

## INTENSIFY THE IDEOLOGICAL STRUGGLE AGAINST ALIEN MANIFESTATIONS AND LIBERAL ATTITUDES TOWARDS THEM

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### STRENGTHENING PROLETARIAN PARTISANSHIP - AN ESSENTIAL CONDITION FOR THE DEVELOPMENT OF LITERATURE AND THE ARTS ON THE CORRECT COURSE

Our Party has displayed constant concern for the development of literature and the arts on the correct course and has always considered them as a powerful means for the communist education of the masses, especially for their ideo-aesthetic formation. Our literature and arts have kept pace with the whole development of the life of the country, with the deepening of the ideological and cultural revolution, and have made a major contribution to the formation and education of the new man and to raising our new socialist culture to a higher level.

Guided by the teachings of the Party and loyal to Marxism-Leninism, our writers and artists have created inspired works with sound content. Our art, with its socialist and revolutionary content, bears the national seal and expresses the consciousness of our people in the great historic moments we have experienced and are experiencing. The masses like this art and it serves as their spiritual nourishment. The people love and respect their own writers and artists.

The successes of our literature and art are clear testimony to the vigour of the method of socialist realism and its fundamental principle of proletarian partisanship, to its harmonization with the people's national spirit and sound realist tradition. Our arts, like all the spiritual life of our society, have developed in struggle with alien ideological influences, old and new, conservative and modernist, and especially bourgeois and revisionist influences. The orientations of the 15th Plenum of the Central Committee, held in 1965, [See Enver Hoxha, [Selected Works, Volume 3](#), p. 832] have been of special importance in this struggle.

In recent years, however, as a result of the pressure of alien ideology, and especially of subjective weaknesses, some overt influences of bourgeois and revisionist ideology have appeared in literature, art and culture, and a liberal attitude has been taken towards them. They have harmed the development of our literature and arts. All the discussions have pointed out the danger of these alien influences as a means of imperialist-revisionist ideological subversion to divert our literature and arts from the correct revolutionary course of socialist realism and from the sound national basis and to lead them away from the line of the Party and its correct orientations.

The fundamental cause for the spread of these alien influences is the failure to implement consistently and departure from the correct orientation of the Party about waging a frontal ideological struggle in both directions, against conservatism and liberalism. The danger of the current influences of bourgeois and revisionist ideology has been underestimated by certain working people and leading cadres in the sector of culture, literature and arts. Certain old manifestations and traditions of a conservative nature have been considered as the only actual practical danger, while the danger from liberalism has been viewed only as a possibility. The simplification of the danger of bourgeois-revisionist influences, especially when this is done by 'learned' intellectuals, is not a lapse of memory, but an inclination, a tendency which, if it is not combated, will grow and become dangerous. The corrupting liberal-modernist influence is not a potential danger, but a real one.

Certain elements contaminated by decadent modernism, posing as 'competent' people, tried to open the door to anti-proletarian liberalism, to alien bourgeois-revisionist currents under the guise of fighting conservatism. In body they were here, but their hearts and minds were elsewhere. They viewed the life and development of our country in an inverted way and tried to adapt decadent trends to our situation. These elements launched the divisive thesis that our genuine literature allegedly begins in the 60's, thus disparaging and negating all earlier artistic creation. In the name of criticizing conservatism, they misdirected the struggle against certain individual writers, especially against the older ones, seriously damaging the comradely atmosphere in literary-artistic circles.

The theorizing against so-called conservatism in the different genres of art has appeared in various forms. In the figurative arts, often under the slogan of combating scholasticism, an academic approach, naturalism and so on, works with alien old and new modernist Influences and even borrowings from impressionism and cubism were not only legalized, but were often taken as models of bold creativeness and innovation. In music, the predominance of melody was called a manifestation of conservatism, just as reliance on the people's musical creativity was called archaism and folklorism. This so-called folklorism has often been presented as a bogey and as the main obstacle to the development of cultivated music.

In recent years, there has been an underestimation of the finest traditions of our folk music, and this is apparent also in the infrequency of performance of it by our best artists and, especially, in the lack of serious work to train new talents. This underestimation cannot be isolated from the preference some people have had for so called dynamic, rhythmic music, which is allegedly the last word in modern music and the only music which responds to the 'demands of the time and our youth'. No, we do not need such music. Only the bourgeoisie and the revisionists need it as a narcotic to stupefy the masses, especially the youth. Our youth need pure cultural nourishment, really of the times, but imbued with high ideals and a sound spirit. And our gifted composers have created many beautiful and original works with a revolutionary, national spirit of the times. They sing with inspiration and love to our country and people, to the beauty of the Albanian landscape, to the socialist life and pure sentiments of our people.

In the misrepresentations about archaism, folklorism and so on, we have to do with an openly scornful stand towards folklore in general, towards its great artistic and social values, and towards its relation to cultivated art. Precisely such stands and theorizing have been one of the causes for departures from the sound national background and have served as arguments to justify these departures. These pseudo-theoreticians attached disparaging labels to everything good and beautiful in folklore, labels which were often incomprehensible even to themselves, because they were bourgeois terms and currents in literature and art which with the passage of time had been discarded. These so-called modern aesthetes attached importance to form and not at all to ideology, politics or content.

Elements with liberal inclinations have often identified conservatism with tradition. They divided present day literary-artistic phenomena mechanically into 'traditional' and 'innovative'. Such confusion and division opened the way to the negation of the sound aspects of tradition. On this course, the alien influences were spread more easily. Naturally, these people could not base themselves on tradition, which they called regression, but on so-called innovation, which they called progress.

The Party has continually stressed the need to base ourselves on sound traditions and to cultivate them further. It has pointed out the great values, the patriotic, democratic and popular spirit of our finest cultural traditions. For us, however, tradition is not only the powerful tradition of the patriotic literature of our national renaissance, of the revolutionary democratic and progressive literature prior to Liberation, but also the tradition of the very rich and varied literature and art of our socialist

realism, which is already thirty years old.

Our Party has been and remains in favour of innovative art, firmly based on sound tradition, old and new, and on proletarian partisanship.

For us Marxist-Leninists, the new is that which helps destroy everything outdated, regressive and reactionary, everything alien to our society and ideology, that which serves the affirmation of everything progressive and revolutionary, the development of socialist society, of its base and superstructure, production and spiritual life. We always see the new, first and foremost in content and then in form. That is how we see it in literature and art, too.

Our Party, which is a great and courageous innovator, a fearless revolutionary, which does away with outdated things one after another, which is leading an unprecedented revolution in the material and spiritual life of society, will never allow itself to be deceived by false innovation, by the glossy veneer which conceals the poisonous reactionary ideas of bourgeois and revisionist art and culture, or by the sensational advertisement of the so-called innovations of that culture. Our Party is in favour of truly modern development of the whole of our social life, our economy and culture, literature and arts. But this has nothing in common with the corrupting modernism of the present-day capitalist and revisionist world.

Many deviations which we are criticizing have come about through departure from, ignoring and denying, the national spirit. In the name of the new, the demands of the times, and the fact that we live in Europe, the supporters of liberalism began to distort the orientations of the Party about a differentiated critical attitude towards foreign culture, and to serve up to us the monstrosities of the present decadent, modernist, bourgeois-revisionist culture as new and innovative.

Through many storms of the times, through endless bitter battles, our people created a culture and art with clear national features, which constitutes a priceless asset. For us, these values of the progressive art of our nation are a source of legitimate pride. They are our contribution to the treasury of progressive world culture. Since our people preserved and further developed this culture through the centuries, then it falls on us, the generations of socialist society, to strive with the passion of communist militants to keep it pure and to develop it still further.

The imperialist bourgeoisie has always tried to denigrate or eliminate the cultural traditions of small peoples and the national spirit of their art and culture. This is one of the ways to carry out its cultural aggression and to subjugate the peoples. The aim of the reactionary bourgeois concept of the 'internationalization' of culture and art, the idea that 'the stage of national schools has already been superseded' is to eliminate the cultures of other peoples. Under these conditions it becomes even more imperative for us to fight to safeguard the national features of art, the cultural wealth of the people.

While fighting to defend the national spirit of our literature and art, we always emphasize strongly their revolutionary and socialist character. Its socialist content is the distinctive and most essential feature of our literature and art. This content has a dear proletarian class character. As such it must be achieved in unity with the national form, and this we see, too, in the practice of our literary and artistic creativity.

Our Party has spoken at other times, too, about our critical revolutionary stand towards foreign culture, of both the past and the present. We are obliged to return to this problem once again because, despite the Party's correct instructions, in practice there have been misunderstandings and distortions which have been one of the causes of the revival of alien influences.

Today, the phenomena of the decay and degeneration of bourgeois culture are becoming more and more pronounced. Its 'isms', which pop up like mushrooms, are the clearest symptoms of this decay. Every day 'new' schools and trends, which resemble innumerable religious sects and heresies, appear. Nevertheless, they have a common philosophical basis: idealism, with all its endless refinements. This is also the essence of those trends which, at first sight, appear to be leftist, radical protests against the official bourgeois society and its culture and morality.

Under the guise of an art which allegedly recognises no social prejudices and ideological commitment, the cult of void content and ugly form, of the despicable and horrible, is created. The principal heroes of decadent, modernist art are murderers and prostitutes, and its themes immorality and social pathology. Its banner is irrationalism, liberation from 'reason'. Its ideal is the primitivism of the caveman.

It is precisely this culture, coated with a glossy veneer, accompanied by sensational advertisement, handled in the most commercial way and backed up and financed by the bourgeoisie, that inundates the cinema and television screens, magazines, newspapers and radio broadcasts, all the mass information and propaganda media. Its objective is to turn the ordinary man into a passive consumer of poisonous bourgeois ideas, and to make this consumption an addiction. Not only have we nothing to learn from this culture, no reason to impart it to our masses and youth, but we must reject it contemptuously and fight it with determination.

We value only the revolutionary, progressive and democratic foreign art, be it of the past or of our century. We shall continue to make use of it in a critical way, because this is necessary for the cultural development of the masses, for their idea-aesthetic education, as well as for the formation of those tastes which resist the degenerating and vulgar bourgeois-revisionist influence.

All this requires careful, intelligent, and differentiated work on our part, requires avoidance of extreme attitudes based on xenomania or xenophobia, liberalism or sectarianism, the lack of a critical stand, or the desire to be on the safe side.

Our Party has always been opposed to any kind of distortion or underestimation of its directives and for a consistent ideological struggle on both flanks, against both liberalism and conservatism. It has always been opposed to every kind of speculation which, for the sake of fighting in one direction, neglects or forgets to fight in the other. Therefore, it would be very wrong for anyone today to think that the correct criticism which has been made of manifestations of conservatism is invalid and that conservatism is no longer a problem for our literature and arts. In fact, in the process of their development, literature and art, besides the influences of present-day bourgeois and revisionist ideology, have clashed and continue to clash with various conservative and restrictive legacies and trends which are expressed in both their content and their form. The conservative or progressive, regressive or reactionary character of a literary or artistic work depends, first and foremost, on its class tendentiousness, on the ideas it bears and the ideals for which it militates. Conservatism in this field has its own specific features and is manifested in various forms and ways which critical, theoretical, historical, and literary thought must discover and fight ceaselessly.

The Party has continually pointed out the broad political, social and ideological basis of conservatism. For us, a conservative stand is one which justifies, supports and upholds anything outdated, which is against progressive changes, against the new, which obstructs the revolutionary drive of the masses and their all-round emancipation, which hinders our advance on the road of socialism. Viewed from such a revolutionary class position, from a broad political and social viewpoint, not only the old ideologies emerging from the depths of the centuries, but also the present degenerate bourgeois and revisionist culture, all their liberalism and modernism, have a conservative character.

We need qualified, scientific criticism, which has both the necessary revolutionary feeling so essential to the discovery of the outstanding values of literature and art, and the spirit of irreconcilability with any distortion or alien manifestation in their development. We need criticism which will speak with courage and competence about every literary and artistic phenomenon. However, professional literary criticism is not the only judge of literary and artistic activity. In the final analysis, the opinion of the readers, of the public, of society as a whole, is the best judge of this activity. Both the creative artists and the critics should always bear this truth in mind.

In order to develop critical and idea-aesthetic thought, it is necessary to take measures to extend the scientific research work in the field of the theory and history of literature and art, of aesthetics, by strengthening the existing nuclei and creating new ones. This work cannot be done successfully without taking immediate steps for the systematic training of new scientific cadres for aesthetics, the theory and history of literature and art, and literary and artistic criticism.

Criticism, like all our literature and arts, should always be guided by the principles of the method of socialist realism, which have emerged from the world experience of the revolutionary art of the proletariat, and have been elaborated by Marxist-Leninist aesthetics and confirmed by the literary and artistic practice of our country. These principles are unshakeable and adherence to them is essential, for otherwise we fall under foreign influences and depart from revolutionary traditions. Innovation has nothing to do with violation of principles but applies them in the correct way.

The creative development of socialist realism has also come up against some misinterpretations and false theories arising from various sources. These have appeared especially in the treatment of the problem of contradictions and of the hero in art. There have been cases that the contradictions of our society have been presented as having no solution, with a gloomy feeling of pessimism which is typical of the bourgeois-revisionist way of thinking. The superiority of the socialist forces and ideal has not always been properly pointed out. There have also been cases of confusing the contradictions among the people with the contradictions between us and our enemies. This leads to serious errors of principle, into which Fadil Pacrami tried to lead our art when he said that we had already dealt sufficiently with the struggle between 'us and the enemy' and that from now on we should talk mainly of the struggle 'among ourselves'. Hence, we should leave the enemies in peace and treat our people as enemies.

The Party has stressed that the disclosure of contradictions and their reflection in art, including the criticism of negative phenomena, must be done correctly, from the position of proletarian partisanship, so that they will be overcome and society advance and not remain in the grip of contradictions.

On the other hand, that theorizing about the positive hero, dissecting him, identifying him with everything, and making an artificial separation between the 'traditional hero' and the 'innovatory hero', etc., are nothing but views which lead to anti-heroism in literature and art, to retreat from life and from man. The stereotyped theories of the hero, conceived in an idyllic and sentimental way, are also harmful and lead art away from truth and realism. While criticizing the stereotyped hero, idealized in a bookish way without any basis in our reality, at the same time we can in no way accept the new scheme of a wavering hero which is, in fact, an open bourgeois-revisionist influence. These views and attitudes have nothing in common with our principles, they indicate theoretical confusion.

In order to fight successfully against alien influences and manifestations, the Party must do a great deal of work with the writers and artists, not only to further develop them ideologically and aesthetically, but also to ensure that they lead an intensive ideological life, live close to the masses,

are linked closely with their preoccupations and struggle, and take an active part in the great economic and social actions of the working people. Contacts with the masses are absolutely essential for the people of art and culture, but these should not be conceived as simple slogans, as literature or sightseeing, but as work on which they will base their creative activity, which must be positive, and within the line and norms of the Party. In this process the creative artists are educated and tempered in a revolutionary way, and a fight is waged against intellectualism and megalomania, against individualism and petty-bourgeois pride, against mistaken views that 'we are superior to the others', that 'we are free to create what we want and when we want' outside any social requirement and discipline, outside any control or norm. In this way the mistakes are corrected, not only in words, not only through self-criticism, but through creative activity, through work, through willpower and through multiplied confidence in one's own efforts and the correctness of the line of the Party.

The organizations of the Party must do serious work to create a healthy atmosphere of activity and comradely relations among the working people of literature and art. They and the writers and artists themselves must fight with determination against unhealthy passions, against bias in judging one another's work, which leads to gossip, to dangerous divisions and groupings among the artists. There must be no division between 'the young' and 'the old', just as now we should not allow the spread of the views that 'you were wrong, we were not', 'you accused us of being conservative, now it is our turn to accuse you of being liberal'. Of course, the mistakes and faults must be disclosed and admitted, they must be criticized. But, as the Party teaches us, it is essential that the criticism should always be fair, constructive and never denigrating. Wherever mistakes appear, they should always be seen from the viewpoint of the Party and corrected by joint efforts. We communists do not correct mistakes by taking revenge and showing petty-bourgeois spite, but in the spirit of communist principles and partisanship. People must be helped and encouraged, especially the young writers and artists, towards whom we should show warmth, tact and care in the correct party spirit.

Our Party is very demanding in this direction, especially on the communist writers and artists, who should set an example of partisanship, of adherence to principle, of communist ethics and social discipline. For the communist there are not two kinds of stands, one within the basic organization and another outside it. The norms of the Party in line, in work, and in life are essential for all and no one can be allowed to violate or evade them.

We are fully confident that, while fighting against alien influences, our writers, artists and all the creative workers in the field of culture and art, will, as always, close their ranks even more tightly round the Party, with which they are linked like flesh to bone. With the aid of the Party and through their own revolutionary efforts, they will clean out those noxious weeds which have appeared in our literary, artistic and cultural life, and will boldly carry forward the great cause of our socialist culture, literature and art.

In dealing with the alien ideological influences and their manifestations in literature and art at this Plenum, it is essential to point out once again that, in general, our literature and art are sound, that they have developed on the correct course and have been inspired by the line of the Party and the interests of the people and socialism. The living reality of the development of our literature and arts in general, and of the recent period in particular, proves this.

The good works of our writers and artists are liked very much and followed with great interest by the masses and have made and are making a valuable contribution to the general education of our youth and the people as a whole. These works, which have added to the golden treasury of the new socialist culture, are a very valuable reflection of the patriotic, progressive and democratic content of the spiritual creativity of the Albanian people. By reflecting the glorious epoch of the National

Liberation War, the great revolutionary transformations and the construction of socialism, and being an active participant in these majestic battles, our present literature and arts will certainly be a source of inspiration for the younger generations and those that come after them.

We are certain that in the future, the creative activity of our writers and artists will be inspired by our marvellous socialist reality, by the heroic struggle of our people, the working class and our labouring peasantry, by the lofty revolutionary ideals of the Party, just as they have been hitherto. They will always take their inspiration from the centuries-long struggle of our people for freedom and enlightenment, from their powerful democratic and progressive traditions, from the inexhaustible spring of their artistic experience and genius. Guided by the great principle of communist partisanship, our writers and artists will certainly turn out even worthier works about the heroic struggle our Party and people are waging today for the cause of revolution and socialism, works clear and understandable to the masses, with lofty communist ideas, clear national features, and an ever higher artistic level.

#### WE MUST FORM REVOLUTIONARY CONCEPTS ABOUT TASTE, CONDUCT AND LIFE-STYLE

The socialist revolution has brought radical changes in the spiritual life of our society, in the thinking, psychology and way of life of our people. Our Party has devoted continuous care to the formation and tempering of the new man with a Marxist-Leninist world outlook, with a lofty spirit of patriotism, proletarian internationalism and socialist collectivism, with the spirit of sacrifice and heroism, with new concepts about work and life, and with high revolutionary ideals. Today, we can speak of the rich spiritual life of our people, a pure life that is developing impetuously, in which devotion to the great cause of the revolution and socialism, heroic deeds, high moral virtues and sound tastes are outstanding. This is a complicated and continuous process which takes place through an ideological class struggle against any alien influence. Our Party has always waged a battle on all fronts against all the ideologies of exploiting classes.

But in recent years, when a heavy blow has been dealt to the old religious, feudal, patriarchal and conservative concepts and prejudices, the struggle against the present influences of bourgeois and revisionist ideology and their manifestation in our life has been somewhat neglected and underestimated. Liberal concepts and attitudes appeared, giving rise to certain harmful phenomena among certain people and especially among some of the youth.

Those influences in literature and art, about which we spoke, cannot be viewed apart from certain alien manifestations which have been observed in the tastes, conduct and unseemly behaviour of a few young people. These, and the continuous pressure from abroad, are the fundamental causes of the spread of certain vulgar, alien tastes in music and art, the adoption of extravagant and ugly fashions, and unpleasant behaviour contrary to socialist ethics and the positive traditions of our people. Our social opinion quite rightly strongly condemned such degenerate 'importations' as long hair, extravagant dress, screaming jungle music, coarse language, shameless behaviour and so on. If the influences and manifestations of the bourgeois-revisionist way of life are not nipped in the bud, they open the way to the corruption and degeneration of people which are so dangerous to the cause of socialism.

The all-round spiritual development and the moral image of our new man cannot be conceived without the formation of sound ideo-aesthetic tastes about what is beautiful in art, in nature, in work and in life. The problem of tastes is not a purely personal matter for individuals, which allegedly cannot even be discussed. Despite the presence of the individual element in them, tastes always have a social character, being formed under the direct influence of social and economic relations, ideology and culture and social psychology. Hence, it is clear that they have a class character.

Therefore, in essence, our tastes are the complete opposite of bourgeois-revisionist tastes. Our communist taste is imbued with the revolutionary ideal, with proletarian simplicity, with noble sentiments and pure moral virtues.

While fighting against the penetration of base, vulgar, bourgeois-revisionist tastes, we have, at the same time, fought and continue to fight against outdated and anachronistic tastes inherited from foreign occupations and the old feudal-bourgeois society, interwoven with the old way of life and backward, patriarchal customs and traditions. We support every natural evolution of tastes in the conditions of our rapid socialist development, in compliance with the new requirements of this development, in the spirit of our Marxist-Leninist ideology and our sound national traditions. We are opposed to those conservative attitudes of some who fail to understand this process and regard it as a negative phenomenon and an alien influence.

The formation of sound tastes with a clear socialist content also requires the all-round cultural development of the new man, and especially systematic efforts to educate him ideologically and aesthetically. These aims are also achieved through a continuous fight against a superficial, narrow cultural horizon and for a deeper appreciation of the outstanding values of national and world culture.

Great possibilities have been created in our country today for the continuous uplift of the cultural and ideo-aesthetic level of all the working masses and of the youth in particular. Along with the schools, both the specialized cultural and artistic institutions and the other means of mass propaganda have been greatly increased and strengthened, and these play a role of primary importance in this process. But these means, which have been extended to the farthest corners of the country, are not utilized in an intensive and qualified way.

For us Marxist-Leninists our way of life is an integral part of our whole socialist social life, which develops in close connection with our whole revolution, in conformity with our socialist ideology and the norms of communist morality. This is how we conceive the material well-being and the spiritual world of man, the assertion of his individuality, emancipation, personal happiness and family life. The revolutionary communist ideal is the one and only ideal which guides us in all our activities and life. The bourgeois-revisionist concept of life, the most typical manifestations of which are unrestrained individualism and egoism, aimlessness and vanity, the pursuit of luxury and fulfilment of every whim, dissipation and degeneration, parasitism and crime, which have become incurable moral and social ill of present-day capitalist and revisionist society, is utterly alien to us.

We see the way of life in constant development, conditioned by all the social, economic and cultural transformations, and by the rise in the general well-being. In particular, the rapid social and demographic changes, the growth of towns and the creation of new inhabited centres, the increase in the working class, the all-round development of the countryside, especially its social and cultural development, the break-up of the patriarchal family, the great development of education and culture and the evolution of the social psychology, have led to radical changes in the way of life.

A very important role in this respect has been played by the great ideological actions against religion, backward customs and outdated traditions, actions which have dealt heavy blows to anachronistic concepts and practices. These positive revolutionary developments have also been accompanied by the emergence of new problems, by increased demands of the masses in material and spiritual life, and especially for culture and education. In order to respond to these demands and fulfil them gradually, in accord with the existing conditions and possibilities, it is necessary to broaden our concept of a cultured life in all its aspects, from the intellectual development of man to the environment where he lives and works.



On the other hand, our Party also strikes hard against all those who, in the name of the struggle against conservatism, in the name of meeting the demands of the times and of the youth, of freedom and democracy, attempt and strive to introduce among us the spirit of bourgeois corruption and degeneration. Now, our working masses and our youth have gone on the attack against this corrupting influence, against any liberal stand that paves the way to its penetration. This struggle is being waged by revolutionizing public opinion, by enhancing its vigilance and sensitivity. Liberal attitudes towards alien influences cannot be eliminated without fighting against manifestations of indifference in public opinion, against passivity, toleration and negligence. These are open and typical petty-bourgeois attitudes and have nothing in common with the revolutionary spirit of communist irreconcilability with any negative phenomenon and alien manifestation.

We must create a severe atmosphere incompatible with any breach of our ideology, morality, laws, must create a unified front of education by merging into one the joint efforts of the school, all the mass means of culture and propaganda, the social organizations, the family and public opinion as a whole.

The results achieved in the struggle our Party and the masses are now waging against alien influences and manifestations are an important step ahead. But it is the duty of the Party, relying on these results, to continue the fight against liberalism on all fronts, to implant revolutionary concepts deep in the consciousness of the masses and make these part of their world outlook.

We regard and must always regard the work for the communist education of the working people, for the formation of their communist tastes and conduct, for the triumph of socialist morality and the new way of life, as a very important aspect of the class struggle on the ideological front. It is through this prism that we should assess all the educational activity which is conducted under the direction of the Party, all the activity of its levers and of the various educational and cultural means.

I want to speak rather more extensively on the work of the youth organization. As a lever and militant reserve of the Party, throughout its existence it has played a very important role in educating and mobilizing the younger generation for the construction and defence of the Homeland. The Party has always entrusted the youth organization with responsible tasks, and it has always fully justified this trust with its tireless struggle and work in the service of the people and the revolution.

The exposure of the mistakes and the self-criticism which the youth organizations made are a very good sign, indicating that under the guidance of the Party they will soon improve their situation and will stand as militant detachments guiding the impetus of the youth. But our Party as a whole, and the cadres and militants of the youth organization must draw lessons from the mistakes that have occurred and not allow them to be repeated.

We should never for a moment forget that the youth have been and always remain a target of the activity of all our enemies. Therefore, the youth must be continually tempered and moulded as revolutionaries, both by speaking to them about the past, about the struggle and the difficulties that have been overcome, as well as by launching them into actions, making them work seriously: when they are pupils and students, and when they leave school, in production work or wherever they are appointed. In all the work the Party is doing today for the general consolidation of the situation, a special place should be occupied by the strengthening of the Labour Youth Union of Albania and the strengthening of the work with youth in general. We must see to it that the schools, the artistic and cultural institutions, all the means of propaganda, sports, etc. are placed more completely at the service of the revolutionary education of our youth.

As always, the youth have understood the advice and teachings of the Party correctly and are

putting them into practice with all their might. This is another proof of the close links of the youth with the Party. The question now is to intensify our work with youth so that these problems are understood better from the ideological standpoint, so that they engage themselves more extensively and actively in the class struggle, in study to master the Marxist-Leninist theory, science and technology, in work and mass actions for the construction of socialism, and in physical and military training for the defence of the Homeland and, on this sound basis, to temper them further as an invincible revolutionary force in the struggle the Party is leading for the construction of socialism in our country.

## THE ORGANIZATIONS OF THE PARTY AND THE COMMUNISTS SHOULD STAND IN THE FOREFRONT OF THE STRUGGLE AGAINST MANIFESTATIONS OF ALIEN IDEOLOGY

Our Party has never concealed shortcomings and weaknesses, has not hesitated to denounce them openly and courageously before the communists and the people. This is how it has acted in the past, and this is how it is acting today. Our criticisms in no way obscure the magnificent successes and victories the Party has scored in all spheres of the socialist construction of the country. They are further proof of the seriousness of our Party, of its strength and its close ties with the people. The authority of the Party and the people's trust in it have never been higher or stronger than today.

The line of the Party has been and is correct, revolutionary and Marxist-Leninist, but its directives on certain important issues dealt with in this report have not always been interpreted and implemented correctly and, indeed, have even been distorted. All these things have happened before the very eyes of many communists, cadres, organizations and committees of the Party. But why have they been allowed? Why have certain comrades tended towards a one-sided interpretation of party directives? Why have many alien manifestations been underestimated and the struggle against them slackened? The main source of the evil must be sought in the liberalization of concepts and attitudes on a number of important issues. And this evil must be eradicated.

Liberalism does not fall from the sky; it is a product of the ideological pressure of internal and external enemies who aim to undermine the people's state power and socialism. But the appearance of this phenomenon and especially the extent to which it spreads depend, to a large degree, on how the Party works, on the extent to which the danger is recognized, and on the struggle the Party wages for the revolutionary education and tempering of the communists and working people. The fact that this phenomenon has not become a widespread disease in our Party is clear testimony to its vigilance and the correct fight it has waged and continues to wage. Nevertheless, the manifestations of liberalism in the life of our society, which we are criticizing today, must be viewed in close connection with those manifestations of liberalism which have appeared in the life and activity of the Party itself. It must be stressed, however, that this problem has been dealt with slightly in the meetings of the basic organizations.

Where is liberalism expressed in the life of the Party?

In the first place, in the fact that in many basic organizations there is not always a full sense of responsibility, both on the part of the organization as a whole and in each individual communist, about implementing the line of the Party in all the spheres of life within its jurisdiction. In certain sectors, like those of art, culture and education, the basic organizations of the Party have not always played their leading role in the forefront of the work. They have not taken up the fundamental problems of the content of the activity of these institutions and have not exerted their influence and exercised their control to ensure that the line of the Party is correctly interpreted and applied. Harm has been done in this direction by erroneous concepts according to which the problems of art and culture are questions which mainly concern specialists, and the party organizations have no reason to involve themselves much in these matters.

Undoubtedly the opinion of the specialists must be listened to and respected, for they have emerged from the people, are men of the Party, educated with its teachings. In every instance, however, the basic organizations bear full responsibility for the correct application of the line of the Party. The communists cannot be required to know the technical and artistic aspects in detail, but it is their fundamental duty to defend the line. Every communist must be a specialist of the line of the Party. And the fact is that when the party organizations of the cultural-artistic institutions seriously involve themselves in analysing the work of these institutions, they show that they are fully capable of dealing profoundly with the problems of the ideo-aesthetic content of the activity of their sector and solving them correctly.

It must be thoroughly understood in principle and applied well in practice that strengthening the leading role of the basic organizations is a permanent and vital task of the Party, because its leading role is realized through them.

As we have stressed at other times, the leadership of the Party is primarily a political-ideological leadership. This means that the Party must carry on extensive ideo-political work for a correct understanding of its directives, and to make workers conscientious in carrying them out. This is a very wide field of party work, with decisive importance. Many weaknesses and shortcomings which we are criticizing have their source precisely in the defects in this work, in its superficiality and one-sidedness, lack of contact with life, formalism, and its frequently general character. If there have been narrow and one-sided interpretations of the capitalist and revisionist geographical encirclement, of centralism and democracy, of state control and worker control, of rights and duties, of the emancipation of women, if there have been misunderstandings and distortions of certain issues in the field of literature and art, education and culture, this shows that in many cases the directives of the Party have not been analysed in a full and all-round way, theoretically and practically, and hence they have not been properly embodied in the daily activity of the communists and working people, and there have been vacillations from one side to the other, taking up one aspect and neglecting the other.

These one-sided interpretations and attitudes, the lurches from one side to the other, from conservatism to liberalism and vice versa, also have a real basis in our country in the petty-bourgeois character inherited from the past, which we cannot say has been totally eliminated.

The petty-bourgeois tends to leave one problem and take up another, to seize upon one aspect and neglect another, to go from one extreme to the other. The petty-bourgeois ideology and psychology, which are deep-rooted in our country, are a basis of support both for the old patriarchal, feudal and religious ideologies, and for the bourgeois-revisionist ideology of the present day. They constitute the bridge which connects conservatism and liberalism and which nurture and encourage them.

This means that the committees and organizations of the Party must go more deeply into ideological problems and deal with them better, for we see that in practice the directives of the Party are not explained and understood properly, the problems and phenomena are not analysed profoundly from the ideological and political point of view, few issues of this nature are taken up for discussion, and often the committees and organizations are overwhelmed by the routine of minor daily issues. This we must see as one of the main shortcomings in the work of the Party in regard to the problems we are discussing. If this shortcoming is not thoroughly understood, it is difficult to correct the defects and weaknesses we are criticizing and to have our affairs run smoothly.

We must form a more correct understanding of the work of the Party in general and of its educational work in particular. Despite the great role education plays, it cannot be absolutised, in fact, overestimation of educational work and the level of consciousness led, in many cases, to the

weakening of organizational, administrative, technical and economic measures, which became the cause of various liberal manifestations in the attitude towards work and property, towards lesson, the performance of duties, towards organization of check-up, demanding the rendering of account and so on.

The work of the Party is very complex, because life itself, which it directs and leads, is complex. This means that various problems cannot be solved simply by appealing to people's conscience, indeed education itself cannot be achieved only through lectures and conferences. In life, problems are solved through a complex of political, economic, educational and cultural organizational and administrative measures. People are educated and their revolutionary consciousness is tempered in this complex.

The duty of the Party is to raise the masses to its level of consciousness. But we must be realistic, must take into account the level of consciousness reached by the masses and not confound it with the consciousness of the vanguard, or demand of them what we can and should demand of the most advanced section of the class and of the masses which is organized in the Party. This must never be forgotten whenever we put forward new tasks, otherwise the vanguard goes too far ahead and detaches itself from the masses, Which, in turn, leads to serious consequences.

Like all the work of the Party, its directives form a single unity and should never be taken in isolation from one another. It would be a mistake to think that earlier directives of the Party on the struggle against bureaucracy and for the development of democracy, on worker control and the fight against arbitrariness, on the correct relations that should exist between the Party, the class and the masses, on the revolutionization of the school and the army, etc., are now no longer valid. The stand of the Party is consistent; and there are no contradictions in its directives. It would be an entirely erroneous practice in our method of work if, when a new directive is issued, a new decision taken or a new speech delivered, all the previous ones are left aside. This leads both to work by campaigns, and to viewing problems one-sidedly.

Therefore, the struggle against liberalism and conservatism, too, must be waged in a correct way. Conservative elements would like the struggle against liberalism to be waged from their position, just as the liberal elements tried to exploit the struggle against conservatism in order to spread liberalism. The only correct stand on this issue is that both the struggle against liberalism and the struggle against conservatism should be waged successfully only from a principled Marxist-Leninist position.

If this problem is not understood correctly there is a danger that now, when we are fighting against manifestations of bourgeois and revisionist ideology and against liberal attitudes, we may make mistakes and take an inflexible, sectarian and extremist attitude. We emphasize this because there are certain people, including cadres, who think that the time has now come to tighten up, who are inclined towards administrative measures, who want to revive arrogance and arbitrariness and to substitute them for the educational work of the Party to create convictions.

The issues we are raising at this Plenum are closely linked with a major cardinal problem, that of the understanding and development of the class struggle in the proper way. The Party has long made it clear that the class struggle is one of the main motive forces of our socialist society, that it is a very broad struggle which is waged in all fields, both against internal and external enemies and within the ranks of the people and the Party, and that in the existing conditions the class struggle on the ideological front assumes special importance.

In our country the class struggle has been waged correctly, and that is why all the plans of the enemy have failed and our revolution has always forged ahead. In this struggle the Party has been

strengthened and tempered, the dictatorship of the proletariat has been consolidated, the solidarity of the Party with the working class and the working masses has been further strengthened, and the revolutionary consciousness of the people has been raised. But this does not mean that there are no faults and weaknesses in the way the class struggle is understood and waged. In practice we have come up against many superficial, narrow and one-sided interpretations, toning down of the class struggle and underestimation of the enemies, lack of profound knowledge of their present tactics, and indifferent and opportunist stands.

To stick or not to stick to the class struggle, to have a full or superficial knowledge of it, to wage it on all fronts or in a one-sided way, to wage it in a correct, revolutionary way or to weaken it and make concessions - this is a vital problem on which the future of socialism depends. Our enemies want us to slacken our vigilance and allow the class struggle to die down. But what should we do? The opposite. We should enhance our vigilance and wage the class struggle consistently in order to defend the victories achieved, and to make our Homeland, socialist Albania, even stronger, even more invincible, for the good of the people and the cause of communism.