

WORKERS OF ALL COUNTRIES, UNITE!

ENVER HOXHA

ON LITERATURE AND ART

(1949-1980)

ISBN: 978-1-4583-0578-7

2nd NEPH ed.

THE NOVEMBER 8TH PUBLISHING HOUSE
OTTAWA 2023



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CONTENTS

OUR LITERATURE SHOULD FOLLOW THE ROAD OF SOCIALIST REALISM — <i>Discussion at the meeting of the Political Bureau of the CC of the PLA (June 7, 1949)</i>	1
ADVICE FOR NEW WRITERS (<i>June 23, 1949</i>)	8
OUR INTELLIGENTSIA IS RAISED AND DEVELOPED IN THE BOSOM OF THE PEOPLE — <i>From the speech at the meeting with the representatives of the intelligentsia of the capital (October 25, 1962)</i>	12
LITERATURE AND THE ARTS SHOULD SERVE TO TEMPER PEOPLE WITH CLASS CONSCIOUSNESS FOR THE CONSTRUCTION OF SOCIALISM — <i>The closing speech delivered at the 15th Plenum of the CC of the PLA (October 26, 1965)</i>	23
FROM THE REPORT TO THE 5TH CONGRESS OF THE PLA “ON THE ACTIVITY OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF THE PARTY OF LABOUR OF ALBANIA” (<i>November 1, 1966</i>).....	50
TOWARDS FURTHER REVOLUTIONIZING OUR SCHOOLS — <i>From a speech at a meeting of the Politburo of the PLA Central Committee (March 7, 1967)</i>	57
CARRY OUT THE TASKS OF REVOLUTIONIZING OUR PARTY AND THE LIFE OF OUR COUNTRY WITH PERSISTENCE AND IN A CREATIVE	

WAY — <i>From a speech at the 17th Party Conference of the city of Tirana (December 21, 1968)</i>	66
LETTER TO SCULPTORS KRISTAQ RAMA, MUNTAZ DHRAMI AND SHABAN HADËRI (<i>June 26, 1969</i>).....	78
FROM THE REPORT ON THE ACTIVITIES OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF THE PARTY OF LABOUR OF ALBANIA — <i>Presented to the 6th Congress of the PLA (November 1, 1971)</i>	82
INSENTIFY THE IDEOLOGICAL STRUGGLE AGAINST ALIEN PHENOMENA AND LIBERAL ATTITUDES TOWARDS THEM — <i>From a report to the 4th Plenum of the Central Committee of the PLA (June 26, 1973)</i>	85
WRITERS AND ARTISTS ARE ASSISTANTS OF THE PARTY FOR THE COMMUNIST EDUCATION OF OUR PEOPLE — <i>Speech delivered at the meeting of the Secretariat of the CC of the PLA concerning the implementation to date of the tasks in literature and art set by the 4th Plenum of the CC of the PLA (December 20, 1974)</i>	128
FROM THE REPORT ON THE ACTIVITIES OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF THE PARTY OF LABOUR OF ALBANIA — <i>Presented to the 7th Congress of the PLA (November 1, 1976)</i>	161
PROUDHON'S SUCCESSORS IN FRANCE (<i>Excerpts</i>).....	214

OUR LITERATURE SHOULD FOLLOW THE ROAD OF SOCIALIST REALISM

*Discussion at the meeting of the Political Bureau of the
CC of the PLA¹*

June 7, 1949

In his address to the comrades of the League of Writers invited at the meeting of the Political Bureau, Comrade Enver Hoxha said:

We would like to know your opinion on the way the 3rd Conference of the League of Writers is going to proceed so that we can help you with our advice. In your material, in which you have jotted down the principal ideas of the report, a great deal is said about the prewar writers, and very little about the writers of the years of the National Liberation War and the postwar period. Thus the old writers eclipse the new ones. We want you to tell us how you came to this conclusion, so that afterwards, as I said above, we can give you our help.

At the conclusion of discussion Comrade Enver Hoxha said:

The conference of writers is of great importance. Of course, both you as writers and we are concerned to see it properly prepared so that it will proceed successfully. But it must be said that this problem has not been prop-

¹ The Politburo of the Central Committee of the PLA heard a report from some of the leaders of the Writers' Union at this meeting on the issues they intended to raise at the 3rd Conference of the Writers' Union.

erly tackled as a whole and in proportion to its importance. The main attention should not be centred chiefly on six or seven well-known writers who have distinguished themselves with their writings, but on the major problem of building our new progressive literature as well as of encouraging our new talents. We would be making a mistake if we were to demand perfection in the work of new writers at this stage. This will come gradually. We would also be making a mistake if we were to be content with just those few affirmed writers. It is my opinion that the writers' conference should have as its main objective the encouragement of the new talents, greater encouragement for them from the Party, the special assistance that should be given them for their ideological education.

The cultural level of our cadres is still low, but this does not imply that they should hesitate to air their views freely on problems of literature. This, however, is not attained without exertion. We must understand this properly. If it is thought that in order to create writers should be taken off work, all that will come out will be clichés. We are told that in the Soviet Union there are writers who have been taken off any other activity in order to engage in literary creation, but we should bear in mind that in the beginning they worked anywhere they were needed, some of them even worked in factories and continued their writing at the same time. Even now they address conferences, engage in other activities and continue their writing. With this I mean that our writers should work somewhere, but at the same time they must also write. I agree that the writers must be eased of some of the burden that hinders them in their literary activity, but this does not mean that they should pass the time

strolling round the town. Life and the everyday struggle together with the working masses will assist our writers in their creative work. If you go to the railway construction site, for instance, and live and work among the youth, there is no doubt that you will find inspiration there, while, if you divorce yourself from the masses, you cannot find inspiration.

In some of the contributions we heard here from the comrades of the League I noticed a certain dose of pessimism. More is demanded from the material we have in our country today. However, in my opinion, Fishta with his satires can't bear comparison with the "Epic of the Balli Kombëtar" by Shefqet Musaraj. The works of our comrades who write about the war, the life and work of our people, stand higher and are of a sound content. At the moment there may be some shortcomings in regard to form, but we can be confident that with the passage of time their works will improve in this aspect, too.

Despite this, the study presented by Comrade Dhimitër Shuteriqi is good. Therefore, we should work in this direction in order to assist the development of our new socialist literature. We must encourage our new writers, have more frequent contact with them, help them study and raise themselves ideologically, culturally, and professionally, so that they can produce more and better works. Your writings must be brought more to the fore, because they are not being publicized as they should. This is not because this person or another does not want to, but merely because of underestimation and because the idea has been created that in order to write one should be a specialist. We must combat this opinion. The press should play a positive role in this direction. You too must make your contribution to the press

in order to improve it, because to us, it has become like a gramophone record which is played over and over again with the same boring phraseology, the same words and expressions, without spirit and life, with a few monotonous reports. We must see to it that our press publishes better quality reviews and evaluations of the work of our new writers; this is what we must emphasize. Of course, this must not become an obstacle to analysing the works of the past, to evaluating their positive aspects and rejecting those which are harmful. It would be a great thing, for example, if a good study were made of the work of Naim Frashëri, because in this manner we shall teach our people not only how to make an assessment of Naim, but also how to get the correct bearings in assessing the others, and not make mistakes. But the problems of the present must be in the centre of our attention. We should not become involved in empty discussions of reactionary authors like Fishta, Koliqi, etc., but we should bring out the values of those who write for the people. In the field of literature, as everywhere else, we should take our stand on the position of the Party.

During this period our literature has grown stronger, has made headway, and new talents are continually making their debut. It must be developed along the road of socialist realism, relying firmly on the national terrain and on the Marxist-Leninist ideology. We must go more deeply into the work for the development of our literature. This requires that our writer comrades themselves, among other things, must read more and never say, "We haven't the time to read." We are busy, too, but we try to find the time, and in fact we do read. A writer who does not make efforts, first of all, to raise

his ideological and political level, may become a professional, but not in our sound sense of the word. I think that for you writers, the reading of a novel should arouse an inner urge and emotions that differ from those of other people...

Comrade Shefqet Musaraj was correct when he said that collective work should be practised among the workers of literary creation, that they should exchange opinions, so that fruitful constructive work is done with them. Well organized work should be done to broaden the circle of writers with new elements, and there are affirmed writers like Nonda Bulka and others who should not be forgotten. I read in a French magazine about a French writer who tells how he frequented a club whose members were mostly communists. Although he himself admitted that he was not a communist but only one of the resistance against fascism, and though he was criticized by some people of going to that club, he stuck to his position, continued to go to the club, and insisted that he did not wish to deviate from the line of the resistance. Addressing those who criticized him of having withdrawn from their company, he told them that it was they who had left him, while he himself, with his attendance of the club, by associating with the communists, felt that he gained a great deal from them. This is the kind of policy you should pursue with regard to the old, non-party writers, otherwise, if they fail to get closer to you, if they do not participate in your discussions, if they do not get to know your opinions, etc., they cannot possibly be orientated correctly and activate themselves.

You sought our help for the problems of guidance which you will put forward at the conference, and we must help you more; this is a job which should in no way

be underestimated. You yourselves have worked in this direction, and we observe that you have looked at many questions in the right way. You have pointed out to the old writers both their positive aspects and their shortcomings, but you must see to it that both in the report and at the conference this should not become the central problem; this problem can be raised, but in another form and to a more limited extent.

As for the organization which you are thinking about, go ahead with it, because the times demand that you have a sounder leadership. You need more help so that you can be eased of some burden and devote yourself more to literary creation. The Party charges you to organize and guide the conference, and it is confident that you will do this very well. Don't underestimate your forces.

You must get a firm grasp of the ideological content in literary creation, and you must bear this in mind during the proceedings of the conference. The works of Naim, Çajupi, and other writers, which are valuable, must be studied. We have talked with Comrade Shefqet Musaraj about putting into circulation pieces by the writers of the Renaissance, like Sami Frashëri, Çajupi, and others, which are connected with the defence of the country, but this should not become an obstacle to the encouragement of the new writers to create works with new subjects. And the great source of subjects for our new writers should be, first of all, the National Liberation War and the reconstruction of the homeland. These subjects must in no way be neglected. They should even occupy the main place. We must have as many works as possible with their content from the struggle and life of our people during these years. We think, comrades, that

you must put the most emphasis in your conference on these matters. I wish you success!

ADVICE FOR NEW WRITERS¹

June 23, 1949

The progress of our new writers should be followed and they should be given the necessary assistance to develop their talents.

They should be orientated to write about our people's National Liberation War and about the reconstruction of our country.

a) In order to be able to create a truthful work, to describe reality and create real characters taken from life, the writer should be an intelligent and impassioned observer. He should view life in its process of development realistically, from all aspects, and in its dynamic and progress.

The task of the new writers is to get very close to the people and describe their feelings and ideals, and their real life. This is where their ability will show up.

From constant contact with the masses they will be inspired to lofty themes, they will find the most powerful and beloved expressions of the people. Their writings should be characterized by powerful descriptions of the common, but magnificent man who represents the heroism, the lofty virtues, and the fine and pure tastes of the people. It is only then that their works will be read avidly by the people, because they will reflect the genuine reality of their life.

b) Our new writers should select their subjects from

¹ Extracts from the manuscript of a piece prepared by Comrade Enver Hoxha on the eve of the 3rd Conference of the Writers' Union.

among the majestic events of the history of our people in the past, especially from the glorious National Liberation War and the building of the foundations of socialism in Albania.

From events in the history of our people, from their heroic wars, works of a new content, illuminated by realism and the truth, should emerge.

Our new writers should learn from the inheritance of the progressive world literature, and especially from the Soviet literature of socialist realism.

c) Socialist realism should become a guiding method in carrying out the great task our new people's writers are confronted with.

In the works of our new writers, socialist realism will reflect the interests of the people, their strivings and struggles, the best, purest, the most emphatic and the most heroic sentiments of the people. This realism expresses in the most emphatic terms the patriotism of the masses, their love for freedom, for independence, it expresses their hatred for imperialism, fascism, war, faithfully reflects the struggle for the construction of socialism in our country, and opens up to the broad working masses clear prospects and vistas of work and victory, lights their way towards a more prosperous future, educates the people with the ideals of socialism.

The new writers should fight against the decadent tendencies in literature. Their writings should be purged of manifestations of idealism, of art for art's sake, of unhealthy romanticism. On the contrary, a healthy atmosphere of moral beauty should be communicated through their writings, with the creation of characters reflecting the heroism of our people. It is only in this way that their work will make a deep impression among

the masses of the people, because it is only in this way that it will be true.

The people want our reality to be reflected in the works of our new writers, they want to find themselves portrayed there: in the family, in life, work and struggle. In these works, along with real descriptions of nature, the wheat fields, factories, mines, etc., they also want to see the road ahead where their will, work and the efforts they are making are taking them, they want to see the road on which their beloved Party is leading them.

Our people want to see their love for the Soviet Union and the fraternal peoples of other countries reflected in the works of our new writers, to get acquainted with their lives, the common sentiments which inspire them in the struggle against tyranny, for the defence of peace and the strengthening of the people's democracy.

Hence our new writers should feel deeply and develop the sentiment of patriotism and internationalism. Patriotism is inseparable from internationalism. Today internationalism is attracting all the progressive forces to its democratic and anti-imperialist platform. The internationalists stand for lasting peace, for people's democracy.

We oppose cosmopolitanism, since it strives to extinguish the love for one's own country which should always be boundless. The feelings and ideals of the people are alien to bourgeois cosmopolitanism.

Cosmopolitanism is in struggle with progressive culture, because cosmopolitans are far removed from the people and their real life.

There are some so-called writers who have persuaded themselves that their pen produces pearls. They are not convinced about the new life, and being far re-

moved from the new revolutionary spirit, strive in their pitiful way to imitate the realism of the old type. They think their works may be acceptable, as long as they try to expose nakedly the evils of the past society which lived on the backs of the people, emphasizing only the misdeeds of the beys, their life full of crimes, orgies and robbery.

Our new writers should abandon this road and pursue the road of socialist realism reflecting the new reality, the new life, the new force. Through the description of the man of the new type, healthy in mind and body, courageous, heroic, the representative of the people, who fights for the new life, for the free life, socialist realism denounces the oppression and evils of the past, obscurantism, the oppression of the feudal and bourgeois classes, it denounces and fights the petty-bourgeois spirit and anything that stops the new man from advancing on his glorious road and realizing his aspirations for the future, for the construction of the new socialist system.

OUR INTELLIGENTSIA IS RAISED AND DEVELOPED IN THE BOSOM OF THE PEOPLE

From the speech at the meeting with the representatives of the intelligentsia of the capital¹

October 25, 1962

...The creation of the state of people's democracy, the nationalization of industry, the banks, etc., the socialist industrialization, the collectivization of agriculture are links in the chain of the socialist revolution, which consolidated the state power and the new socio-economic order of the working masses, the socialist society. However, this was an all-embracing revolution, and for it to be complete, it could not fail to penetrate all the pores of our life, to affect all fields of it, to be a unified combination of the different sectors of human activity. Precisely for this reason, right from the start, our Party, guided by the teachings of Marxism-Leninism, gave the signal to carry out the cultural revolution, too, as an integral part of the socialist revolution. You remember very well how we set about it, by conducting the struggle against illiteracy among the partisan ranks and, after liberation, extending it to the most remote corners of our Homeland. Do you recall the hero of

¹ On the invitation of the Rectorate of the University of Tirana on October 25, 1962, Comrade Enver Hoxha had a meeting with the teaching staff, scientific workers and students of the University and higher institutes of the capital and other representatives of the intelligentsia.

Maxim Gorky's story, the peasant Danko, a son of the people, who tore his heart from his chest and raised it high like a torch to illuminate the people's way through the darkness and led them out into light? Just like him, the People's Teacher Ndrec Ndue Gjoka from Mirdita went from cottage to cottage and turned his blood into light in order to open the eyes of the sons and daughters of his people. Without the socio-economic transformations we could not have carried out and continued the cultural revolution, but, on the other hand, without this revolution we could not have carried these transformations through to the end and gone further ahead in the socialist construction. One aspect of the development of the cultural revolution is precisely the creation and development of our people's intelligentsia...

You, comrades, know that during these eighteen years after liberation for our Party and people the road has not been strewn with roses. On the contrary, it has been full of obstacles and difficulties which had to be overcome. From the past we inherited poverty and backwardness in all fields of life, the war left us colossal devastation and damage, the internal and external enemies hatched up all sorts of plots and sabotage against us, our march forward itself was accompanied with the difficulties of growth.

All these things called for principled and persistent struggle, blood and sweat, required great sacrifices from the Party and the people. In the first years after liberation, our people had to tighten their belts, to drive tunnels with their bare hands, since there were no other means, to lay and relay the rails of the railways, since the Yugoslav technicians sabotaged them and we had no technicians of our own, they had to foil the Greek

provocations of August 2, 1949, and hundreds of other provocations and plots organized by external enemies, to battle and wipe out the bands of wreckers smuggled into the country from all sides, they had to build combines, to drain marshes, to break in new land, to bring in new equipment, to cultivate new crops, they had to set up industry and collectivize agriculture, to build the economic base of socialism. And they did all these things. Their efforts were not in vain. But while we were short of food and the people had to battle against difficulties, wreckers, etc., the Party did not forget schools, cinemas, theatres, libraries and museums, but on the contrary struggled to set up more of them, sent everyone it could of the sons and daughters of the people to do higher studies in the Soviet Union and other countries. Our working class and the peasantry deprived themselves of food for all these things but they did not allow the intelligentsia to go short of anything and created the most favourable conditions possible for its creative work and life.

And what came out of all this? As a result of the Marxist-Leninist line and the far-sighted work of the Party, our cultural revolution was successfully accomplished, assisting the whole development of the country; a large army of cadres was created — today new Albania has not 380, but 6,000 cadres of higher training, not about 2,000 but 21,600 cadres of medium training, besides 95,000 skilled workers. At one time, out of every 18 citizens only one had any hope of getting any schooling, whereas today one out of every 5 people is going to school. I make no mention of the University, the institutes of higher learning, the Opera and Ballet Theatre, etc., which you know about...

For this work to yield the maximum fruit, it is essential that cadres of every speciality, whether economists or historians, engineers or agronomists, geologists, doctors or writers and artists, must know the basic science, the Marxist-Leninist science, and study it constantly. This is necessary, because Marxist-Leninist philosophy gives them truly scientific knowledge on the general laws of the development of nature, of society and thought. All sciences have to do with nature, society and thought, therefore, mastery of the general laws of their development helps studies in every field of science, gives the scientist, the writer, or any other specialist the key required to study and explain the various phenomena in nature or society correctly. How could our specialists of socialist society, or more concretely, our historians, for example, interpret facts and documents correctly, draw correct conclusions from them, without a profound knowledge of the general laws of the development of society, the social formations, the economic development of the country at a given period, the combination of the interests of different classes, etc., which they have learned, to a certain degree, since they were at school? The same can be said of the economist. As you know, physics, chemistry and the other concrete sciences have their special laws, the study of which constitutes the objective of these sciences, but the world in its entirety, our universe, matter as a philosophical notion have their own general laws of development. Matter has neither beginning nor end, it is eternal, and all the physical, chemical and other processes are nothing but processes of the development of matter. Therefore, from this it can be seen that to be able to study the physical and chemical processes of various bodies or materials, it is

indispensable that our scientist, engineer, agronomist, etc. should have a correct and profound knowledge of the world in its entirety. I could carry on about how necessary it is for the writer or the artist to know the laws of the evolution of thought, the psychological processes of man, the role of the material conditions of life in forming ideas of the characters they create in their works. That is why our Party quite rightly insists that everyone, without exception, must work tirelessly to master Marxism-Leninism and to study it individually, or in the forms organized by the Party.

There are ignoramuses and reactionaries in the world who say that we communists want to attribute to Marxism-Leninism even the works of those ancient and modern scientists who knew or know nothing about Marxism-Leninism, who are not Marxists, and some of whom are even opponents of it. This is by no means true. It is not a matter of appropriating this or that scientist, born in this or that country, the son of this or that people. But it is a fact that neither Descartes nor Pavlov, neither the Jansenist Pascal, nor the scientist Bogomolets, nor the thousands of other distinguished scientists of every epoch are known to mankind because they went to church and prayed to god, but for their rational, progressive, materialistic, anti-clerical and anti-mystical works. In some directions their method has been dialectical in general, though not in its pure form, as Marxism-Leninism provides it for us. The Marxist-Leninist doctrine is the acme of materialist science and the development of human society, it is the synthesis of the previous development of philosophy and the creative thought of mankind, in general — the synthesis of everything rational and progressive which, in all epochs

and in various forms, has fought against superstition, magic, mysticism, ignorance and the moral and material oppression of the people; now this doctrine has become the torch which lights the way for the peoples towards socialism and communism. Therefore today, when there is such a complete science as Marxism-Leninism, that gives us the correct materialist understanding of the world and the best scientific method, the Marxist dialectical method, it is inexcusable for our scientists and specialists to fail to use it in the interest of studies in all fields. Nobody should feel ashamed to start the study of even the most elementary notions of Marxism-Leninism, or when he is ignorant on this or that problem, to consult a specialist, even though he may be younger in age. For the cause of the Party and the people every one of us is ready to “swallow his pride” on such matters.

We said that, at the same time, Marxism-Leninism gives us the most scientific method of studying and knowing the world around us — the Marxist dialectical method. You know that adherence to correct scientific criteria in the study and solution of various problems, the working out of a correct methodology are of great importance to success in every field of the creative activity of our cadres of different specialities. This question has always preoccupied those engaged in scientific work, and experience had proved the superiority of the dialectical method a long time before Marx and Engels. But the great merit of Marx and Engels, and later, of Lenin and Stalin, lies in the fact that they gave us the most complete dialectical method, the only scientific method — materialist dialectics, and the finest example of the use of it in the study of the phenomena of nature and society.

I do not intend to speak here in detail about the Marxist dialectical method. But what I want to stress is that mastering of this method is indispensable to the rapid progress of our new science. I want to stress, also, that to master it is not an easy thing, it is not sufficient to know its general laws by rote, but it must guide you and become a method of work in your study, in all practical activity, in scientific work, in a word, always and everywhere. There can be no ready-made recipes on this matter. Indeed, it must be said that recipes, schemes and “norms” decided in advance do great harm, as they have done in fact. Recently we have had occasion to discuss certain questions of the history of our Party, or generally, of studies on history with some comrades who have been or are engaged in this work. The schematization in matters of the history of our Party manifests itself especially when we cling to certain stereotyped schemes and forms in regard to the strategy, tactics and the stages of the development, etc. of our revolution. But revolutions, comrades, are not carried out on the basis of given norms, schemes, and forms, hence, the history of our people’s revolution cannot be written on such a basis. This is a superficial and not a scientific treatment of things, a departure from objective reality. Carefully study the facts and events, the various documents and phenomena, analyse them on the basis of the Marxist dialectical method, and you will see that our Party has applied the teachings of Lenin and of the Great October Socialist Revolution in a creative way, in the concrete conditions of our country.

Or let us take, for example, the problems of the history of our country in general. It is known that world outlook and method play an important role in the anal-

ysis and interpretation of historical facts, but when we take into account that the foreigners who dealt with the history of Albania up till the liberation of the country were influenced by the interests of their own imperialist or chauvinist countries, it becomes plain that our historiography cannot remain a slave to certain “norms” established by foreign or local bourgeois historians. Unfortunately, sometimes it happens that some of our people cannot easily break free from the established “norms” in their different studies, and are influenced by or lean towards foreign “authorities.”

In regard to the social sciences, it is essential that analysis and correct interpretation of facts be made in the light of Marxism-Leninism, and if in this light some of the “norms” have to be thrown overboard there is no cause for hesitation, regardless of whether someone may be surprised and purse his lips disapprovingly. We firmly adhere to the principle that history is not written as it may please this person or that, but on the basis of documents, facts, events, etc. But these data must be interpreted correctly, and the only correct interpretation of them is that based on historical materialism. The bourgeois historians level the accusation against us that this is tendentious interpretation and claim that they are allegedly “neutral.” This is their never-ending refrain, but let them warble and let us get on with our work. We proceed from the premise that, in order to arrive at correct conclusions, everything must be viewed with a critical eye, in the scientific meaning of this term, that dogmas and schemes must be combatted, that priority must be given to the main thing, without underestimating things of secondary importance, that the accumulation of facts must not be an aim in itself, but must be accom-

panied by analysis, making a correct interpretation of the influence of various factors (e.g.; internal and external factors), the cause of the action and its objective must be defined correctly, and so on...

Our links with the people from whom we have emerged and for whom we fight, who are the producers of all moral and material values, are the main source of inspiration, the main support for great deeds, for joy and happiness. We should always keep this in mind. Our people do not need misanthropes and egoists, however capable they may be. They need men who appreciate the people's genius, active, optimistic men who are with them at every moment, who share weal and woe with them, help them overcome difficulties, who sweat alongside them. The people cannot abide those who sit on the sidelines and give themselves airs.

Therefore, it is necessary that the specialists always maintain the closest possible links with the people, with the heroic working class, with our co-operativist peasantry. This is of two-fold importance: on the one hand, the specialists become acquainted with production and the people of production, learn from their experience, and link theory with practice; on the other hand, they teach the working people in the course of work, give them theory and their professional knowledge. What difficulties those who underrate practice, the experience of the masses and prefer their personal comfort, make for themselves when they try to get a "comfortable" job somewhere in a town or in the capital and avoid the mine or the countryside, where men and women of colossal experience over many years work and fight! Is this right? Of course not. And not only because the needs of the people are not fulfilled as they should be, but also

because from personal ease you are in danger of falling into apathy, stagnation of thought and scientific activity, whereas for the development of scientific activity, the countryside and the mine present a very rich and lively terrain.

On the other hand, it is necessary that the cadres engage in social work and teach the masses that general culture which the Party and the people have given them, because our knowledge is, first of all, the property of the whole people. Hence, we should not avoid social work, as certain people do, under the pretext that they are allegedly up to their necks in important work. There is not and could not be any greater and more important work than work among the people.

Another indispensable condition, if we are to carry out our tasks successfully and really merit the lofty title of people's intellectual, is the struggle to raise our political and ideological level to the maximum.

In fact, we have an intelligentsia which in general is of a fairly high political and ideological level. This has found its expression not only in the active participation of the intelligentsia in the construction of socialism, but also in its principled and consistent stand and active participation in the struggle of the Party in the political and ideological field. Let us refer, for example, to the stand of the intellectuals on the question of the principled struggle of our Party against the modern revisionism of the Khrushchev-Tito group, their unwavering determination in support of the Party in the most difficult political moments. There is no intellectual who has not felt proud of the honesty and unexampled courage with which our Party has always defended Marxism-Leninism and the interests of its people from the intrigues and

plots of the group of Tito, Khrushchev and their followers, irrespective of the fact that we are a small people who are living, fighting and triumphing encircled by enemies. In our country there are no intellectuals who have not fought, together with the Party, to ward off and defeat the poisoned arrows of the imperialists and their tools, the modern revisionists.

Despite that, however, we should not be satisfied with what we have attained, because the political and ideological problems are the central ones today, and consequently we consider the question of continuously raising the ideo-political level as the number one task for every person in our country...

LITERATURE AND THE ARTS SHOULD SERVE TO TEMPER PEOPLE WITH CLASS CONSCIOUSNESS FOR THE CONSTRUCTION OF SOCIALISM

*The closing speech delivered at the 15th Plenum of the
CC of the PLA*

October 26, 1965

Dear comrades,

...Allow me to re-emphasize some of the ideas that were expressed either in the report or in the discussion.

In one of his writings Marx says:

“...we are not going to come out before the world as doctrinaires with a new ready-made creed: here is the truth, fall on your knees before it! We are developing new principles for the world, which we draw from its existing principles. We do not say to the world: ‘Stop the struggle; all struggle is in vain’, we provide it with the true slogan of the struggle. We are simply showing the world the real reasons it is fighting for, whereas consciousness is something that the world has to gain, regardless of whether or not it wants this.”¹

These words of Marx should inspire us also in the development of literature, the arts, and culture in general.

¹ K. Marx and F. Engels, Works, vol. 1, p. 381, 2nd Russ. ed.

It is not consciousness that determines being but it is being that determines consciousness. Looking at the question from this Marxist-Leninist angle we can understand the magnitude, variety, as well as the difficulties of the leading role of the Party in the tempering of consciousness, of consciousness as a direct derivative of the struggle and the efforts of our people.

From this stems the great role which literature and the arts should play in the inculcation and development of this consciousness, closely linked with the period we are going through, with the efforts, the struggles for the construction of socialism, with the struggle on a world scale against imperialism, the bourgeois ideology and its variant, modern revisionism, etc.

The consciousness of man and that of society is not something petrified, unchanging, formed and developed once and for all. It undergoes positive and negative changes, it alters in accord with the material-economic forces, with the class struggle, the revolutionary situations, the relations between the antagonistic and non-antagonistic classes, with the ideas which inspire the class struggle, the revolution, and so on.

We say “class consciousness,” “proletarian consciousness,” “bourgeois consciousness,” “capitalist consciousness,” we say, “he has a clear conscience” or “a troubled and heavy conscience,” and so on. This means that in life and struggle people do not display a standard consciousness; consciousness reflects different world outlooks, which derive from the developing economic situation. But there is more to it than this, although, as Engels says, this is the main thing, the decisive thing that opens the way. It is also dependent on other social factors and on the superstructure of every economic sys-

tem, because, on the basis of dialectical and historical materialism, the prevailing ideas in one or another country, in one or another historical epoch, are those of the ruling class. Both the feudal class and the bourgeoisie have each tried to proclaim the “universality” of their ideas, to create, to mould the consciousness of their class, in order to prop up and perpetuate their state power. However, at the same time, their economic system, their reactionary ideology, their class consciousness also created their gravedigger — the proletariat, with its proletarian ideology, with its proletarian consciousness, with its social-economic system — socialism, with its science of the vanguard, of revolutions, the class struggle, and with its own ideological and political superstructure.

Socialism has transcended the borders of one single state, the imperialist bourgeois system is heading for its demise, Marxism-Leninism is enlightening, inspiring and leading mankind to revolution, to socialism and communism.

By going through struggles and revolutions, today our Albania has become a socialist state, where the working class is in power, where our Marxist-Leninist Party is successfully and unfalteringly guiding the future of the people towards socialism and communism.

In such conditions, the tasks of the Party, and those of literature and the arts in particular, in tempering the people with working class consciousness, with the morality of the working class, in order to go ahead successfully with the construction of socialism, are glorious, but by no means simple. If we do not examine the developments taking place in our country from the unerring angle of Marxism-Leninism, as the Party teaches us, if

in our analysis and interpretation of these processes we are not guided by the compass of Marxism-Leninism which the Party has put in our hands, not only will we make mistakes in our judgement of things, but the changes and progress will be made more slowly and with greater difficulty.

Albania embarked on the road of the construction of socialism after a long process, after many efforts, revolutions, struggles with the external and internal enemies, a process which has its roots deep in the ancient history of the people: economic processes — economic struggles, political processes — political struggles, processes of ideas — ideological struggles, literary processes — literary-political struggles, etc.

All these processes tempered the Albanian people, armed them to resist the enemies, to fight them, to fight the feudals, the bourgeoisie, reaction, fascism, and finally, to take state power into their own hands. The thinking of our people advanced, their patriotic, political, and moral consciousness was awoken and underwent positive tempering. Herein lies the key to the victories of the Party, herein lies its mastery, in that it knew how to reckon with these things in their revolutionary dynamism and development.

But it would be a mistake to think that after every process and every victory, the past and especially the old world outlook, which is expressed in customs and prejudices, are wiped out at once, completely, and without any danger of their returning. It would be naive to think that the old retrogressive world outlook and prejudices in the consciousness of men, in the mode of working and thinking, in the way of life, would be wiped out automatically, parallel with the economic and political

transformations which make the greatest and most rapid strides forward.

Nevertheless, it must be understood correctly that the new revolutionary men have not fallen from the heavens, but have been prepared in the new economic and political conditions. Hence the material basis for such a transformation exists and the ideology of the Party that inspires them also exists. We must push this basis forward and from it we must fight the shortcomings, mistakes, the remnants and impediments from the not-too-distant past, which show up in one way or another in the people's consciousness and their daily struggle.

Thus, under the leadership of the Party, the energies of the entire people should be mobilized for this struggle, for the new life, for a better, more bountiful and more beautiful life and future.

I want to turn to the concrete reality and to emphasize with what a sacred duty and a heavy burden of responsibility our Party and people have charged you writers, poets, artists, composers, painters, sculptors, etc. Like everyone else, you, too, must carry out these tasks conscientiously, with your struggle and toil. Your valuable and delicate work must be inspired by the Marxist-Leninist ideology, because only in this way and by basing yourselves on the people, on their struggle and efforts, will your militant and revolutionary spirit display itself and burst out in your creative works and activity, and thus you will become educators of the masses who accomplish great works.

The work is extending, the level of the masses is rising, their demands are increasing in quantity, quality and range, therefore the Party and you, all of us, are

faced with heavy collective and individual tasks, and we must make great efforts to fulfil them.

If we advance with the people, live and struggle together with them, if we know how to make good and proper use of the numerous material and moral means that the Party and the people's state power have put at our disposal, the literature and the arts in our country will continue to advance with great and unprecedented vigour. Among the people we should find our inspiration, the notes of the song, the rhythm of the dance, the purity of the language, the tempo of work, the inspiration to creative work, the example of heroism and sacrifice, the lofty virtues of the people's modesty, of the people's justice, and so on and so forth. The basis of creative activity in the arts and literature, as in everything else, should be the people.

Whether to build a colossal hydro-power station on a big river to provide the people with light and to make the river irrigate the fields and create prosperity for the people, or to allow it to flow how and where it will, to create ponds and marshes, or to flood the wheat fields, depends on us, on people.

Of course, the Party has followed the former road and has done great things. But it is known that the building of our hydro-power stations, and the draining and irrigation of our land, at one time either marshy or parched, are by no means mere fantasy, nor have they been created by our people merely with dreams and imagination. These people, once ignorant and today learned, have tramped all over the country, have worked and lived in water and mud, with mosquitoes eating them; others have laid down their lives while working to build the dams, just as in our beautiful leg-

ends about the building of bridges and castles.

Hence, when the Party advises our people, and particularly the writers and artists, that they must equip themselves with broad culture, must learn Marxism-Leninism, must go to the people and work in their midst, become inspired and create there, this is a decisive issue. The work should be conceived in close connection with the aim and the reality. And this reality is at the base, not within the four walls of your study, nor is it the brainchild of some mountain-top god. The head adapts, harmonizes and beautifies it from every aspect.

There are some who think, and think mistakenly, that by making a flying visit to the base, by sitting in a cafe, cigarette in hand, in order to see the various types whom they want to put in their work passing in the street, or who think that by walking through some factory or plant, they have gathered the necessary material and go home, where they start to write superficially, and sometimes entirely back-to-front, about those things and people that they “photographed” in passing. Thus the world of such a person is restricted by the narrow petty-bourgeois concept of the role of the writer, and he thinks that his head is capable of doing great things. But can it be said that the engineers of the hydro-power stations or those who drain the marshes do not work with their heads, and that the writers alone have this privilege? No! But the engineer, quite correctly, works with the people, studies the environment, nature, draws plans, checks them again with the people, with the best experience of others, encounters difficulties, struggles with them till he overcomes them. But should not our writer and artist work in this way, too? Then why do we have to point this out to him so many times?

Fortunately, we do not have to point this out to all, but there are some to whom it is necessary to mention it, because such individuals not only lack any correct concept of work among the people and with the people, but are the only ones and the very first to make claims for themselves.

Many people have an inclination to be a writer or poet, but not all of them can become writers and poets. To be a writer or a poet does not mean just to have an inclination, to link phrases imaginatively or to create rhyming or non-rhyming verses, it is not sufficient just to have gone through a special school, where you have learned the art and technique of this skill. No! I think that this is not enough.

You cannot become a real writer simply because you have talent, if you do not develop this talent, this means, by learning, if you do not work on it, test it, and hammer it into shape on the great anvil of the people and if you do not study a great deal, and first of all, the social and economic sciences. Only in this way will the writers provide the working class and the peasantry with worthwhile works.

I said that the writers and artists should study science but they may ask, where will we find these scientific works to study? In our country not everything is prepared and ready to hand. Many things are prepared, well or with mistakes, others have to be studied and written, have to be studied even while preparing your novel. There are many facts and documents in existence, not only of our National Liberation War and the construction of socialism but also of pre-liberation times. However, these have to be searched out, studied and exploited by all, and not by the method of fantasy, but sci-

entifically. You must not say lightly, “I have experienced these things, so I know them and do not need to refer to the documents,” or “My grandmother told me these things as we sat around the fireplace and I can write about the life of our people in the past from my own imagination.”

Such a work cannot be considered serious. A serious work is one which deals competently, in a scientific way, with all aspects of the particular problem, which carries the problems through to the end, which analyses the process correctly and in a realistic manner, makes it completely understandable, and brings out properly, along with their good and negative aspects, the circumstances that brought this process about, the role of the main operative forces and actors of this process. Then the work becomes vivid, educational, arouses enthusiasm and opens perspectives; the heroes also come out as living people and fight, not with the moon, but with reality, with the difficulties of life.

The range of themes is extremely wide, extremely inspiring to those who want and know how to write and create. The themes are just as numerous, with as great a variety as our life, as the struggle and efforts of our Party and people.

I do not want to repeat anything of what was said in the report delivered by Comrade Ramiz in regard to the range of themes and our objective of tempering the new man of the new socialist Albania, of inspiring him with the heroism of the National Liberation War, with the heroism and the sacrifices of the people and the Party, with the ideas of the partisans, with their aspirations and dreams, in order to inspire and educate him with the rich, exalting, living reality of the construction of so-

cialism in our country, this period which is one of the most brilliant in the history of our people.

Beautiful works have been written about these periods, and an endless series of hundreds of others will be written, which will perpetuate the majestic work of the Party and the people. The main stress should be put here. The men of the new Albania, who under the Party's leadership, in the course of their work and struggle are performing miracles, should experience this reality intensively, should understand it properly, in order to go armed into the coming battles, which will no doubt be difficult, and which will certainly be won by our people.

These two periods are an inexhaustible source for our writers and artists, they are the great base of inspiration, and I shall say no more about this. However, I want to re-emphasize the importance which the past epochs of our people have for our literature and arts. I am thinking, especially, of the romantic epoch of the Renaissance, without going back to ancient history.

The history of our people is an indivisible whole. For purposes of study we may divide it into periods, epochs, on the basis of economic-social development, on the basis of wars and revolutions with arms and pen, etc., but the history of our people is a single whole, and as such it should be made the subject of an all-sided scientific, literary, artistic study by all our people of all fields of creative historical and literary studies, and these should complement one another.

The history of our people must be a subject for study not just by historians, but also by economists, lawyers, philosophers, sociologists, ethnographers, linguists, composers, writers, painters, sculptors, architects, crit-

ics in various fields, etc., etc. Without all-sided, detailed, careful work, unearthing every document, every legend, every custom, while studying and interpreting them correctly, in their dialectical materialist development, we are not going to have the literary works we need. These broad fields of the history of our people are not separated by walls, which require that the jurist, for example, should do his work first so that the writer can then take over and base himself on this.

Let us take a concrete example. Suppose I am a writer and have in my head a theme about the pre-liberation period of Albania. There are two ways I can choose, either to indulge in fantasy, simply relying on what I have heard from my mother or grandmother about the sufferings, struggle and efforts of our people, or to take these things into account while making concrete studies.

Where should I carry out these studies? First, among the people; the people are the greatest book, even greater than grandmother's; then in the archival documents of the regime of that time. Do they exist? Yes, they do, but they are covered in dust. These documents are the shame of the tyrannical regime of Zog, but there you find reflected the struggle, the grievances, the law court records of our people, you find reflected there the political, economic and social situation, the oppressive measures, the usury, the plunder, the brutality of the regime, etc., etc.

How can a writer fail to make use of them, how can he wait till the jurists carry out and complete their studies? The writer ought to knead the dough with his own hands, otherwise he has chosen the easiest, but least fruitful way. With this I want to bring to our writers'

attention that there is a gap in our pre-liberation literature for the reasons we know. It falls to us to fill this gap, to cover it with realist works, which will bring out the continuity of the life, the struggle, the work and thinking of the Albanian people even in those dark periods of their existence. If we fail to do this, we shall be making a mistake and the coming generations, who have not lived in that period, will not know the past of our country and people properly, and will not treasure the efforts of our people and Party to mount the difficult steps one by one, as they ought to.

But there is an important question we should always bear in mind, that the emphasis laid on the values of the past of our people should not create even the slightest confusion in the minds of the people of our time of socialism. It is our duty to cleanse the treasures of our national culture of their bad aspects, and these treasures should serve the socialist order we are building. We should bring out very clearly those things which help and not those which hinder the development of our society today. The aim of the Party is to create new values. Our revolution demands new heroes appropriate to the time, the efforts and the aims of our period. Not all the deeds and attitudes of the heroes of our people's past are in conformity with the requirements and ideals of the people of our epoch.

There is also another reason. We carried out the revolution, now we are building socialism, but the past, in various forms, is a burden on our backs. In order to combat the negative consequences of the past, we have to explain to the younger generation the origin, the reasons that caused the development of these things. Our fathers and our generation have experienced those situ-

ations, but the others have not. However, in this direction the page is not entirely blank. Some valuable novels have been written about pre-liberation times. The novels of the epoch of socialism, too, can speak about the past. We must not neglect these periods and must enrich our literature and arts.

Literature and the arts reflect the existing social relations. This is true of all periods, from Homer and the Greek society of that time to capitalism, from the Enlighteners to Gorky, Mayakovsky and the Great October Revolution.

Our new literature and arts, national in form and socialist in content, follow this course, too. Many beautiful, realist works have been produced by our people... When you read them, hear them or see them, you are seeing and feeling the pulse of the life and struggle of our people. The talent of our writers and artists is developing successfully and advancing with their efforts to learn, to study, and to link themselves with the people.

A great inspiration is urging onward a new generation of wonderful writers and artists, who are winning renown and becoming dear to the people. Our Party, through its work and maternal care, must protect, educate and encourage these young people with all its means.

We must encourage the new talents. To do otherwise would be a mistake, but without checking their impetus, we must educate the new talents in a correct way. We must teach them not to become conceited over a couple of poems they have written...

The Party's policy in the field of art and literature has been and is clear to everybody. It will always give powerful support to the good works, the correctly in-

spired works, those that educate, mobilize and open perspectives. Mistakes are made and will be made, as happens with every work. They should be corrected; criticism should be constructive and not denigrating, and he who is criticized should respond, not with petty-bourgeois pride, which keeps all its sins to itself, but with an open heart.

With those who are confused in their works from the ideological, political and artistic point of view, in content or in form, it is the duty of the Party to correct them with patience. I agree with the criticisms, which were made in a correct spirit and with good aims, about two or three plays and some works of prose or poetry. I know that their authors have honestly admitted their mistakes and I am sure that they will not repeat them. I am convinced of this because they are sons of the Party, in whom the Party has confidence, because they are talented writers, determined to serve their people on the road of the construction of socialist society and socialist culture, and their mistakes can be considered momentary ones. The Party will look after them, will extend its hand to them, as always.

But when it happens that it pleases someone to produce mistaken things, in bad taste, which nobody needs, he has no reason to complain about the Party; it will neither publish nor sell them. Let whoever so desires go on producing for his own bookshelf, and we shall not disturb him so long as he does not become socially dangerous.

In regard to literature and the arts which are developing in our country, as in regard to the other issues, there are not two moralities, but only one, the proletarian morality of the working class. The ideas expressed

in the works should conform to this morality. A work devoid of ideas and of this morality may occasionally appear to be of some limited interest from the viewpoint of its artistic skill, but from the social-ideological viewpoint it cannot have any value. Therefore we should always bear in mind that the maintenance of a stand in literature and the arts is part of the political struggle waged by our Marxist-Leninist Party, in complete unity of thought and action with its people.

In the report and the discussion of it, there were many correct things said about folk music and folklore. I am not going to enlarge on these important problems and the principles guiding us in our work, but I shall underline some ideas.

Folklore should not be identified narrowly with folk music. Folklore is not only folk music; music is only one of the expressions or manifestations of folklore. Folklore covers a very wide range, as wide as the life of the people. Folklore is the song, the *lahuta*,¹ the pipe, the drum, the folk songs of Labëria, Myzeqe, Devoll, Dibra, Shkodra, etc. On the other hand, neither the popular satire, verse or fables, nor the weddings, mournings, joys or sorrows, nor the multi-coloured costumes with all their variations in cut and style, the popular handicraft with its national flavour, can be divorced from folklore, any more than the customs, the written and unwritten laws, etc., etc. can be divorced from it. In my opinion, if we fail to understand the problem in this way, if we destroy its basis, do what we may to preserve our folk music, we shall not achieve this. In order to preserve our folk music, the basis for it, or the main parts

¹ A kind of lute.

of this basis, must be preserved. The improvement of folk music should proceed parallel with the improvement of the basis for it.

To put it more concretely. We know how all our great folklore has been developed and enriched. Whole books should begin to be written about it, for this is a priceless asset. We have set up a Folklore Institute and think that everything has been done. The Institute is working, but rarely does anyone go there to make a thorough study of those valuable things it has collected, not to mention the music and art schools, whose programs, if I am not mistaken, deal very little with our folklore but almost entirely with classical and modern music.

What occurs in the majority of cases? The banal verses of some poets, to whom an article of the “Zëri i Popullit” gave a well-deserved thrashing, are preferred by our musicians and around them they compose their music. If someone were to tell these musicians to have a look at the popular verses of Uncle Selim from Brataj,¹ they might smile ironically and even deride him, saying:

“He is not in his senses.” But the people themselves have put the verses of the Uncle Selims to music and have been singing them for centuries, those verses which you “boast about” in principle, but which you scorn in reality. There is inconsistency here, you say one thing and do another. With this I do not mean that you should not write beautiful new verses and set them to music.

Let us take the question of musical instruments. On the one hand there is talk about the beauty, the variety

¹ Singer of folk rhapsodies.

of folk music, on the other the houses of culture are filled with accordions, guitars, mandolins, whereas you will find few of the pipes, clarinets, tambourines, drums, *lahutas*, bagpipes, etc. with which the people have sung and which are a great foundation for our folk music in the houses of culture, and especially among the people. I am not in the least against new instruments and the best of the new music. On the contrary, but I am also for the old instruments, for producing and spreading them among the people because through the centuries the people have sung with them about their joys and sorrows, the struggle they have waged, and they want to sing with them and will continue to do so.

Such an incorrect action has brought its own consequences. The new instruments have spread the modern songs, to which I am not opposed, but willy-nilly, there is a danger that they will gradually take the place of the folk songs, and this would be a great mistake. They have led to the spreading of European dances, to which I am not opposed if they are kept in proportion, but we must not eliminate the folk dances, because this, too, would be a great mistake. We teach the people who graduate from the schools, whom we send to the houses and centres of culture, to organize modern choirs and a number of standard things, but they are not taught to inspire the workers to sing folk songs, either when they are alone, or when they are at work, to put their heads together and sing in pairs, as is the custom with our people. Indeed they forget that the people love to sing, that they do sing, because their life, their traditions and customs demand it.

The folk songs and dances go well and in unity with the jokes, the marvellous humour and the costumes.

But, little by little, we are eliminating them, forgetting the jokes and popular humour, displaying these costumes in museums, and what is worse, we are doing this in an administrative way, through orders and campaigns (I am not referring to either the baggy Turkish trousers, which are not national and should be put away in museums or at the bottom of clothes chests, or the ugly woollen breeches worn by women in some districts).

The Party has been right to say that money should not be spent uselessly on folk costumes, that people should go to work in plain clothes. But what harm does it do us if a girl wishes to dress in a beautiful national costume when she marries, or a man from Dibra wants to wear a pair of the traditional trousers? This does no harm; on the contrary, it is all to the good, because it helps preserve our traditions. We are not ashamed of our national costumes. On the contrary we are proud of them and they are beautiful. But he will spend a lot of money, they say. That is his business. Let him reckon up his own budget. After all, why should we interfere?

The Party's advice is that there should not be great useless expenditure on funerals, weddings, dowries and other such manifestations of life. This instruction is correct, but in many cases it is understood and applied wrongly. One may ask, what connection has this with folklore? It has a great deal to do with it, because our folklore and our customs have been developed and enriched during these important events in the life of men. There are also some bad customs that come under this heading, and the Party has issued instructions that they must be eliminated, but not to prohibit the fine customs of the people. To advise someone not to involve himself

in heavy expenditure when his son gets married is correct, but to instruct him how many people to invite or advise him not to invite some friends and relatives to sing, dance and enjoy themselves is a mistake. To combat the idea of a dowry for a daughter, as it was understood and practised in the past, is absolutely right, and this fight must be continued, but it is wrong to prohibit a parent from seeing to it that his daughter has some clothes, a bed and some other things. But in this latter instance, when such a fuss is made about these things that every girl feels she has to bring her husband a dowry, or otherwise he will not marry her, as actually occurred in an ugly incident in Korça, this must be combatted.

But how can we fight these evils among the many fine customs of our people? With administrative measures? No! They must be fought through educative work, good examples and well-considered actions towards various manifestations in life. These evils can be combatted through our many-sided folklore itself. The people have a great deal of humour in their songs, they make many pointed and witty jokes which make you laugh, but educate you, too. The variety shows can do a great deal in this direction...

The institutions and the works they perform must be of the people and for the people, express the struggle of the people for the construction of socialism, their finest and purest sentiments and aspirations, must follow the efforts of the people step by step, inspire them correctly, open up new perspectives and be in the vanguard.

If our institutions are to achieve this, the authors and actors must live with the people and with the line of the Party, must know and feel the problems of the peo-

ple, their joys and sorrows, their victories and defeats. This reality can be neither written nor expressed on the stage on the basis of formal lessons alone. The school teaches actors, musicians, etc. a great deal, but life, with its toil and struggle, teaches them other, very valuable and inspiring things. The play, the author, the director give the actors their instructions, but neither the author nor the best director can teach them what the life of the people, their feelings and experience teach them. Life and the revolutionary struggle full of the vigour and enthusiasm of the people and the Party are the most talented authors and directors there can be.

However talented the artists and the writers may be, I would never use the bourgeois term “stars.” No, compared with the talent and the creative skill of our people they can never be “stars.” Therefore, if these “stars” lose contact with the earth, they lose all their brilliance.

The repertoires of our opera and ballet theatres should be simple and understandable to the people. This does not mean that they should be “banal and devoid of ideas.”

In a simple presentation the ideas are expressed more clearly and fluently, like the clear waters of a mountain stream.

A complicated, intricate and exaggerated presentation, in most cases, hides unclear, equivocal ideas.

The people need clear ideas, not obscure ones, therefore, the Party will support the former and not the latter.

In our musical and theatrical works the people should be presented in struggle and in work, just as they are, with their noble sentiments, their heroic character, their modesty, their fine qualities and their shortcom-

ings, and these shortcomings should be pointed out because they must be corrected, but they should not be presented for purposes of denigration or disparagement or for the sake of some evil decadent, revisionist theories, by means of which a few aesthetes do not fail to brag and beat the air in order to show how learned, profound and talented they are or in what an allegedly independent spirit they go about their creative work.

To imagine, invent, to conjure up, even with the greatest skill, non-existent situations, unreal characters and types, out of a possibly fertile though unhealthy imagination inspired either by excessive reading of foreign dramatists, without any sort of critical attitude or Marxist-Leninist dialectical method, or by pseudo-progressive, or Freudian philosophical trends, are things which our people do not like, which the Party will not permit and will combat as harmful to the people's culture.

The wrong outlook of some authors that "everything they write should be put on the stage without delay," should be rejected. The good ones will certainly be put on the stage, while the rotten ones will be thrown into the waste paper basket. Spiritual food is far more delicate than physical food; that is to say, good, fresh meat is eaten, stinking meat is thrown out.

The theatre, the ballet, the variety shows, the opera cannot be at the service of those who are sick in the head, but of those whose heads are in order and whose hearts beat in unison with the heart of the people.

The overwhelming majority of the repertoires should comprise popular, revolutionary, Marxist-Leninist Albanian subjects. Foreign pieces should be somewhat less and be subjected to the most careful selection,

not on account of xenophobia, because we know that xenophobia will undoubtedly lead to self-isolation and conceit.

In no way should we cut ourselves off from the best of the world repertoire, but however good it may be, it cannot be understood except by a limited section of intellectuals of extensive culture. The masses do not understand it properly and do not enjoy it, or else we make them dream outside their objective reality, if during the performance, a critical dialectical attitude is not maintained and the stress is not put on its positive aspects.

Some may say, "But we must make our people acquainted with foreign reality and the finest foreign creative works, too." This is indispensable. I am in complete agreement and do not reject this idea. Therefore I say that our people should be given a taste of this healthy dish, but it should be only one among many healthy and delicious dishes from the Albanian cuisine.

Some may say, "But we have no repertoires." What reasoning! We must create them! At first, they will not be perfect, but that is something everyone has gone through.

If we proceed from the idea of staging foreign ballets, because we have none of our own, and sometimes stage unsuitable ones, we have solved nothing but have created a grave situation. Such an idea is incorrect, is not realistic, because our composers have produced truly beautiful, praiseworthy national operas, our ballet masters have staged choreographic works with folk motifs over which one can enthuse, our soloists sing folk songs and songs of the war that fill one with joy and inspiration and the authors of novels, plays or film scripts have produced works of great value to the peo-

ple.

Therefore, in order to create something good, which will serve the people and the Party in this great battle for socialism, we must not choose the easiest way, but the most arduous, full of toil and struggle.

I have said already that we may also stage foreign works; possibly our authors, too, will be inspired by foreign subjects, but only in the right way. Always, before commencing work on any undertaking, they must ask themselves the question: "Does this thing I am doing serve the great cause of the people?" One's fantasy, imagination, ought to work, but not in order to create fantastic things.

I will give two examples of a differentiated choice of compositions:

Some weeks ago, my friend, the well-known composer Kristo Kono, sent me his new composition "Prometheus." He had told me about this opera in a talk I had with him on music and compositions. I wished Kono success in composing his opera even though it was a subject that many well-known composers have tackled. But since he had started work on it, and since I, for my part, consider this theme positive, as I shall explain in a minute, I made some suggestions to him. Kono's composition may be beautiful, and this is what we hope, and then we shall say that his efforts have not been wasted, because, as you know, Aeschylus made Prometheus, the hero of mythology, a symbol of the fighter for the happiness of mankind. Whoever has read "Prometheus" will remember the words of the hero to Hermes, the servant of the gods:

"Be sure, I would never want to exchange my miserable fate for your servitude, because I would rather be

bound with chains to this rock than be the obedient lackey of Zeus...

“In a word, I hate all the gods.”¹

Marx said:

*“Prometheus is the noblest saint and martyr in the philosophical calendar.”*²

However, I told Kono that in the history of our people there are many heroic subjects which ought to inspire him, therefore instead of going back to mythology, he should compose something beautiful and purely Albanian, beautiful and inspiring not only to our own people, but also to people outside the borders of Albania. He gave me his word and I believe that he will keep it.

On the other hand, some days ago I read in the paper that our ballet ensemble, in preparing performances for the people, had not found any subject other than Strauss waltzes, arranged in a special composition, allegedly with a theme of proletarian morality, that has nothing to do with the crazy epoch of these waltzes. What are the Strauss waltzes? An excitant, the expression of an epoch, a symptom of the transformation of the society existing at the end of the 19th century. This coincides with the decline of a regime of unrestrained luxury for the bourgeoisie, an epoch of pleasure-seeking and which is always a disturbed epoch — the “Blue Danube” is not blue, but turbid if we analyse the social and political situation of the time when that waltz was composed. But the music is beautiful. This is an undeni-

¹ Aeschylus, Tragedies, “Prometheus Bound,” p. 71, Tirana 1950, Alb. ed.

² K. Marx and F. Engels, “On Religion,” p. 12, Tirana 1970, Alb. ed.

able fact, and I am not against putting this and other waltzes on the radio, but for our producers, together with the ballet ensemble, to work for months on end to elaborate a performance with these waltzes, this is of no benefit politically in the education of the masses, hence is useless effort.

Why do our people need this ballet? What inspiration does it bring them? None at all, I would say.

On this occasion, we must face the question of how we should study and utilize the experience of the foreign world in the fields of literature and music, the fine arts, theatre and cinematography.

Should we profit from world experience in these directions? It would not be Marxist if we were to say no, but it would also be anti-Marxist if we were to become slaves to it and gulp down everything the foreigners have produced, without a thorough critical analysis and a proper classification.

Every work, of every genre and period, has its good aspects and also has its bad ones. We must choose what is good. Each of these good aspects has its own technique, ideas, art of expression, sound, etc. But should we take these and adopt them en bloc, with the passion and feelings that do not recognize reason, that do not recognize the epoch, the social situation, the ideas, tastes, and inclinations of people and their struggle and efforts? This, of course, would be a great and very dangerous absurdity.

Every creative work, in whatever epoch, has been tendentially inspired by the ideas of the time, by the social situation of that epoch. Many works have resisted the passage of time, have foreseen the future, prepared it, but they cannot be considered perfect in their entirety

and models for every period, for every epoch. There are people who are passionately devoted to certain of their idols and who, with non-Marxist judgement, seek to introduce these idols everywhere, to adopt them for every period, to copy them in place and out of place, to dress them up in some garments of our time and pass them off as socialist works.

Writers, poets, composers, etc., must read, study and learn from the others. It has never been said that they should not be passionately fond of some of them, but what they learn and study from foreigners should always be taken with a critical spirit and with a definite aim, and what is taken should serve their own people, should serve the creators of literature and the arts so that they live with their own people, with their struggles, aims, aspirations and customs in order to create what is suitable and understandable to their people, appropriate to the time and the struggle they are waging. In this way, they will write really original works.

Thus, study of the works of foreigners must serve the acquiring of knowledge of the life, struggle and development of those peoples. This does not mean that the struggle, ideas and development of your own people are the same as theirs, in spite of the fact that there may be some similarities or connections with those of others. This lesson, this experience from the foreign works must serve you to open horizons in order to study the history of your own people better, but your people's history has its own peculiarities, your people's ideas have their particular development in the particular social situation of your people. This interests us, in the first place, and it has also interested that foreign writer of genius, Balzac, when he wrote his great work "The Human Comedy."

We should learn their art of writing, their style, their method of work, rhythms and metre, but we should learn them not to become slaves to them, because our people have their own style and rhythms, we are creating our socialist style which is our basis, on which we shall work, build and create our own originality, for only in such a way will our people understand us and will we inspire them.

I think that we should not step beyond these correct, objective limits, because, notwithstanding the fact that you may be very knowledgeable and learned, wisdom and learning are worthless as long as you do not know how to channel them in the interests of the people; as long as the purpose of them is not to enrich the treasury of the people's marvellous creativeness, they will be only an ornament hanging from your personal neck, but an ornament of no value to the people...

FROM THE REPORT TO THE 5TH CONGRESS OF THE PLA "ON THE ACTIVITY OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF THE PARTY OF LABOUR OF ALBANIA"

November 1, 1966

IV

2. — To Develop and Deepen the Revolutionary Spirit of Our Popular Culture and Education

Our cultural revolution develops and deepens in indissoluble connection with the ideological revolution and serves it directly. All work in culture, education and the arts must serve, first and foremost, to fulfil our basic aim of educating communists and all workers in a high revolutionary Marxist-Leninist class spirit. It is through this prism that our Party now also considers questions connected with the further expansion and deepening of the cultural revolution.

We have made enormous progress in the development of education and culture, in the dissemination of knowledge among the people. Our socialist culture is the heritage of the working people. The development of the cultural revolution has been accompanied by fundamental revolutionary socialist transformations in the content of cultural and educational work. The Party intends to further expand the network and especially the work of cultural-educational institutions, for the needs and possibilities of our socialist society in the field of

education, knowledge and culture are boundless and inexhaustible.

But now that many urgent tasks for the development of the cultural revolution are close to being completed, opportunities are opening up for further improvement in the quality and communist content of all cultural-educational work. In this sense, new tasks are now being put forward in the field of socialist cultural development, dictated by the necessity of a decisive struggle against alien influences, against bourgeois and revisionist traditions, by the necessity of creating a truly socialist culture, which would be fully in the service of proletarian politics and would be permeated with Marxist-Leninist ideology.

The Party has repeatedly stressed in its documents and especially at the 15th Plenum of the Central Committee held last October the importance of literature and art for the cultural revolution. What tasks does the Party assign to artistic creation, what demands does it make of it? The Party demands that literature and art become in its hands a mighty weapon in the work of educating the workers in the spirit of socialism and communism, that they should be at the forefront of the struggle for raising the youth ideologically and morally pure, that all artistic creation should stand at a high ideological level and be imbued with the revolutionary, fighting spirit of the Party and a healthy national spirit. The Party demands that literature and art should more widely reflect the struggle, activity and life of the working people, their ideals and aspirations, their noble feelings, their heroic character, their modesty and greatness, their revolutionary impulse; that they should reflect our real reality truthfully and in a revolutionary

progressive movement; that the heroes of our time should be at the centre of the creativity: the workers, peasants, soldiers, people's intelligentsia and revolutionary cadres, the new people nurtured by the Party, those who work and fight selflessly and heroically to build socialism and to defend and prosper the socialist homeland; that the cultural and educational institutions be steadfastly guided in their work by the ideological and political demands of the Party, that they combat and expose bourgeois ideology, thus having a revolutionary and educational influence on the masses; that they be close to the people and serve them.

These tasks can only be realized if writers and artists diligently take up the mastery of Marxism-Leninism, learning it not only from books, but also in the process of fighting for the implementation of the Party line and for its reflection in artistic and literary works; if they will show high ideological vigilance in the struggle against bourgeois and revisionist views and influences alien to us, for the preservation of ideological purity in all our work; if they will connect even more firmly with the people, with their work, struggle and life, and will consider this connection as a decisive factor in the development of their work.

In the people, they must draw inspiration and find the motifs of song, the rhythms of dance, the purity of language, the impulse to work, the example of heroism and self-sacrifice, the high virtues of the people's modesty and justice. School teaches writers, actors, musicians and others much, but what the life and struggle of the people, their feelings and skills, their talent and creativity teach them cannot be taught by any school, any professor or director. The full-blooded life and revolu-

tionary struggle of the people and the Party are the best authors, teachers and directors there can be.

Our socialist culture and art must be firmly rooted in our native soil, in our wonderful people, they must spring from the people and fully serve them, they must be clear and understandable to the people, but in no way “vulgar and senseless.” The Party is in favour of artistic and cultural creation in which a high ideological content and nationality would be matched by a high artistic form which would deeply touch the feelings and hearts of the people, inspire and mobilize them for great things.

The Party has constantly pointed out that in its work with writers and artists, with all cultural workers, the Party bodies and organizations should focus on these very issues, and above all on the ideological and political content and orientation of their work.

The movement unfolding in our country for the all-round revolutionization of the life of the country, the intensification of the struggle for the class revolutionary education of the workers show even more clearly that these instructions of the Party are of vital importance for the development of our literature and art on the right path. It should be noted, however, that the cultural and artistic institutions, the Writers’ Union, the state publishing house and the literary press organs, as well as the primary party organizations of these institutions and the workers in charge of these sectors, are not fighting consistently enough to implement these directives, are not showing the necessary ideological vigilance, continue down the road of inexcusable connivance, thus slipping into liberalist positions. In consequence of these shortcomings, at a time when it is nec-

essary to struggle for a revolutionary and vital art, foreign works of the past occupy a considerable place in the repertoires of opera and drama theatres. Some of them are incompatible with our ideology, books of suspicious and sometimes clearly bourgeois authors are translated and published, harmful films are shown, etc. And in the works of our authors, there are individual novels or stories, poems or songs whose content is completely alien to our ideology, to our revolutionary art, which is a manifestation of the influence of "isms" of bourgeois and revisionist art and of bourgeois and revisionist ideology itself on some of our writers and art workers. All this points to the need for greater ideological vigilance and a more resolute struggle against phenomena alien to us in the field of literature, art and all cultural and artistic activity.

We have to intensify the struggle for revolutionary literature and the art of socialist realism. The turn we need in this field consists in resolutely combatting the influence of bourgeois and revisionist ideas alien to us, in a sharp and merciless struggle against all kinds of liberalism, in rapidly revolutionizing our scenes and publications, resolutely sweeping away and rejecting everything that contradicts or does not serve the cause of the communist education of the masses. This revolutionary turn must embrace all our artistic and literary work. The Party is sure that our writers, artists, composers, painters and sculptors will respond to the call of the Party with the best works. The Party is sure that more and more revolutionary plays will be staged on our stages and more revolutionary songs will be sung by our talented artists, that our writers will give the Albanian reader more works of high ideological and political

spirit, that our talented artists and sculptors will fight even harder and more directly for the patriotic and revolutionary education of the masses, especially of the youth.

Our Party firmly adheres to the Leninist principle of proletarian partisanship in the field of art, culture and the whole spiritual life of society. As everywhere else, in this field too there is a fierce class struggle between two ideologies — the materialist Marxist-Leninist ideology and the idealist, feudal and bourgeois ideology. It is only by basing ourselves firmly on our ideology, on the dialectical materialist worldview, that we can properly understand the world, life with all its phenomena. It is the guiding compass that helps us to understand and deal correctly also with human thought, with the great treasure of world science and culture. Bourgeois decadent culture and art are alien to socialism, we fight against them and reject them, while everything advanced, democratic and revolutionary, viewed through the critical prism of proletarian ideology, we value and use for ourselves. The view that everything foreign is good must be rejected and fought against. Cosmopolitanism is alien to Marxism-Leninism. Every creation, whichever epoch it belongs to, is biased, inspired by the ideas of its time, bears the imprint of the class struggle and ideology of its time, so works of world art and culture, no matter how perfect, cannot serve as a model for all times and epochs in their totality. But the idea that everything foreign is bad must also be rejected as unacceptable and must be fought against. Xenophobia is also alien to us Marxist-Leninists and internationalists.

Our workers of art and culture should make use of the experience of world art and culture, but they should

not become slaves to it and swallow everything without deep analysis and correct classification. Likewise, they should evaluate correctly, first of all, the cultural and artistic heritage of our people, learn a lot from it, adopt from it not everything indiscriminately, but only the progressive, patriotic and democratic. Our socialist literature, art and culture were not born out of nothing. They emerged from a long process of historical development of our society, of its spiritual life, of the best, most outstanding cultural and artistic traditions of our people. Reliance on these cultivated and popular traditions of the past and the present is a matter of great importance, without which there can be no question of creating real literary and artistic values, of the identity of Albanian culture, art and literature, of observing and putting into practice the Marxist-Leninist principle that our art and culture must be socialist in content and national in form...

TOWARDS FURTHER REVOLUTIONIZING OUR SCHOOLS

*From a speech at a meeting of the Politburo of the PLA
Central Committee*

March 7, 1967

If we take the social sciences and, particularly, literature which is treated in schools of all branches, we will find very serious things although many comrade communists have had a hand in and the Party has devoted major attention to it. If we look carefully into the way our own and foreign literature are treated both in school and out of school (and this we should do in the light of our own philosophy), we will come across not only weaknesses, irregularities, inconsequences, amateurisms, sensationalism and sickly erudition, but also grave mistakes which cost us dearly and which will cost us more so if we fail to correct them. In these matters we see the reflection of the philosophical views of the bourgeois school, the individual sympathies of one or of the other according to their inclinations, according to the school and culture with which they have been moulded since they have not yet succeeded in cleaning their “Augean stables”¹ completely. They transmit in schools and life all these half-baked and not thoroughly cleansed ideas and views, these sympathies or passions for a local or foreign author of their stuffed and confused erudi-

¹ Synonym of dirt. According to Greek mythology, in order to clean the filth of King Augean’s stables, the river was turned into dirt.

tion, through recitation hours, lectures, conferences, articles and books they write. This constitutes a major danger and, if we fail to put this matter in order, we will have tolerated and made concessions to bourgeois philosophy to fight us openly and almost officially on our own ground.

The Epoch of Renaissance is a democratic revolutionary epoch, of major importance to the history and literature of our people, it is an enlightened epoch guided by illuminist ideas, by our most outstanding people of that period, which has rightly been called the renaissance of the nation, its emergence from medieval-feudal-imperialist darkness to light, to uprisings, to battle for freedom, independence and democracy, for enlightenment and education.

Somewhere in his writings Engels has referred to the period of Renaissance, not to our Renaissance, but to the "Cinquecento" by which name the epoch of the latter half of the 16th century is known. He says that this was an enlightened epoch which brought forth prominent men, not only men of literature and painters but also scholars, philosophers who were burned at the stake by the Church, an epoch which brought forth physicists, astronomers and others who broke through medieval obscurity, who smashed beliefs and systems and who pushed economic, cultural and scientific development further ahead. But the analysis Engels makes of the epoch of Renaissance is a materialist dialectic and not an idealistic one, holding that the impetus the people of the period of Renaissance imparted to society was neither complete nor perfect, it would undergo changes, it would develop, and partial and radical upheavals would occur in the development of human society and

in the various sciences. New or supplementary laws would emerge and, as Lenin says, “these upheavals in most cases give birth to major and minor reactionary philosophic schools and trends”¹ the fogs of which only our materialist philosophy can clear up and ward off the damage they do.

It is precisely from this angle that our Party has viewed the epoch of our Renaissance which it should further consider under the prism of dialectical materialism so that this period may be available to the school children, students, teachers, professors and people in its most clarified and correct form, analysed in a Marxist-Leninist way both from the social and economic, as well as educational, cultural and historic angle, and not to suit the whim of one or the other. This should be done in this way.

We should view our people of the period of Renaissance in the right perspective, taking into account the period in which they lived, worked and fought; we should point out their ideas which were the product of the development of society at that period; we should point out the immediate and future objectives they intended to reach. If things are posed in this correct way, it will turn out that our men of the period of Renaissance were enlightened men imbued with progressive ideas, that they were courageous revolutionary illuminists endowed with a great and ardent love of country. They fought with rifle and pen for the freedom and independence of the people, for their enlightenment. All of these are their positive and great merits. We should

¹ V.I. Lenin, “On the Importance of Combattive Materialism,” Works, vol. 33, p. 254.

impart to our people all these attributes and characteristics of the epoch of Renaissance and of our men of this epoch.

But we should not forget for a moment that these people of our Renaissance have their own negative sides which should be subjected to our Marxist-Leninist criticism. These weaknesses lie in their philosophic concepts which are idealistic. This is a heavy impediment, it is the philosophy of their epoch which is at variance and in conflict with our ideology.

Should we keep silent about this antagonism, about this life and death struggle we, as Marxists, wage against idealistic philosophy, against religion and religious beliefs? Should we consider them inviolable, taboo, just because they are people of our National Renaissance? Can materialist and idealist philosophy co-exist at the same time? Can we, on one hand, fight with vehemence against theology, religion, churches and mosques, priests and hodjas and, on the other, exalt those parts of Naim Frashëri's works where he expresses his Bektashi philosophy, or Mjeda's where he speaks of Christian theology, or Çajup's where he says, for example, that Baba Tomor is "the throne of god," etc. and mete all this out to the people as an ideological food only because they are people of our National Renaissance, because they are prominent men who have laid the basis and have helped in elaborating our mother tongue, because their poetical stanzas are beautiful, because they have created pleasant figures of speech?

No, as Marxists and in the interest of the people and of socialism, we should fight these negative sides. In ideology we cannot make concessions to rhyme or diction.

The assessment Engels has made of Luther's¹ language as a basis of German language has not prevented him at all from judging in true light and exposing the reactionary role of the Reform before and after the Peasant Revolt in Germany.

Therefore the question of textbooks on all these subjects, and especially of literature, in and out of school, should undergo a real analysis and check from the angle of our philosophy.

The question I raise about our men of National Renaissance should be understood well and solved aright. It is not permissible and not Marxist to overshadow this epoch. From the authors of our National Renaissance and their works we should make selections on correct criteria for the different categories of schools and the public, culling the negative passages, for if you give to the children of the 8th-grade school poems and writings of an author of our National Renaissance speaking of god and, on the other hand praise this author highly, then you have exalted also his idealistic, deistic or polydeistic philosophy. You should criticize these, but the young school child will not understand you, will not understand the shade of difference of praise and criticism. While in higher schools their texts may be broader but never without the accompaniment of a serious Marxist-Leninist criticism of their idealistic views.

On the other hand, we should be on our guard against the idealistic cult of our men of National Re-

¹ Representative of Reformation, directed against the Catholic Church and feudalism in the 16th Century in Germany. Opposed the liquidation of feudal relations by means of revolutionary violence; enemy of insurgent peasants.

naissance. We should view this question from the prism of our Marxist-Leninist philosophy. Colossal changes have taken place in our country from the times of our period of National Renaissance in the economic, social, cultural and educational fields. Albania is no longer what it used to be, nor are its economy, culture, education, language, regime, politics and ideology the same. According to the law of materialist dialectics everything has changed and is in the process of change. If you fail to keep all these changes in your mind, if you exalt the one and forget the others, if you live only with the old and forget the new, if you think that only the old should exert influence on the new and that the new plays a little role, means to head for a blind alley. With this in mind, we should fight any tendency to belittle our literature of the period of people's power. The doors of our school should be flung open to this new literature of socialist realism, for it reflects the sentiments and efforts of a new glorious epoch and is such as can and should serve to implant on all the masses the lofty ideals of socialist and communist society.

We should apply the same criterion in taking up for review the other periods of mental development in the sciences and literature, in art and music which are portrayed in textbooks. As I just said, these must be complete, but we should not tolerate the exaggerated mania of certain outstanding erudites who want to impart to students "in toto" and at a short period of time, all the things which took them their whole life to learn.

This, I think, should not be interpreted to mean that we have no need for eminent scholars, for prominent specialists. On the contrary, we have great need for them, they are the wells of science and knowledge and

through them we will multiply and qualify our higher cadres, but we should not confound the stages of development. A very learned person has and should find possibilities by which to make his teaching very understandable to the University student without loading him too much while he should know how to raise the dose to the specialist sent to him for further qualification.

As to foreign literature, I think that it has long been in a chaotic and very dangerous state in our schools and among the public. Although some improvements have been made during these recent two or three years, the situation is still precarious. In this field there is a lack of sound criteria; and where these are or are given, they have been distorted, bastardized. Therefore, the Party Central Committee should seriously take a hand in this, for there are matters of principle which should be forcefully asserted and the supervision of their implementation should be well organized. Someone takes a fancy to a novel, translates it and wants it to be published; if the translator is a high ranking person and the novel a "classic" work, it is printed and is given to the public to be fed on, regardless of the ideas expressed in it. On the other hand, this same translator will deliver a lecture on behalf of the Party, attacking the ideas of the novel he has translated. He is not bothered by his own inconsistency nor is the Publishing House which overfulfils its plan.

Into the hands of our people and youth we should place books not to misguide or disillusion them spiritually but to help them get acquainted with the development of society and, at the same time, to impart to them our own ideology. Foreign literature is a wide and variegated field. A careful selection of what we need in this

field is feasible but also difficult. The people who will make this selection should be endowed with a broad culture and firm Marxist-Leninist views. These people should have a good grasp of what is needed, not as a whole but in separate categories. While translating and publishing foreign literature, they should have a clear idea of the definite aims and intentions of our Party. In this important and delicate problem we should not allow snobbism, individual tastes, sickly predilections, nor should we allow nihilism by merely saying "we have no need of them at all." No, we stand in need of them but we will select that much and from those which will help our mental, artistic and cultural development.

Every nation has its own literature, and this is made up of many varieties and schools of thought. In their various phases of development and decadence, the bourgeoisie have created and create their own literature with major and minor writers, poets, musicians, artists, etc., some of whom have resisted time and some of whom have been swept away in its maelstrom. But there is no sense in translating them "en bloc," "as if we cannot do without them" or, as some may pretend, as if we cannot be abreast of the times without them. We should select those authors and those books which are most progressive, most revolutionary and of the most revolutionary moments, so that they may illustrate to our people what they have learned about the history of peoples, about their class struggle, about the development of their progressive thought. Such writers, poets and artists exist but we should never forget that in them we will not find all that we are after nor in the way we want it, since these progressive or revolutionary authors, too, reflect in their writings, if not directly, at least in one way

or another, bourgeois ideas of life and thought that prevailed at the period in which they lived.

What process should we, then, follow in this matter? I think we should not be guided by the mania to necessarily give the school children, the youth and the public a novel that they should devour wholesale even when this novel may have three good and five bad things in it. In this case, we may give them selected parts, exactly the three good ones, without neglecting to accompany them with a criticism of the whole. I think that, in order to carry out so delicate a task well, we should always bear in mind whether this serves and how much it serves the formation and education of our people, whether it builds or destroys what the Party is building every day and every hour. Since if, on one hand, we wage a daily persistent struggle to wipe out petty-bourgeois survivals from the minds of people, or fight against the influence of religion and superstitions day in, day out and, on the other, hand over to our people books by world famous authors in which they serve these ideas “sugarcoated,” then, with our own hands we demolish by night what we build by day.

These criteria, I think, should be pursued also regarding the study of literature in the University and not proceed along the inclinations of individual professors and load the program with the works by Aristophanes, as I read a correct criticism by a student in the “Studenti” periodical. The philosophy of our Party, materialist philosophy, should prevail in all the programs of the University both in their structure, textbooks, forms and methods of teaching.

**CARRY OUT THE TASKS OF
REVOLUTIONIZING OUR PARTY AND
THE LIFE OF OUR COUNTRY WITH
PERSISTENCE AND IN A CREATIVE
WAY**

*From a speech at the 17th Party Conference of the city
of Tirana*

December 21, 1968

II

**ART AND LITERATURE SHOULD KEEP STEP
WITH OUR REVOLUTIONARY MASSES,
WITH OUR WORKING CLASS**

Art and literature are one of the important domains of the ideological activity of our Party. It is of major importance whether art and literature will line up at the forefront of the battles of the working masses to promote our socialist revolution nonstop or whether they will mark time and delve in endless discussions devoid of any criterion and lacking real substance.

In art, as in all domains of ideology, there is class struggle. This struggle is the expression of the battle between proletarian ideology and bourgeois ideology, between socialist realism and reactionary bourgeois trends of art which exert pressure in various ways on our men. The class struggle in this field should be steered in the right direction since it is fraught with many and major risks, since it is waged on a delicate and subtle terrain

which is made up of an overwhelming majority of elements from the intellectual strata highly susceptible to feelings, thoughts, to their ego, their work. As everywhere, this struggle should be led by the Party but, at the same time, by mobilizing our men of literature and art and placing them on war-like footing. A critical, principled stand towards literary and artistic productions should characterize the leading organs of the Party, the leading organisms of writers and artists and all our artists and writers.

Discussions and even debates are carried on in our writers' and artists' circle. They are earnestly concerned about the destiny of our art and literature, about their revolutionization. They want our art and literature to keep pace with our revolutionary masses, with our working class. They want our art to be always young, vigorous, fresh just as the deeds and life of our Party are.

Apparently, the question of the ratio between the new and the old, between innovation and tradition occupies a place of prominence in the discussions and debates of our writers and artists. This is an important problem about which an ideological battle is being fought today in the field of art and literature on an international level as well.

The ratio between the innovatory and tradition should be grasped aright, in a dialectic way. This is, above all, a matter dealing with the substance of art and literature, therefore, it should never be detached from the struggle to delve deeper into reality, to portray the heroic struggle of our Party and our working masses to bring about the socialist transformation of our country and of our man himself, in a true way and from the rev-

olutionary class angle.

As products of human endeavour, as objective social phenomena, art and literature keep developing, are always growing, just as human society itself is developing and keeps growing. Some of the literary and artistic productions grow old and are forgotten, others flourish, develop and hold their ground as long as they are capable of filling a function in society and in the life of the people.

The new in art does not spring from the void. Just as in nature, no qualitative change can take place in society without quantitative accumulation. In art, too, the new is not the result of the experimentations of individual artists, but a logical consequence and constant enrichment of literary heritage, of the endeavour of all writers and artists to give a true picture of objective reality. The novatory in art should not be taken to mean negation of tradition. Innovation and tradition are not opposed to and do not exclude each other. It is a mistake to consider innovation as a fight against tradition. The Marxist-Leninists maintain a dialectic stand towards tradition. From the art and literature of the past we cherish, preserve and develop everything which is good, which stands close to the ideals and aspirations of the workers and serves them. In the heritage of art and literature, we separate the positive, progressive aspects from the negative ones.

We are opposed both to the simple, undialectic negation of tradition as well as to deifying and kneeling obeisance to it. Negation leads to metaphysical, nihilistic positions. On such positions stand today the modernists, these champions of bourgeois art and literature. Deification of traditions is also dangerous, for it leads

to conservatism and detachment from reality. We are also opposed to biased, “original” assessments of literary heritage. We are not at one with those who overrate an artist’s worthiness to the detriment of all positive literary heritage from subjective considerations, individual artistic tastes and concepts. If we find in a writer of the past results worth appreciating and mastering, if his work is permeated with ideas and sentiments close to ours, this does not imply that he overshadows all others and that he should be given a vanguard post in the revolutionary movement of the working masses.

It is right to require that the treatment of historical themes should comply with the spirit of the time, that historical events should be viewed from a Marxist-Leninist angle. But in this, too, it is necessary to be careful, to show Marxist-Leninist maturity. Don’t start from the idea that this task is accomplished by perfecting the artistic form alone and by declaring war on all the tradition which has been created in this field by our art of the past and by international art. We should likewise be careful not to distort historical facts and reality for the sake of innovation.

Principled, frank, well thought-out criticism which is not prompted by egotistic, career-seeking and subjective considerations is what is called for when ideas are expressed about literary and artistic works as well as about any problem in general. This is the only constructive, comprehensible, just, acceptable and educative criticism.

The degree of culture, professional skill, artistic taste and creative capacity is not the same for all writers and artists and, therefore, the works of each have their own peculiarities which improve as time goes on and experi-

ence is accumulated.

To start criticizing prompted only by your own individual wishes, only by concepts of your possible production, only by your tastes and inclinations, which assume dangerous forms if you are infected with the petty-bourgeois feeling of setting too high a value on everything you do, then your criticism will not be unbiased and may be insulting and harmful.

Discussions of an unwholesome character, at times, with ulterior motives of defamation, setting up or siding with factions for the purpose of fighting each other, are punishable by law. Free exchange of opinion on a principled basis is a kind of necessary preparation of organized meetings to which people go not to lull themselves to sleep, not to keep silent but to discuss always in a principled and constructive way, not to assail and pull down old "idols" and replace them with new "idols."

In literary production we often find the reflection of the author's own inner life rather than the living, combative, revolutionary life of the working masses, of those who strive and do. Therefore, in many works there is a lot of subjectivism in treating themes, a lot of subjectivism also in the author's defence of his own production.

We find a thing of this kind in both the works by those advanced in age as well as by the younger ones. We find positive values also both among the young and among old. This should not lull us to sleep and lead to the conclusion that there does not exist, there does not manifest itself the tendency of the young and of the old. We should root out every artificial effort to form different "clans," "trends" and "currents" according to the fashion of the decadent world among the ranks of our

men of arts. If we allow a thing of this kind, we will be doing a great disservice to ourselves. In our virgin garden of literature and art, though far from the degree of perfection, we plant weeds very often by our own imagination and, at times, there grow sprouts which we can easily uproot but instead of uprooting we make them look like “age-long trees.”

I am of the opinion that our writers and artists who have given worthy works to our Fatherland are capable of giving it still better works treating actual themes. They are capable of doing this. Therefore, I do not agree with those who say that they are not keeping up with the times. If in their works there are some discrepancies, some mistakes, in them there are ninety good things with which they have educated a whole generation. These writers, artists, musicians have much experience. If there are mistakes in their former productions, I pose the question: which one of us can say that he has not erred at work? But we forged ahead, corrected our mistakes, made mistakes again, corrected them again and are again forging ahead. Tomorrow we may make mistakes again, our Party puts us on the correct path, educates us, tempers us, and we keep making fewer and fewer mistakes and more and more good and valuable things. This is so also with the writers advanced in age but also with the younger ones.

If our literary and artistic productions of socialist realism are not keeping pace with reality, have not been placed on the forefront of battle of our Party and our working masses to keep deepening the revolution, this does not mean that they have fallen out of the ranks of this battle and should be discarded, that every new production which will reflect reality to the letter will emerge

from naught. Nothing new, novatory, can come to life apart from the existing literary and artistic heritage.

The present qualitative changes in our reality, which have led to the further revolutionization of the Party and of the life of the country as a whole, are a further qualitative leap towards the socialist development of our country. This leap does not mark the negation of what has been done so far; on the contrary, it is the logical result of the development and deepening of the Party's correct line, of its revolutionary activity. Even before, our literature and art lagged behind when compared with the high rate of development of our reality; it is self-evident that this gap has been deepened as a result of the present qualitative development. But this should and must be overcome. Lost time must at once be gained, many qualitative changes must be made in our literature and art. These changes must not be made by negating our artistic heritage of socialist realism, just as the qualitative changes in our reality were not made by negating the activity of our Party and people in building socialism. Innovation outside our own socialist groundwork, outside our own reality, is sham innovation.

Efforts to revolutionize, to re-invigorate our art must not be taken to mean that it is the task of certain individual artists and writers alone. It would be equally erroneous to think that this is the duty of our young artists and writers alone.

The revolutionary spirit, the innovatory, are organic parts of socialist realism itself. Since our art and literature stand wholly on positions of socialist realism, our artists and writers are worthy partisans of this realism, resolute champions of the revolutionary line of our

Party and working masses; they will all strive to carry ahead our art and literature, to turn out works worthy of standing on the forefront of the battle of our Party against bourgeois and revisionist ideology, in order to build socialism and communism.

This task will be best accomplished by those writers, painters and musicians who will squat down with the people, who will love them wholeheartedly, who will work and sweat with them, who will sing and grieve together with them. In short, if they will delve deep into the thoughts of the people, if they are moved by their pure sentiments inspired by their ardent patriotism, by their talents, revolutionary initiatives, marvellous creative power, then we will have an enlightened people's socialist literature, we will have marvellous pictures to portray the material and spiritual reality of our socialist society, we will always compose pieces of music based on, close to, cherished and understood by our people, pieces of music which will not destroy our folklore, this major heritage of our people, but, at the same time, will not preserve certain archaic, outdated forms. From folklore we should preserve what is good, which is of the people, which express the pure sentiments of the people and discard that part, in form or in substance, into which has penetrated the ideology and inspiration of the ruling classes, of the lumpen petty-bourgeoisie, etc.

When speaking of socialist realism we should not take it to mean a cut-and-dry formula repeated far and wide, on which theories are advanced and from which academic formulae are derived. Socialist realism is a true description of the socialist life we are building in all its aspects, of the colossal material transformations our country, our society, our men are making at a revolu-

tionary pace on the basis of Marxist-Leninist theory and on the basis of the measures and decisions our Party has worked out. But this socialist realism does not manifest itself in rigid and stable forms; it sizzles, it is in constant and perpetual development through the struggle of opposites, through the class struggle, through the struggle of the new with the old.

Presented and conceived in this manner, this socialist realism deals with what is actual and what is to come. The present prepares for the future not through dreams and fantasy but through tangible scientific forecasts governed by laws which have been discovered and which help in discovering others.

Revolutionary transformation of society is brought about by men through organization, education, study and effort. People are not born slaves and cannot tolerate physical and mental slavery. It is only socialism and a Marxist-Leninist party that sets them free from such slavery. Thus, man in our country works, thinks, originates, produces, consumes and reproduces. Our Party has strained all its physical and mental forces so that our men may be as enlightened ideologically and their acts as revolutionary and fruitful as possible.

In his revolutionary life every man creates, thinks, produces and transforms. Everybody keeps specializing in feeling, rejoicing, writing and sizing up everything concerning him and the society he lives in. Our Party strives not only to keep alive but also to promote these qualities, these tastes among the people; and it is precisely in this that lies the meaning of that which the Party says that culture and art, education and science should become the possession of the masses, that the masses may be both actors and spectators.

Many talents emerge from these broad masses who specialize and reach perfection especially in schools. The objective of these specializations are always the masses of the people. Everything for the people, everything that has been created should bear the seal of people's creation, of the people's revolutionary spirit, of socialist realism. Outside this nothing is valid.

Our writers and artists should not consider themselves as vague dreamers, as people who can create beautiful things detached from the concrete dynamic reality of our country and our socialist society. They should not consider their works perfect unless they portray in an artistic way the feelings, tastes, thoughts and the creative ability of the masses. Some of them place their dreams and fantasy above the creative ability of the masses and do not link them with the realistic and objective description of perspective. Certain others have an exaggerated opinion of themselves, of their production and smooth and resmooth it beyond objective reality, and forget that gestures of this kind alienate them from the masses, the main object and subject of their production. They do not accept criticism and think that everything coming out of their hand and their brain is perfect.

Some others pay more attention to what literary critique will say and, when they smooth and resmooth their production, they do this not so much to portray reality as to steal a march on the subjective criticism of one or more critics, in order to impose their production on the masses from above. This is a wrong way which should be abandoned.

We are opposed to the alienation of art and literature from reality, from the masses. Requirements to rid

art and literature of anachronism should not be identified with attempts to create an art and literature incomprehensible by the people.

Slipping into such deviations in literature and art has its roots at keeping aloof from the masses of people, from the line of the masses, from analysing and viewing things, phenomena and changes from a Marxist-Leninist theoretical angle. A deviation of this kind takes place gradually under circumstances I just described and is furthered by many other subjective circumstances which are nurtured, intentionally or unintentionally, by a backward environment, by pronounced petty-bourgeois and idealistic survivals, by the class origin of the writer or artist whose severance from positions of his class and adoption of revolutionary class ways has not reached the necessary level to uproot the idealistic survivals of not a very distant past.

The bourgeoisie, modern revisionism and their policy towards literature and art consider this major concern shown by real Marxist-Leninist parties to preserve the ideological purity and the proletarian class policy towards art and literature as well as the ideological enlightenment of writers and artists, as “a stringent, imposing line smothering free creative thought.” We know too well what the bourgeoisie with its ideology is after in art and literature. In art and literature, just as in other fields, it strives to preserve its class domination over and exploitation of the broad masses of people. Whereas we, Marxist-Leninists, wage our proletarian class struggle in all directions to free, develop and promote creative thought at a rapid rate, not to hamper and suppress it. The decadence and degeneration of bourgeois art and literature are shocking. The bourgeoisie tries to raise

this degeneration into a pattern and symbol to build a new way of life, which is nothing less than a true offspring and picture of a decadent and degenerated life. By degenerating the hearts and minds of the people the bourgeoisie thinks it has found a new means to further oppress the people and quell down their proletarian revolutionary ardour. In this unbridled irrationalism in literature and art the bourgeoisie makes use of many means and forms, of “specially gifted” adepts of this irrational thought, of “specially gifted” scribes and wizards in presenting things so as to hoodwink as many people as possible, to infect as many people as possible, wholly or partially, never losing sight of their intentions to corrupt people and stupefy the masses.

That is why the Party teaches, educates and tempers everybody. Our writers and artists should beware of falling into the trap set up by the class enemy both in and outside the country, they should guard against poison pills coated with sugar, they should not be deceived and excited by “brilliant styles,” by the so-called “courageous ideas” and “original figures.” Let us not forget the popular saying “all that glistens is not gold.” This glitter hides many a putrid sordidness of the bourgeoisie under decay.

Our men of literature and art should look for and will surely find their beautiful, pure, mobilizing and enthusiastic style, originality and form, first and foremost, in the creative, revolutionary environment of our highly gifted people.

LETTER TO SCULPTORS KRISTAQ RAMA, MUNTAZ DHRAMI AND SHABAN HADËRI

June 26, 1969

Dear comrade sculptors!

I send you my compliments.

On the day I visited your studio to see the layout of the Independence Monument in Vlora, I gave you some advice and made some friendly remarks. The essence of them was that your patriotic inspiration should be enriched by an even deeper study of the history of Albania, its extensive folklore and party materials.

Of course, you know how important this monument is for our people and its future generations, that is why it should embody in bronze the historical events of Vlora, it should be a living and expressive summary of the heroic and glorious Liberation War of the Albanian people against invaders for freedom, independence and national sovereignty.

This monument should tell the people that freedom is always won and defended with weapons in hand, just as it was won under the leadership of the Party in the National Liberation War, just as it is defended today by the dictatorship of the proletariat.

You must understand, of course, that I do not mean to say that the National Liberation War should have been included in the composition of the monument; and when I advised you to include some motifs from the Bat-

tle of Vlora in 1920 if possible, I meant that the Independence Monument must express not only the milestones already reached, but also the impetus to reach new, even more important milestones in order to give a vivid expression to the fact; that our revolution is moving forward, that it is on the rise and that the work you have created evokes in the people's imagination what it achieved in the glorious National Liberation War and what it is currently implementing in the socialist construction.

To achieve this it is not necessary to mix the motifs of different periods, this would lead to a change in the idea of the monument, you should try to keep it faithful to the theme of a certain historical period and with your laudable gift vividly and tangibly portray the great strength of the Albanian character, his courage, heroism, spirit of dedication, wisdom and inexhaustible fighting and revolutionary impulse, characteristic of all past, present and future generations of Albania. How to express all this in a monument — that is your business, because you are sculptors and a good sculptor, I think, must be not only an artist, but a poet, a writer, a revolutionary fighter and a scholar, tightly linked to his people. And you have all that, so get to work!

Please excuse me in case I'm wrong, but it seems to me that the composition of the ensemble of the monument, the placement of the figures and the symbol, the expressiveness of the characters are what can give the monument the meaning and the expression I mentioned above.

I've been pondering on this issue since the day I visited your studio, so please allow me to express some of my thoughts. I warn you in advance that they may not

be so well founded, for my imagination may lead me astray; for I may not have had sufficient time to examine your model thoroughly, in which I have never once doubted its success. You have told me that you will continue to work on it and so I offer you my humble thoughts.

The whole ensemble of the monument should evoke a feeling of steel unity of our people and their ability to break away from centuries of slavery and overcome all the obstacles standing in their way.

The whole ensemble must be directed forward in a martial rush and the figures must be full of dynamism. Apart from the Kosovar, or Northern Albanian figures, the other two figures, the Southern Albanians, have static poses, their arms held in "respite." They are overwhelmed with the feeling that as a result of the struggle the flag of independence has been raised, which had to be shown, because it conveys the idea of independence, but that is not all — independence has to be defended, the struggle has to continue and the revolution has to go on.

The figures, apart from the Vloran elder, who I think has been portrayed correctly, are somewhat conventional. Their costumes, out of a desire to emphasize the characteristics of different regions, are stylized more than necessary. Not all the warriors of those times wore *fustanelles*; moreover, the war generally swept away style and all kind of pageantry. The figure of a Kosovar with a naked chest is more real.

The waving flag seems to me somewhat clumsy and pompous, and does not give the impression of a banner that has survived the storms and battles. And this is of great importance, for it is the central detail and should

be, if I may say so, impetuous and sharp, like the Albanian, like the eagle on its cloth.

I agree with you that the figure of Ismail Qemali should occupy the central place in the whole ensemble of the monument, as you have placed it, but the whole ensemble should be constructed so that it would be clear that his case is the result of the legendary struggle of the people.

Finally, nowhere in the ensemble of the monument is there even a hint of the great struggle waged with the pen in hand by the figures of our National Renaissance, a struggle which not only cannot be forgotten, but cannot be separated from the armed struggle at all, for it is an integral part of the period to whose glory this monument is being erected. So once again reconsider your intention in this regard...

I repeat that my remarks are of a friendly nature. I firmly believe in the strength of your patriotism, partisanship, inspiration and talent, and I am sure that from under your chisel will emerge a real monument, which in its merits will be superior to those excellent works that you have given to the motherland so far.

Yours
Enver

FROM THE REPORT ON THE ACTIVITIES OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF THE PARTY OF LABOUR OF ALBANIA

Presented to the 6th Congress of the PLA

November 1, 1971

...Considerable results of great educational value have been achieved in recent years also in the development of literature and art. The heroic struggle waged by our Party and people against the imperialist and revisionist blockade, the all-out revolutionization of the country's life, the demands of the Party for a militant culture with an actual and national revolutionary spirit, as well as the more correct understanding of and attitude towards publications and repertoires from foreign literature and art, gave a powerful impulse to the development of our literature and arts. They acquired greater ideological maturity and a higher artistic level. The artistic creative work has increased as never before and all genres of art and literature, prose and poetry, music and fine arts, theatre, cinematography, etc. have developed successfully. New talents have been and are being added to the recognized talents day by day. Besides the qualitative rise of professional creative work, there has been an unprecedented flowering of the people's creative work and of the amateur artistic movement. Our socialist art is thus marching powerfully on both feet. Consistently following the principles of socialist realism, our revolutionary literature and arts will certainly see new

and greater developments in the future.

Our Party, at the head of the masses, fights persistently to affirm that which is socialist and to remove any obstacle that restricts our advance. It discloses contradictions with courage and fights to overcome them, criticizes shortcomings and never loses its perspective. Day by day it carries out the well known process of the building of the new and the destruction of the old, transforms the life of the people and forms the new man. These aims should always be kept in mind by our literature and art. This is the brand they, too, should bear. The reflection of the new socialist reality in its revolutionary development, with the contradictions of the time, which give literature and art the necessary drama and conflict, herein lies the new content that gives force to our literature and art of socialist realism. And such a content will certainly lead to seeking and finding new forms. All this, as well as firm reliance on the national soil, on the progressive cultural creative work and heritage of our people, give our socialist literature and art that originality and innovation which distinguishes it from others, not only as the creative work of a certain people and nation, but also because of the features which this creative work acquires from the conditions of the struggle against imperialism and modern revisionism, and for the revolutionization of the whole life of the country.

It is precisely the militant revolutionary character of literature and arts that the revisionists deny. After proclaiming that socialist realism is “restrictive,” or rejecting it as a creative method, as well as the principle of proletarian partisanship, they opened the door to the most varied reactionary and decadent trends, which led to the degeneration of their literature and arts, turning

them into vanguard tools of capitalist restoration. When art is the vehicle for the ideas and aims of the counter-revolution, when it becomes the mouthpiece of bureaucratized and bourgeoisified elements and is opposed to the aspirations and the struggle of the masses, it can never be true art.

The further flourishing of the arts of socialist realism will be achieved by consolidating the positions won in struggle against any alien influence which is incompatible with our socialist ideology, against both modernist trends and conservatism, by reflecting still more deeply from the ideo-artistic point of view, the all-round life and struggle of the people for the construction of socialism, by centring the creative work on the heroes of our time, by strengthening the proletarian partisanship and the popular character of our arts...

INSENTIFY THE IDEOLOGICAL STRUGGLE AGAINST ALIEN PHENOMENA AND LIBERAL ATTITUDES TOWARDS THEM

*From a report to the 4th Plenum of the Central
Committee of the PLA*

June 26, 1973

Comrades,

The struggle against alien ideology to implant the socialist ideology in the consciousness of all our working people on all fronts has always been one of the main preoccupations in all the activity of the Party. It has always considered this struggle as one of the fundamental conditions for the ceaseless development of the revolution and socialist construction, for the formation and tempering of the new man of the new society. It has also considered it as an essential condition for its very existence and development as a Marxist-Leninist party, to enable it to fulfil its national tasks and its internationalist duty.

The emergence and advent to power of revisionism in the Soviet Union and certain other countries, where the underestimation of the struggle against the influences of bourgeois ideology became one of the important causes of the degeneration of the socialist order and of the Party itself, strengthens still further our correct conviction that, without a persistent struggle to uproot the influence of alien ideologies, be they old feudal

and petty-bourgeois or present day bourgeois and revisionist ones, and without achieving the decisive triumph of socialism on the ideological front too, its achievements on the economic and political front cannot be ensured.

We are all witnesses of the major, historically important successes which have been achieved in the determined struggle waged by the Party, at the head of the working masses, against bourgeois and revisionist ideology, against religious, patriarchal and feudal ideology. A great qualitative leap has been taken for the complete emancipation of women, important measures have been taken to revolutionize education further, to uproot bureaucracy, etc. Great results have been attained in the revolutionary education of the new man, and profound socialist ideological convictions about work, property, society and the family have been created in our workers. The Party's slogan "Think, work, fight and live like revolutionaries" inspires and mobilizes all our people.

In further deepening this process of revolutionization, the 6th Congress of the Party placed greater stress on the need for a frontal battle not only against the conservative survivals and traces of the past, but in particular against the dangerous influences of the present-day bourgeois, revisionist and liberal ideology which exerts ceaseless pressure on us. It very rightly called this battle on two fronts a decisive condition for winning a stable victory in the struggle against alien ideologies.

We have scored great victories in the struggle against alien manifestations and influences. But we cannot fail to take into account that, under the actual conditions of encirclement and all-round imperialist and revisionist pressure, we are far from thinking we are immune to

danger. The successes our Party has achieved in its struggle to unmask imperialism and revisionism on a political and theoretical plane, especially through the great polemics with modern revisionism, should not lead us to think at any moment that they constitute an insuperable barrier against the penetration of alien ideology into the various fields of the life of the country and into the thinking of our people. It is a fact that our enemies have never given up their fight against us. They have changed only their tactics, concentrating their efforts especially on the ideological front. In order to pave the way for the degeneration of our people and of our socialist order, they more and more frequently and with greater zeal exploit the lingering vestiges of the old ideology in the minds of our working people, especially petty-bourgeois, individualistic concepts and habits. Our internal and external enemies encourage and support one another in various forms and ways, coordinating their activities against our people's state power and socialism.

Moreover, there are situations in the world which prompt one to a greater mobilization to heighten vigilance and muster all efforts against the ideology and politics, attitudes and activity of the enemy.

A pacifist wind of capitulation is pervading the atmosphere. The U.S. imperialists and Soviet revisionists are trying to spread a spirit of reconciliation and compromise in Europe, Asia, Africa and America. Now the war in Vietnam is coming to an end, and it is being said that the situation in the Middle East can be settled in a peaceful way, there is talk of some sort of security and reduction of troops in Europe, the results of the improvement of relations between the big powers are being

proclaimed far and wide, the frequent contacts and talks of statesmen are greatly publicized, etc. Such situations may create a spirit of lowered vigilance, they may create the opinion that war is far away, that “the world is becoming calm.”

The tactic of spreading this false peaceful psychosis, as a means of carrying out military and ideological aggression better, is now supported by a host of theories and doctrines which the imperialists and revisionists have concocted especially for this purpose. They talk much about “peaceful coexistence,” about “détente,” “negotiations” and so on. All these are not simply propaganda slogans, but also ideological devices, means to create a general fatalistic psychology towards the events which take place in the world, attempts to prepare the people ideologically to accept the arbitrariness of the superpowers and the destiny mapped out by them.

The imperialists and revisionists try to inculcate this pacifist spirit in us too, through honeyed words, through proposals to “normalize relations,” trying to persuade us that no danger threatens us and that we can live unguarded and carefree. This diabolical and very dangerous tactic aims at stifling our vigilance and at inciting and encouraging liberalism and disarray. It should be clear to us that even if some sort of détente actually exists, this can be true only between the imperialist superpowers, but there is not and will not be a détente between them and us, between the peoples on the one hand and the imperialists and social-imperialists on the other. We are fully aware that the imperialist and revisionist strategy to suppress revolutionary struggles and movements and every resistance against their hegemony, to crush and suppress by force states or parties

which oppose their domination, has remained unchanged. Only the tactics and means they use have changed, and are now more numerous and more sophisticated.

The agreements and collaboration between the big powers, and first and foremost between the United States of America and the Soviet Union, which are extending, cannot fail to be expressed in their pressure on the small independent countries, and to a result in the increase of this pressure, the increase of their attempts to interfere in the internal affairs of sovereign states, the intensification of their struggle to force others to accept their dictate in matters of international relations, and the extension of their activity to force their way of thinking and way of life on other peoples and nations. It is natural that in this new situation the all-round imperialist-revisionist economic, political and military pressure on our country will become greater, with the aim of stifling the only voice in Europe which is raised boldly against their aggressive, expansionist policy, and which boldly tears the mask off the dark plans, demagoguery and deception of the superpowers against the peoples and the revolution.

The imperialists and revisionists have wanted and still want to do away with socialism in Albania. We know that. But what we should keep better in mind is that for us there exists not only the direct military danger, but also ideological aggression. Moreover, the enemy's ideological pressure and struggle against us is a preparation for and forewarning of an eventual military assault. We should not forget for a moment that we are a small country, and because of our principled revolutionary stand, we are at the centre of the all-round ide-

ological pressure of the capitalist and revisionist world. On the other hand, we cannot live isolated from the outside world, the influences of which penetrate into our country and our people through many channels, through various means of information and propaganda, which today have become more widespread and sophisticated than ever before, and through contacts which cannot be avoided. Therefore, the Party has often emphasized that side by side with serious military and economic preparations to cope with any eventuality, we should take all measures and mobilize all our forces to crush the ideological aggression of the enemy. In this life and death struggle, we should bear in mind that the ideological pressure is permanent, that we cannot fight against it and win only once, but that we must fight against it and win every day, every month and every year.

The essence of this ideological aggression, and the main objective of the class enemy under the present conditions for the degeneration of the socialist order and the internal and external policy of our Party and state, is to encourage liberalism on all fronts.

This is precisely the way in which counter-revolutionary results were brought about in the Soviet Union and in certain other countries, results which imperialism had not been able to bring about either by armed intervention or fascist aggression. Under the slogan of liberalism, Stalin and his work were smeared, and the dictatorship of the proletariat was destroyed. Under this slogan, the road was opened to revisionist economic reforms which led to the elimination of socialist relations in production, and to their replacement with new capitalist relations. In spiritual life, liberalism became the

key which opened the door to the influx of the degenerate western culture and way of life. And it was again under the same slogan that the determined struggle against imperialism was rejected, and replaced by the Khrushchevite policy of opening towards the West and of all-round collaboration with U.S. imperialism.

Liberalism may appear in the most various fields and forms. But however and wherever it appears, in essence it is the expression of ideological and political opportunism, the rejection of consistent class struggle against external and internal enemies, against the blemishes of the old society and the present influences of alien ideology, it is the acceptance of peaceful co-existence with the enemy ideology. By encouraging liberalism, our enemies want us to give up our principled stand and our struggle against modern revisionism, to give up our determined struggle against imperialism and to open our borders to “the free circulation of people, ideas and cultures.” They seek to spread a liberal and anarchist interpretation of socialist democracy, with a view to disrupting proletarian discipline at work, and undermining the dictatorship of the proletariat. They want our people of culture and the arts to abandon proletarian partisanship, to pave the way for all sorts of decadent bourgeois and revisionist trends to flourish. They want our people, our youth and all our working people to adopt the degenerate modes of behaviour, taste and life of the rotten bourgeois-revisionist world.

Characteristic of the present ideological diversion of the bourgeoisie and revisionism against socialism is the unification into a single front of the basic counter-revolutionary trends, ranging from classic bourgeois ideology of an open anti-communist nature to the old tradi-

tional opportunism, from modern revisionism to the present so-called “leftist” opportunist trends. All these, regardless of the positions from which they attack Marxism-Leninism and socialism, regardless of what slogans and “arguments” they use against them, are united in their main objective, in their purpose to show that capitalism has surmounted its contradictions, that bourgeois society has improved, that capitalism and socialism are converging towards one society, that there is no longer a place for class struggle, there is no longer a place for revolutionary upheaval, there is no longer a place for communist ideals, etc.

In order to propagate this thoroughly reactionary thesis, in order to confuse people’s minds, to disorientate their thinking and to bring about their degeneration, the bourgeoisie and the revisionists have set up a very powerful industry to poison public opinion which, in terms of the capital invested and the people employed in it, exceeds even the biggest branches of the economy. At their disposal there are the numerous media of mass communication, and closely linked with them are literature and arts, fashion and advertising, the press, radio, television and films.

This huge propaganda wave also breaks against our shores. It is closely interwoven with many survivals of the past in the consciousness of working people, especially with manifestations of petty-bourgeois individualism. These two aspects encourage each other, and the old and the modernist merge into a single front of battle against socialism and the dictatorship of the proletariat. Consequently, our battle against these two evils also constitutes a single complex and indivisible front. It is our task to muster all our efforts and means to cope with

the pressure of alien ideological influences, which is exerted precisely under these new external and internal circumstances, and to actively counterattack. We should consider this struggle as one of the most important aspects of the class struggle for the triumph of the socialist road over the capitalist one.

The broad discussions in the Party and among the masses about the struggle against alien influences and liberal manifestations confirmed that the concerns of the party and those of the working people were fully justified. During these discussions there emerged a considerable number of ideological problems which have to do with the development of our arts and literature, education and culture, in a correct way, with the education of our youth, with the enforcement of discipline, with the further improvement of the activity of the Party itself and with the growth of its leading role. We should analyse all these problems at this plenum in a spirit of criticism and self-criticism, and determine the course and measures to keep alive the revolutionary atmosphere that has been created, and to carry the struggle of the Party further ahead on all fronts.

Strengthening Proletarian Partisanship — An Essential Condition for the Development of Literature and the Arts on the Correct Course

Our Party has shown constant concern about 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 valuable contribution to the formation and education of the new man, and to the raising of young 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 a sound content. Our art with its socialist and revolutionary content bears the national seal, expressing the consciousness of our people in the great historic moments we have experienced and are experiencing. This art is liked by the masses and is spiritual nourishment for them. The people love and respect their own writers and artists.

The successes of our literature and arts clearly show the liveliness of the method of socialist realism, of its fundamental principle of proletarian partisanship, its harmonization with the people's national spirit and sound realistic tradition. Our arts, like all the spiritual life of our society, have developed in struggle with alien ideological influences, old and new, conservative and modernistic and especially bourgeois and revisionist. The orientations of the 15th Plenum of the Central Committee held in 1965 have been of special importance in this struggle.

But in recent years, 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, arts and culture, and a liberal attitude has been taken towards them. They have harmed the development of our literature and arts. All the discussions held have pointed out the danger of these alien influences as a means of imperialist-revision-

ist diversion 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 party line and its correct orientations.

In the spread of these influences, a primary role has been played by the imitation of alien models, of old and new decadent and modernist trends, openly and mechanically copying the present bourgeois and revisionist artistic mode, as well as wrong conceptions of the processes of our internal development, the roots of which lie in the inadequate political, ideological and professional formation of certain artists.

Reality has been distorted in certain works of literature and arts, drama, poetry, stories and novels, in certain films, etc. The various contradictions and the battle the Party and people wage against negative phenomena, obstacles and difficulties have been portrayed not from the position of the Party but from the opposing position. Thus, in a number of cases, the essence of the struggle against bureaucratism is wrongly presented, the organs of our state power are presented as stifled by bureaucracy, and the working masses as entirely powerless to fight the bureaucrats. In some dramas and other literary works, the contradictions among the people are also treated in a distorted way. In the name of the "new," the present is denied, and the struggle between the old and the new is presented as an inevitable struggle between generations. Alien influences have reached the point where the greatness of the National Liberation War and the heroism of the partisans are obscured in certain stories.

Another consequence of alien influences is a departure from great social problems, and excessive treatment

of insignificant intimate themes, the theme of the loneliness of man, the transformation of people into snails, figtrees and other absurdities, phenomena which are connected with the influence of existentialist philosophy and aesthetics, as well as the influence of literary trends like symbolism, etc. These phenomena, which are met with in certain poems and stories, in texts of songs, in some paintings, etc., are at variance with the revolutionary militant spirit of our literature and arts, with their lyrical feeling and their epic character.

In poetry there has appeared an inclination towards using obscure figures of speech, which is contrary to the tradition of clear Albanian poetry. A few young poets began to adopt a hermetic style in their poems. This is entirely alien to our literature, to our people of a socialist country with a proletarian democracy. Writings obscure in content and form are the offspring of the confused minds and feelings of people where the regime of capital, of oppression and of exploitation of man by man, of national oppression and the lack of freedom to express ideas dominates.

Such phenomena have also been met in our light music, especially in rhythmic music, where the clear melodic line has been deformed and the way opened to unrestrained beat. This appeared especially at the 11th radio-television festival. All our public opinion indignantly rejected that vulgar music, those worthless songs and the snobbish stage presentation at the festival. Public opinion rightly considered it to be an insult to our best national traditions, to the popular spirit and partisanship of our art, and condemned it as such.

Such alien manifestations have also appeared in some pictures, in the stage presentation of some theatri-

cal and opera performances, in book covers, etc. Such shortcomings have exerted a direct influence on both the form and content of our literature and arts.

These distorted inclinations are at variance with the partisanship of our literature and arts, with their formative and educative role, with their popular and national character. They place a barrier between art and the people, they obscure the democratic nature that our art should have and distort the taste of the working masses.

The fundamental cause for the spread of these alien influences is the failure to implement consistently, and the departure from, the correct guidelines of the Party on waging a frontal ideological struggle on two sides, both against conservatism and against 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 the arts. Certain old manifestations and traditions of a conservative nature have been considered as the only actual practical danger, while the danger of liberalism has been viewed only as a possibility. The simplification of the danger of bourgeois-revisionist influences, especially when it is done by "learned" intellectuals, is not a lapse of memory, but an inclination, a tendency which if it is not fought will grow and become dangerous. The disintegrating liberal modernist influence is not a potential danger but a real one.

Certain elements contaminated by decadent modernism, posing as "competent" people, under the guise of fighting against conservatism, tried to open the door to anti-proletarian liberalism, to alien bourgeois-revisionist currents. 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 genuine literature allegedly begins in the 60's, thus disparaging and negating previous artistic creation. In the name of criticizing conservatism, they turned the spearhead of their fight against certain individual writers, especially against the older ones, seriously impairing the comradely atmosphere in literary-artistic circles.

Theorizing against so-called conservatism has appeared in various forms in the different genres of art. In the figurative arts, often under the slogan of fighting against scholasticism, an academic approach, naturalism and so on, old and new works with alien 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 has been 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 best traditions of our folk music, which also appears in its inadequate performance by our best artists and especially in the lack of serious work to train new talents. This underestimation cannot be taken apart from the preferences some people have had for so-called dynamic and rhythmic music, which is allegedly the last word in modern music and the only music which responds to the "demands of the time and of our youth." No, we do not need such music. Only the bourgeoisie

and the revisionists need it as a narcotic to disorientate 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 Albanian nature, to the socialist life and pure sentiments of our people.

In the speculations about archaism, folklorism and so on, we have to deal with an openly scornful stand towards folklore in general, towards its great artistic and social values, and towards its relation to cultivate art. It is precisely such stands and speculations which were one of the causes for the departure from a sound national background, and served as arguments to legalize this departure. These pseudo-theoreticians attached disparaging labels to everything good and beautiful in folklore, labels which were often incomprehensible even to them, because they were bourgeois terms and currents in literature and arts which the passage of time had long 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. In a mechanical way they divided present literary-artistic phenomena into "traditional" and "innovative." Such confusions and divisions open the way to the negation of the sound aspects of tradition. Alien influences spread more easily against this background. These people, of course, could not rely on tradition which they called regression, but on so-called innovation, which they called progression.

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 of our best cultural traditions, their patriotic, democratic and popular spirit. Tradition for us 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 variegated literature and arts of our socialist realism, which is already thirty years old.

Do the valuable works of our best known poets ranging from the songs of the National Liberation War, Shefqet Musaraj's "Epic of the Balli Kombëtar," Lazar Siliqi's poems, etc., as well as the rich and sound works of many young poets, not serve as a clear example to contrast with the aberrations which have recently been observed in poetry and which we are rightly criticizing strongly? How high our poets have raised the value of the ever powerful and marvellous message of the best Albanian poetry! Not very long ago I read the latest collection of poetry by Dritëro Agolli. Is not the work of this poet a new tradition, an example of the harmonization of the revolutionary socialist spirit with the national popular spirit of rich content and clear form, of partisanship and high artistic skill?

Many other outstanding literary and artistic works have appeared in recent times. The best novels of Sterio Spasse, Ismail Kadare, Fatmir Gjata, Jakov Xoxe, and other prose writers, reflect with true epic grandeur the people's war for liberation from foreign oppression and age-long exploitation, the construction of the new socialist society, and the formation and education of the new man. Our playwrights and film-makers, together

with talented artists of the stage and screen, have depicted these colossal transformations very beautifully in their best dramas, films and performances. We also see this grandeur and this heroic spirit of struggle in the best works of our talented sculptors and painters such as Odhise Paskali, Kristaq Rama, Guri Madhi, etc. Composers like Çesk Zadeja, Tish Daija, Fehim Ibrahimi and others have also produced very beautiful works of various major and minor genres of music, with sound content, educational value and a high professional level. We are justified in being proud of the best works of our literature and arts, which stand out both for their militant spirit and for their truly high artistic workmanship.

While stressing these major achievements in these fields, we cannot but accept that our literary and artistic criticism and science are behind in analysing this new experience of socialist artistic culture, these successes and the new and powerful traditions of the literature and art of socialist realism. We should strive to make these traditions the property of the younger creative artists and the broad masses of art lovers, so that it may be popularized by publications and republications, by recordings and reproductions, and so on. Our young creative artists should learn and be taught to rely on the results of our new experience, to follow this rich socialist tradition. The elimination of any vacuum and neglect in this domain is also a means to block the way to the spread of alien influences and imitations.

Our Party has been and remains in favour of innovative art, firmly based on sound old and new tradition, and on proletarian partisanship. But on this question too there have been distortions and speculations of a liberal character. Often, everything that appears as new is

automatically called innovative, without analysing from a class angle and in a scientific way what it represents, thus giving rise to theoretical confusion, as is the case with the “famous” discussion on the positive hero in literature conducted in the newspaper “Drita.” Sometimes innovation is considered as the property solely of the young. At other times, it is not seen mainly and primarily in content, but only in form. It is precisely in the name of such “innovation” that those formalist and modernist creations which I have just referred to were legalized in poetry, light music, painting, stage management, scenography, etc. In particular there has been speculation for the alleged purpose of supporting the young, of maintaining a generous and tactful stand towards them. An attitude of this kind has only harmed the young, since they are helped not by flattery but by encouraging them where appropriate and by criticizing them where necessary.

What is new for us Marxist-Leninists is that which helps destroy everything outdated, regressive and reactionary, everything alien to our society and ideology, it is that which serves the affirmation of everything progressive and revolutionary, the development of the socialist society, the base and its superstructure, production and spiritual life. We always view what is new first and foremost in content and then in form. This is also the way we view it in literature and arts.

Our Party, which is a great and courageous innovator, and undauntedly revolutionary, which has crushed and continues to crush one outdated thing 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 outer

layer of attraction on bourgeois and revisionist art and culture with which they cloak the poison of their reactionary ideas, or by their noisy acclamation of the so-called innovations of that culture. Our Party is in favour of truly modern development in all our social life, our economy and culture, literature and arts. But this has nothing in common with the disintegrating modernism of the present-day capitalist and revisionist world.

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

Through many storms of the times, through endless bitter battles, our people created a culture and art with clear national features, which constitutes an invaluable wealth. For us, these values of the progressive art of our nation are an object of legitimate pride, they are our contribution to the treasury of progressive world culture. If our people guarded and further developed this culture through the centuries, then it falls to us, the generations of the socialist society, to strive with the passion of communist militants, to keep it pure and to develop it further.

The imperialist bourgeoisie has always tried to denigrate or eliminate the cultural traditions of small countries and the national features of their art and culture. This is one of the ways to carry out their cultural aggression and to subjugate the people. The reactionary bour-

geois concept of the “internationalization” of culture and art, the idea that “the stage of national schools has already been superseded” aim to eliminate the cultures of other peoples. Under these conditions it becomes even more imperative for us to fight to guard the national features of art, the cultural wealth of the people.

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

Our Party has spoken at other times too about our critical revolutionary stand towards alien culture, of both past and present. We are obliged to return to this problem once again because, in spite of all the Party’s correct guidelines, 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 decay and degeneration of bourgeois culture are becoming more and more pronounced. Its “isms,” which grow like mushrooms, are the clearest symptoms of this decay. Every day “new” major and minor schools of thought appear like innumerable religious sects and heresies. Nevertheless, they have a common philosophical basis, idealism, with all its endless refinements. It is also the root of those trends which at first sight appear as leftist, radical protests against official bourgeois society, against its culture and ethics.

Under the guise of an art which claims to be free of

social prejudices and ideological commitment, the cult of empty substance and the ugly form, of what is base and horrible, is created. The principal themes and heroes of decadent modernistic art are murderers, prostitutes, 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 shining veneer, accompanied by pompous advertisement, created in the most commercial way 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 a habitual need. We have nothing to learn from this culture, we have no reason to impart it to our masses and youth, but should discard it contemptuously and fight it with determination.

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

All this requires careful, intelligent and gradual work on our part, it requires the elimination 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 guidelines for a consistent ideological struggle on both flanks, against liberalism as well as against conservatism. It has been and continues to be opposed to every kind of speculation which, for the sake of fighting against one side, neglects or forgets to fight against 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 groundless and that conservatism is no longer a problem for our literature and arts. In fact, in the process of their development, literature and arts, parallel with the influences of present-day bourgeois and revisionist ideology, have dashed and continue to dash with various conservative and restrictive legacies and trends which appear both in content and in 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, on 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 should 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 everything old, which is opposed to progressive changes, to the new, which obstructs the revolutionary drive of the masses and their all-round emancipation, which hinders our march ahead on the road of socialism. Viewed from such a revolutionary class position, from a broad political and social viewpoint, not only do the old ideologies emerging from the depths of

the centuries have a conservative character, but also the present degenerate bourgeois and revisionist culture, and all their liberalism and modernism.

Literary and artistic criticism and serious scientific debate about fundamental ideo-aesthetic problems play a very great role in the correct development of literature and arts. But our literary and artistic criticism has not always maintained a clear-cut stand on these problems, it has not discovered and duly fought negative phenomena, especially formalist and modernist influences, and on some occasions has tried to give theoretical justification to these alien manifestations. At the same time it must be stressed that there has not existed always a suitable atmosphere for literary and artistic criticism to speak freely.

We need qualified scientific criticism which also has the necessary revolutionary spirit so essential to the discovery of the outstanding values of literature and arts, and the spirit of irreconcilability with any distortion or with alien manifestations in their development. We need criticism which will speak with courage and competence about every literary and artistic phenomenon. But 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, the opinion of society as a whole, is the best judge of these works. Both the creative artists and the critics should always bear this truth in mind.

In order to develop critical and ideo-aesthetic thought, it is necessary to take measures to broaden scientific research work in the domain of the theory and history of literature and arts, of aesthetics, strengthening the existing nuclei and creating new ones. This work

cannot be done successfully without taking immediate steps to systematically train new scientific cadres for aesthetics, the theory and history of literature and arts, 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 unshakable and to abide by them is essential, for otherwise we fall under foreign influences and depart from revolutionary traditions. Innovation does not violate principles, but applies them in the correct way.

The creative development of socialist realism has also come up against some misinterpretations and speculations arising from various sources. These have appeared especially in the treatment of the problem of contradictions and of the hero in art. It has happened that the contradictions of our society have been presented as having no way out, with a dark 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 been also 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 Paçrami tried to lead our art when he said that we had already dealt enough with the struggle between “us and the enemy” and that from now on we should talk mainly of the struggle “among ourselves.” Thus, we should leave the enemy in peace and treat our

people as enemies.

The Party has stressed that the discovery of contradictions and their reflection in art, including the criticism of negative phenomena, should be done correctly, from the position of proletarian partisanship, so that they may be overcome and society may 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 arts, to the divorce of life and man. And 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 treatment of a hero idealized in a bookish way without relying on our reality at the same time, we can in no way accept the new type of a wavering hero which is, in fact, an open bourgeois-revisionist influence. These views and attitudes have nothing in common with our principles, but show theoretical confusion...

We Should Form Revolutionary Concepts About Taste, Conduct and the Way of Living

The socialist revolution has brought radical changes in the spiritual life of society and of our people, in their thinking, psychology and way of living. Our Party has devoted continuous attention to the formation and tempering of the new man with a Marxist-Leninist world outlook, with a high 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 develops impetuously, displaying devotion to the cause of the revolution and socialism, heroic deeds, high moral virtues and sound tastes. This is an intricate and constant process taking place through an ideological class struggle against every alien influence. Our Party has always waged a frontal battle against all the ideologies of exploiting classes.

But in recent years when a hard blow was dealt at 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 were somewhat neglected and underestimated. Liberal concepts and attitudes appeared, giving rise to certain harmful phenomena among some people, and especially among some of the youth.

Those influences to which we referred in literature and arts cannot be viewed apart from certain alien manifestations which have been observed in the tastes of some young people, in their conduct and unseemly behaviour. These, and the continuous pressure from outside, account for the spread of certain vulgar alien tastes in music and art, the adoption of extravagant and ugly fashions, and improper conduct in defiance of the socialist ethics and the positive traditions of our people. Our social opinion was justified in forcefully condemning the bastardized “importation” of long hair, extravagant dress, the hullabaloo of jungle music, arrogance, shameless behaviour and so on. If the influences and manifestations of the bourgeois-revisionist way of living

are not nipped in the bud, they open the way to the moral decay and degeneration of the people, which is 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 for what is beautiful in art, in nature, at work and in life. The problem of tastes is not a purely personal problem of 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 their class character emerges clearly. Therefore in essence our tastes are entirely opposed to 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 low, commonplace 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 living and backward patriarchal customs and traditions. We support every natural evolution of taste under the conditions of rapid socialist development, in compliance with the requirements of this development, in the spirit of our Marxist-Leninist ideology and our sound national traditions. We are opposed to conservative attitudes of some who fail to understand this process and consider 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. This objective is also achieved through a continuous fight against a superficial, narrow cultural horizon, for a deeper appreciation of the valuable heritage of national and world culture.

Major opportunities have been created today in our country for the continuous uplift of the cultural and ideo-aesthetic level of all the working masses, and of our youth in particular. Along with schools, a broad network of specialized cultural and artistic institutions has been set up and consolidated, along with other means of mass propaganda, which play a role of primary importance in this process. But these means, which have been spread to the farthest corners of the country, are not utilized in an intensive and qualified way.

The party committees and state organs should strive continually to raise the ideo-artistic level of the activity of the cultural institutions; and fight against any tendency to consider this activity as merely entertainment, depriving it of its basic educational objective.

We must also draw attention here to the fact that alien manifestations have penetrated especially into our cultural and artistic institutions. Alien liberal and modernist influences have passed from literary and artistic works to the stage of dramatic and variety theatres, to the cinema and television, and to the various activities of clubs and cultural centres. The tendency to underestimate and not rely on the sound national and popular tradition in cultural activities has also been met with in many cultural institutions which have been set up at the base.

The work begun to rid the programs of alien influences and to invigorate and intensify the activity of cultural and artistic institutions should be continuous and carried out more intensively. It is essential to increase the demand for the expansion and improvement of the quality of all our mass cultural work, to place it better in the service of the communist education of the masses.

We have also met with disturbing phenomena in ways of behaviour and living. Many breaches of social discipline have been observed, at work and in school, as well as disregard for the norms of socialist ethics and the state laws, infringement of public order and personal rights, cases of immorality, and the ignoring of the social obligations people have as workers, citizens, parents and family members. Especially among a number of young people, certain very negative phenomena have begun to appear, such as giving up school, remaining without work, hooliganism, theft and so on. All these have nurtured inclinations towards parasitism, individualistic and avaricious inclinations to the detriment of society, and unjust claims. The bearers of these alien manifestations, staying aloof from the struggle of the people, have been the contingent most susceptible to acts of hooliganism and crime, since it is well known that parasitism and avaricious inclinations are one source of people's moral degeneration.

Of course, if we take into account what happens in the capitalist and revisionist world, in our country these phenomena are very limited. But for our healthy society such phenomena are and should be a matter of great concern, even if they are few or isolated individuals, for we fight to keep the thinking and moral image of every worker pure and healthy, in order to keep our socialist

society as a whole pure and healthy.

A great share in enlivening these phenomena have had certain distorted theories of an openly liberal nature. Their roots lie in the biased and entirely erroneous understanding from a bourgeois-revisionist position of the broad democracy which exists in our socialist society, of our efforts to emancipate the people, and especially the women, of the relationship between rights and obligations, between the freedom of the individual and social discipline.

For us Marxist-Leninists the way of living 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 personality, emancipation, personal happiness and family life. The revolutionary communist ideal is the one and the only one which guides us in all our activities and life. Totally alien to us is the bourgeois-revisionist conception of life, the most typical manifestations of which are individualism and unbridled egoism, aimlessness and vanity, running after luxury and fulfilling all whims, dissipation and degeneration, parasitism and criminality, which have become incurable moral and social ills of the present-day capitalist and revisionist society.

We see the way of living in constant development, conditioned by all the social, economic and cultural transformations, and by the raising of general well-being. In particular, the rapid social and demographic changes, the expansion of the existing cities and the construction of new dwelling centres, the growth of the

working class, the all-round development, especially social and cultural, of the countryside, the break-up of the patriarchal family, the great development of education and culture, and the evolution of social psychology have led to radical transformations in the way of living.

A very important role in this respect has been played by the great ideological actions against religion, backward customs and outdated traditions, which have dealt a heavy blow at anachronistic concepts and practices. These positive and 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 according to the actual conditions and possibilities, it is necessary to broaden our concept of cultured life in all its aspects, from the intellectual development of man to the environment where he lives and works.

Our Party also strikes heavily against all those who, in the name of fighting conservatism, and in the name of meeting the demands of the times and of youth, of freedom and democracy, attempt to introduce among us the spirit of bourgeois corruption and degeneration. Now, our working masses and our youth have launched a campaign against this degrading influence, against any liberal stand that paves the way to its infiltration. This struggle is being waged by revolutionizing public opinion, by raising its vigilance and sensitivity. Liberal attitudes towards alien influences cannot be rooted out without fighting against manifestations of indifference in public opinion, against passivity, toleration and negligence. These are open and typical petty-bourgeois

practices, and have nothing in common with the revolutionary spirit of communist irreconcilability with all negative phenomena and alien manifestations.

But it is a fact that we come up against indifference not only among the ranks of workers, but also among communists and cadres. How can our people keep silent and look on when they see that the norms of communist morality and state laws are being broken, and public property is being damaged and misused, when they see some young people who do not work but try to live off their families and society, when they notice acts of vandalism, immorality and hooliganism, manifestations of alien fashions and ways of living? Ideas that “there are others who can deal with this,” that “it is none of my business,” “why should I get on bad terms with my friend or my neighbour?” are entirely alien, and should be firmly fought against.

We should create an atmosphere which stifles any breach of our ideology, morals and laws, by setting up a unified front of education merging in a single whole the joint efforts of the school, all the means of mass culture and propaganda, 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 the Party has the task, relying on these results, of continuing to fight against liberalism on all fronts, of implanting revolutionary concepts deep in the consciousness of the masses and making them part of their world outlook.

We view and should always view the work for the communist education of the working people, for the for-

mation of their communist tastes and conduct, for the triumph of socialist morality and the new way of living, 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.

A particularly significant role in the communist education of the masses is played by the press, radio and television which have made an outstanding contribution to the political, ideological and cultural education of the masses, and to organizing and mobilizing them in the struggle for the socialist construction of the country.

Ideological purity has been and remains the fundamental principle of our popular and partisan press. But in recent times, in certain organs like the newspapers "Drita" and "Zëri i Rinisë," the magazines "Nëntori" and "Ylli," in certain books issued by the "Naim Frashëri" Publishing House there have appeared a series of literary and artistic works and critical writings with alien ideas, concepts and theories, with liberal modernist tendencies and other decadent manifestations incompatible with our ideology and culture. These have created confusion in the minds, sentiments and tastes of the working masses, and especially of the youth. The concessions made in various press organs cause great damage, because through them the alien bourgeois-revisionist influences which have infiltrated not only gain, so to speak "the right of citizenship," but spread speedily and on a mass scale into all categories of the population.

The line and directives of the Party should be imple-

mented with intransigence and consistency in the organs of the press. Marxist-Leninist ideology should run through every writing and every material published in the columns of our newspapers, magazines and books, to serve the general communist education of the masses and the formation of the new man of the socialist society. The press, as it has done to now, should inspire the masses in the noble task of building socialism and protecting the homeland. It should promote the revolutionary militant spirit and strike strongly at alien influences of every kind, from whatever side they may come. It should expose the bourgeois and revisionist order, their anti-popular and aggressive policy, their decadent ideology and culture, revealing their social ills and pointing out the all-round rottenness of their system.

We know the special place radio and television occupy in the Party's propaganda system. Under the guidance of our Party our radio and television have made progress from one year to another. As a whole its work has been characterized by the endeavours of the communists and of all the working people to enhance the role of this institution in the political, cultural and artistic life of the country, to propagate the Marxist-Leninist line and stand of our Party, and the progress of socialist Albania.

In spite of this, it should be pointed out that, especially last year, the revolutionary spirit, the socialist substance and national character of the musical, cultural and artistic programs of our radio and television were gradually weakened. These deviations were reflected in the copying of alien forms of structure and presentation of various television programs, in the transmission of foreign songs without a political and

ideo-aesthetic criterion and in the encouragement production and propagation of modernist songs imitating western music. Thus, the radio and television programs began to ignore the spiritual requirements of the broad working masses, especially the youth, and to become a vehicle for alien tastes and morality which were liked by only a certain kind of elitists. This manifestation, alien to our life, ideology and culture, was expressed in condensed form at the 11th festival of Radio-Television.

A major responsibility for these deviations from the party line in Radio-Television is borne by Comrade Todi Lubonja, former director of this institution, who as a right-wing deviationist has displayed and supported pronounced liberal opportunist views and modernist aesthetic tastes, and has applied alien methods of management. He tried to give radio and television a purely informative and cultural-recreational direction, quite at variance with the orientations of the Party on their political, ideological and cultural-educational character. Both formerly as secretary of the Party Committee of the Korça district and as director of Radio-Television, Todi Lubonja stood out for his arrogance. Being on the same anti-party road and following the same anti-party aims as Fadil Paçrami, he was opposed to the party line and strove to distort it. He deprived the basic organization of Radio-Television of the ideological, political and organizational leadership of the institution, pursuing a personal policy of cadres, gathering round him persons he himself judged to be suitable to apply his views and tastes. In this way he did great damage to the activity of this important institution and in general to the Party's work for the ideological and aesthetic education of the masses, especially the youth.

Our Party has taken steps to do away with alien influences in Radio-Television. The situation there has improved but much still remains to be done so that radio and especially television may fully carry out the tasks the Party has assigned to this great propaganda and cultural centre for the all-round educational uplift of the masses and for the formation of the features of a revolutionary, socialist and Albanian television.

Our young television will not create these features by imitating and copying the programs and forms of presentation of foreign television broadcasts. A clear line of demarcation must separate our television from that of the bourgeois and revisionist countries. The course of its development is that of the Party, of the people, of socialism and of revolution.

The Party and government will back and encourage, as always, the efforts of the working people of Radio-Television to promote the new, the beautiful, the variegated, and programs which will really portray the rapid dynamic development of our society, programs which will respond to the ever growing educational and cultural demands and aesthetic tastes of the working masses, especially of the youth.

The all-round improvement of the communist education of our younger generation is closely bound up with the work of the schools, the teachers and lecturers. In recent years, our schools, fighting to apply the orientations of the Party for their further revolutionization, have taken important steps ahead. Parallel with an unprecedented extension of education, attempts are being made to introduce the Marxist-Leninist ideological axis into all teaching and educational work, to combine classroom teaching with productive work and physical

and military training, to revolutionize the methods of teaching and education, and to further democratize school life. Really good work has been done and continues to be done in compiling and improving new school texts.

In spite of this, the general result of the teaching and educational work of our school does not yet meet our requirements. In the schools and the university there are pronounced weaknesses both in the teaching staff and in the pupils and students. The Ministry of Education and Culture has not properly done its duty in this direction. Heavily burdened with the great work called for to re-organize education in line with the decisions of the Central Committee, it forgot and failed to follow up properly the principal objective of this re-organization, namely, the consolidation of the educational aspect of education. There is still a lot of formalism in the activity of the schools and this discrepancy is striking particularly in their educational activity.

The ideo-aesthetic and ethical formation of pupils and students is one of the fundamental aspects of communist education, which is being carried out with some weaknesses in the schools. It is not a question only of those weaknesses observed in this field in the teaching of various subjects, but especially of the inadequate work being done during and outside lessons for the development and extension of the cultural horizon of pupils and students, for the formation of their ideo-aesthetic tastes, and a critical stand towards different cultural values, and for the cultivation of new moral features and civic education.

We cannot but notice that the struggle for the democratization of school life, for the greater activation

of the pupils and students, for correct teacher-pupil relations, has not been conducted in close connection with the enforcement of proletarian discipline in the life of the school. Here there have been many concessions, a pronounced spirit of irresponsibility and liberalism. The youth organizations have often placed one-sided stress on "the rights" of youth without viewing them in unity with their obligations. At the same time, the organs of education have also greatly weakened the correct requirements of school rules and regulations, and many teachers and lecturers have maintained a passive and conformist stand. Placing the accent one-sidedly on fighting conservative tendencies in the methods of educational work, they did not fight with the necessary force against indifference and liberalism. All these serious factors have their influence on the still low level of scientific and pedagogical discipline in the work of the school.

Now a fight is being waged in the schools against these shortcomings and weaknesses. But we should never be content with those correct measures which have been taken for the immediate regulation of the situation. We should guard against these measures which have only simplified administrative character. Without giving up the correct organizational and administrative measures to enforce discipline in school, but fighting insistently for them to be carried out in full, it is also essential to work towards a more profound solution of these problems in the future. The Party's program for the further revolutionization of the school cannot be carried out in full without intensifying the struggle to raise to a higher level the results and quality of all its activity, without a radical improvement of the whole

system of its educational work. The most acute and relevant problems in this sphere are: strengthen ideo-aesthetic training, civic education, communist taste and conduct, and the spirit of communist social discipline.

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 reconstruction 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 struggle and tireless work in the service of the people and of revolution.

Nevertheless, it is not permissible for us to fail to see the defects in the work of the Labour Youth Union of Albania, the distortions and faults that have occurred especially during these recent years, which are directly connected with those alien liberal modernist manifestations and phenomena which the Party is criticizing today. The youth organizations, particularly in the schools, but also in the villages and work centres, have not been on top of the situation as they should have been, due to the weakness of the leadership of the youth, including the former First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Youth Union, Comrade Agim Mero. Comrade Agim is a young cadre, a good comrade, who slipped into liberalism, who became swelled-headed, promoted wrong views about the youth and weakened the norms which governed the organizational life of the Labour Youth Union of Albania. When he was appointed to the university, he retained certain erroneous liberal concepts with regard to the rights of students, without putting the proper stress on their obligations.

But it is a positive thing that Comrade Agim acknowledged his mistakes at a number of party meetings, and is now working to put them right.

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

The leadership of the youth organization did not properly understand and apply the directive of the Party to fight on both fronts at the same time. This was the source of many of the mistakes in the work of the youth organization. While correctly fighting against patriar- chalism and conservatism, which cramp and hinder the development of the creative energies of the youth, they failed to assess correctly the danger of the influences of bourgeois and revisionist ideology. Many evil manifestations and phenomena have been justified and mini- mized, saying "there's nothing to worry about" and that "they are transitory and are connected with the age of youth." Although the saying goes "don't judge by words but by deeds," the leadership of the youth orga- nization has not been disturbed by poor educational re- sults in school, by the fact that thousands of young peo- ple repeat a year or leave school, that young workers and co-operative members are often absent from work, that crimes committed by young people keep increasing and so on.

In the leadership of the youth organization there has

been a tendency to deal more with the rights and demands of the youth, which the Party has always stressed should be carefully attended to. But, at the same time, it was not seen or stressed sufficiently that the youth must also carry out to the letter their tasks at school and at work, that they should not expect everything on a plate, but that they themselves should also work and toil to create the conditions for an active cultural, sporting and recreational life, and that they should guard and try to utilize the means which the state has placed at their disposal.

Our youth should be educated so that they themselves are active and militant, so that they do not blame their weakness in school, for example, on the "inability of the teachers," or blame their failure to reach the plan targets in mass actions on "technicians and managers," and so on. They should fight against self-satisfaction and conceit, which lead to noise and show.

Another serious mistake has been that of undervaluing educative work with the youth, even of discontinuing the study classes organized for the education of the masses of youth after finishing the cycle of lectures on the History of the Party, thinking that the school does this with the pupils, that in work centres the youth are educated in the trade unions and in the countryside in the Democratic Front.

Manifestations of liberalism also affected the internal life of the Youth Union and its forms and methods of work. The very correct directive of the Party to fight officialdom, bureaucracy and rigid forms in order to apply flexible forms of work with youth was interpreted in a liberal way. It was interpreted as freeing the organization from necessary rules, which led to the violation of

certain fundamental norms stipulated in the Constitution of the Youth Union. In fact, meetings began to be held infrequently, while absences from them became more frequent, and the life of the basic organizations and the ties among them began to weaken.

In addition to the leadership of the youth organization, great responsibility for the weaknesses that have appeared in its organizational work also lies with the party organizations and committees, and with all the communists.

The Party Central Committee has always rightly stressed the need to allow the youth organizations more initiative and independence of action. But does this imply that the Party should care less about youth, that its constant supervision of the organizations of the Labour Youth Union of Albania is not necessary? Our youth find in the Party their strength, guidance and inspiration. The best cadres of the Party should be charged with the task of speaking to the youth, of explaining to them clearly the directives issued and the decisions taken by the Party. And it should not happen that a candidate who has just been admitted to party membership from the ranks of youth leaves the youth organization, or when he does take part, gives no assistance there.

We should never forget for a moment 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 molded 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 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 our schools, artistic and cultural institutions, all the means of propaganda, sport, etc., are better placed at the service of the revolutionary education of our youth.

As always, this time too our youth have understood aright and are applying with all their strength the advice and teachings of the Party. This is another proof of the close links of our youth with the Party. The question now is to intensify our work with the youth so that these problems may be better understood from the ideological standpoint, so that they may be involved more broadly and actively in the class struggle, in studying to master Marxist-Leninist theory, science and technology, in work and mass actions to build socialism, and in physical and military training to defend the homeland; and on this sound basis, to temper them further as an insuperable revolutionary force in the struggle the Party is leading for the construction of socialism in our country.

WRITERS AND ARTISTS ARE ASSISTANTS OF THE PARTY FOR THE COMMUNIST EDUCATION OF OUR PEOPLE

*Speech delivered at the meeting of the Secretariat of the
CC of the PLA concerning the implementation to date of
the tasks in literature and art set by the 4th Plenum of
the CC of the PLA*

December 20, 1974

I believe that in reporting here to the Secretariat of the Central Committee, as with any party body, the most thoroughly researched problems should be raised. It would be better if these reports, instead of dryly presenting individual data, provided us with a comprehensive and clear picture of the work that is being done in connection with the clarification, understanding and further creative development of these directives of the Politburo of the Central Committee of the Party.

I asked the comrades of the Ministry of Education and Culture as well as the comrades of the apparatus of the Central Committee engaged in problems of literature and art how they activate the writers, poets and artists, because they should not burden them with office routine, involving them in one way or the other in the machinery of bureaucracy. I asked this question because I think that the League of Artists and Writers should not be turned into a bureaucratic organ. On the contrary, it must be a centre where there is a lively threshing out of philosophical, artistic, aesthetic and other opin-

ions. We must not allow the League of Artists and Writers to be turned into an organ for control over the various writings of all the writers and poets of the country, but, primarily, it should work in many different ways and forms to inspire them to write better and better.

That is why I advised our distinguished revolutionary poet Dritëro Agolli, who is also the chairman of the Writers and Artists Union, to move away from the routine and bureaucratic nature of the Union, and asked him to tell us about the state of our poetry at this meeting. And he enlightened us with great knowledge.

Over these thirty years of a free existence in a country such as ours, in which socialism is being built, we have achieved many successes in the fields of the economy and culture. There is no doubt whatever that these successes would not have been achieved without the existence of the Party of Labour, without its correct Marxist-Leninist line, without the establishment of the people's power, without the dictatorship of the proletariat and without the continuous waging of the class struggle. All these factors have resulted in major transformations being carried out in the socio-economic field and, linked with them, in the all-round education of the working people. The economic and cultural life of our people has changed, has progressed. Our people work, produce, create, learn and consume.

In all this development the Party has continually made all-round analyses of key moments, which have helped the communists and all the working people to see the good aspects, as well as the weak ones, during the process of this development.

Some people have not appreciated these analyses made by the Party as much as they should. They have

not seen in them the essence of the policy and philosophy of the Party, to point out that the results of a given stage have their good aspects, but also have weak aspects associated with them; there are positive and negative factors and these factors are both objective and subjective. In the opinion of these people, social life develops outside their will, because, they allege, events will take their "predestined" course willy-nilly. Such people differ in appearance from those who philosophize in an idealist and mystical way, but they do not differ at all in their world outlook. At one time, people said and believed that this or that "had been ordained," "it was bound to happen so," "there is a supernatural power, the decisions of which cannot be opposed." They called this "extraordinary force," "God, Heaven, Christ, Mohammed" and all kinds of saintly names. Even now there are people who think metaphysically and believe in certain "forces" which they raise as factors that allegedly set development in motion, such as "the bureaucracy, the administration, selfishness, the sense of private property, ambition, position, etc." For them heaven has been transformed and taken root precisely in those world outlooks and signposts in life which have consolidated the idealist inspiration and the life of the capitalist, merchant or money-lending bourgeoisie. Naturally under our regime, the sphere of action of such people has been narrowed and is becoming narrower, but their harmful mentalities are not without effect in life. These views operate in life in various forms, frequently seem to be quite harmless and normal, and lie hidden under a mentality which allegedly conforms to the laws, the customs and even to the new "patriotism" of the epoch of the Party. This is that petty-bourgeois

mentality, these are those bourgeois and petty-bourgeois remnants, which the Marxist-Leninist party fights and will continue to fight until the classless society is achieved.

It must not be imagined that the people have shaken off these remnants, we should not think that after a few moralizing articles these dangerous vices and world outlooks disappear without a trace, we should not think that, with the improvement of the living standards of the people, our men and women become immune to these “diseases.” Otherwise, we may have a reminder of them, and this time shouting “long live the Party” which created abundance for us. But together with the abundance and well-being, **the Party must create in individuals and in society precisely that world outlook, those customs, those feelings, those tastes, those ethics, that revolutionary philosophy, which will not permit the revival or the spread of petty-bourgeois and bourgeois world outlooks, either.**

Of course, this is not an easy task and that is just what the bourgeoisie, capitalism, relies on when it hopes for the “failure of socialist society,” “the defeat of communism.” It is precisely that philosophy, those world outlooks and those economic relations on which the development and consolidation of its state power are based, that capitalism is counting on. Its whole structure and superstructure have, of course, oppressed man in a twofold way: both spiritually and physically. During the entire course of history, the reign of capital, of religion, of the aristocracy and the bourgeoisie has clashed with the progressive forces, with progress, and has lost many limbs in these wars. Now it has reached

the stage of its decay. Capitalism, imperialism, has lost its economic, political and ideological positions one after another. The revolution, the peoples, are eroding its foundations. Marxism-Leninism is leading the peoples towards the new life, socialism and communism, but we must not think that in face of the defeats it is suffering, world capitalism has laid down its arms. In its objectives, capitalism relies precisely on its barbarous attacks and on predatory imperialist wars against the liberation of the peoples from its yoke, but it also counts on that world outlook and on those remnants which burden the consciousness of men and have kept them as its slaves for life.

In this direction, the propaganda of imperialism for the degeneration of men and women and society as a whole, for the revival of every form and aspect of the former vices, feelings, sentiments, appetites, selfishness, robbery, and gangsterism of those individuals and those societies that supported its power, has never before known such a broad extension and range as it has at the present time. All this is a reflection of the savage face of capital, a reflection of its degeneration. Nevertheless, with this way of life it is still striving to prolong its existence and domination, by influencing the peoples with its propaganda in order to demoralize them, to divert them from the road of the revolution.

Capitalism and imperialism are afraid of the revolution, of the proletariat, but not of the lumpen elements or of those democrats and socialists who fight them with kid gloves, nor of the modern revisionists, like those of the Soviet Union and others, who have betrayed the ideas of Marxism-Leninism. All these, dressed up in various pseudo-revolutionary ideologies, are forces and

means of the counter-revolution which capitalism and imperialism use for their own purposes.

In view of these things, and being aware of the danger of them at every moment, our Party teaches and educates the people, throws them into struggle for the construction of socialist society and the consolidation of the victories achieved, and to prepare the ground for those new objectives which must be achieved. Hence, every citizen of our country must reflect deeply on what the Party means when it says that “we must fight with all our strength against the external and internal pressure of the bourgeois and revisionist ideology.” This double and, at the same time, single enemy is not imaginary but real. The struggle must be waged every day, must be active and take place in all the manifestations of life, in the philosophy of all these manifestations. The struggle must be waged with all the means, through education in schools, in factories, in fields, at work and at home, with the family and tête à tête with the mother, the wife, the sister, the children, the neighbours, in all their manifestations, pointing out and encouraging the good things and condemning the bad things. If we act in this way, we have triumphed step by step over the enemy. We must not allow his evil seed to germinate, and, as soon as it puts up a sprout, we must nip it off at once.

The writers and artists have an exceptionally great role in this direction. The people and the Party need them. Through their creativity and talents they should give more help in eliminating those remnants I spoke of earlier from the dark corners of human consciousness and should bring out the majesty of the socialist world and the virtues of its new men and women. Under the leadership of the Party, our workers of literature and art

should do that profound ideological, political, moral and ethical work which is needed to combat the influences and poisons of the old world and of the present-day capitalist and revisionist world, to bring out the lofty communist virtues and implant them in the character of our men and women. They should struggle to always play the role of the assistant of the Party in the formation of the new man. I regret to have to say that many communists and leaders of party committees and state institutions do not properly understand the importance of literature and art. In their reports they repeat Lenin's golden words about the role of literature and art in educating the masses, but when it comes to practice, they underrate or forget them.

In the direction of the development of literature and art the Party has helped to bring about a great qualitative leap forward. Life in our country is so great, so broad, so varied, so beautiful and so open that if you immerse yourself in it you cannot fail to be inspired to write whatever you like — novels, poems, plays, music, comedies, etc.

The comrade writers, poets, musicians, artists, actors and directors of drama, opera and ballet theatres, cinematography, etc., inspired by the work and heroic deeds of the people, have achieved very great progress in the development of literature and art in our country. The best evidence of this is the creative literary-artistic work done on the occasion of the 30th anniversary of the liberation of our Homeland. Inspired by the decisions of the 4th Plenum of the CC of the PLA, our artists and writers came to that great jubilee with all those beautiful works. These achievements, in the series of others, testify, among other things, to the possibilities

created when the people are in power and are led by a revolutionary Marxist-Leninist party, such as our Party of Labour.

Among the works of foreign authors of various countries which I have read, there are some that I have liked, for instance, the works of classical poetry and outstanding French and other prose writers, but there are also some which I have not liked at all, such as many new novels which I have happened to pick up and tried to read, but which, to tell the truth, I have thrown away, because they are worthless. Let alone the modern “poetry” which I have read, which is unimaginably awful. Reading such “poetry” I ask myself, who are these people who write such stuff. Meanwhile, compared to this corrupt and worthless creativity, the magnificence of our literature and art of socialist realism, the value of our exceptionally beautiful folk songs and dances, becomes ever greater.

Among our poets and prose writers there are authors who turn out literary and artistic creations of value, others who produce works of less value; then there are those who write materials without any special value. Who is going to help the latter, particularly the young poets and writers, progress? We must pay great attention to this question, we must encourage and help them, and our affirmed writers and poets, as well as those who have had more training than the young ones, have a special duty in this direction. But the first and continuing aid we must give them is to open the eyes of their consciousness to the reality of our country and our people. They themselves must learn to see with their own eyes and feel with their own hearts the vigorous development of the life of our people and faithfully reflect

it in their diverse creativity. We must understand the most profound and diverse aspects of this development, which are discovered through knowledge of the material life and the feelings which arise in each period, through the clash of opinions created by internal and external antagonisms, which were and are inseparable in the life of a people, in whatever period and in whatever corner of the continents this people may live and fight for its existence, for a better life, a life in freedom and economic and political independence.

A poet who does not know the reality is quite unable to produce a powerful poem, no matter how developed his imagination may be. But if he combines his imagination with the objective reality of the country, with the vivid life of the people, if in his writings he combats expressions full of pompous phrases, he, too, can become a talented writer.

We must not be discouraged because, alongside the recognized poets and writers, we do not see new talents of high calibre emerging, as was said here. It must be borne in mind that it is not easy to create worthwhile literary pieces, poems, novels, etc. in a short time. You need time to write valuable works; besides, you must link yourself with men and women, with the people, must go deep into the heart of the masses, not just to find the subject for your novel or poem and then immediately leave the village or the factory, considering the birth of the idea to be sufficient. No fine work, no achievement, can come out in this way, that is why it is required of the writer to really get to know people, to know their lives, their difficulties and worries, their pleasures and hopes, etc. as I said earlier.

The majority of our young writers have a cultural

horizon, but their task is to link this culture well with the life of the country, with the directives of the Party. I am convinced that, by drawing inspiration from the life of the people and the correct line of the Party, in time the young writers, too, will mature and succeed in winning recognition.

There are two ways of viewing the development of life: one is the idealist, mystical, pessimistic and conservative view, **and the other is the realist view, with a revolutionary spirit, fruit of a materialist analysis of events and history, a view full of optimistic feelings about a further positive change and development of history and about the advancement of society, of a classless society.** This view becomes the property and outlook of those men and women with pure revolutionary virtues, who, uniting with the progressive classes, strike powerful blows at the entire abhorred ideological and political-moral arsenal of the reactionary forces. **In order to educate and help the young writers and artists, it is essential that we teach them, and make understandable to them, the ideology that guides our Party and our working class — Marxism-Leninism.**

We must teach our young writers and artists how to read the open book of the socialist life of our country, how to study and grasp the content of this wonderful book. We must make them love every “letter” of this book of life, make them see and feel the powerful pulse of the strength, feelings and ardent desires of our people. We must work to make them see and handle the colossal achievements of our people in all fields, see how our new man of socialist society, led by a Marxist-Leninist party, has transformed the plains, the mountains,

has harnessed the flow of rivers and built entire cities from nothing. We must make these young people see all these beauties, all this rich colour of our people and nature. From this wonderful book, which is the life of the people, they should make deductions and put all these great treasures of our socialist life in their books, novels and poems, in their songs and plays, in the paintings and sculptures they create.

If our artists and writers proceed in these directions and are imbued with these teachings, if they immerse themselves completely in the revolutionary current of life with all their strength of character and the depth of their pure and ardent feelings, they will certainly give the people and their Homeland wonderful works which will be a reflection of the mighty work being done in our country for the construction of socialism and the formation of the new man. As to their usefulness and majesty, their works will be like the giant hydro-power stations, factories and combines, the beautiful wheat fields and the hills covered with fruit trees; they will be like the beauties of our cities, schools and creches, where the happy children of our socialist country laugh and sing, where our working class, co-operativist peasantry and people's intelligentsia, with their minds and skills, are creating and building a new, happy and prosperous life.

I think that another special sort of help which should be given to the young, less experienced and as yet unformed writers, apart from the friendly advice of the outstanding poets, writers, painters and musicians, or the comments they will make about the creative work of the young people, will be the beautiful and rich creativ-

ity of our great talents, the splendid writings and compositions they bring out, which will inspire those who are younger and with less training from the ideological and artistic viewpoint. The works of poetry, prose, music, painting, etc., provided by our well-known writers and artists, should become major subjects for study to inspire all those engaged in literature and art, in regard to their ethics, content, treatment of problems, etc. This creativity is and will remain a great school and assistance provided for the young by the recognized artists, from whose works not only those who have just begun to write, but also the readers, all those who are not engaged in writing, learn and gain education, because they inspire us, too.

The fine works of the outstanding writers, poets and artists please us, because they are permeated by valuable ideas and thoughts, which do not drop from the skies, but stem from knowledge of the real state of things, of our reality, of the development of the political and social life of our people. These ideas and thoughts correctly and accurately reflect the desires, joys and sorrows, the life and depth of the thinking of the people, they are linked with our future, therefore, they not only please us, but also inspire us and invigorate our work. Hence, the successful works of the outstanding authors should become the main source of assistance to the young creators, rather than any schematic organization of giving help on their part. When the works of the writers and artists, their paintings and musical compositions, express the profound thinking and great-heartedness of the people and portray real characters from life, this makes those who are reflected in these creations think: With the work we carry out, do we deserve this

honour? And this question which they ask themselves inspires them and multiplies their strength to work even harder.

The works of our writers, including the young ones, contain inspiration, ideas, taste, art. All these things may not be always profound, may not be perfect. It is known that the tree does not yield fruit as soon as it sprouts from the soil. It is like this also with the young writers and artists, but in time they, too, will grow up, will mature in their thoughts and will know how to create works which are more beautiful, of greater and more lasting value.

In their creative work the young writers must draw inspiration, first of all, from the line of the Party and the colossal activity of the men of labour, but, as I said, they must also learn from their older and more experienced writer, poet and artist comrades. Among the young artists and men of literature, indeed also among the older ones, through systematic educational work, we must patiently fight and eliminate egoism, ambition and conceit, which linger among us as stains from the society with antagonistic classes. This work is indispensable for a massive development and blooming of the beautiful, fragrant, multi-coloured flowers of a socialist garden such as ours. But, I think, we cannot expect that all talents will reach that level of development at the same time. Therefore, we must not make unwarranted comparisons between individuals engaged in creative work, saying that the productions of this one or that are superlative, while those of the others are nothing! No, we must not act in this way. The literature, art, music, and indeed the economy, the sciences and the entire culture of the countries and peoples of the world have not de-

veloped all at one time, but have passed, step by step, from the lowest stages to the highest. Differences, of course, have always existed, not only when high levels of science, literature and culture have been attained, but also when they have not. Time and life themselves will make the differentiation.

In the world literature of different epochs and centuries, mention is made of men who, in their own time, have been among the most renowned, but in the later centuries their value has fallen right away and they have been forgotten. A book about the French Academy writes of those outstanding French and world authorities who were never admitted to the Academy, such as Molière, Rousseau, Diderot, Balzac, etc. It says that many of them were turned down when they presented their candidatures for membership of the Academy. But who turned them down and who was chosen in their stead? The authors of the book show that those who were elected instead of these authorities were men whose creative work had no great value, therefore, with the passage of time, many of them have been forgotten and some have disappeared without a trace. In this book, one of these authors, himself an academician, presents the grandeur and immortality of Molière who was never admitted to the Academy. In the final account, what did Molière want with the luxurious armchair of the French Academy when, even today, millions of men and women go and respectfully touch the old armchair in which he died, playing his immortal comedies?

I mentioned the instance of the French Academy to illustrate the idea that time is what does the sorting out of many people and works. Those which are of the

greatest value, the masterpieces, last through centuries as immortal monuments whose glory never fades. Others, of a certain mediocre value, are talked about for a time, whereas those which are worthless are entirely rejected and nobody even mentions them. Thus, do what you will to impose a valueless work, it will be short-lived. The opposite is just as true, do whatever you like, organize cabals, invent baseless criticism in a spirit of ambition and denigration about a fine work, nevertheless it will not disappear, its worth is not reduced but resists any action, and, finally, it imposes itself through its great values.

I think that a work, of whatever genre, has its good aspects, but it has also its weak aspects. This is precisely why criticism is necessary, but not denigrating criticism impelled by ambition and other unhealthy feelings, but fair, objective, constructive criticism.

I make no claim at all, through these few elementary thoughts I am expressing, to pose as, or place myself, in the role of a literary critic. No, I am not in that category, but I think that a work, of whatever genre, **must have its essence in the correct political, ideological, moral road and present the situation, its general and typical aspects realistically.** First of all, the work must inspire, educate, and enthuse the reader. The force and intensity with which it will do this depends on the profundity of its ideological content and on the forms, style, figures, colours, etc., used by the author.

In their colossal work, our great classical teachers — Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin, have dealt with the problems of literature and art, too. The revisionists and Trotskyites try to minimize this major contribution of the classics. They do this with a view to opening broad

fields for their filth of all genres which they are pouring out in all directions.

I advise the writers and artists, particularly the literary and art critics that along with their study of the Marxist-Leninist theory they should read with especially great care those more than a few instances in which our classics make criticism of writers and artists. They are profound analyses and models of how we should judge a literary-artistic work.

As I have said, I do not want to go into detail about what a critic should be, but I hope you will forgive me, because I would like to make a criticism of our literary critics. Sometimes their criticism is neither simple nor understandable, thus it cannot always be grasped by those who read it and who want to learn. Many of these criticisms are verbose, what should be pointed out is drowned in a flood of analysis and frequently, abstruse and “specific” phrases and terminology are used to give the impression of “competence” and of having thoroughly studied the work. But in acting in this way, they forget the reader, on whom this kind of criticism has no great effect. If I may give some advice, this is that our critics should abandon any inclinations, if these appear among some of them, to imitate the bourgeois modernist critics of the present time who make their criticisms obscure, confused and corrupting, under the pretext that they must allegedly adapt their criticism to the works of the times.

In the field of the literary and artistic criticism of the bourgeoisie in various epochs, too, we shall see various stages and forms of it. Without aspiring to the heights of the criticisms of Voltaire, which were as incisive and profound as they were simple and understandable, but

just taking the criticisms of the early decades of our century, we shall notice that they were not so double-distilled, so tangled and twisted, to the degree to which the present bourgeois and revisionist art, literature and criticism have degenerated.

Our literary-artistic criticism must be inspired by and pursue the principled course of the great classical teachers and our Party. Our criticisms should be realist, like the works they analyse; they should be simple, understandable, concise and able to be grasped by the public. Criticism must be educational, therefore, he who makes it must not regard himself as speaking from the “peak of Olympus,” but should consider the author of a work as a comrade, to whom he talks to give him advice, always with good intentions.

We must also show a little tact, comrades, in the help given to those who create. We should bear in mind the psychology and feelings of a person. The observation made here concerning subjective criticism is correct. Sometimes the criticisms made about literary or musical works are exaggerated and subjective. We must demand from our writers, poets and artists that the content, the essence of their work should be on a correct party road and be inspired by a sound revolutionary spirit in the service of socialism. This is the main thing which our authors must bear in mind in their creative work. As to how one or the other will construct the theme he has chosen, the characters, this is the business of the writer, the poet or the musician. He, better than anyone else, finds for himself the artistic figures which please him, knows which moment must be underlined to further strengthen the ideological and political core of his work, and so on. On questions like these, each must decide for

himself. It would not be advisable at all, for example, to say to one writer or another: "If you will remove this idea or line and add that other one, if you will shorten it a little here and extend it there, remove this artistic figure and put in another," etc. In such a case the writer would have the right to retort: "Then why don't you write your own verse the way you want it and stop messing me about?" We must never interfere **expressively** with uncalled for criticism of literary-artistic works, because such subjective interference is not assistance, but massacre. Criticisms must not be made in this way. If we allow others to make one comment after another, endlessly, about the publication of a poem, a play, etc., the work will end up a disaster and be turned into a "Russian salad." We should be particularly careful to pursue a correct policy of aid and criticism in regard to the young writers, in the sense that we should neither depress nor intimidate them by telling them baldly, "Your poem is worthless," "Your writing is very poor," etc. We should also bear in mind the other aspect, that we should not turn their heads with undue praise otherwise they might get "stuck up." The aim is to help them advance, so that they, like all the others, serve the people with devotion.

In a few words, when a work is correct in line and does not lack artistic values, but which may be a bit lame somewhere with regard to this or that aspect, there should not be too much hesitation to publish, exhibit, perform or stage it. On the other hand, I want to re-emphasize that it would not be right and proper for the people of art and literature to take a contemptuous attitude towards the fair criticisms and suggestions of an essentially ideological and artistic character made by the

critics or the readers.

Our theatre, both of drama and of opera and ballet, has gained experience and has created a tradition, but efforts must never cease to find other, newer, ways and means with a revolutionary spirit to enrich and further improve this experience and these traditions. Our theatre must reflect our revolutionary reality, the demands of the working class and co-operativist peasantry to consolidate the new society. Of course, for us the theatre is a political and ideological weapon for the education of the people, therefore, it must be understandable and, in order to be so, it must express their feelings and desires.

It is essential that our dramaturgy should be raised to the highest possible level of perfection, should avoid banality, and not only respond to the present level of culture of the masses who frequent our theatre, **but should be, at the same time, the inspirer of a further advance in the tastes and revolutionary impulse for a more cultured life.**

Naturally, we are opposed to the literature of modernist dramatic art which tries to entangle and enslave people in the consumer society, to deprive them of their pure feelings and of a revolutionary human morality in thoughts and actions.

Of course, our revolutionary theatre does not and cannot have the individual features of one artist, but has the finest features of our masses, of our socialist society. This in no way means that our revolutionary theatre underrates or entirely eliminates the personality and creative talent of the artist, as the bourgeoisie and its "theories" about theatre claim. On the contrary, our revolutionary theatre opens to the artists a very wide field of

feelings and thoughts which greatly enrich their creative spirit and possibilities.

The inner world of our artists does not know those restrictions which are imposed on the artist in bourgeois society. Such artists in bourgeois society have only the illusion of "freedom of creation," while, in fact, their activity is conditioned and, of course, orientated by the bourgeois reality, by a life full of abnormal, amoral, extravagant phenomena. It is precisely these corrupting phenomena and this extravagance that give the bourgeois writers and artists the impression of having "freedom to create." The darkened halls of their cinemas and theatres are dominated by the aim of creating anguish in the hearts of the audiences, so that this anguish will stay with them the whole day and the whole week and become their second life. This content, this aim, this form and these aesthetics are rejected and combatted by our revolutionary aesthetics, inspired by the pure feelings of our people and intended to serve the masses of the people.

In this sense we should give a great impulse to our popular art through the development of the amateur art movement, too, and with this we should not think only of our folk songs and dances. We must extend and enrich these two genres which the people love.

Now we have people who are masters of the pen. I am not saying that they should not write novels and poems, because they are a sound and indispensable nourishment for the education of our men and women of socialist society, but I notice that there is a marked inclination among the literary people to follow those who have blazed the trail in creativity with novels and poems, and a trend to underestimation or lack of interest

in writing plays, film librettos and scripts and sketches for the variety theatre. I have heard people say: "What can we do, one cannot write without the desire," "there are no inclinations, no talents for these genres." What unfounded and harmful ideas! These people are making a great mistake, because they are neglecting or, what is worse, underrating these genres, which are also of incalculable importance for the education of our people. Little by little, even those who have had inclinations for these genres and who have distinguished themselves in this field of literary and artistic creativity have begun to neglect them. We see our theatres filled to capacity. Our cinemas, likewise, are packed every night. But what do the audiences see? The repertoires are old, not in the sense that they are useless, but they have no new subjects. We make few films, very few. We should not expect to have theatrical pieces in perfect form. Such a requirement would certainly lead us to close down the theatre and would make us see the dramatization of the novel "The Gadfly" day and night, as we do. Why should we not put on more of our own works but always persist with "The Gadfly" till our eyes are sticking out from watching it on television? "The Gadfly," with a subject from the history of the carbonari, hasn't so much value that it should be put on so often.

Our cinemas are screening bad foreign, capitalist and revisionist films. How do our people endure the showing of revisionist Czechoslovak, Romanian or Hungarian films, for example, "How I Became a Policeman," and similar vile rubbish? Not only is the selection of foreign films done badly, which does great harm to the education of our people and our youth, but hackneyed excuses are made: "What are we to do? We have

no films," they say.

My opinion is that the films produced by our film-studio are very good, they are marvellous in comparison with those dished up to us from abroad, with bandits and cowboys.

We have wonderful artists whom, without the least hesitation, I consider to be of world calibre. With these wonderful actors and the talented directors we have, we can produce not two or three films a year, but many more, provided we prepare the scripts for them and their working and living conditions. These treasures we possess but do not know to use them properly.

We have wonderful singers whom we say belong to the opera. It may be so, but these and the variety show singers, as well as singers from the ranks of the people, greatly please the public with the concerts they give. Well, these great artists and others, a little less great, could they not play in films? Couldn't we use them in films in which they would sing to this beautiful life blooming before our eyes, to this life which we are building with our own hands? Of course, we could.

In no way must our variety theatres in districts confine themselves to a few songs, a few sketches which they put on in the cities where they have been set up. My opinion is that the professional variety shows and theatres of the districts must be turned into powerful centres and means for organization and propaganda to encourage a great development, both in extent and quality, in the setting up of theatrical and variety groups in work centres, schools and particularly in the agricultural co-operatives.

We are filled with great enthusiasm when we see on the stages of the Opera and Ballet Theatre of the capital,

in the concerts and variety shows of the districts, hundreds upon hundreds of young girls and boys who play so perfectly and sing with such fine, harmonious and melodious voices that we forget that they are lathe operators, workers of the "Migjeni" artistic products enterprise or the "Stalin" textile combine, wool workers from Kukës, girl students from Shkodra or school girls from Gramsh.

What great development our art has achieved! These talented young people are capable of stage performances full of feeling and pathos, of playing important roles in films, of learning all sorts of songs and dances. I am speaking of all those who have not been through schools of art. We have opened schools and we shall extend them, but we should not forget and should not underestimate the great art which is like a precious jewel in the bosom of the people, and which is developing from day to day towards new heights. This we must organize even better.

I am aware of the instructions given, according to which our professional variety shows and theatres of the cities must give performances in the villages, too. From what I have heard, however, these institutions are not yet implementing this directive of the Party properly, because even today they give few performances in villages and the greater part of them in villages near the cities. It is the duty of our professional theatres and variety shows to extend their activity even to the most remote areas, covering our entire countryside with their artistic performances.

Today, in all the agricultural co-operatives everywhere in our country, there are groups of outstanding folk singers and dancers, there are talented instrumen-

talists who please and educate the broad masses of the co-operativists with their performances and new ones are emerging every day. There is no doubt that along with them in the villages there are also talents with inclinations towards dramatic art, people capable in this field, fine humourists, with whom variety groups could be created in every agricultural co-operative to give theatrical and variety performances there. Therefore, when the professional theatres and variety shows of the cities go to the villages, they should discover these talents in the ranks of the masses, should urge them and encourage them, and organize amateur theatre troupes with them, help to organize them and get them going, appoint artistic leaders from among their own company, who will look after these amateur groups and help them until they are able to stand on their own feet. Thus in our socialist countryside amateur dramatic art will flourish, too, new people and new talents will emerge who will enrich the stages and the repertoire of our professional theatres.

The teachers who work in agricultural co-operatives, communists and non-party people, art-loving boys and girls, must help to extend the artistic activity in the countryside. All-around them are people with rare dramatic talents, capable people, with a keen sense of humour which is both educative and amusing. The houses of culture in the co-operatives should become real cultural centres in the full meaning of the term. See the great talent with which our people perform folk dances and songs! These co-operative farmers are able to play theatrical parts, too. They know life well and, if we organize them properly, they will find great satisfaction for themselves, and they will please others and

make them happy, too.

But we must go still further. In every period, talented artists have emerged in the ranks of the people, who, though illiterate, have created works of a great artistic value, even including some masterpieces. But now, when all the boys and girls have seven- and eight-year schooling can this not occur? Of course, it can. Therefore, we must work, look for them, encourage them, support them wherever they are, on the jobs, in production, in the villages, and then we shall have lots of co-operativists, lathe operators, textile workers and women workers, like those of the "Migjeni" enterprise, who will create artistic works so beautiful that they will enthuse and inspire the professional artists, too. Let us smash the rigid walls of academicism, the petrified forms, let us thaw the ice which keeps so many new talents paralysed because, allegedly, you need school for this and school for that. The Party is not opposed to school, but even when we did not have special schools for poetry, music, painting, etc., our people have created and continue to create, to produce wonderful talents from their ranks.

Personally I feel a satisfaction when I listen to music, whether that of the great classical and progressive composers of the world, or the musical works of our own composers. But, to tell the truth, the beautiful songs and dances of the people please me most, move me with their beauty and power and, at the same time, with their simplicity. I am not saying this just because I am an Albanian. No, but because our folk songs and dances are really beautiful, very beautiful indeed. The Party has done a great thing that it elevated to a high pedestal and perpetuated all this rare wealth we have inherited from the

past. Since the first years of liberation, when our people were still poor and living in great privation, it set about this work vigorously, insisting that folk instruments should be produced and that the folk songs and dances should not be neglected. Do you remember, comrades, when the instructions were given on these matters? And today the folk songs and instruments have become a very healthy spiritual nutriment for our working masses and our youth.

If the writer or poet desires to write, or the musician to compose a musical piece inspired by the sufferings of the Albanian people in the past and their joys, let him turn to the songs and melodies of the people, in which he will find a powerful source of inspiration. Recall, for instance, the song "I was left there comrades, left there!" which Dritëro Agolli has included in his poem "Mother Albania." This is a song of value not only for the words chosen with rare artistic mastery, for its great spiritual power, but also because its content is a profound synthesis and reflection of the past suffering of the Albanian people. You never tire of hearing this song interpreted with such rare mastery by the folk singers of the Skrapar district, Demir Ziko, Medi Kushi, and others.

Our people have always been optimistic. In sorrows and joys they have never lost their faith in the future, and this great optimism has been perpetuated in the rich heritage of oral literature, in their songs, in their dances, in their costumes and their other wonderful traditions. This is something great which only the genius of the people realizes perfectly in art.

Sometimes I see concerts by the groups of folk singers of various districts on TV. Among them there are many beautiful pieces of a really high level of content

and melody. In many instances I have noticed that they have managed to achieve a logical and attractive integration between the form of the folk melody and the new content of the song. For instance, I am very fond of the songs which the folk singer Fatime Sokoli sings with so much feeling and love about the hero of Drago-bia, Bajram Curri, and about the heroic feats of the warrior people of those regions. In another television program I very much liked some songs by folk singers from the town of Kavaja about the girls with golden hands who weave carpets, about the workers of the glass works who decorate vases with designs of such beautiful roses, that when you hear them sing, it seems their fragrance is wafting round you. I heard another program of songs with singers from Elbasan, a city with musical traditions, where 60 years ago the Normal School was established, one of the important educational institutions, which, besides a whole army of patriotic teachers, also turned out musicians and composers. But, to tell the truth, without wanting to underrate them, the “arranged” melodies of the folk song festival of this district seemed to me feeble and cold in comparison with the colour, freshness and beauty of the songs full of spirit of folk art. This does not mean that our composers should give up the “arrangement” of folk songs or dances, cultivated music, as it is called, but these “arrangements” and “cultivations” should always be based on the national heritage, not just here and there with a chord or motif, but should be formed from the very soil of this land, should be inspired by the creativity, the work and aspirations of this people, and be dedicated to them, please them and arouse their spirit. If you depart from this background, you neither serve your own people,

nor give other peoples any reason to value you, because you are not bringing anything new to the common treasury of the world's progressive culture and art.

Another evening I heard on television the interpretation of some folk motifs for cello and piano. Not only was I greatly pleased, but I said: How beautifully our cultivated music can be developed on the basis of folk motifs!

On this correct road valuable works have been created like those composed by Çesk Zadeja, Tish Daija, and many others. Songs like the one entitled "For You, My Homeland," composed by Pjetër Gaci and interpreted by the People's Artist Mentor Xhemali, will remain immortal in the treasury of our new art. This song is a hymn to our socialist Homeland, to our unconquerable people and Party. It was born at the difficult moments of the revisionist blockade and is permeated by a lofty revolutionary and optimistic spirit. If not every day, at least every two or three days, in moments of joy or difficulty, I like to listen to it on my tape recorder and it always moves me and inspires me to work...

On no account must we neglect our folk songs; on the contrary, we should strive to have our composers base themselves firmly precisely on these songs. It is not right that at the "Jordan Misja" secondary school of art the pupils begin to learn foreign classical music first, and Albanian folk music later. The remark made on this question by Comrade Ramiz Alia is quite right. However much effort may be made to teach the pupils foreign music, they will not reach the heights of Liszt, for example, who became a famous composer precisely because he knew how to revive the Hungarian folk rhapsodies. The same can be said of Chopin, Bizet, etc., who

won renown with folk music as their basis.

The broad and varied life of our country needs a multitude of people working in art, in music. Let us discover them, support them, put them on the stage, and some among them who distinguish themselves will be sent to special schools and then return in large numbers to the bosom of our art-loving people.

Our Party wants every work which comes out to be as nearly perfect as possible from all aspects, and it strives for this, but perfection is not easy to attain. It takes time, requires experience, requires ability, too, things which are not innate in man but are developed and worked up during the process of the continuous education of his inclinations. Our people have many inclinations which ought to be utilized and developed for the good of our socialist society. In this direction, as in everything, the Party must play the decisive role, not only from the material aspect, but especially from the aspect of ideas, by inspiring people with its ideology, with Marxism-Leninism. Our poets, writers, musicians, etc., all our artists, should learn Marxism-Leninism not only from books, but also from life, there where it is concretely applied by the people. Books have great importance for the information and education of man, therefore, our people must have books and read them zealously. But to inspire people, to form their world outlook and their education, this cannot be confined to books alone. Moreover, in the case of people lacking in ideological and political development, who have extravagant inclinations contrary to the orientations of the Party, it is even more necessary that they should not be given books of any old kind, particularly those with a harmful, poisonous content, for this has a negative in-

fluence on their formation. We must provide our readers with that literature which has a revolutionary character. However, we must bear in mind that there are writers of other countries who seek to arouse the working class to revolution, but who do not conceive the revolution in the way Marxists do; consequently, they are unable to handle the question of the revolution, in prose or poetry, like our writers, poets and artists. Therefore, we must always be very careful to continually mould our young artists and writers with the ideas of Marxism-Leninism so that, under the leadership of the Party, they will mature, create for the people and think like the people. If we act in this way, what fine, healthy fruit we shall have!

In our post-liberation literature many Albanian writers and poets have distinguished themselves. A good many of them have long won recognition, therefore, I think that the works of value which they have produced and which please us so much should become subjects for study, not in an amateurish way, but systematically. I remember how in the French school that I went through, we were given a thorough systematic foundation knowledge of the works of French writers and poets. But our poets and writers also have wonderful talents and are linked closely with the people, are inspired and learn from them and, on this healthy soil, create popular works of ideological and artistic value. Therefore, it is essential that their works should not be simply skimmed just to say we have read them, or read once and then put back on the shelf, but should be studied attentively and persistently, because the mighty reality of life, the heroism of our people who are building socialism is reflected in them.

The beautiful works of our writers not only please us, but foreigners like them, too. Here I am not speaking only of Ismail Kadare's novels or Dritëro Agolli's poems and those of some others of our literary men, which have been translated into foreign languages, but of the works of many other writers and poets. If we can manage to train our own really able translators in foreign languages (because foreigners have always ignored our beautiful language and that is why you do not find people in other countries who have mastered the Albanian language thoroughly), we shall have great success in popularizing Albanian literary-artistic works abroad. Therefore, let's get down to the job of training our own cadres who will really master other languages so that they are capable of translating the works of our writers into them.

We have been informed that the exhibition "Albanian Art Through the Centuries" which we opened in Paris has aroused great interest among the progressive French public. We have been told that thousands upon thousands of people, including critics, literary men, artists, philosophers, diplomats, etc., have gone eagerly to visit our exhibition, which they have appraised as one of the best put on in the French capital. The visitors were astounded at the development of our art, just as foreign audiences were astonished at the Second National Folklore Festival in Gjirokastra when they saw it on film, or a few years ago at our folk music and dances at the Dijon Festival where our wonderful folk art was presented. Imagine when the foreigners are able to get really good translations of the works of our poets and writers, they will discover and get to know many aspects of the material and spiritual life of our people, who are

building the new life of a genuine socialist society.

Thus, in this direction we must work very hard indeed. It is not sufficient to publicize abroad the grandeur of the Albanian people in the field of national traditions alone, but we must also make world opinion acquainted with the great struggle and work of the Party, of this Marxist-Leninist Party which is building socialism in its own country, quite unafraid of the all-sided struggle which the bourgeoisie and the modern revisionists wage against it. We must make the bourgeois-revisionist world see the great force of Marxism-Leninism in Albania, not only in the economic field, but also in that of art and culture. We are building in all directions with the maximum we have, and our friends can see this in the works produced and draw inspiration from the heroism of our people.

There are many foreigners who, even though they are bourgeois, speak well of our country. In the past, Albania was a "blank space" to foreigners, about which they knew nothing. Now, when they see the development of our archaeology and the scientific level of our research work in this field, they are amazed and ask: "How is it possible that all these treasures have lain hidden in this country?!" "It is a good thing that you have discovered them for yourselves," they tell us, "because had you sought the help of others they would have robbed you of them."

In the outside world there are people with great artistic culture who have the Byzantine culture and art, for instance, at their fingertips. The appraisal which these critics make of the mural paintings of Onufri¹ and the

¹ Albanian painter of the 16th century. His works are distin-

works of other Albanian artists is exceptionally high. In these artistic works they do not see the plastic qualities of Byzantine art. In these paintings, in the colours, even in the rocks of our soil which are reflected in them, they observe a special living quality. "Even the saints" they say, "have human faces and are presented like the mountain eagles."

That is all I wanted to say in connection with some of the issues raised at this meeting. We wish all the workers in the literary and artistic front new and even greater success in carrying out the tasks set by the 4th Plenum of the Central Committee of the Party, as well as other tasks put forward by the Party, the people and socialist construction before literature and the arts.

I regret that I have not yet been able to see the exhibition of Fine Arts on the occasion of the 30th Anniversary of Liberation, as I have been prevented from doing so by my busy schedule, as you know, but I will certainly try to find some time. I am told that the works on show are ideologically as well as artistically very good. Young talents will undoubtedly grow. This is very important for the future. This very exhibition speaks of our great achievements in this field. I wish you every success in your work!

guished by the positive spirit of the European Renaissance art and by the special red colour, which is known in the history and criticism of art as "Onufri red."

FROM THE REPORT ON THE ACTIVITIES OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF THE PARTY OF LABOUR OF ALBANIA

Presented to the 7th Congress of the PLA

November 1, 1976

IV

THE STRUGGLE OF THE PARTY ON THE IDEOLOGICAL FRONT

The years that have elapsed have been years of major work and struggle for the uninterrupted revolutionization of the whole life of the country. This great process of transformation has led to the strengthening of the Party and the state power, the consolidation of the economic base, the development of education and culture and the defence potential of the homeland. It has led to a rise in the consciousness of the working people, endowed them with deeper Marxist-Leninist convictions, created a militant spirit and greater mobilization at work, has encouraged the initiative of the masses, sharpened their political and ideological vigilance and further strengthened their confidence in their own forces. In this all-round struggle, the fighting unity of the people around the Party has been enhanced and the dictatorship of the proletariat defended and strengthened.

1. — We Must Wage the Class Struggle Correctly and With Determination

The construction of socialism is a process of stern class struggle between the two roads, the socialist road and the capitalist road, a struggle waged on all fronts, political and economic, ideological and military.

In socialism, too, this struggle is an objective phenomenon, the main driving force that carries the revolution and the construction of socialism forward, that protects the Party, the state and the entire country from bourgeois-revisionist degeneration and the restoration of capitalism, that cleanses the consciousness of the working people and strengthens their proletarian spirit.

The major successes and victories our people have achieved under the leadership of the Party, in their struggle to develop the revolution and construct socialism, are linked with the fact that the Party has resolutely upheld the line of the class struggle and consistently waged it against internal and external enemies, as well as among the people and in its own ranks.

In the process of this struggle, a rich revolutionary experience of major theoretical and practical value has been gained from which our Party has drawn very valuable lessons and conclusions on how to build and defend socialism and strengthen the Party and the dictatorship of the proletariat.

The class struggle waged during the whole existence of the Party, as well as recently, has shown that **the main danger and enemy to our Party and the entire international revolutionary communist and workers' movement has been and still is right opportunism, revision-**

ism. This danger always threatens a country which is building socialism under the conditions of capitalist encirclement, but it has now become greater still, especially since the liquidation of the socialist order in the Soviet Union and the bourgeois degeneration of many communist parties of the world. In a country where socialism is being built with success, the enemies find it difficult to come out openly with the banner of anti-communism. Pseudo-Marxism, revisionist counter-revolution, is their favourite weapon to overthrow socialism.

International experience and that of our country show that the hopes of the bourgeoisie and reaction for the restoration of capitalism are not based only on the remnants of the old exploiting classes nor only on the agents and diversionists in the pay of foreigners. Their hopes are based especially on other enemies of socialism who emerge from the socialist society itself, on people seriously contaminated by the hangovers of old ideologies, with marked individualistic and career-seeking tendencies, confused by the impact of modern bourgeois and revisionist ideologies, who yield to the pressure of external and internal enemies, and who eventually desert the revolution and degenerate into counter-revolutionaries.

In socialist society there exists the danger of the degeneration of individuals, of the emergence of new bourgeois elements, of their transformation into counter-revolutionaries. As Marxism-Leninism teaches, this comes about not only because the new socialist society still preserves traditions, customs, ways of behaviour and concepts of life of the bourgeois society from which it has emerged, but also because of certain eco-

conomic and social conditions which live on in this society in the transitional phase. The productive forces and the relations of production, the mode of distribution based on them, are still far from being completely communist. The distinctions which exist in different fields, such as between country and town, manual and mental work, qualified and unqualified work, etc., which cannot be wiped out immediately, also exert their influence in this direction. To them must be added the powerful and all-round pressure which the capitalist and revisionist world exerts from outside. Socialism can greatly restrict the emergence of negative phenomena alien to its nature, but it cannot avoid them completely.

Therefore, the discovery and defeat of individual hostile elements or a hostile group, at a given time, should not lull us to sleep and make us think that, with this, the enemies are done for. **As long as the class struggle continues, as long as the hostile bourgeois pressure from within and without exists, the danger of the emergence of new enemies and of their activity against socialism also continues to exist.** The Party and the people must always remain on guard, vigilant and revolutionary, must wage a resolute and uncompromising class struggle and block all the ways from which the enemies might emerge and harm us.

Socialist Albania provides a major example which shows that the emergence of revisionism and return to capitalism are not decreed by fate to be inevitable, as the bourgeois ideologists try to make out. It proves the vitality of socialism, the invincible strength of the ideas of Marxism-Leninism, which, when they are consistently applied, carry the cause of the revolution and the dicta-

torship of the proletariat forward with sure steps. The correct understanding of this problem, the dialectical appreciation of it, is of great principled importance and is directly linked with the fate of socialism.

There exists a very close connection and coordination between the internal and external fronts of the struggle waged by the class enemies. They are united by their anti-communist ideology and the need they have of each other's support in their struggle against the Party and the socialist order. It is important to recognize not only this fact, which will continue to exist as long as the imperialist-revisionist encirclement and the survivals of capitalism themselves exist within the country, but especially that this coordination may be strengthened and become very dangerous if we are careless, lacking in vigilance and fail to carry out a resolute struggle against it.

The Party has carried out great and persistent work to give the people a correct understanding of the imperialist-revisionist encirclement and the struggle which must be waged against it. The results of this struggle are evident in all fields. Under the leadership of the Party, our people have coped resolutely with political pressures, economic blockades, military threats and the ideological aggression of the enemies. They have never been taken in, either by the blandishments and demagoguery of the enemies or by their diplomatic manoeuvres.

However, it remains a major and permanent task of the Party in the future, too, to make old and young ever more conscious of the hostile nature of the imperialist-revisionist encirclement, of the dangers it represents and the tasks we face to cope successfully with the all-round pressure which it exerts on our country. Socialist Alba-

nia is a thorn in the flesh of numerous enemies who are striving in every way to undermine and destroy it. Whatever the tactics they use and the conjunctures created, they always remain enemies, therefore we should have no illusions about them.

The imperialist-revisionist encirclement is not in the least passive and merely geographical, but a threatening and active encirclement which fights us in all fields and in all directions. But there are still people who have a superficial and unduly simple understanding of this encirclement, who underrate the danger of military aggression, the difficulties stemming from the economic blockade or the menace of the foreign ideological diversion. Such attitudes are very harmful.

Our socialist homeland has been and is constantly under threat of military aggression by imperialism and social-imperialism. The aggressive policy of the superpowers is spearheaded first of all against socialism, the revolution and the liberation of the peoples, against those forces that unmask and oppose their hegemonistic and expansionist course. Therefore, the danger of foreign military aggression against socialist Albania is real and should be neither underrated nor overrated.

Besides their measures of force, the imperialist and revisionist enemies also use the tactics of peaceful degeneration of the socialist order, attaching special importance to their ideological aggression, precisely to the counter-revolutionary course which proved so fruitful in the Soviet Union and the other former socialist countries.

The imperialist-revisionist encirclement is operating very powerfully in the field of the economy as well. The savage economic blockade, discrimination in trade rela-

tions, the efforts to impede the development of production are the weapons of the enemies to sabotage the construction of socialism and undermine the economic and political independence of the country.

The aim of the external enemies is to put our internal front into disarray, to aid and abet the anti-socialist and counter-revolutionary elements within the country. Therefore, **we must cope with the united front of the enemies by strengthening our internal front in all directions, in the fields of defence and the economy, politics and ideology, always consistently waging the class struggle.** We must resolutely combat any spirit of euphoria and overestimation of our own forces, any lack of seriousness or of total mobilization in the struggle against the imperialist-revisionist encirclement.

Our people should live everyday with the external and internal political situations of the country, always see their tasks in close connection with these situations, work with a lofty spirit of self-denial and sacrifice, always be ready, vigilant and resolute fighters against all the attempts and pressures of the enemies. The struggle against the imperialist-revisionist encirclement is not a single battle or a series of campaigns, but a continuous fight that must be waged every day.

Our Party has stressed that the struggle on the ideological front constitutes one of the main aspects of the class struggle. This is a fierce struggle waged on a broad front against all alien ideologies, old and new, which are kept alive, inspired and encouraged by internal and external bourgeois pressure. This is a major front of struggle, extremely important and complicated, which demands the permanent attention of the Party.

The successes which have been achieved in this field constitute one of the most important victories of the Party and the people. The petty-bourgeois psychology and attitudes, backward customs and religious prejudices, manifestations and influences of alien bourgeois-revisionist ideologies have been dealt powerful and crushing blows. The aim of all this work has been to have our people always engaged in revolution, to ensure that they do not stand aside from it even for a moment, to encourage them to struggle and work selflessly, all their lives, for the great cause of the Party, for socialism and communism. The high level of political consciousness, the heroism at work, the sense of responsibility and the spirit of sacrifice are characteristic of our working people. This is testimony to the invincible strength of Marxism-Leninism and socialism, the correctness of the line of the Party.

But this healthy revolutionary reality should not induce us to relax our struggle on the ideological front, however slightly, because today, too, the question presents itself in the same way as Lenin presented it many decades ago:

*“...either bourgeois or socialist ideology. There is no middle course... Hence, to belittle the socialist ideology in any way, to turn aside from it in the slightest degree means to strengthen bourgeois ideology.”*¹

The fact that the class struggle on the ideological front is waged in the ranks of the people and the Party, too, in everybody’s consciousness, means that some

¹ V.I. Lenin, “Collected Works,” vol. 5, pp. 452-453, Alb. ed.

people fail to distinguish the hostile content of these alien manifestations. Others underestimate this struggle, thinking that the hangovers from old ideologies constitute a potential rather than a real danger. They forget that these remnants and influences have not been and are not just something ugly, though passive, in people's consciousness, but are the source which incites anti-socialist attitudes and actions, such as thefts from, and damage to, socialist property, breaches of proletarian discipline at work, favouritism and nepotism, bureaucratic and liberal, patriarchal and conservative attitudes, etc. All these things, even when they are not committed by enemies or under their direct influence, are just as harmful and become serious obstacles to the construction of socialism. The hangovers of alien ideologies, the petty-bourgeois mentality, the feeling of private property and the placing of self-interest above public interest, constitute that hotbed in which bourgeois degeneration, revisionist and capitulationist concepts are bred and nurtured. Therefore, the struggle on the ideological front is not a passing campaign, but a continuous struggle for the triumph of proletarian ideology and morality, a struggle for the triumph of socialism and communism.

Our practice of revolution and socialist construction teaches us that unless it is waged in all its main directions, political, economic and ideological, no class struggle can ever be complete. These three forms of class struggle are intertwined with and complement each other. At given periods, now one or now the other form of class struggle may come to the fore, but in every case it should be waged on all fronts. We should not forget that the enemy, too, wages his struggle in all directions:

ideological, economic and political. Practice over the recent years has borne this out clearly.

Underestimation of one or the other aspect is fraught with negative consequences, leads to various distortions and to the weakening of the class struggle as a whole. In practice, there is and can be no class struggle on any front outside the struggle to strengthen the dictatorship of the proletariat, to ensure the leading role of the Party, and to defend the homeland. The class struggle cannot be conceived apart from the efforts to fulfil the economic plan and the tasks in every other field of social activity or from the struggle to implant the proletarian ideology.

The class enemy tries to benumb the vigilance of the masses, it looks for periods of calm and lulls in the development of the class struggle in order to muster its forces and strike suddenly. The task of the party organizations, of all the working people, with the working class at the head, is to prevent the creation of such situations favourable to the enemy and to be always on the offensive, to keep the edge of the class struggle constantly sharp and be irreconcilable with the enemies and their ideologies.

Our Party has always waged the class struggle correctly and unerringly, according to the teachings of Marxism-Leninism. This has been and remains a question of particular importance, for any deviation in waging the class struggle is fraught with grave consequences for the activity of the Party and the masses. It calls for maintaining a principled stand on all occasions, without slipping either into opportunism or into sectarianism. In life, both these phenomena are encountered.

The passive non-militant stands observed in some

party organizations and among cadres of the sectors, in which the various condemned hostile groups carried out their undermining activity, were opportunist. The enemies violated the line, directives and orientations of the Party, displayed features of degenerate people, but these organizations and cadres failed to speak out and tell them firmly to stop their evil-doing activity. The “soft-hearted” attitudes towards the class enemy, the bourgeois sentimentality shown in some cases towards people who degenerate, who violate the norms of socialist society and the state laws, the tolerant and conciliatory attitudes towards manifestations alien to our ideology, are opportunist.

Rigid and sectarian attitudes also damage the line of the Party. In the recent times such attitudes have been apparent among some communists and cadres who, when the Party exposed and condemned elements with a liberal, opportunist and hostile spirit, began to look with undue suspicion even at some small and unimportant blemish. The tendencies observed in some people to resort to administrative methods where persuasion and education should be used are also sectarian. Those who display sectarian tendencies often pose as “consistent and principled revolutionaries.” But in fact they are opportunists and act in this way in order to be “on the safe side.”

These opportunist vacillations stem from lack of a correct grasp of the nature of the two types of contradictions which exist in our society, from confusing antagonistic with non-antagonistic contradictions. The Party must make these matters completely clear and explain that **opportunism cannot be fought with success if sectarianism is not fought at the same time and vice**

versa. On the other hand, the class struggle must be waged neither in closed forms nor only from above, but jointly with the masses, with their broad and active participation. In this way the revolutionary education of the working people is achieved, and the unity of the Party and the people is strengthened and steeled.

The Party has emphasized that one of the most important aspects of the class struggle is the struggle against bureaucracy and liberalism, both dangerous enemies of the dictatorship of the proletariat and socialism. The Party has done great and persistent work against both these negative phenomena and has taken a series of concrete measures, such as those for bringing the state power closer to the people and curtailing the administrative apparatuses, for ensuring the more active participation of the masses in the work of government, for strengthening and further improving the direct worker and peasant control, for eradicating the spirit of the bureaucratic hierarchy and democratizing life in the army, for barring all ways to the penetration of the alien ideology and for revolutionizing the school, literature and arts.

But despite all the successes achieved and the heavy blows bureaucracy and liberalism have been dealt, the Party does not consider the struggle against them as over and done with. They always remain a serious danger, and the struggle against them must go on all the time. They are weapons in the hands of the class enemies to undermine the Party, the proletarian state and our socialist life.

The analyses which the Central Committee has made in the sectors of culture, the economy, the army, etc., have shown that all the hostile elements, on the one

hand, relied on liberalism and bureaucracy, and on the other hand, fostered these tendencies by all manner of means to further their counter-revolutionary aims. In their efforts to undermine socialism and the dictatorship of the proletariat it was not the line and the leadership of the Party they strove to put in the lead everywhere but technocracy, they tried to weaken and eliminate control by the Party, the state and the masses, so as to have their hands free and do as they liked, to encourage anarchist decentralization and create separate and independent organisms, to inflate the state apparatuses and institutions, to weaken their proletarian composition and encourage officialdom, to open the doors to the alien, to undermine confidence in our forces, etc.

But liberal and bureaucratic concepts and practices are not linked with the activity of the enemies only. They are encountered also among our people, in the work of our organs and apparatuses. The struggle against bureaucracy and liberalism will be a long one, because these things are deep-rooted, are linked with economic, social and ideological factors, and encouraged by the internal and external enemies. The scale on which they spread depends on the political and cultural level of people, on the work of the Party for the revolutionary education and tempering of the working people, on the understanding of how dangerous they are and the ways to combat them.

Bureaucracy and liberalism are reactionary, idealist, anti-popular and anti-socialist ways of thinking and acting. It is the task of the party propaganda to expose the ideological class nature of liberalism and bureaucracy by theoretical and practical arguments. **The communists, the workers and the broad masses of the work-**

ing people should be aroused with deep conviction against liberal manifestations, bureaucratic distortions and routine, to expose and combat them in every link and in all the forms in which they crop up.

It is necessary to further strengthen and deepen the struggle against technocratism and intellectualism as reflections of bureaucracy which lead to deviation from the proletarian ideology and the policy of the Party, weakening the leading role of the working class in our society, and disparagement of the creative role and thinking of the masses. In the recent years especially, the technocratic and intellectualist influences have been expressed, among other things, in the overestimation of technology and special skills, in the failure to consider problems from the political and ideological angle, in the lack of faith in the drive and optimism of the masses.

The struggle against liberalism, as an expression of political and ideological opportunism, of concessions to the class enemy, of reconciliation with the influences of alien ideologies, with shortcomings and weaknesses, must become ever more intensive. It becomes even more essential to deepen this struggle because in recent years liberal manifestations and influences have emerged very sharply and have damaged the work in many sectors, such as in culture, the army, the economy and elsewhere. Never, under any circumstances should we underestimate these dangers, but we must always maintain keen political and ideological vigilance, strengthen the check-up from above and from below, enhance discipline and proletarian consciousness in everybody.

The Party should devote particular attention to uprooting liberal and anarchist concepts about democracy and freedom in the socialist society. Some people think

that, being in a democracy, they have rights only and no duties at all, that the state and the society have obligations to them, which they never fail to demand, while they themselves are free to behave and act as they like, to violate discipline at work and social discipline, the laws of the state and the norms of our society, without a care in the world. These extremely harmful concepts should be combatted with determination, for they are alien to the principles of socialism.

A healthy spirit of lively political militancy exists in the ranks of our Party and among the people, and this constitutes a great victory for our Party. But this must in no way make us self-satisfied and close our eyes to manifestations of indifference which are observed among many working people and even among a number of communists and cadres. The struggle against manifestations of indifference remains a current task of the Party and its levers.

The Party has always stressed that **the class struggle in the field of ideology should be frontal and waged against both liberalism and bureaucracy, against the vestiges of the ideology of the old exploiting classes, as well as against the influences and manifestations of the bourgeois and revisionist ideologies of today.** While fighting against degenerating liberalism of bourgeois-revisionist origin, we must not underrate the struggle against various manifestations of conservatism either, which, owing to our historical conditions, still have roots and influences that are by no means superficial.

The 4th, 5th, 6th and 7th Plenums of the Central Committee of the Party have been great schools of class struggle in the period between the two Congresses.

These plenums uncovered and made short work of the hostile groups of Fadil Paçrami and Todi Lubonja, of Beqir Balluku, Petrit Dume and Hito Çako, of Abdyl Këllezi, Koço Theodhosi and Kiço Ngjela, and others, who had engaged in a far-reaching undermining and sabotage activity in the field of ideology and culture, in the army, industry, planning, trade, and so on.

This was a major and extremely dangerous conspiracy. These enemies, in close collaboration among themselves and in coordination with certain foreign revisionist states, intended to liquidate the Party, to overthrow the people's power, to open the way to revisionism and to restore capitalism in Albania.

The traitor group of Fadil Paçrami, Todi Lubonja and company endeavoured to spread the bourgeois-revisionist ideology, culture and way of life, to prepare a suitable ground for the political counter-revolution, in the field of ideology and culture. First of all, they aimed to cause confusion among the youth and the intelligentsia, to turn them against the Party and socialism, just as the enemies of Marxism-Leninism in the revisionist countries have done.

The traitor and putschist group of Beqir Balluku, Petrit Dume and Hito Çako was a faction at the head of the army, a group of plotters seeking to overthrow the Central Committee by force, by means of an armed putsch, and to wipe out the Party of Labour of Albania and the dictatorship of the proletariat, while relying also on armed intervention from abroad. To achieve their ends, they worked to weaken the organization of the Party and its leading role in the army, to replace the Marxist-Leninist ideology of our Party with revisionist ideology, to sabotage the military line of the Party and

impose their capitulationist and traitor theses on it. They tried to undermine the defence potential of the country and to introduce in the army the detestable methods of the bourgeois and revisionist armies.

The traitor group of Abdyl Këllezi, Koço Theodhosi, Kiço Ngjela and company engaged in far-reaching hostile activities in the field of the economy. This group sought to distort the line of the Party for the development of the economy, the principles of its organization and management, and to introduce revisionist forms and methods of self-administration, and so on. They engaged in sabotage activities with grave consequences in such key sectors as planning, oil, foreign trade, etc. In this manner, they tried to weaken and undermine the base of our socialist order, open the way to the economic and political subjugation and enslavement of the country by foreigners.

These groups were imperialist-revisionist agencies in the bosom of the Party and state, composed of politically and morally degenerate elements who had become bourgeois and capitulated to the pressure of the external and internal enemies, to the ideological encirclement and aggression of international imperialism and revisionism.

The danger posed by these hostile groups was extremely serious, because they were filling important posts in the Party and state power and exploiting the great authority of the Party to cover up their hostile work. They masked their counter-revolutionary activity by pretending that everything was done in the name of the Party allegedly for the good of the Party and the people, allegedly for the creative implementation of its decisions and directives. They acted on the sly, never

daring to come out openly against the line of the Party, because, like all the other enemies, they had no basis either in the Party or among the people. The strength and steel unity of the Party suppressed them. Its sound ties with the people overawed them.

For some time the enemies managed to act and cause damage without being discovered because they found weak spots in the work of the Party and the state power. They exploited mistakes and shortcomings, manifestations of bureaucracy, liberalism and euphoria, which they did their best to spread and encourage. They profited from the relaxation of vigilance and control, the failure to persistently implement the principles and norms of the Party and state, from various shortcomings in the educative work, from the failure to keep well in mind the teachings of the Party on the class struggle and the imperialist-revisionist encirclement.

All the organs of leadership, including the Central Committee and the Government, bear responsibility for these things that have occurred. Special responsibility, both collective and individual, falls on the party organizations, communists and cadres of those sectors where the enemies were most active. They bear responsibility because they permitted the leading role of the party organizations to be weakened, because they did not consistently uphold the decisions and directives of the Party and the laws of the state, because some of them showed themselves to be politically short-sighted and liberal, while others lacked the revolutionary courage to raise their voice, to denounce the enemies and put them in their place.

Because of the steel unity, the keen political sense and maturity, ideological clarity and revolutionary de-

termination of the Party and its leadership, this hostile activity was discovered and smashed. Socialist Albania was saved from a great and dangerous conspiracy. From this fierce class battle the Party emerged stronger and more tempered, the unity of the ranks of the Party around the Central Committee, as well as the unity of the people around the Party, were raised to a higher level. The revolutionary vigilance of the Party and the masses was raised and strengthened. Our economy was further consolidated and marked new successes on the road of its socialist development, our arts and culture increased their party spirit and militancy. The army, all the armed forces, have been united more tightly around the Party, their ideo-political tempering, revolutionary spirit and fighting readiness to confront and wipe out any enemy that might dare attack our socialist homeland, have been raised to a higher level. In this struggle, our working class, the co-operativist peasantry, youth, women, intelligentsia and cadres displayed their lofty patriotism, their unwavering confidence in the Party and its leadership, their loyalty to its correct line.

The uncovering and liquidation of the plot hatched up by the internal and external enemies is a great victory of our Party and people, a victory of Marxism-Leninism over revisionism.

2. — The Leading Role of the Working Class and the Education of the Working Masses

Guided by the Party, the working class has stood in the forefront in the great historic events over the last 35 years of struggle and work for the liberation of Albania and the triumph of the people's revolution, the all-

round revolutionary transformation of the country on a socialist basis. This is one of the principal factors in the consistent development of our revolution on the correct Marxist-Leninist course.

The working class is the leading class of the society. It has its own political party that leads it and the Marxist-Leninist ideology that lights its way. It is the bearer of the ideals of socialism and communism. It is linked with the highest form of socialist property and the leading sectors of the economy, it is the most conscious, organized and disciplined class. Its weight in production and the structure of the population is steadily growing.

As Marxism-Leninism teaches us, no class or social stratum other than the working class can play the leading role in the struggle to establish the dictatorship of the proletariat and in the construction of the new socialist society. This role will be preserved and strengthened in the future, too, so long as classes and the state of the dictatorship of the proletariat exist.

In the interval between the two Congresses, the Party has done all-round work so that the role of the working class is felt and exerted powerfully everywhere, so that the working class sets the tone for the entire life of the country with its ideology, revolutionary vigour and example. Consequently, the political activity of the working class, its active participation in the solution of major problems of the Party and the state have increased and its direct control over the implementation of the Party's policy in all fields has been extended and strengthened. A very important indication of the enhancement of the role of the working class is the fact that a large number of cadres, who have emerged from among the ranks of the working class, have been

brought into the organs and apparatuses of the Party, the state power, the economy and culture, and they have further invigorated and revolutionized all the work.

These results have been achieved through a fierce struggle against liberal and bureaucratic, technocratic and individualist concepts and attitudes, which expressed lack of confidence in the abilities of the working class, which did not accept its control or accepted it for form's sake only, and which, in various forms and ways, overestimated the role of the apparatus, office workers and specialists.

In the future, too, the Party will work untiringly to ensure and strengthen more and more the leading role of the working class in the entire life of the country. The working class plays this role through its Party and its proletarian state. Without the Party, the leading role of the working class would remain a demagogic and fraudulent phrase. **Only the revolutionary party of the working class, armed with the Marxist-Leninist theory can make the working class conscious of its historic mission and clearly define the objectives of its struggle and the ways to attaining them. The Party organizes, educates and mobilizes the working class and all its allies and leads them in the complicated struggle to establish the dictatorship of the proletariat and build socialism.**

The revisionists of every hue, old and new, have spread and are spreading all sorts of views to negate the historic mission of the working class, especially to liquidate the leading role of its vanguard, the Marxist-Leninist party, in the revolution and socialist construction.

With their "theories" of the party and state of the entire people, of the party as merely an ideological fac-

tor or an instrument of coordination, with their sermons about spontaneity in the workers' movement, pluralism and transition to socialism under the leadership of other political classes and forces, they intend to leave the working class without leadership and disarmed in the face of the enemy, which is organized and armed to the teeth, to sabotage the revolution, to eliminate the theory and practice of the dictatorship of the proletariat.

Our Party has contemptuously rejected these reactionary theories, as well as the anti-Marxist and anarchist views of "self-administration" and "direct leadership" by the working class. It has put our working class in the historic role which belongs to it in the socialist society. This is in complete opposition to the concepts and practices of the Khrushchevite revisionists who treat the working class of their countries as merely a productive force, and have transformed it into an oppressed and exploited class, at whose expense the new bourgeoisie is growing rich.

In our country, there is no problem of the policy of the Party and state on which the working class and the other working masses do not have their say and in the solution of which they do not take an active part. The Party has attached and continues to attach great importance to consulting the working class and the other working masses, to the extensive development of criticism by the masses of shortcomings and weaknesses at work, and encouraging the active participation of the working class in governing the country.

The Party has paid and continues to pay special attention to the direct control by the working class and the other working masses, to the implementation of this great Leninist principle in practice. It regards this con-

trol, which is exercised under its leadership over all state and social activity, as a universal and permanent principle of our socialist society in all its spheres and links, as an expression of the exercise of the dictatorship of the proletariat by the working class in alliance with the peasantry. The worker control is one of the vital aspects of the class struggle to ensure the triumph of socialism, to prevent the degeneration of the socialist order, and is a great school for the revolutionary education of the working class and the other working masses.

The exercise of direct worker and peasant control has yielded results of great value in detecting and avoiding many shortcomings and weaknesses, manifestations of liberalism, distortions and violations of state laws and norms of our society. It has served as a powerful means to shake off the dust of bureaucracy and routine in many administrations, economic enterprises and cultural institutions, among party cadres and organizations, to create a lively revolutionary atmosphere all over the country, to implement the line of the Party correctly, and to carry out the tasks in all fields of socialist construction successfully.

Recently, the Party took important measures to put the worker and peasant control on a sound organizational basis and to raise it to a higher qualitative level. **The consolidation of the organization of worker and peasant control groups, the qualified guidance of this control by the party organizations and committees, orientation and guidance of it to the most essential questions connected with the implementation of the line and decisions of the Party, better combination of worker and peasant control from below with state control from**

above, the summing up of the revolutionary experience of this control, in order to make it ever more thorough and richer in content and find new fruitful ways of exercising it, have now come to the fore.

The further enhancement and strengthening of the leading role of the working class, the growth of its ideological influence and the efficiency of its work depend to a considerable extent on its revolutionary education and tempering, on raising its consciousness to such a level as to enable it to accomplish its mission in socialist society.

On this issue, the Party bears in mind the fact that our working class is relatively young, that the bulk of the workers come from non-proletarian strata, that its ranks are being replenished every day with young workers straight from school, who lack experience in work and in life. All these things, as well as the weaknesses in the educational work, are some of the reasons that many workers do not always play the role that belongs to their class as they should, fail to speak out courageously and with maturity, do not feel the great responsibility they have to ensure that the line and decisions of the Party are carried out correctly by everybody, inside and outside the enterprise, do not always work in a high revolutionary spirit, with proletarian organization and discipline.

Therefore in the future, too, the Party will have to work persistently to educate the working class with the Marxist-Leninist ideology, to make it conscious of its role and tasks, so that it will be a staunch fighter for the construction of socialism, the strengthening of the dictatorship of the proletariat and the defence of the home-

land. The working class itself must stand in the forefront of the struggle to carry out the tasks of the state plan, put the general interest above everything, protect the common property, work with high productivity and quality, strengthen discipline at work, become innovator and creator, preserve and further develop its proletarian features and ceaselessly raise its educational, cultural and professional level. In this way the working class can educate the co-operativist peasantry, the youth, the intelligentsia, all the working people of our country with its example and in its spirit.

The Trade Unions, which do great work to educate and mobilize the workers and the other working people for the construction of the new society, have a special role and responsibility to make this work more thorough and carry it further. The main task of the Trade Union organization has been and still is the communist education of the working people. Any tendency to underrate the educational work of the trade union organizations and to convert them into adjuncts of administrations and the economic organs is highly dangerous and leads to the diversion of the Trade Unions from their function as schools of communism.

The view to the effect that the Trade Unions should concern themselves with education alone and not involve themselves in economic problems, which is encountered in some cases, is also grossly wrong. Of course, the Trade Unions have no reason to do the work of state and economic organs or duplicate them. But it would be utterly unforgivable for them not to interest themselves in production, in the carrying out of the tasks of the state plan. This would create the danger of the bureaucratization of the management of the econ-

omy. The effect of the educative work of the trade union organizations depends very greatly on linking it closely with production, a thing which cannot be done well without being familiar with the problems of the economy. At the same time, it devolves on the Trade Unions to wage a more energetic struggle against any bureaucratic action that infringes the rights of the working people, guaranteed by law, in the slightest degree.

While recognizing the leading role of the working class, the Party has always correctly assessed the place and the great potential of the peasantry in our society. In the fire of the war for the liberation of Albania and the establishment of the people's power, in the fierce class battles for the construction of socialism, the Party created and tempered the powerful alliance of the working class with the working peasantry under the leadership of the working class. This alliance has been and remains the basic principle of the dictatorship of the proletariat, the foundation of the unity of the people around the Party.

The Party and the state of the working class have implemented a broad program of an all-round political and ideological, economic and social-cultural character, that has led to deep-going revolutionary transformations in the countryside and the strengthening of the alliance of the working class with the peasantry. Today the whole of our countryside, without exception, has set out on the road of socialism. This is a great historic victory of the line of the Party and our revolution.

However, the Party is aware that essential distinctions between town and countryside exist and will be preserved for a long time to come. The struggle to reduce them is the main way to strengthen the alliance of

the working class with the co-operativist peasantry and an indispensable condition to close any paths to bourgeois degeneration. The Party is continually taking measures to ensure that the distinctions between countryside and town are steadily reduced.

Because of the great role it has played and continues to play in the socialist society, the peasantry of our country deserves everything that has been done to make the countryside progress and flourish. In the past, it bore the main brunt of the earlier liberation struggles and the Anti-Fascist National Liberation War, it became the decisive force for the reconstruction of the country, from its ranks it brought forth the new working class, it has always shown itself to be patriotic, revolutionary, and loyal to the Party and the cause of the working class.

In the future, too, the Party will give special attention to drawing the peasantry into increasingly active participation in the political, economic and social life of the country, to educating it politically and ideologically, to raising its educational, cultural and professional level, and to consolidating the co-operativist system more and more. In the educative work, it should not be forgotten that, for known reasons, the manifestations of the feeling of private property and the hangovers of petty-bourgeois psychology still have strong roots in the countryside. They are a source of many evils, of hankering after narrow self-interest, absenteeism, damage to social property, and so on. The peasantry must resolutely combat these alien manifestations, strengthen the spirit of collectivism, take an active part in the class struggle and work hard for the progress

of agriculture and our socialist countryside.

As always, the working class must stand by its ally, must exercise its control over all the state and economic organs concerned with the implementation of the party policy in the countryside, and deepen the great revolutionary movement, "To make agriculture the concern of the entire people." Through its example, it must educate all the working people to love the countryside, respect and honour farm work, fight any manifestation of contempt for the countryside and for work there. At the same time, it is necessary to combat all manifestations of mistrust by the countryside for the town in order to strengthen the militant alliance between the working class and the co-operativist peasantry more and more.

The **intelligentsia** of our country, which has emerged from among the workers and the peasants, has played and continues to play an important role in the all-round development of socialist Albania. Unlike the revisionist countries where it became the main force of counter-revolution to liquidate the gains of socialism, our intelligentsia serves the dictatorship of the proletariat, the people and the revolution, it stands united closely around the Party. This is another great victory for the policy of the Party.

In struggle against liberal and technocratic concepts, manifestations of bureaucracy and intellectualist conceit, and tendencies to commandism and privilege-seeking, occasionally encountered among intellectuals, **the Party is moulding the intelligentsia ever more thoroughly with the Marxist-Leninist ideology, with the moral features and qualities of workers and peasants.** It educates it and makes it more conscious of its role in the

society, puts it in such conditions of work and life that it will always be close to the people and under the permanent control of the masses. At the same time, the Party requires that the intelligentsia must constantly increase its knowledge and put it at the service of the socialist construction of the country, and take an active part in the technical-scientific revolution and the entire development of the socialist culture.

The heroic **youth** of our country have been and remain an active force of the revolution and a loyal auxiliary of the Party. The 35-year experience of the Party shows that when the inexhaustible revolutionary energies of the youth are merged with the energies of the working class and the other working masses, under the leadership of the proletarian Party, there is no force which can stop the triumph of the revolution and socialism.

Our youth are surrounded by the special care of the Party and the entire society. Great prospects, which guarantee their present and future and give a lofty content and meaning to their life, have been opened to them. The Party has ever better fulfilled the cultural and spiritual aspirations and various material needs of the youth, it has mobilized them in revolutionary actions and given them the role of active and important participants in the revolution and the construction of socialist society. Therefore, our youth, too, have always followed the Party enthusiastically, optimistically and faithfully, and have gone all out to make the homeland flourish and strengthen its defence.

We see an entirely different picture in the bourgeois and revisionist countries, where uncertainty for the present and fear of the future nags at the youth day in and

day out. Every second of every hour their minds are being poisoned by confusing propaganda, urging them to an empty, dissipated life, devoid of ideals, which alienates them from the revolution, which drives them to the road of crime and hooliganism, and casts them into anarchism, adventurism, utopia and despair.

Our Party aims to keep the communist ideals and the healthy revolutionary spirit always alive in the minds and hearts of the youth, to educate them to be loyal fighters of the Party, ready to dedicate their energies, talent and lives to the construction of socialism and the defence of the homeland. Led by the Party, the youth must ceaselessly develop the spirit of revolutionary initiative and action in production and in all fields. They must deepen their irreconcilable stand and be constantly on the attack against the class enemy, against any influence of the bourgeois and revisionist ideology, liberal and conservative manifestations which inhibit progress. They must strengthen their will and perseverance to acquire knowledge and culture, become powerful supporters of technical and scientific progress. The fact that there are a few young people who air certain aspects of the bourgeois and revisionist way of life, display certain symptoms alien to proletarian morality, who demand from the society more than they contribute, speaks mainly of gaps and weaknesses in our educational work. The entire society, the family and the working collectives, the schools and various institutions, the mass organizations and the state organs must work, under the leadership of the Party, so that our younger generation will be a shock detachment in the front ranks of the revolution.

The great actions of the youth to build railways, roads, break in virgin land, etc. by voluntary work, in which almost the entire younger generation have taken part, as well as their movements, "We must learn from the working class," "We must work wherever the homeland needs us," "We must go to work and live in the countryside," and so on, are valued, welcomed and powerfully supported by the Party as great revolutionary actions and movements, as schools for the communist education and tempering of the youth. In the future, too, the Party will entrust the youth and their militant organization, the Albanian Labour Youth Union, with important actions, in the firm belief that our younger generation will, as always, carry them through to the end successfully. Allow me to greet especially those thousands of young men and women who have responded to the call of the Party to work and live in the countryside, and express my conviction that thousands of others will follow their example to strengthen our socialist countryside and make it progress.

Under the leadership of the Party, the Albanian Labour Youth Union has played a great role in the education of the younger generation. It has gained wide experience in the organization and mobilization of the youth for the construction of socialism. In the future, the youth organization is called upon to further invigorate its political and ideological life and activity, to extend the scope of this activity in conformity with the age and wide-ranging interests of the youth, in work and defence, education and culture, science and technology, sports and physical culture, making better use of all that great material base the Party and the people's power have created.

The Party and the people want the youth to be healthy, strong, capable in work and defence. The large-scale development of physical culture and sports, to which the youth organization should pay special attention, is especially important in this direction.

The Youth Union should fight to strengthen its organization, discarding as dangerous any tendency to liberalism in the life of the organization, such as those which showed up prior to the 4th Plenum of the Central Committee of the Party and which were strongly condemned by the entire youth. The Youth Organization has been and will always remain a militant political organization, a loyal auxiliary of the Party.

The correct Marxist-Leninist policy of the Party has led to that true, deep-going and very broad revolution which has taken place in the life of the Albanian **woman**.

Our experience has fully confirmed the necessity of linking the problem of the complete emancipation of the woman with the question of national liberation and the cause of the proletariat. Without the participation of the woman the socialist revolution cannot be successfully carried out, and without the socialist revolution the complete emancipation of the woman cannot be achieved.

The energies and abilities of the woman, which lay dormant and suppressed in the past, have burst out powerfully and irresistibly in all fields of our socialist life. The Albanian woman has come out into the arena of the struggle for socialism full of dignity and is outstanding for her high revolutionary spirit, her determination and patriotism, and distinguishes herself at work and in life. Today, she is found everywhere, in fields and factories, in schools and laboratories. Highly responsi-

ble positions in the Party and the state have been entrusted to her. New relationships of equality are being established between husband and wife at work and in the family. The emancipation of the woman is strengthening the socialist democracy day by day. This bears out Marx's affirmation that the level of emancipation of the woman represents a natural yardstick of general emancipation.

Our reality refutes all the bourgeois and revisionist "theories" on the roads to the emancipation of the woman. The attempts of the bourgeoisie in the capitalist countries to turn the struggle for the emancipation of the working woman against her husband, children and family, are aimed at diverting her from the revolutionary struggle and disrupting the common front of the working class and the working people against the real oppressors and exploiters. The demagogy of the modern revisionists, too, relating the solution of this major social problem to the policy of "peace" and "disarmament," is intended to make the woman give up the revolution.

In the future, too, the Party will consistently fight to carry out its program for the complete emancipation of the woman. **It is the duty of the party organizations, the state organs and all the mass organizations to always make a correct assessment of the real abilities of women, which the Party has so carefully awakened, cultivated and developed, though it is the task of the women themselves to fight like revolutionaries to assert their personality ever better.** At the same time, on the basis of the possibilities ensured by the economic development of the country, better material conditions must

be created to lighten the woman's burden of household chores so as to raise the efficiency of her work on the production front and her activity in political, social and cultural life to a higher level.

We note with special satisfaction that, through their own efforts and thanks to the care of the Party, women are narrowing the educational, cultural and technical-professional gap between them and men. Now, 37 per cent of all the cadres with medium and higher training are women. In the future, we must fight to achieve complete equality in this field, too. The women comrades in leading posts have distinguished themselves for their loyalty to the line of the Party, their abilities as leaders and organizers, for their knowledge and culture. This confirms the correctness of the directive of the Party that women should be promoted boldly to posts of responsibility, from the lowest to the highest levels of the party and state organs. Those sectarian attitudes which underrate the abilities of women and hinder the implementation of this policy of the Party are very harmful.

Alien patriarchal and conservative, bourgeois and liberal concepts are still a great barrier to the all-round affirmation of the personality of the woman. Under the leadership of the Party, the active organization of the Women's Union of Albania, the state and all the mass organizations, the school and society have the duty to educate women and men in the spirit of the struggle for the complete emancipation of all members of our socialist society, so that everybody, men and women, young and old, may march ahead triumphantly.

Constant preservation and strengthening of the unity of the people around the Party constitutes one of the most fundamental problems of the entire work of

the Party and its levers, a decisive condition for the triumph of the revolution, the construction of socialist society and the defence of the homeland.

The unity of our people is not a unity dependent on circumstances and temporary alliances. It is a live and militant unity of the people around the Party, created in the war for the liberation of the country and cemented in the struggle for the implementation of the revolutionary Marxist-Leninist policy and ideology of the Party.

But unity is not something given once and for all. The struggle to strengthen it must be continuous and permanent. The enemies have attempted to attack this unity, to create splits between the people and the Party, and they will attempt to do so again in the future. Manifestations of bureaucracy and liberalism, attitudes and actions which run counter to the decisions of the Party and impair the correct relations of the Party with the masses also damage this unity. The remnants and influences of alien ideologies, which are opposed to the new norms of the socialist society, violate it.

Hence, the great tasks facing the Party are to safeguard the unity of the people like the apple of its eye, to steel it and make it even more invulnerable. This requires that we maintain high revolutionary vigilance, wage the class struggle ceaselessly and correctly, carry out the party directives with precision and solve the various contradictions which arise among the people in a timely manner.

The **Democratic Front of Albania**, this great political organization which realizes the unity of the Albanian people under the leadership of the Party, has wide scope of action in this field. In co-operation with the other social organizations, the Front is called upon to

carry out all-round work with the urban and rural masses to make the policy, orientations and directives of the Party clear to them, to educate them in the spirit of socialist patriotism, revolutionary vigilance, combat readiness and irreconcilability towards all alien manifestations, to constantly strengthen and temper the unity of the people. The Democratic Front has been and remains a great tribune of the revolutionary opinion of the masses, a powerful lever of the Party to draw the working people into governing the country and solving problems of the socialist construction and the defence of the homeland.

3. — The Ideas of Marxism-Leninism Must Be Mastered Linking Them Closely With the Teachings of Our Party

The foundation of all the ideo-political educative work which the Party does among the communists and the working masses has always been our triumphant ideology, Marxism-Leninism. The Party has done great all-round work to disseminate the scientific ideas of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin. The classics of Marxism-Leninism and the many documents and materials of our Party, published by the Institute of Marxist-Leninist Studies, have been put at the disposal of the communists and the working people. An entire system of study groups, courses and schools has been set up for their education. The entire membership of the Party studies Marxism-Leninism in an organized manner, while thousands of party members have graduated from the “V.I. Lenin” Party School. The Marxist-Leninist theory is taught throughout the whole of our school sys-

tem from the lowest to the highest grades. The workers, peasants and all our youth attend the study courses at which they are imbued with the ideas of socialism, with the revolutionary teachings and practice of our Party. All spiritual, literary, artistic and scientific life is becoming more and more thoroughly permeated by our proletarian ideology.

All these forms, and all the work done to educate the communists and the masses have yielded results. But the problem is that more should be gained from these forms, that education should be linked better with life and work, so that it may properly serve the ideological and political moulding of the communists and the masses. The things that occurred in the army, in the field of culture and the economy speak of serious weaknesses in the educative work of the Party. In these weaknesses we must look for and find one of the main sources of those negative phenomena which the enemies exploited to carry out their anti-party activity in these sectors.

It is not enough that the study groups meet regularly, hear lectures and papers which talk about the norms of the Party, criticism and self-criticism, vigilance, and so on. The main thing is to understand why these things are necessary, their ideo-political content, to understand that we need these things so that we throw ourselves into struggle for a great cause, which is the construction of socialism, its defence, the triumph of the revolution in our country. If they are not understood in this way, discipline, principles, vigilance, class struggle, and so on, remain abstract formulae. In our propaganda, there are still many signs of such superficial work, which must be rooted out as quickly as possible, so that our teachings make a deep impression in

people's minds and create lasting convictions.

We do not study Marxism-Leninism for the sake of erudition. We study it to apply it in life, so that we are guided by its principles in every action and judge everything in its spirit. Such a study of theory, closely linked with life and revolutionary practice, serves true communist moulding, the creation not only of a scientific outlook but also of a revolutionary character, so that our people will always be resolute fighters for the cause of socialism, irreconcilable with the enemies and their ideologies.

This calls for serious study of Marxism-Leninism which is the science, the theory, which teaches us how to understand the line and directives of the Party, and how we must fight to apply them in life. The Party faces the task of further strengthening and improving the propagation and study of the classical works of our great teachers, Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin, which constitute the inexhaustible treasury of scientific communism, the basis of the communist formation of the new man. But their study is complete and fruitful when it is closely linked with the teachings of our Party, with the study of its documents, in which the creative application of the universal laws and principles of Marxism-Leninism in the conditions of Albania is reflected, in which the great experience of our revolution, the experience of the struggle of our Party and people against imperialism and modern revisionism is summed up.

The study of the party documents and the History of the Party helps the communists and the working people to master the general line of the Party, its style and method in the solution of problems more thoroughly and quickly, to assimilate the militant spirit and highly

principled stand which characterizes our Party. It helps them to realize that it is our Party, its experience and wisdom that teaches us how to fight for the construction of socialism and the defence of the homeland, how to carry the revolution steadily forward.

Marxism-Leninism is not learned only from books, nor only at school. It is learned and mastered by taking an active part in the daily struggle to build socialism, by ceaselessly waging the class struggle, resolutely fighting against the imperialist-revisionist encirclement. For the communist education and the revolutionary tempering of the working people, great tasks face the entire Party, as well as the state and the mass organizations, which must regard this as one of the principal aspects of their activity.

The study of the Marxist-Leninist theory is indispensable for the communists first of all. There are some who say that “they find it hard to study,” but they do not think that these views are harmful and that by talking and acting in such a manner they are making a great mistake. They do not understand that many of the shortcomings and weaknesses in their work stem precisely from their lack of ideo-political formation. It is necessary that the communists temper their will to study individually, to raise their ideological, cultural and technical-professional level all the time. No one should say that he has no time to study. The communist who takes no interest in study and broadening his horizon, who makes no effort to try to acquaint himself with, and master, the rich experience of the Party, will run out of steam and will not be up to the mark in his task as a vanguard fighter.

The “V.I. Lenin” Party School, the study courses and other forms of party education must raise the level of their work ever higher for a more profound and creative study and mastering by the cadres and the communists of Marxism-Leninism and the teachings of our Party.

A great task in arming the younger generation, in particular, with the Marxist-Leninist theory devolves on our school, where the foundations of the ideological formation of the youth are laid, where the habits and methods of study are acquired, where endurance in study and the passion to learn are instilled. It is of special importance for the school not only to give the pupils and students Marxist knowledge, but also to form their revolutionary outlook, to give them the key to how to find their bearings and fight correctly in life.

Major tasks also face the institutes and the chairs of social sciences which are called upon to raise their work to a new qualitative level, summing up the theoretical and practical experience of the Party better and becoming its propagandists. The working masses, the school, the party education system are still in need of a wide range of publications and textbooks of various categories, with profound content, and written clearly and comprehensibly. All the possibilities are there for better fulfilment of these demands by means of improved organization and coordination of the work of the scientific institutes and publishing houses, the higher schools, and the various editorial boards.

Improvement in the work for dissemination of the Marxist-Leninist theory and its study greatly depends on the activity of the party organizations and committees. They must go deeply into the content of this work

and exercise continuous check-up for ever better implementation of the great task the Party is charged with for the education of the communists, the cadres and the masses. They are called upon to see that the educative work is built around the problems which emerge in life and the phenomena which people are concerned about, that it becomes more understandable and convincing, more differentiated and supported by strong arguments, in conformity with the growing demands of the masses. For this purpose, the methods of mass action, of confrontation and discussion, which have given very positive results, should be made better use of, all the means of propaganda should be utilized to the greatest possible effect, and their forms perfected.

The press, publications and the radio and television have played and continue to play a great and special role in the education of the masses. After the 4th Plenum of the Central Committee of the Party an all-round struggle was waged against weaknesses and shortcomings, manifestations of liberalism and lack of vigilance which were observed in some organs of the press, in some publications, and in many radio and television broadcasts. They have made improvements, but in the future, too, care must be taken to increase their militant class and proletarian partisanship, to raise the quality and the ideological level of writings and broadcasts and deepen the mass line. Thus, they will play their role better as auxiliaries of the Party for the communist formation and the mobilization of the working people to carry out the tasks facing the country.

4. — Education, Culture and Science Must Be Raised to the Level of the Tasks of the Time

During the years since the 6th Congress great strides ahead have been taken for the implementation of the directives of the Party in the field of education, culture, art and science. These important sectors have been actively engaged in the great struggle waged by our entire people for the socialist construction of the country.

The Party has always shown particular care for **education**, for the uninterrupted raising of its ideological and scientific level.

Implementing the Marxist-Leninist program approved by the 8th Plenum of the Central Committee in 1968, and the 6th Congress of the Party for the revolutionization of education, our school has undergone great changes and achieved many results in the strengthening of the ideological axis, in the implementation of the three components: lessons, productive work, physical and military training, in raising the scientific level of the school and in linking it with life. Commendable work has been done in drawing up plans and programs and compiling new textbooks for all categories of schools. The system of education has been improved and extended. The possibilities have been created for the pupils and students to acquire more knowledge, to be better trained for production and defence, to be educated and tempered in the spirit of the working class, with proletarian discipline and morality. Our school is more and more consolidating itself as a socialist school, with original features and a popular character. It is further strengthening its revolutionary class spirit.

This process has gone through a stern class struggle, against conservative and liberal, bureaucratic and technocratic concepts and practices, against bourgeois and revisionist influences and borrowings, which were

strongly criticized also at the 4th and 7th Plenums of the Central Committee. Despite all the struggle waged, the major tasks which the educational reform laid down for the revolutionization of the content of teaching and education have not been fulfilled completely. There are still shortcomings and weaknesses which must be overcome, there are problems which are being solved with difficulty and hesitation, especially those connected with the full harmonization of the three components. In the method of work of the organs of education there are still manifestations of practiciness, and little effort is made to study and sum up the practice of our school.

The former leaders of the Ministry of Education and Culture exerted a negative influence on the implementation of the program laid down by the Party for the development of education through their harmful work which was characterized by a liberal and bureaucratic spirit, shallowness and inertia.

For the future, too, the strengthening of the ideological content of all the work of the school constitutes the fundamental and most important aspect of the implementation of the policy of the Party for the revolutionization of education. The main thing is to work for a more thorough assimilation of Marxism-Leninism, of the theoretical thinking and teachings of our Party, which must become more and more the foundation of the process of teaching and education, must permeate all subjects. The bookish learning of Marxism, which is still apparent in the school, as well as the slowness in reflecting the experience of the Party and our socialist construction in the textbooks and in the teaching process, impede the strengthening of the educative and formative role of the school. Hence, the important task

of improving the programs, textbooks and lessons in the subject of Marxism-Leninism, of ensuring a closer linking of the lessons with life, with the great work and struggle the people are waging under the leadership of the Party, of making extensive use of the studies and generalizations carried out in the field of social sciences.

The educative role of the school in the all-round communist formation of the new generation will be strengthened the more the school and the youth are engaged in the class struggle for the development of the revolution and the solution of the concrete problems of the socialist construction of the country.

In putting before the school the task of introducing the three components and of their harmonization, the Party is aiming to achieve two major objectives, the revolutionary education and tempering of the youth, and the raising of the quality of all the work of the school. But in practice, despite the efforts made and the results achieved, we are still on the initial stage of the solution of this problem. What is required is the complete and organic integration of the three components, in content and in method, so that they complement each other.

The school, as the place where the revolutionary Marxist-Leninist pedagogical thinking of our Party is applied, has the duty to acquaint itself with and study the best achievements in this field, to disseminate them and carry them further in order to ensure more creative and fruitful teaching and educational work. This constitutes a wide and important sphere of scientific work in the education sector.

A major problem remains that of giving the school a deeper mass character and of improving the school

system, by setting up a broader and more varied network of schools, especially vocational ones, both full-time and part-time.

The university and the other higher schools where the specialists for different fields of activity are trained have the task of turning out cadres formed and tempered politically and ideologically, with broad cultural horizons, armed with profound scientific knowledge, prepared for life. In collaboration with the ministries and with the Academy of Sciences, they should carry out more organized work for the post-graduate qualification of cadres. The higher schools should devote particular attention to studies and research, as an indispensable prerequisite for raising the level of all their teaching work as well.

The major successes scored by our people's education are a result of the tireless work of the great army of teachers and pedagogues who, with a high level of consciousness and ardent love for their honoured profession, are making a valuable contribution to the revolutionary education of the youth. The militant communist spirit, a passionate love and a high sense of responsibility for their work, persistence in perfecting their skills as teachers and educators, the struggle against any alien influence, should characterize them. The school and the teachers should closely follow the process of the revolutionary development of the country, the economy and culture, as well as the progress of world science and technology.

The Party has shown constant care that **culture, literature and arts** develop in a pure and sound atmosphere, that they follow the revolutionary transformations of the country step by step and steadily

strengthen their socialist content, their militant character, their popular spirit and their national features.

The 4th Plenum of the Central Committee sternly criticized some harmful manifestations that had to do with imitations of reactionary foreign trends, with the wrong treatment of contradictions in our society, with theories that disparaged folk creativeness, etc. It put forward important tasks over the entire front of culture. Their implementation gave a fresh impulse to the development of literature and art, to all cultural and artistic activity. Great progress has been made in all fields, in literature and music, in cinema and theatre, in painting and sculpture, in opera and ballet.

The writers and artists have always stood close to the Party, as its auxiliaries in the struggle for the communist education of the masses. Along with the experienced creative forces, new talents, that are making their contribution to the further development of our literature and arts, have emerged.

True art strengthens its innovatory features and achieves a high artistic level when it embodies a revolutionary content and is guided by the communist ideals. Therefore, **the continuous strengthening of proletarian partisanship remains a basic task for the development of our culture and arts, for their advance on the road of socialism.**

A better reflection of some of the major themes in our artistic creativeness, such as that of the hegemonic role of the working class in our society, the revolutionary transformations of our socialist countryside, the revolutionizing force of the communists, the treatment of cardinal themes and key moments of the history of our people, and particularly, of the National Liberation

War and the socialist revolution, are an essential requirement to make our literature and art even more revolutionary.

With its revolutionary ideals and its objectives of serving socialism and the people, our art of socialist realism towers above the degenerate, decadent, bourgeois and revisionist art, counterposes itself to its reactionary, pessimistic and capitulationist philosophy. Literature and arts in the Soviet Union have been placed under the complete domination of the new bourgeoisie, and the writers and artists have turned into a caste in the service of the counter-revolution and the chauvinist and expansionist policy of Soviet social-imperialism. Negation of the major social problems, themes of disillusionment and bourgeois humanism, complete renunciation of the positive hero, lack of any revolutionary perspective are characteristic of the revisionist literature and arts.

The socialist content of art is closely linked with its popular and national character. Under the present conditions, when, proceeding from their objectives of world domination, of the spiritual and political enslavement of the peoples, the U.S. imperialists and the Soviet social-imperialists are spreading the ideas of cosmopolitanism, of the so-called internationalization of art and culture, the struggle to defend the national culture of the peoples assumes very great importance. By defending and developing their national, democratic and revolutionary culture, the peoples defend their independence, their existence and their own traditions, and thus make their contribution to the treasury of world culture.

Our socialist culture has never shut itself away in its national shell. It has profited from the best achievements of progressive world culture and, on its part, be-

ing the bearer of our people's ideals of freedom, independence and socialism, has been and is close to other peoples as well.

The national character and the popular spirit are expressed through the truthful reflection of reality, from the standpoint of Marxist-Leninist ideology, the assimilation of all the experience of our culture, both its old progressive tradition and its new revolutionary elements, in a critical way, proceeding from the class standpoint and firmly relying on the people's creativeness. The popular and national character is expressed not just in the creation of the works alone but also in their execution and interpretation.

Some kinds of arts, architecture in particular, are lagging behind in their expression of the national spirit and features. To eliminate this shortcoming further study and more research work is needed.

Guided by the teachings of the Party, the writers and artists should direct themselves towards the life of the people, create an art for the people, beautiful, clear and comprehensible to all, a profoundly popular art. The life of the people, their sharp wit, popular psychology and humour should occupy a larger place in literary and artistic works, especially in the genres of the stage.

Those artists who work ceaselessly to raise their Marxist-Leninist ideological level, who master the teachings of the Party, who lead an active political life, who are thoroughly immersed in the life of the masses and have a profound knowledge of the road of the revolutionary historical development of our people and culture succeed best in these tasks. Revolutionary art is created by revolutionary artists whose hearts beat in unison with the hearts of the people. They are required

to reflect accurately in their works the fundamental processes and trends of development of our revolution, the contradictions of life, and to fight any manifestation of formalism and stereotyped treatment of them, to faithfully and creatively apply the method of socialist realism, which is the foundation of the proletarian art to which the future belongs.

Our socialist culture is penetrating more deeply among the people day by day and becoming part and parcel of their life. The publication of books and the production of films has been increased and the network of cultural-artistic centres throughout the country extended. The amateur movement has undergone great quantitative and qualitative development, and alongside professional art, is playing an important role in the progress of our new culture and the education of the working people. The masses, the man of work, the worker and the co-operativist, the woman and the youth, old and young, have mounted the stage.

The Party demands that mass cultural work must be raised to a higher level. To this end, it is necessary to form a broader concept about culture, viewing it in all the different aspects of life, and about the cultured man. All the many means the state has placed at the service of the masses should be properly used, and ways and forms found for our culture to go wherever the masses of the people live and work. Today, when the Party is striving to narrow the distinctions between town and country, the front of culture, too, is faced with important tasks connected with raising the cultural level of the peasantry, through a broad activization of the forces of the countryside as in the city.

The party organizations should have a better appre-

ciation of the great role which culture and arts play in the education of the masses, and should consider them as important sectors of their activity, showing special care for the political and ideological education of the creative artists. The leadership of the Party, the consistent application of its line and directives in these fields is of decisive importance for their development on the right road. The state organs also face important duties to increase their concern about culture and arts, as well as to improve the forms and methods of handling them.

Under the leadership of the Party, the League of Writers and Artists should intensify its work for the ideo-aesthetic and professional education of writers and artists, becoming still more a centre where creative work is encouraged and its philosophical, ethical and aesthetic problems are widely threshed out from the standpoint of proletarian partisanship.

In the all-round efforts to put the decisions of the 6th Congress of the Party into life, successes have been achieved, also, in the development of **science** and scientific experimentation. Functioning in our country today are various scientific organisms, specialized institutes and research centres, apart from those of the chairs and faculties of the higher schools. The founding of the Academy of Sciences was an important achievement.

Over this period, a series of important scientific and technical studies and experiments have been carried out in geology and mining, hydroenergetics, agriculture, etc. A number of valuable studies have been carried out also in the field of social problems, the Anti-Fascist National Liberation War, history, archaeology and the Albanian language.

The country's present stage of development and the

great tasks ahead of us require that **scientific studies and research are transformed into a general method that must pervade and precede all activities, and give effective help in the solution of present and future problems of the construction of socialism and the defence of the homeland.** Science is confronted with great tasks in designing and building large hydro-technical and industrial projects, discovering and using new raw materials and other natural resources, finding new ways for the intensification of agriculture, etc.

The development of science raises the very important problem of carrying out intensified studies in a number of fields, such as biology, genetics, mathematics, physics, chemistry, physiology, etc., without which many problems of the development of applied sciences and technical progress cannot be solved, and a sound training of the various specialists and of the younger generation in our school cannot be carried out.

Great prospects are opened to the fruitful development of social and economic sciences, with the scientific study and summing up of the revolutionary thinking and practice of our Party and people as their fundamental object. Studies on the history, life, language and cultural and artistic traditions of our people constitute an important field.

As the Party has continuously stressed, the technical-scientific revolution in our socialist society cannot be carried ahead by a few specialized research institutions alone. The activation of the broad masses of workers and peasants, of cadres and specialists of production is of decisive importance in scientific experimentation. The specialized institutions and the centres of scientific

research should link their activity more closely with the scientific experimentation of the masses, they should sum up advanced experience and disseminate scientific knowledge among the masses. This is also the way to protect them from the diseases of bureaucracy, technocratism and intellectualism.

At the present stage, all material-technical means and human resources exist to solve many complicated economic, ideo-theoretical, cultural and technical-scientific problems with our own forces. It is therefore necessary to further strengthen the confidence of the cadres, specialists and working people in their own creative forces and capabilities, while at the same time getting to know, and applying, in conformity with our conditions, the achievements of world science and technology.

The fulfilment of the tasks in the field of science requires the taking of further measures for the training and qualification of specialized scientific cadres of different branches and the strengthening of the necessary material base.

The development of science and the technical-scientific revolution confronts the research institutions and the higher schools with major tasks for raising the quality and effectiveness of their scientific studies and research, in struggle with alien technocratic and intellectualist, idealist and metaphysical concepts. The Academy of Sciences should play a special role here, especially towards a better utilization and coordination of forces and means for science and research.

Under the leadership of the Party, the state organs, from the base to the centre, should increase the attention they devote to the organization, planning and de-

velopment of the activity of the scientific research organs, put forward concrete tasks and check up on their fulfilment, and render all the necessary help in the solution of the problems that arise.

PROUDHON'S SUCCESSORS IN FRANCE

(Excerpts)

Modern revisionism, not only in France, but in all capitalist-revisionist countries, is also attacking Marxism-Leninism in the field of literature and the arts, because it wants to use them as means to poison the minds of people and make them degenerate. The revisionist writers, poets and artists have taken the road of bourgeois degeneration. Today it is difficult to distinguish an Aragon from a Beauvoir and an André Stil from a Sagan. This is not referring to a similarity in style and form, but to an identity in the content and purpose of their works which are inspired by anti-Marxist philosophical trends, in order to emerge on the same course, to fight the revolution, to tame the spirits, to make them "dead spirits," equally degenerate.

All the revisionist "theoreticians" advocate the thesis that Marx and Engels allegedly gave very little attention, if any at all, to aesthetics. The aesthetes of the French Communist Party go even further. They try to "prove" that Marx was allegedly not interested at all in art or did not understand it. Contrary to the facts, they allege that Marx "was unable to understand what it was that gave art an everlasting value irrespective of the historical moments, and was unable to understand how Greek art, linked with the infrastructure of that time, continues to arouse emotions." Such a distortion of Marx is not done without a purpose. On the one hand, they want to create the impression that there is no Marxist opinion about art and that allegedly the revisionists are elaborating this, and, on the other hand,

they are trying to deny the class character of art and to start discussion about whether art “is part of the superstructure or the structure, whether or not it is an ideology, whether or not it is linked with the class and the revolution, to what degree and to what point,” etc.

A series of “theoreticians” of the French Communist Party have had different opinions about literature and art at different periods, and this has brought about confusion and chaos in the ranks of the party and its militants and vacillations in the creative literary and artistic work of communist writers and artists. At one period, the French Communist Party fought for that creative work which was based on the people’s art, on revolutionary art, and later, on socialist realism. At a later stage anti-Marxist trends penetrated the creative work of communist artists.

With its decadent art, the bourgeoisie exerted an influence not only on the rank-and-file members of the communist party, but also on the cadres engaged in agitation and propaganda. Influenced by this art, these elements propounded theories, gave distorted and incorrect interpretations of Lenin, who pointed out that the revolution creates its own art and that the communists do not reject the progressive heritage of the people from the past. These individuals also interpreted in bourgeois and revisionist ways the statements of Lenin, Stalin and Zhdanov that in socialist society the writers and artists should be free in their creative work, should have personal initiative, but always be realist and create works which truly serve the revolution and socialism.

Certain pseudo-Marxist aesthetes went so far as to defend the thesis that Lenin had allegedly advocated absolute freedom in creative work. The anti-Marxist phi-

osopher Garaudy proclaimed “unlimited realism.” Others defend the thesis that when ideology and the party prevail in literature and art, there is no freedom and therefore, no creative work.

What else could one expect in the field of aesthetics, when such people as André Gide, Malraux or Paul Nizan had influence in the French Communist Party and posed as communists. Together with Aragon, they took part in the First Congress of the Soviet writers in Moscow, but in the end betrayed and became open anti-communists. Such “theoreticians” in France, inside and outside the Communist Party, could have no idea of the value of art based on the principles of Marxism-Leninism. The purpose of these elements was to separate art and literature from politics and ideology, of course, from proletarian politics and the Marxist ideology. They struggled to clear the way for the spread of bourgeois ideology and politics, for the development of decadent art, psychoanalyst, sexual, crime and pornographic novels, so that the markets, bookshops, showcases, theatres and cinemas would be filled with such works.

Let us take Picasso. He was a member of the French Communist Party till he died, but he never became a Marxist. This is reflected in his works, while the French Communist Party boasted of him and the only criticism which they made of him was for a scrawl which was called “Portrait of Stalin,” and which his friend and comrade Aragon published in the newspaper *Les lettres françaises*, of which he was director.

Socialist realism was not supported by the French Communist Party strongly and with conviction. Some of the writers, philosophers and critics who were party

members, such as Marguerite Duras and Claude Roys, deserted. After Khrushchev's slanders against Stalin, the French Communist Party was shaken and such intellectuals were the first to capitulate. It launched the slogan of "complete freedom in art and culture," and such former defenders of socialist realism as Aragon, André Stil and André Wurmser not only changed their coats but even sold their souls and their hides to revisionism. Thus, the French pseudo-communist literary figures began to fall in love with the Lukases, the Kafkas and the Sartres. Critical discussions began throughout the whole party on the platform which the bourgeoisie desired, such as, "What is the relation between literature and ideology?," "What form should be accepted in art, 'sectarianism in interpretation' or 'opportunist eclecticism'?" Speaking as an "authority," Roland Leroys pronounced the conclusion that "there cannot be a specific form of proletarian art or art which is completely revolutionary."

Wallowing in opportunism and revisionism, the French Communist Party allowed these anti-revolutionary theses to ooze like stagnant waters and become predominant amongst its creative artists.

As a conclusion, we can say that the line of the French Communist Party in literature and art has had its ups and downs. But it has always been wobbly. Its vacillation has been caused by its "orthodoxy" in the preservation of principles, on the one hand, and by the direct and indirect influence of bourgeois ideology in literature and art amongst its intellectuals, on the other.

In general, the intellectuals who worked in the field of artistic creativeness have played a role more negative than positive for the French Communist Party. Irre-

spective of their class origin, they completed their schooling and sought “fame.” The party never influenced and guided them with the proletarian ideology and culture. To these intellectuals of the party it was their free, subjective, individual, creative work, and never the true interests of the proletariat and the revolution, that were important. These elements lived and worked far removed from the working class and isolated from it. For them, the class was the “economy,” while the intellectuals were the “godhead” that had to guide the “economic factor.” The intellectuals of the French party had been raised and inspired in the Bohemia of Montparnasse, in *Closerie des Lilas*, *Pavillon de Flore*, *Bateau-Lavoir* and in other clubs in which all kinds of decadent trends came together, trends from which emerged the Aragons, the Picassos, the Elsa Triolets and many other friends of the Lazareffs, the Tristan Zaras, the dadaists, cubists and a thousand and one decadent schools of literature and art. This tradition and this road continued uninterrupted within the French Communist Party until it arrived at its 22nd Congress at which the revisionist Georges Marchais flaunted all the anti-Marxist corruption which had long been festering in the French Communist Party.

At this congress, the French revisionists came out officially against the leading role of the party of the working class in the field of art and against the method of socialist realism. Under the pretext of the struggle against “uniformity,” they claimed that socialist culture should be open to all currents, to all kinds of experiments and creations.

In the book which contains his report to the 22nd Congress, the pseudo-Marxist Georges Marchais pub-

lished a poem by Aragon taken from his book *Elsa's Madman*. Elsa was Aragon's wife. Here is what Aragon, a member of the Central Committee of the French Communist Party, says in this verse: "Will there always be fighting and feuds/ Regal behaviour and bowed heads/ Children born of mothers unwanted/ Wheat destroyed by the locusts?/ Will there always be prisons and torture/ Always massacres in the name of idols (the idols are Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin)/ A mantel of words cast over the corpses/ A gag in the mouth and nailed hands?/ But a day will come with orange colours..." This is Aragon's way of saying that he and his party have abandoned the red colour, communism.



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