

EVERYTHING IN OUR COUNTRY IS DONE AND BUILT FOR THE YOUTH

*Speech delivered at the meeting of the Secretariat
of the Central Committee of the Party of Labour
of Albania¹*

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It seems to me that the problem has been put wrongly from the start. Instead of the Secretariat of the Central Committee of the Party being presented with a concrete, maybe brief, but clear picture of the political, ideological, moral and organizational problems of the youth organizations, of how they received the decisions of the Congress²

1) This meeting of the Secretariat discussed the report presented by the CC of the Labour Youth Union of Albania «On certain problems raised at its 6th Congress which concern the organs of the Party and State.

2) The 6th Congress of the Labour Youth Union of Albania.

and how they are carrying them out, in this report, from beginning to end, demands are made on the organs of the Party, state and cultural institutions. I do not say that demands should not be made, but they should not be one-sided, not only in the sense that you do not talk about the youth organization here, but there should be no onesidedness in the demands themselves. You are allowed to demand but of course, demands will be made of you as well.

If you say in such a categorical way: «...apparently the worries of youth, their requirements, interests and problems are not understood» (which I find neither correct nor realistic) then the question arises: Do you properly estimate the great interest the Party and the state power show in the youth? Do you correctly evaluate the huge material means made available for the education of the youth in all spheres? Do you assess and utilize them properly? Do you assess them within the general development of the country and the needs of this development? It seems to me that to reply to all these questions you must first think about them, and if you do so, you cannot and should not arrive at the conclusion you reached.

In the report you have presented to us I have several times come across your use of the term «the worries of youth». I fail to understand to what worries you are referring. What are these problems that gnaw at the hearts of our youth? If you use this term just for the sake of using it, you make a mistake. If you are serious, then let us

discuss it seriously, because it is important for you and us to be clear.

I am of the opinion that our youth are the happiest and most cheerful in the world. Everything in our country is done and built for the youth, they live in a socialist country free from every point of view, and are educated in a sound way, they live in a democratic country where they enjoy all rights but, of course, they also have obligations.

When a child is born in our country its parents and relatives are in employment; the economic life of our families has improved a lot. In addition, the state does its utmost (and it has done no small amount) for the children, setting up creches, kindergartens, holiday homes and hospitals everywhere. Today, children in Albania are brought up well nourished and clothed, they have shoes, they go to school. Schools of all grades are open to all free of charge. When children are sick, their treatment, as for all the people of our country, is free. State scholarships are granted to many young people who attend secondary schools and university. When they start work they are paid good salaries, rents in our country are very low, and we have good state social insurance. Millions upon millions of copies of books have been and continue to be published. In addition to the central press organs, there are newspapers nearly everywhere; in every district, in cities, towns and villages there are cultural centres, in workshops and factories there are libraries, etc. Theatres, cinemas, professional and amateur variety

theatres have been set up in large numbers everywhere. Almost every city has one or even two big stadiums, not to mention thousands of smaller playgrounds. The whole country is very picturesque, among the most beautiful in the world, and our youth can and do go everywhere. They study, work, live, go on excursions and no obstacles lie in their way, for our people as a whole, our Party and state power, think highly of our youth who fully deserve this. Then the question arises: «What are the worries of our youth?»

No, comrades of the youth organization, reality is not as you say. That more and still more should be done, is true. That there are certain people who do not show concern or do not understand these matters properly, is also true. Then there are also the kind of people about whom you complain in your report, but, on the other hand, you too should look squarely at your own shortcomings and faults.

Let us take the question of the cultural front in the education of youth. You do not view this problem very correctly, you even view culture, which is a broad field, from a narrow angle. You forget its breadth, and narrow the front of culture for the education of youth, saying: «In a number of districts no plays are prepared dealing with the problems of youth», «no feature film has been made for the youth», «literary publications are few and of a low standard» and «there are no scientific publications for youth». To raise the problem in this way means to raise it superficially and, why should we not say it more bluntly, com-

rade leaders of the youth, to give the impression that the blame rests on others, not on you who make the report and are principal leaders of the youth organization.

The cultural front for the education of youth does not lie in the making of one or two films, or of presenting one or two plays, which has not been done. For this to be done (and it is right that it should be, not only this but even more), it is necessary for us all to fight, not excluding you; but the problem of the cultural front does not lie only in what I have mentioned, for these things are only a very small part of the work of this great and complex front.

The great front of culture of our youth is the school, where knowledge is acquired, where science and philosophy are taught; and when the young men and young women quit the school benches, they take their position at the work benches, at the lathe, on the land, in animal husbandry, in the struggle for existence. All this broad front of activity to produce material goods is at the same time a great front of culture. Both these fronts are wide open to our youth, who take an active part, first as students and later as educators and creators. Therefore, the youth organization should attach great importance to these two fronts of culture for the education of the mass of youth, because they are the principal ones. We have major successes to our credit on both these fronts.

In general, our youth study, are educated and work well. But they can and should work and study even better, for all possibilities have been

created for them. I say that they should work and study better because in this direction there are many gaps of a subjective nature, gaps which should not be blamed on the youth alone, but also on the teachers and lecturers, on the communists and youth leaders, on the managers of the economic and state organs.

Of course, these faults and shortcomings come under attack and continuous improvements are made, but without underestimating the responsibility of others whom the Party and the government continually advise to correct themselves, I wish to emphasize that the youth organization itself, wherever it exists as an organization, and its leaders, from the top to the base, do not, as I have already said, attach the necessary importance to the great and decisive cultural front for the education of youth but do formal, routine work, and there are even cases where they do none at all. Not once but a number of times I have talked with students of general secondary schools and with outstanding and very good undergraduates, and I have noticed that they do not know the important social and historic movements of various epochs of history, that they know nothing about some writers and philosophers who have marked epochs in human thought, not even knowing where they came from.

Can such a thing be accepted as normal? Of course the teachers are to blame for this but are the school and university students blameless? What is the youth organization doing, why does it not educate these young people to complete their

culture, either at school or outside the school? Of what importance is it whether or not there was one more theatrical performance or film, when a young man or young woman who has been through a secondary school or university not only does not take the trouble to read world famous literary works, comedies or dramas, but does not even know who certain authors are, such as Shakespeare, Molière and others like them?

The comrades of the youth organization may say: «Well, we hold meetings». You hold meetings, comrades, but I am told that hundreds of students receive low marks, many are expelled because they do not study, because of bad conduct and so on. Comrades, this worries the Party, and the concern is well grounded. Shortcomings of this nature should worry you, not the imaginary or unhealthy worries of certain young people.

Why do unpleasant attitudes and behaviour arise in our pure society? It is not only young people who behave badly, because there are also older ones, but this should not make us forget the young and make some foolish statement: «After all they are young!»

Educating people should be one of our greatest preoccupations, and this begins in the family and continues, and is later interwoven with the school, then with work and finally with society. At every stage, in every environment, there exist in our country a whole complex of forms and ways for their education. It is not enough to give your ideas, but you should also benefit from others, it is not enough only to demand but you should also

contribute, become example, be courageous, creative and not indifferent.

Therefore, comrades of the youth organization, you should consider the school as the principal cultural front for the education of youth. You should attach great importance to the acquisition of broad all-round culture during the years when young people are at school. It is not advisable to view culture for the education of youth from a narrow angle, considering how many theatrical performances are prepared on themes for youth, saying that special scientific books should be published for youth, that novels should be written about themes for youth alone, that the Opera and Ballet Theatre should prepare special ballets for youth and so on. This greatly narrows the sphere of education of the youth, isolates them from the major possibilities that have been created for them and, in the final analysis, is not even realistic. The youth themselves do not accept this framework, they have long broken out of it, and they have done well.

What does writing special novels for youth imply? I do not say that they should not be written, they should be beautiful and there should be ever more of them. The Party has inspired and will continue to inspire writers in this direction too, but this does not mean that your organization should remain with folded arms. Young talented authors exist; why do you not encourage them in this particular direction? But these things cannot be done to order. Besides, all our literature is for youth, for it has a socialist content, it is

fresh like the youth, it describes our life, sentiments, struggles, pure love, the working class and its struggle, the efforts of our cooperativist peasantry, in short, the development of all aspects of our life. There is no genre of our literature which does not speak of the life, thoughts, feelings and struggle of our youth. But do these young people live isolated from their parents and grandparents, from their comrades and friends, or from the people? Their life and feelings are interwoven. There is no young person above 13 years of age here who does not rush eagerly for the novels, poems etc. which our writers and poets continue to write.

How good it would be if we had, and we should have, some simpler publications for the very young, and some simpler and more understandable literary works for the young people up to a certain age. Such books should be published, and there should be more of them. Therefore you, the young, translate and produce beautiful and suitable works of this kind, and they will certainly be published, but do not place a barricade or division between literature for the young and that for adults. We do not live under a bourgeois regime, and therefore all the literature we publish can and should be placed fearlessly in the hands of our youth, for there is no corrupt morality in it, it is not pornographic or gangster literature, but it is precisely the kind of literature which educates all our people in a revolutionary way and in the path of proletarian morality. The same thing can be said about our theatre, ballet, folk dances,

music, radio and television. Everything in our country is in the service of the education of the new man, everything is on the correct path and generally develops well. Of course, among these things there are very good, good and mediocre books and, at times, books with mistakes. But in this field too there is struggle, there are clashes. Everything develops, the old which infiltrates is attacked and replaced by the new. The pressure of the bourgeoisie also does its work, tries to find cracks, and at times finds them, but is attacked and replaced by what is good, vigilance is sharpened and positive creativity comes to the fore. Can it be thought for a moment that our youth are excluded from participation in all this development, from this creativity, from this struggle which is waged in our country. No, certainly not, otherwise we have committed suicide.

During the National Liberation War, at the moment of the greatest difficulties and worst tragedy of our nation, during the most crucial moments of that time, our youth were on the forefront of battle, and their heroism will be sung to in legend for centuries. At those historic moments could we have said to our young men and young women: «Go home, for battles are not for you, they are for grown men!»? If we had done that, today we would not have had a free socialist Albania. So whom does our contemporary literature sing praises to? It sings to those 18 to 22 year old heroes and heroines who commanded brigades and divisions. Are there more suitable themes for your youth than those of that heroic period?

No, there are not. Our youth should know where all those girls and boys came from, with empty bellies and bare feet, with the heart of a lion, who sacrificed even their lives. They emerged from the ranks of our brave and militant people. Why, are such works as Dritero Agolli's «The Commissar», Ismail Kadare's «Chronicle On Stone» or «The General Of The Dead Army», Jakov Xoxa's «The Dead River» and others of this kind, not suitable for our youth? It is neither good nor correct to build walls without foundations on the sound culture of our youth, but we should educate them, encourage them to read, read and read again, and to draw lessons from what they have read.

By this I don't mean that no reading is being done. In this, considerable progress has been made, but let us not rest satisfied. I call on our youth in particular to read and study still more, for the country expects a lot from them. We, the old, feel the gaps in our knowledge, for other conditions existed when we were young, many tragic worries occupied our brains at that time, that is why we desire and strive that our youth may have no gaps in their knowledge, for they have all the possibilities and conditions and will have still better ones, for we will create them in the future through hard work, sweat and knowledge.

I want to tell our youth too that we can and should publish more scientific and literary books and other publications for them. We do not lack the will to do this, but it is necessary to know what possibilities our state has at present. We

are setting up bigger and more modern printing presses than those we have now, and certainly the time will soon come to print more, but I leave this matter to our young men and young women to judge with their keen minds and clear conscience, and the Party has taught me to put my full trust in our youth and their correct judgement. Are the books of artistic and scientific literature, the literary and scientific reviews, the school texts of various grades on all subjects, the political, literary and scientific newspapers, lectures and special studies that have been and are being published few in number? Or are there only a few foreign books placed every year at the disposal of our studious intelligentsia in various institutions like the National Library, the State University, the libraries of the ministries and even those of the enterprises? We say they are not few, and I am sure that our youth share our view. But they must be made use of seriously, very seriously.

All over the country there is no village without a library, let alone the cities, where libraries can be found everywhere. But are these libraries frequented? Yes and no. We were told librarians were needed and the state appointed them on a salary basis. It was said that they lacked culture, and they were replaced with educated people. The comrades of the youth organization complain that both libraries and cultural centres are being turned into warehouses. How bad, comrades! But who is to blame? Has the Party said that they should be turned into warehouses? But what are you doing, why do you allow such a thing?

Where are the communists, where are the youth? How can such things be tolerated in our socialist times?

Let me tell you something of the past of our youth in Gjirokastra some 50 years ago. With some money which our poor parents gave us from their hard-earned income, we students ourselves opened two clubs in our city, we opened libraries with our very few books, we bought some musical instruments, a mandolin or guitar, which we learned to play, and we appeared before the people to play them. Bear in mind that we ourselves took turns to clean the clubs. Some one who knew a foreign language used to read books and then gather us there to tell us the stories he had read. Now my hair has gone white, but I can never forget a certain Samuel Kofini who toiled all day carrying bales of cloth on his shoulder trying to sell a metre or two, while in the evening, tired as he was, he came to speak to us, sometimes about the old Greek authors such as Homer and Aristophanes, and now and then about Allan Pinkerton. Nor can I forget Kamber Bilali, a poor man in ragged trousers who used to work and read during the day and in the evening came to speak to us about Alexander Duma's novels and others, telling us the stories in episodes. But today, how can it be allowed that we treat books, libraries and cultural centres in this way?

Of course, we must view the question of the recreation of our youth in a broad and realistic manner. But first of all, my opinion is that the state has not stood with folded arms in this mat-

ter either. It has continually invested considerable funds and will again invest in the future, because there is a need. But all that we have built and created is for our youth, and they should consider these things as theirs, they should make proper use of them and keep them in good shape, not destroy them. In addition, the initiative of the base, especially of the youth themselves, should be more lively and more fruitful in this direction. So think more deeply about what I have said. I believe that there is no cultural centre without various musical instruments, some of them manufactured in the country and others imported, and all of them have been of great assistance in the recreation and education of our youth. In this field great progress has been made everywhere. Our youth have these means in their own hands, as we see in variety shows and festivals. This is a great pleasure, so why should we underestimate it? That more are needed, there is no doubt, and more efforts should be made, but to distort the issue and say that the shepherds who take their flocks to the Lenie and Gramos mountains in summer have no radio and watch no films, is to beat the air. Every shepherd, if he wants to, can very well buy a transistor radio, for they are on sale, and his wages are higher than those of others; the state should not be expected to do everything. Comrades of the youth organization, you ask for many separate clubs for the youth in the cities, let these be set up wherever possible, but as far as I know some were set up, fully equipped, even with billiard tables, but then they were closed be-

cause they were not serving the aim for which they were set up. You make demands but you also have duties. Everywhere our youth do many, many good things, and this is characteristic of them, but I have been told that when the trade union holiday home in Voskopoja was given to the students to spend their winter vacation, they damaged it during the time they spent there. This is not the way to do things, comrades, for the state to spend and build and for you to cause damage. In the same way, in many places play grounds were set up for children but they disappeared leaving no trace, and telephones were set up in the streets, but they were put out of order by certain irresponsible young people.

I agree that not all the youth do this, no one says that, but those who do such things are young, and therefore the youth organization in particular has responsibility for all these unpleasant things that occur. Comrade leaders of our youth, do you think we should protect what we build with the police, or by education? Are you aware that this educational work should be done to a greater extent by the youth organization, without speaking here of the major responsibility which evolves upon the Party, the school, the family and society as a whole? It must not be forgotten that our youth must appropriate that education which it is taught, at the level it is taught, with all its good aspects and shortcomings, they must assimilate the good into their character, and get rid of the bad in whatever form it appears.

Why are the funds specified for the needs of

youth not spent? If that is so, why do not the Party and you, the youth, make a big issue of it? You may say that they do not listen to you, and that is why you have brought the question up in the Secretariat. I do not say that you did badly in bringing the question this far, and we will draw the attention of the organs of the Party and those of the state which violate or fail to implement decisions, but I tell you too that the matter does not end here, it is necessary for a great battle to be waged at the base, by you in particular, against distortions, bureaucratism, routine and negligence.

Interest in developing physical culture and sports is of major importance. The Party has always emphasized this. And steps have been taken, investments have been made, and much theorizing has been and continues to be done regarding means and methods, etc. But this theorizing, however good it may be, has little effect if it does not arouse in our youth the desire and absolute need to take part in physical culture. If our youth do not understand that this has to do with their good health and is not snobbery, whatever means are put at their disposal, then there can be no physical culture and sport for the masses of youth. And the means have been provided, possibly still few as yet, but they are not used properly.

We are asked to open special shops for the sale of sports equipment in the cities. Shops can be opened, but they have to be filled with sporting goods. We must first think out in a ratio-

nal way what is needed and how much we are able to do, and not promise and do nothing.

You tell us that the government decided to set up various playing fields in every village and in the quarters of the large cities. This is a good decision although very daring in its scope. And here now you tell us that a year has passed and nothing has been done to implement this decision. I want to ask you, comrades: Have you helped the government to do these things for you, or have you waited and are you waiting for everything to be brought to you by train or truck at the appointed time? I believe this decision has not been viewed properly either by you, or by the districts, or by the enterprises. I think that the state should help in this direction, but in no way should everything be expected from the state, for there are many things that you should do yourselves on your own initiative, that the enterprises should do, that the district should do.

All possibilities exist for you yourself to set up small playing fields in city quarters, to build play grounds for young pioneers with the assistance of the enterprises, to organize excursions to scenic areas, and I do not think it is necessary to set up a special shop to make climbing boots, nor are we in a position for the time being to import thousands of skis for this sport which has not yet been developed in our country; so let us first develop it with primitive skis that our youth themselves can make.

You are right in criticizing teachers who show no interest in the out-of-school education of chil-

dren, which is an integral part of their task. He who interprets this otherwise, makes a mistake. Of course, this interest should be shared by your organization, by the family and by society as a whole.

You are also right in complaining about the lack in number and the poor quality of publications for young pioneers. Our writers should do some hard thinking about this lack, which has serious consequences. You are right, but at the same time I ask you what is being done by so many talented young people who have emerged from your ranks, who know the lives and feelings, of the young pioneers, having been pioneers themselves? What are you doing with them? How far do you influence them to specialize in this direction? Do you think that writing for youngsters is something easy, unimportant, without future or <fame>?

The Party Central Committee calls on our gifted writers not to forget to write both for young people and for pioneers. Children's literature is very important and very necessary, and only talented and passionate writers can turn out pleasing and educative books for the most precious offspring of our socialist land.

You have done well in submitting a report to the economic organs and even to the Council of Ministers on certain principal problems that our youth raise on economic matters. I am not acquainted with that report of yours, but I am familiar with a number of questions relating to youth in production. The Party is of the opinion that our youth are everywhere on the forefront and work

very well, this is their distinctive characteristic. But in their work, as in the work of others, there are also shortcomings.

You express the desire of the cooperative youth to work reduced hours and to fulfil and overfulfil the planned targets within this reduced worktime etc. This is a wish, but unfortunately it is not being realized even in factories where work discipline is stricter, let alone in agricultural cooperatives. When I speak about this in factories I speak with competence, relying on correct estimates and not on guesswork. The workers in factories, let alone the office workers who are hard to check on, instead of working a full eight hours, work six to six-and-a half hours, or a maximum of seven hours. In the countryside the work time is reduced to five or six hours. Then why do you speak of eight hours; or do you mean that the youth of the countryside should work five hours a day? I may be told that this is not the situation. Maybe, but then prove it. You should know one thing, that a youth on a cooperative does not work isolated, but in a brigade; so he should start and finish work together with the brigade. At the same time, let us not forget that the work a worker does is controlled, although this control should become stricter, but the cooperative member's use of his hoe should also be checked on, because coming late to work or leaving work early depends on the number of times he wields his hoe, and while the worker receives his pay every fifteen days, the result of his work can be seen only at the end of the year. You say lightly

that this claim of our peasant youth is not excessive, but do not forget that agricultural production has its requirements, and its strict discipline, and the method and quantity of work are calculated. Many agricultural managers begin by making pledges and high-sounding promises, but in the end, we see that many deficits arise. In agriculture there are also brigades in the same cooperative where the youth work so hard, they turn night to day and perform miracles, while there are other brigades which, though they contain many young people, lag far behind. This does not mean that the youth of the countryside should not have recreation and relaxation. But work should be better organized, the machinery should be put to better use, many work processes should be mechanized so that time may be gained, but it seems to me that it would be very difficult to do what you suggest. The young cooperativists should first complete their 8-hour work — day as they are supposed to, and in agricultural work this is not something fixed as in a factory, because in agriculture it is necessary to work even longer hours, because there are times when the cooperativists fold their arms, not that they should do so, but they do this in order to smoke a cigarette or to hold endless conversations.

It seems inconceivable to me that, because in some work centres work is done in three shifts, we should completely change the structure of our cultural, artistic, sports and other activities in them. Yet some small changes may be considered where it is possible, such as, for instance, so-

me cinemas opening in the morning for workers of the 2nd and 3rd shift, but it is difficult to make radical changes in this direction, because we lack the means, personnel etc., etc.

Excuse me, comrades of the youth organization, for it may seem to you that this speech contains a number of reproaches about your work. To a certain extent, this is true, but it must be said that, in the work of our youth there are many good things, great in number and in moral, ideological and political value, and very inspiring to all, but among all these there are also shortcomings. Can we hush up these shortcomings? No, comrades! This is not what the Party teaches us, on the contrary, we should point them out clearly so as to correct them as soon as possible.

I could have used another slightly milder form to point out the weaknesses I mentioned, but I thought that the comrades of the Secretariat of the Central Committee of Youth, regardless of their youth, are mature communists to whom the Party and the young people have given rights, and whom they have charged with important tasks. Let them listen to these remarks of ours the way we think them, because they themselves know how to find more suitable forms to present them to the youth. We understand our marvellous youth very well, and we are more than confident that the youth too understand us of the older generation.

The struggle of the Party for the education of our workers and youth, among other things, should be viewed in connection with the struggle waged

by the imperialist and revisionist enemies against our country, and the ideological pressure they exert on our people.

Our Party has spoken and continually speaks about the imperialist-revisionist encirclement. It seems to me that this realistic thesis of our Party is often interpreted narrowly by some people, it is taken merely as a geographic notion and as a warning to be always on the alert militarily to cope with the eventual aggression of these savage enemies of our socialist land. But this is onesided.

It must be profoundly understood that the imperialist-revisionist encirclement is expressed every day and every hour through great ideological pressure which aims to confuse the minds of careless people, to bring disorder into our economy and organization, to cause the political and ideological degeneration of the masses and, in particular, of our youth and intellectuals, to weaken their revolutionary spirit and encourage indifference and an apolitical attitude. It was in this way that the revisionists seized power in the Soviet Union and in many other countries. Let us never forget that bitter experience.

The hostile elements within the country, urged on by imperialism and revisionism, have adopted this tactic in various forms, and try to apply it in their campaign against the Party and the people's power. The enemy do not come out in the open against the line of the Party, for they know that the fist of the people's power will fall heavily on them, but they try to distort the directives of the Party and state power. They are afraid to come

out in the open, for instance, against the agricultural cooperatives, or to sabotage production as they would like to, for they know they will suffer greatly for it, but in various ways they encourage a lack of discipline at work, wherever they can they encourage tendencies to place narrow personal interests above everything, they try to hamper revolutionary initiatives to establish advanced norms, to raise productivity, etc. The hostile elements do not openly call for opposition to the people's power and socialism, for they have experience and know that the working masses and our revolutionary youth would grip them by the throat and bury them alive; so, to achieve their hostile objectives they try to degenerate our socialist rule and order by encouraging liberalism and indifference, by opening the way for the introduction into our country of alien influences in art and literature, in behaviour, fashion etc. Therefore, we should keep our eyes open to observe not only alien manifestations and influences which can be clearly understood, but also some disguised trends in certain writings which are published about our literature, drama and music, so that certain blemishes may be noticed in time, for if not attacked they will become more serious and obvious. It is essential for these problems to become the target of our ideological struggle on the front of literature and art, especially regarding certain things that are discordant.

One of the forms of work to raise our people's ideological and cultural level and sharpen their vigilance is discussions and debates, so

no obstacles should be placed before the confrontation of opposing opinions and the all-round discussion of problems. Unprepared, vague discussions just for the sake of talking are a mistake. To express approval of something without knowing what it is about, means to express ungrounded opinions of no value. Objective discussion, on the basis of a sufficient degree of knowledge, is always useful. While passing judgment on a literary or artistic production, you can point out its good and bad aspects with regard to style, structure, language and so on, and its political and ideological nature. Faults in style, in structure, in the beauty of expression and so on in a work are weaknesses of growth, while the problems of its political and ideological nature are extremely important. We may accept a work which has stylistic weaknesses, but in no way can we accept one which contains and upholds reactionary views. Discussion in all these fields is necessary, it is even indispensable, and should be lively and revolutionary, especially against alien views.

There are cases when some confused idea is expressed according to which we ought to follow blindly the course of European development. No, comrades, we cannot and should not follow «the European road»; on the contrary, it is Europe which should follow our road, because, from the political standpoint, it is far behind us, it is very far from that for which Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin fought, and for which our Party fights today. Of course, it cannot be denied that in Europe there are also good things, especially regarding

the development of science and technology. We do not reject these achievements, but in no way can we accept that as regards politics «we should develop according to the European way». It is quite different when we try to adopt something from non-socialist countries in the field of material development. In our daily life we sometimes come across the expression: «this is French-made». Our people have used this expression to point out the skill and ability of the producer, and it is not hard to understand that the thing which comes from abroad and which you like, is not the work of the corrupt bourgeoisie but of the working class and technical intelligentsia of the country where it is produced, who exert all their energies, are barbarously exploited by capital, and live in suffering and misery. When we have all these things clear in our minds, then we will be able to oppose and settle accounts with those who, for definite political objectives, recommend that we should follow «the European way of development».

There are people who think that the struggle against alien manifestations and influences will retain its impetus for a month or six weeks and will then wane away, giving way to some other slogan. No, comrades, our Party has worked, works and will continually work so that in our country the revolution in the field of ideology and culture which is characterized by class struggle against all forms of alien ideology, is not carried on either for one month or for two but for a much longer time, for decades and decades.

Manifestations of bourgeois and revisionist

ideology have appeared especially in these recent years, when the Party is waging an intensive frontal battle to revolutionize itself, our youth and all the broad masses of the people. Have you noticed this phenomenon, you comrades of the youth organization? In this respect we come across certain contradictions which may be thought to arise from our growing revolutionary situation, but these manifestations are not purely of this nature, therefore, the slogan of raising the revolutionary level which is mentioned on this occasion should not mislead us. We are continually improving the living standard of the population, education and culture are being extended by opening new schools and cultural institutions all over the country, in our shops the citizens have what they need to buy, and so on; then why should there exist theft and robbery and some other ugly manifestations? We should go deeper into these things in order to find out the real causes.

It is essential for the Party to consider well, from the ideological standpoint, these manifestations which have arisen as a result of liberal attitudes, and where they stem from, for bad conduct comes both from blindly copying things from abroad, as well as from distorting the line of the Party.

It is essential to fight persistently first of all against anti-Marxist philosophical views which have been brought in from abroad and are talked about here and there on street corners, and in every case they should be gone into profoundly, and those who propagate and, openly or surreptitious-

ly, uphold them in the field of art and culture and in our daily life, should be attacked. Then our brave youth, who have never lacked courage, will become clear, and when they come across such views will be able to reject a wrong viewpoint or a worthless literary or artistic work, they will pass their own judgment, and will have the courage to oppose everything that is not in accord with the line of the Party, which is distorted by certain individuals.

It is up to the Party to educate all the working people and the masses of our youth correctly, to keep raising their revolutionary vigilance towards the great danger posed by the continuous imperialist-revisionist pressure against our country, and by the activity of the class enemy. No one is allowed to take this struggle lightly, to live in a state of euphoria, on the contrary, it is the duty of every one to fight in close ranks, bearing in mind the danger which now faces us from the present all-round efforts of the enemy against our country which are, so to say, a kind of calculated preparation on the part of the imperialists and revisionists for still more provocative and aggressive actions against socialist Albania. Our youth in particular should not take this struggle lightly; because of their nature and their age, because of their lack of experience, they are the target of this great ideological pressure by our enemies who continually try at any cost, and will keep on trying, to set the younger generation against the older generation.

In your comments, comrade First Secretary of

the Central Committee of the Youth Organization, you mentioned the work you will do on a series of problems. Very good in regard to what you will do, but I advise you not to be satisfied with speaking in general terms about the directives issued by the Party. When you say «we should put the finger on the wound» you should truly put the finger on the wound, justly, without being either harsh or liberal. Explain to the youth who are in the wrong where these errors lead them, and advise them to take the right course. If anyone fails to change despite the individual work of the comrades and what has been done in the organization, criticize him before the masses; and if he still does not listen, then take other measures of an educative character. I do not believe that the party organization, the youth organization and all the other bodies have failed to speak against alien manifestations. but the bad thing is that they have spoken about them in very general terms, things have not been gone into carefully, and therefore the results are not satisfactory.

I have already said that this struggle should be waged in close ranks. This means that every communist, every young person and every patriot should always bear in mind that we are building socialism under the conditions of an imperialist-revisionist blockade. However, this fact is often underestimated, and people think that the blockade can be coped with without sacrifice. This erroneous view is also expressed in the demands, without basis or criterion, that everything should be done by the state, and in the tolerance shown not

only in the ideological and moral field, but also in the economy. It is a fact that in our country, in work centres, in the countryside, in schools and everywhere, work discipline is not always at the height it should be, low quality products are often turned out, work norms are exceeded because they are not well-founded, people learn just enough to receive a pass mark, and so on. And it often happens that people say very little against these negative phenomena, not enough is done to call people to account, while if something is lacking in the market, they do not hesitate to write even to the Party Central Committee or the government. For the market to have commodities in abundance, we ourselves must first produce in abundance. Also, the Party has always emphasized that in order to be ready for the unexpected, beside regular market supplies, we need reserves. But how shall we create these reserves? Only through conscientious work, through strict proletarian state discipline, through leading a simpler life and not by being lavish, or by nurturing inclinations to satisfy the petty-bourgeois tendency to luxury of certain people.

Therefore, we should do more to educate our workers, peasants, intellectuals and youth with our communist world outlook. We should establish strict discipline everywhere in production and in all work, based on a sound proletarian education. In this way we will also fight liberalism which is evident in many cases.

The fight against alien influences and manifestations, the fight for the revolutionary education

of the masses and especially, of our youth, should always be conducted according to the teachings of the Party, without going to extremes. We should all take this into consideration, otherwise any unwise or overhasty act will be exploited by the enemy for speculative purposes, interpreting the correct revolutionary ideological, political, administrative and economic measures the Party takes as restrictions and repression, and claiming that the situation in our country is unsound.

The comrades should think deeply and reflect well about these problems, because only in this way will they be able to make the necessary criticism of the weaknesses they observe. But criticism should not come only from above, it should come especially from below, because criticism from above, besides its very good side, since it reflects the greater political experience of the leading comrades who have the opportunity to have access to information from various sources, etc., also has its bad side, because those people who make mistakes and are criticized only from above may pose as victims in the eyes of others.

The Party and its leadership require that opinions about anyone should be expressed openly, and therefore people should be spiritually cleansed, so to speak, and a situation created in which the person who criticizes justly may feel happy and arouse in the person who is criticized not a feeling of indignation or desire for revenge but in the first place of great love for the Party and its leadership. If we attain this objective, we shall have scored a major victory. We should do a lot

in this direction, otherwise, we will not achieve what our Party aims at, and what we would achieve would be a formal fulfilment of its high aims, a kind of doubtful respect, which is of no use to the Party of the communists.

What I have said should be well grasped and should be taken continually into consideration by all the party comrades and by our youth who are the future of our Party, who will take the torch into their hands. The cleaner and the more courageous our youth are, the more enduring will be the work of our Party. We must always keep our conscience clean, just as we work every day to keep our homes and bodies clean; so let us work untiringly to reach the point where the people and the Party see that their strength lies in themselves, in the correct line of the Party, in the people, in the cadres at the centre and at the base, in collective leadership, in unity of thought and action.

Having said all this, having reprimanded some of our comrades, leaders of the youth, I wish to emphasize again that, regardless of how they raise these problems, in form or substance, it is not permissible for us comrades of the Party, or for those of the government, those of the state power at the grass roots, or the managers of economic enterprises, to bypass the requests of our youth, not to give them serious consideration and not to make efforts to see that decisions are implemented.

Therefore, let us agree with the proposal of the youth that meetings should be called on these problems in the districts with the members of the

executive committees and other responsible persons around the bureaus of party committees, and in those meetings the comrades of the youth organization should put forward forcefully and correctly the opinions they have on these matters, discuss them, take clear-cut decisions and see to it that the decisions of the Party Central Committee, the Government and the Central Committee of the Youth Union itself are properly carried out.