struggle against alien ideology, against the infiltration of imperialist and revisionist ideology and also against all manifestations of conservative, patriarchal, liberal-bourgeois and petty-bourgeois ideologies. She spoke of how the people, young and old, men and women, had risen in struggle to smash the material and organisational base of religious ideology. The women of Albania who had experienced great oppression in the past by the clergy and the canon laws, found in the Party and its ideology the force which liberated them and gave them the life worthy of a human being. She said that the steel-like unity between the Party and the people in Albania would give no chance to the Vatican to re-establish a foothold in Albania.

### **IDEOLOGICAL STRUGGLE**

She stressed the Party's teaching that the intensification of the ideological struggle is necessary to free the physical, mental and

spiritual energies of the working people and especially of the women. There has been energetic struggle on the question of women by Marxist-Leninist ideology which treats women as equal to men in all spheres of life, against the conservative, bourgeois-revisionist and reactionary ideologies that treat women as inferior creatures of limited capacities. She spoke of some forms of the mass movement for the emancipation of women; of mass meetings held in mountain regions for the abolition of old enslaving religious rules and regulations which cause women to be treated as beasts of burden, as commodities; of the fight against purchase marriages and other backward customs; of debates and popular discussions aimed at deepening socialist democracy within families and defending the rights and freedom of women and girls. Before liberation the exploiting ruling order kept women apart from the life of society and transformed the family as the basic cell of society, into the main centre of its many-fold oppression of women. The Party proclaimed full equality between men and women and also created the conditions for this equality to be achieved.

On the struggle for the socialisation of housework and to facilitate child care, Vito Kapo said that an important role has been played by the great economic and social transformations that have taken place — the supply of electric power throughout the country, the growth of production of consumer goods, electrical appliances, the extension of public dining rooms and laundries etc. The number of creches and kindergartens has already greatly increased. But alongside these changes, the changes in attitude about housework and caring for children and the further democratising of the life of the family, are of enormous importance. Stress is laid on the fight against conservative viewpoints according to which housework is considered women's concern alone, and against bureaucratic attitudes which create difficulties in the way of further facilitating housework.

Vito Kapo said that the Party of Labour of Albania, in implementing and enriching the teachings of Marxism-Leninism concerning the genuine emancipation of women, refutes the numerous bourgeois and revisionist theories which look for the cause of the oppression of women and their treatment as inferior creatures, in men, in the biological function of women and in the family. These theories mislead women and conceal the fact that the enslavement of women as well as of men, is connected with the existence of the rotten exploiting order and that the real emancipation of women is ensured only through the socialist revolution and the dictatorship of the proletariat.

The Albanian experience speaks for itself, said Vito Kapo. Through its general struggle for the liberation of the people from the social-economic yoke and from the spiritual shackles of alien ideologies, the Party of Labour of Albania liberated the women too.

## DELEGATES RELATE EXPERIENCE

Following Vito Kapo's speech, delegates from various parts of the country addressed the congress. A textile worker, an engineer, the head of a co-operative, a construction worker and many other women talked of their work, their problems, their achievements. One spoke of an initiative by women in one co-operative to finish their elementary schooling. Of the initial group of 25 many had large families and study was difficult. Their families were involved too because their house-work had to be shared and the children helped their mothers with their schoolwork. They persevered and set an example to others; now 1400 women in this region of Kukes are studying at various levels including 20 who attend a branch of the University outside working hours.

A co-operative woman from Lezha in North Albania spoke about the question of religion. In the past her region had been under the thumb of the clergy. Women had been humiliated and treated as inferior, according to old custom endorsed by the church and to certain clerical laws. But, she said, her region was the first in the country to make the priest leave, to pull down the church. But the struggle against religion was continuing and would go on till religion was completely rooted out. She said that the current pressure of the Vatican against Albania was the pressure of a foreign enemy and the people would be vigilant to thwart this and any hostile activity and to defend their country. The response of the audience showed full agreement with all that she had said.

Another delegate spoke of the struggle in her region against conservative ideas about what work was suitable for women and how they had encouraged women to work in new sectors and to improve their education in order to do so. They had decided too that women were left with too much housework and took initiatives to promote equality in the home, fighting the old idea that housework was just women's work. They gave her an old one, thinking it wouldn't matter much if she

### GIRL TRUCK DRIVER'S STORY

A slim co-operative girl from the Puka region, dressed in traditional costume, told us simply and movingly about how she had become a truck driver. She said that in her region the mining industry was developing and needed man power. They considered that women could help to increase the work force by becoming drivers. When she first mentioned her own idea of becoming a driver, her friends tried to talk her out of it and the organisers of a course for drivers did not support her either. She persisted however, knowing that she had support from the party and that this advice was only the expression of conservative ideas. She joined the course, the only woman among 30 men. The men supported her and promised to treat her as brothers would treat a sister.

Finally, when she got her licence, her troubles were still not over because the directory refused at first to give her a vehicle; finally

ruined it. She welcomed this from one point of view because she would be beginning under more difficult conditions than her men comrades and even old equipment needs to be used. The driver who had had the truck before her only did half the work scheduled, while she managed to fulfil and exceed the work plan. She said that the teachings of the Party and comrade Enver Hoxha had given her the strength to carry on in her efforts. She pledged to keep her rifle near the steering wheel so that she could not only drive, but also be ready to defend her country.

### THE FAMILY STRENGTHENED

Nexhmie Hoxha, member of the presidency of the general council of the Women's Union, also discussed among other things the relationship between women in social production and the family. She said that the Albanian experience proves that the family has been strengthened precisely because women take part in production work with all the rights and under all the alleviating conditions the socialist society has created for mothers and wives. The family has not only been strengthened economically and materially, but has also progressed morally and educationally.

**She spoke of the efforts of the bourgeoisie and the modern revisionists to encourage the removal of women from work allegedly for their own sakes, and because of their "special nature". But in fact their true aim is to keep the so-called "weaker-sex" in a state of perpetual weakness, keeping women out of the struggle against capitalist or revisionist oppression and exploitation.**

She pointed out that women are in fact needed and do participate in production in bourgeois society, but only for so long and under such conditions as the bourgeoisie lays down — if they are satisfied with a lower salary, young and healthy, unmarried, etc. But when capitalism goes through a crisis when the demand for manpower drops, the first to be thrown out are women workers.

Women she said, would have to exert all their efforts in carrying out the tasks brought forth and discussed by the congress, including that of the growth of the role and responsibility of women, the further improvement of their technical, professional and educational level, the strengthening of socialist democracy and the mass line, the strengthening of the struggle on the ideological front against conservatism and bourgeois-revisionist liberalism and of the work of the patriotic and communist education of the children.

On the final evening of the congress a big public meeting was held in Shkodra attended by many thousands of people. The large city square and every nearby balcony and rooftop were crammed with people showing obvious enthusiasm for their Party of Labour and their leaders. Shkodra itself had been greatly affected by this women's congress as had those who attended. It was clear that the delegates would go back to their homes and workplaces in town and countryside with new determination to carry on the struggle for the building of socialism and for their complete emancipation.

