Comrades,

The decisive factor in all the successes we have achieved and those we are going to achieve in the future, is our Party of Labour, its organizing and leading role, its consistently correct policy. All our people, all our communists, are proud of their Party because it is only under its wise, far-sighted and courageous leadership that the most beautiful dreams of our working people have become and are becoming reality.

The great heroic struggle, the indefatigable and selfless work, tempered and steeled our Party, made it brave and indomitable, a capable leader that enjoys the complete trust of all the working masses of our country. The strength of our Party lies in its unwavering loyalty to Marxism-Leninism, in its unity, in its indissoluble ties with the people who gave it birth and raised it. Our whole Party is rallied around its Central Committee to a man. The steel-like unity and solidarity of the ranks of the Party have always been one of the distinctive characteristics of our Party of Labour. Always, and especially at the most important moments of the history of our Party and people, the unbreakable unity of the whole Party and the entire people around the Party, the readiness of everyone to carry out the correct Marxist-Leninist line of our Party resolutely and without hesitation, has been displayed with its full vigour.
The whole Party has guarded the unity of its ranks like the apple of its eye, fighting with all its strength and without the slightest hesitation against every enemy that has attempted to violate this unity in the slightest. Towards those communists who have made mistakes but have recognized the error of their ways, our Party has displayed great care and patience. But towards the enemies of Marxism-Leninism, towards the deserters and those who have attempted to split our unity, the Party has shown itself stern and merciless, and it will always do so. In our unity lies our strength, in our unity lies our invincibility, in our unity lies the guarantee of all our successes.

The further continuous strengthening of our Party is one of our main tasks, because the Party is the leading, organizing, and guiding force of the whole life of our country, because, as the great Lenin said,

«...in it we see the mind, the honour and the conscience of our era.»*

The Yugoslav revisionists, who have built up a whole «theory» about the diminishing role of the Party and its «withering away» in the conditions of the construction of socialism, aim precisely here, to strike at the heart, the brain, the head of our movement. The fact that the imperialists and their lackeys, the revisionists, have aimed their main blows against the Party, increases our conviction that we must strengthen our Party more and more and increase its role as leader and organizer.

From the 3rd to the 4th Congress, the organizational work of our Party has been strengthened a great deal. In the all-round activity for the implementation of the tasks which the 3rd Congress of the Party laid down in this field,

* V. I. Lenin, Collected Works, vol. 25, p. 303 (Alb. ed.).
the organizing role of the Party has increased, its composition has been improved, the level of the party basic organizations has been raised, the method of work of all party organs has been improved, and the organizations of the masses have been invigorated and activated better. All these things have assisted the generally successful fulfilment of the important tasks which the 2nd Five-year Plan set before our people.

But the new conditions, the majestic tasks which this historic Congress of our Party is putting forward, require that the level of the organizational work of our Party must be raised still higher...

2. – THE MAIN PROBLEM TODAY IN THE ORGANIZATIONAL MATTERS OF THE PARTY IS TO STRENGTHEN THE ROLE AND RAISE THE LEVEL OF THE WORK IN THE PARTY BASIC ORGANIZATIONS

Always having a correct appreciation of the role of the party basic organizations as the foundation of the Party, during this period, too, the Central Committee and the district committees of the Party have paid great attention to the all-round strengthening of their work. Now the force of the party basic organizations and their role in carrying out all the tasks is felt everywhere. On the basis of the directives of the 3rd Congress the extension and distribution of the party forces have been improved. Now in all the sectors we have 188 party basic organizations more than we had at the time of the 3rd Congress, and in the production centres we have 6,082 more communists than at that time. Thus we may say that today the extension and distribution of the party forces fully responds to the tasks facing us. This fact and the constant assistance of the Central Committee and of the district and city committees, as well as the
struggle for the implementation of the line of the Party, have raised the level of the work of the party basic organizations still higher.

But bearing in mind the major tasks facing us, the need arises for further improvement of the work of the party basic organizations and an increase in their abilities.

First, we must further improve the work of the party basic organizations in the state enterprises and the cooperatives for the management of production. Now, for every basic organization working in production, new conditions have been created in connection with the new requirements laid down for the improvement of all quality indices of production, as well as with the great extension and development of the agricultural cooperatives. Therefore these organizations must carry out a more thorough-going and concrete work, in order to exert an effective influence on the growth and improvement of production. In this direction the work has begun well, but it must be continued and carried through to the end. Here the attention of the Party should be concentrated on three main directions: to draw in the collective opinion of the Party, and indeed of the non-party masses, in order to find the weak points in the work of the enterprise or of the cooperative, as well as to find the ways to eliminate them; to organize the work with people properly, to make the tasks clear to everybody, to work for the raising of their technical and professional abilities and for the assimilation of advanced experience, etc.; to ensure a more effective check-up by the party basic organizations on the activity of the administration of the enterprise.

By making the administrations of the enterprises face up to their responsibilities for the weaknesses which are observed, by not allowing them to tolerate these shortcomings and deficiencies, and by mobilizing the masses properly to overcome these difficulties, the successful fulfilment of all the targets of the plan will be ensured. Of course, care
must be taken to avoid the situation in which the party basic organizations displace and take over the functions of the economic organs and state organs. Such a thing would be very harmful both to the work and to the cadres, but they must be made to face up better to their responsibility for the performance of their duties, must be given assistance in carrying them out, and constantly checked up on.

The most important condition for strengthening the check-up by the party basic organizations on the activity of the administration of the enterprises, and in general, for enhancing the leading role of the Party in production, is to increase the interest of all the communists in the outcome of the work in the enterprise and the carrying out of all tasks.

Greater attention must be paid, also, to the improvement of the work of the party basic organizations in the state administration bodies and the cultural, educational and scientific institutions. A large number of communists are working in these organizations, and the work at the base is heavily dependent on their work. It has to be said that the deficiencies which lead to failure by various enterprises to fulfil the targets of the plan are often connected with the weaknesses of the central administration in the work of giving leadership and assistance to the base. Therefore efforts must be made to enhance the role of the party organizations of this apparatus for the overall improvement of its work. In this direction, the party basic organizations which are working in the government departments and other central institutions, as well as those of the local executive committees, or other administrative bodies at district level, must further extend the range of problems with which they deal, aiming mainly at the struggle against bureaucracy, at the strengthening of the work of concrete management, in order to give the base greater and more effective assistance.

In the work for the overall raising of the role and
level of the party basic organizations, first-rate importance should be given to strengthening the internal life of the Party. The sound development of the internal life in the Party should serve to temper the communists, to free them from their shortcomings, and divest them of the hangovers and mental attitudes of the strata from which they come, as well as to consolidate in them the lofty virtues of communist morality. The forge of the Party must temper those elements who enjoy the trust and great affection of all the working people with whom they live and work.

In this regard we should give first-rate importance to thorough and always principled discussion of issues which are raised in the basic organizations, and especially to the development of criticism and self-criticism.

Another very serious problem for the party organizations is the strengthening of revolutionary vigilance. We have a wealth of experience in the struggle against enemies both inside and outside the ranks of the Party. In particular, we have waged a consistent, principled and correct struggle against Yugoslav revisionism. In the struggle against the enemies our Party has waxed stronger and its members have been tempered. But the enemies have not ceased their activity, either against our Party and our country, or against the socialist camp and the international communist movement. And there is no doubt that they will continue this struggle as long as they live. Therefore, on this question we must not entertain any opportunist illusions. The protection of the Party from hostile elements is, in the first place, the duty of every communist, just as the struggle against any enemy of the Republic is the duty of every communist and every patriot of our country. Therefore we must raise the vigilance of the communists and the entire people to a higher level. We are strong and growing stronger from day to day, but this in no way allows us to close our eyes and sleep on our laurels. Experience teaches
us that any slackening of our vigilance, however slight, is a plus for the enemy...


While working for the implementation of the tasks set by the 3rd Congress of the Party, all the mass organizations have made obvious improvements in their work for drawing this period.

The trade unions, under the leadership of the Party, have made obvious improvements in their work in drawing the mass of the workers, engineers, technicians and officials enthusiastically into the successful solution of production problems, into the struggle to increase the productivity of labour, to reduce costs, to utilize the internal reserves, to increase production and to develop the initiative and creative activity of the working class further. During this period, there has also been an obvious increase in the concern of the trade unions about raising the political, cultural and technico-professional level of the mass of the working people, as well as about the improvement of their working and living conditions.

During this period, the Labour Youth Union of Albania, under the direct leadership of the Party, has done better and more effective work for the communist education of the youth, has extended the forms and improved the content of all its work in this direction, thus making a great contribution to the training of the new man in our socialist society, while making our youth all over the country a great force always ready to carry out the tasks with which the Party charges it.

The women's organization, under the leadership of the
Party, has successfully carried out the important task of drawing the masses of the women, in town and countryside, into production. Now the women's organization is effectively fighting for the raising of the cultural and professional level of the women, for their promotion to responsible posts. The Women's Union of Albania has been outstanding for its concern to know and study at first hand the special problems of women and to practise interesting forms of work and activities appropriate to these problems.

The Democratic Front, also, has made an important contribution to the political and patriotic education of the people, as well as to their mobilization in a number of economic actions in the public interest.

But the work among the masses, the regular and organized contact of the Party with them, is one of the main questions, a permanent task for us, therefore, in the future too, we must further strengthen the work of the mass organizations, as well as the work of the Party with them.

In the first place, we must take care that the mass organizations carry out properly their function as «levers» and «transmission belts» which link the Party with the masses. In this sense, these organizations must not only carry the line of the Party to the masses and mobilize them to carry it out precisely, a task which is being done better and which must be done even better still in the future, but they must also bring back their thoughts, observations and suggestions of the masses to the Party, continually and regularly, so that it hears their voice and demands, because this enables the Party to give better leadership, to always take account of the demands of the masses and to check whether decisions taken are correct.

«...we can govern only when we express correctly what the people feel.»* says Lenin.

The education of the masses is one of the main tasks of the Party. Taking into account the differing levels and demands of each stratum of the population of our country, as well as the specific problems and tasks they are faced with, the educational work of the Party among them should be differentiated as well.

Notwithstanding all the great work done hitherto for the education of the working class, we must give greater attention to this in the future. The trade unions are schools of communism, therefore they must intensify their work for the ideological and political uplift of the workers, for raising the level of their consciousness, and for the mastering of technique. In the education of the working class we must concentrate our aim on educating it in the socialist attitude towards work and social property, in the spirit of collectivism, co-operation and mutual aid, in the spirit of innovation and incompatibility with every outworn practice, in the correct concept of personal and social interests, and the communist standards of behaviour in life and society. Among the masses in the countryside, the aim of our work should be the inculcation of socialist discipline at work, against laziness, the inculcation of a correct attitude towards the collective economy as the basis of the livelihood and future of the peasant, the correct scientific world-outlook, against superstitions, empty beliefs, and harmful customs, with the sense of the new against conservatism, for a more cultured life in the countryside. We must educate the youth with the standards of communist morality, with an irreconcilable attitude towards manifestations of bourgeois ideology, must enable them to increase their political and technical-professional knowledge, nurture them continuously with the glorious traditions of our people and with the heroism of our times, educate them with a socialist attitude towards work and social property, with love for the Homeland and unwavering confidence in the triumph of the cause of social-
ism and communism. Among the masses of women a more effective fight must be waged against fanaticism and backward customs, against underestimation of their strength, against a number of unjust attitudes which are sometimes maintained towards them by men, and which lead to violation of their rights and hinder them from taking a more active part in the whole life of the country. On the other hand, the work for raising the level of consciousness and the cultural and professional level of the women must be strengthened, with the aim that they themselves, and especially the girls, should fight more effectively for their rights and for their proper position in society.

Another important problem on which the Party must concentrate the attention of the mass organizations, and especially the Trade Unions of Albania and the Labour Youth Union of Albania, in the future, is the question of the discovery, study and dissemination of advanced experience in production.

In our conditions, when the workers know and feel that they are working for themselves, for the happiness of their children, many new initiatives emerge, which have as their aim the better organization of work in production, the better utilization of working time, increased production, reduction of costs, that is to say, the development of the economy and culture of our country at higher rates. The thing is to know how to seize on these movements as soon as they emerge, to support them and open the way to their full-scale development, to assist the implementation of them wherever the conditions exist.

In this direction, the trade unions and the youth organizations must give the Party a great deal of help. We can say that during the period between the two congresses good work has been done as regards the support and relatively wide dissemination of new and very important movements, such as that of brigades of socialist labour,
the «1+2» movement for the education of cadres, the recent movement for every worker to fulfil his norms, the movement to put in at least 300 work days and more in the agricultural cooperatives, etc. The party and trade union organizations of economic enterprises in the cities of Tirana and Shkodra, as well as the village organizations of the Party and the Labour Youth Union of Albania in the towns of Lushnja and Fier, which have done a better job in the direction of the study, support and dissemination of new initiatives, are particularly to be commended. But it must be said that in this direction we are still only beginning to work well.

It is often considered that the important progressive experience which is to be supported and spread is that of a few individuals, outstanding in the whole Republic, who have achieved record results. There is no doubt that the example of the heroes of socialist labour should inspire all the workers of our country. The indices achieved by them in the realization of the targets of the plan should convince every worker of what his work is capable of yielding. But we should not seek advanced experience only in the work of these few outstanding people. In every enterprise and cooperative, in every brigade and team, there are workers who successfully fulfil and overfulfil the tasks assigned to them, who organize their work well, who utilize their working time properly, who turn out products of high quality and who make great savings. To make all the members of the team or brigade work as these people do, to raise the mass of the workers in the brigades and teams to the level of the best — this is an exceptionally great reserve for the fulfilment of our plans.

Finally, in our work among the mass organizations the question of invigorating their internal life must concern us, mainly the question of enhancing the feeling of responsibility of every member of these organizations for the smooth running of the work as a whole. In this direction the crea-
tion by every organization of a broad network of activists, energetic people, conscientious and tireless in carrying out social duties, is of first-rate importance. The struggle for the carrying out of social tasks raises people's political consciousness, makes them ardent patriots of their country, indomitable fighters for the cause of the Party. Therefore great concern should be displayed for charging these activists with concrete tasks, as well as for their continuous education.


The establishment of the people's state power is the greatest victory scored by our people under the leadership of the Party. The people's power made our people masters of their own fate. Always basing itself on the immortal teachings of Marxism-Leninism, our Party has worked with all its might to strengthen, perfect and further democratize the people's power, in order to make it an ever more effective weapon both for the consolidation of the victories achieved and for the continuous advance of the socialist construction of the country.

Along with the all-round growth and development of our country, our state of people's democracy, as a form of the dictatorship of the proletariat, too, has grown up and become perfected. As a result of the construction of the economic base of socialism and of the establishment of socialist relations in town and countryside, as a result of the liquidation of antagonistic classes, the growth of the working class, and in general, the rise in the consciousness of all the working masses of our country, the
socialist base of the dictatorship of the proletariat has been greatly strengthened and extended. Without doubt, these things have also brought about the development of the main internal tasks and functions of our state in keeping with the new conditions.

The further strengthening and rapid development of the socialist economy and the raising of the material and cultural level of the working masses remain links in the chain of tasks facing our state. In this direction, both the ability and the responsibility of all the state organs, from top to bottom, must be raised, for the timely and correct solution of the problems which emerge in this field of activity. The main economic-organizational, cultural-educational function of our state finds its expression here.

The other, equally important, task of our state is the defence of the victories achieved from any attempt of external or internal enemies against them. Here our state carries out its functions of the suppression of enemy activity and defence of the Homeland. In the future, too, these will remain very important functions of our state, although the field of action of the function of repression will become narrower in the future, because, on the one hand, the exploiting classes have been liquidated, and on the other hand, the development of the economy and culture, the constant rise in the well-being of the working masses and the great political-educational work of the Party steadily reduce the incidence of crime. The function of repression is maintained, also, because our country is surrounded by rabid enemies, the imperialists and their lackeys, who are doing everything in their power to eliminate, or at least to injure, the People's Republic of Albania. Moreover, the facts themselves show that in our country at the present period, the main enemy activity takes the form of espionage and subversion directed mainly by the imperialists and their lackeys. The Party has always taken account of this important func-
tion of our state, as well as of the fact that we are building socialism encircled by rabid enemies. Therefore we have paid special attention to strengthening the organs of the dictatorship, and we can say that, under the leadership of the Party, those organs have carried out the functions assigned to them very well and successfully. All the attempts of the enemies, from the founding of our state of people's democracy to this day, in whatever form they have been made, by all the external or internal enemies, have been discovered in time and have been dealt with and smashed as they deserved.

Our armed forces, our valiant army, under the constant leadership of the Party, has been strengthened and modernized and is completely capable of defending the People's Republic of Albania and the victories of our people. Our soldiers, non-commissioned officers, officers and generals, fully conscientious in the performance of their duties towards the Homeland and socialism, have become masters in the use of all kinds of arms, including the most modern ones which we possess.

The organs of State Security and the People's Police, under the continuous leadership and care of the Party, have been strengthened and raised in qualification to the level necessary for the performance of their tasks. Characterized by the party spirit and always vigilant, they have smashed all the attempts of enemies and other evil-doers. They have become the terror of the enemies and a very beloved weapon for the people, who support and assist them in all their activity.

Our borders have become impassable; they are guarded and defended with heroism and pride by our brave border guards, in close cooperation with the people. According to the teachings of the Party and under its constant care, the border forces, educated with fiery patriotism and the spirit of proletarian internationalism, have always honourably
performed their duties for the protection of the borders of the People's Republic of Albania.

In the future, too, our Party will continue to give increasing attention to strengthening the organs of the dictatorship. We must make our armed forces, our valiant army, even stronger. We must modernize and perfect all the types of arms. The Ministry of People's Defence, all the commanders, the political organs and the party organizations in the army must work with all their might to perfect the military art, to strengthen the political and educational work and all the work of the Party in the army, to increase the knowledge of the troops and the staffs so that all become real masters of their weapons.

We must strengthen the work of the Party in the organs of the Ministry of Internal Affairs (security, police, and border forces), must enhance their professional capabilities, must ensure that their revolutionary vigilance is constantly at its peak so that they are always ready and capable of performing the duties assigned to them. We must constantly strengthen the ties of these organs with the people.

The tasks ahead of us require that the work of the central state organs and their apparatuses must be further improved. The time has come to increase the demands on the central apparatuses for better quality work, for a more profound and timely study of problems and more effective assistance for the base, both for the enterprises dependent on them and for the executive committees of the people's councils. The central apparatuses must free themselves from petty daily questions, must fight resolutely against the bureaucratic handling of problems, must engage more seriously in correct planning and supply, in check-up on the main indices, and deal with the demands and proposals of the base in connection with production, correctly and quickly.
The foundations of our people's power are the people's councils, beginning from the village and city precinct councils up to the district councils. Both during the National Liberation War and after Liberation, our councils have always honourably carried out the tasks assigned to them. Through the people's councils we have always secured an active and broad participation of the masses in the affairs of the state. Now the people's councils and their executive committees have become more deeply involved in matters of production, as well as in social and cultural questions.

The extension of the socialist sector of the economy both in the towns and in the countryside has greatly increased the responsibilities of the people's councils. On the other hand, the improvement of the work in the central departments, requires their being relieved of the direct management of a number of enterprises and sectors. To this end it is necessary to extend the competences of the local organs of power. Therefore we must greatly strengthen the work of the people's councils, especially in these main directions:

On the one hand, the organs and the organizations of the Party, as well as the state organs themselves should pay great attention to the organizational strengthening of the people's councils, to their regular functioning, to the full activation of the commissions and the broad masses of the council members, to the ever greater involvement of the working masses in state problems.

On the other hand, the method of work of the local organs of state power at all levels must be improved and their initiative must be increased, within the limits of their authority under the law.

The people's councils in the villages, in particular, must be given great assistance in the directions mentioned. With the collectivization of agriculture, a new situation has been created for the people's councils in the villages, therefore
they must be instructed on how to go about their work. With the uniting of agricultural cooperatives, state administration units covering two or more villages are being created. This process is correct and must continue, but the people’s councils of those big villages face the task of looking after the work in the residential centres (the former villages), as well as production. The people’s council is the sole supreme authority of the state power in the village, therefore it should know about and concern itself with everything. In this direction struggle should be waged to prevent the replacement of the people’s councils, which sometimes occurs, either by the chairmen of the agricultural cooperatives or by the higher state organs.

The work of the people’s councils in the localities must also be improved. In some zones, where the unification of the agricultural cooperatives has been completed, since only a few economic-administrative units are left under the charge of the localities, the latter have been dissolved. This is correct and should be carried through to the end. But in the places where the localities are still maintained, they should not be weakened or displaced in any way, but should be assisted and activated, in order to strengthen the work of the people’s councils in the villages, to strengthen the agricultural cooperatives and gradually to proceed with their unification, which will eventually make localities redundant. Measures should be taken to strengthen the people’s councils of the towns, to gradually increase and extend their competences.

At the same time, the further strengthening of the people’s state power requires the strengthening of the socialist law, too. In this field we have scored great successes. But in the future, too, great attention should be paid by all the organs to the correct and precise application of our laws. They are the laws of the people in power, therefore they are inviolable and obligatory on all. The organs
of justice and control must carefully supervise and demand complete respect for our socialist law, without the slightest laxity, just as they have done up to now.

Comrades,

The strengthening of the organizational and leading work of our Party is a permanent task incumbent on everybody: on every communist, on every cadre, on every party organization and forum. Therefore we must make every effort to raise the level of its work even higher, to strengthen and steel the monolithic unity of its ranks around the Central Committee and the unity of the masses around the Party more and more, in order to raise its glory to ever greater eminence.

V

THE STRUGGLE IN THEIDEOLOGICAL FRONT
AND THE TASKS OF THE PARTY

Comrades,

The successful performance of the tasks of the socialist construction is directly connected with the ideological work of the Party, with the Marxist-Leninist education of the communists and the masses, with the creative and faithful application of the principles of our triumphant ideology, Marxism-Leninism.

Our Party has always devoted great attention to the education of the communists and the masses with the ideas of Marxism-Leninism, because Marxism-Leninism is the compass which guides the Party in all its activity. It gives
people the possibility to know the laws of development of society, to have a thorough understanding of events and to act correctly in any situation. Therefore the study and the assimilation of Marxism-Leninism is indispensable, not just for a limited circle of cadres of the party apparatus, but for all the communists, all the cadres, whether they are party members or not, in the most varied sectors of the economy, art or culture, the army or education.

Our Party has always been aware that any weakening of the ideology of the Party, any underestimation of it, as the great Lenin says, inevitably brings about the strengthening of bourgeois ideology which constitutes a serious danger to the future of socialism itself. Therefore the Party has always considered ideolo-political work one of the most important sectors of its activity.

In the period since the 3rd Congress, a series of successes have been achieved in the ideological work of the Party, The ideological work has helped achieve results in socialist construction, in the communist education of the masses, in tempering the unity of the Party, as well as in the all-round consolidation of our socialist state and social order.

During these years, good work has been done to carry out the task set by the 3rd Congress of the Party that the ideological work should be closely linked with life, should serve the struggle to increase production and raise the well-being of the working people.

In the ideological work of the Party, study of the classics of Marxism-Leninism, and the history of our Party, the struggle to unmask imperialism, knowledge and study of the tactics and the strategy of the international communist movement, the struggle against modern revisionism, and especially, against Yugoslav revisionism, have occupied an important place. In the struggle to unmask the enemies of socialism, as well as in the daily struggle for the construc-
tion of socialism in our country, our people have been tempered ideologically, the political level of the communists and the masses has been raised, and the militant character of the ideological work of the Party has been strengthened. During the whole period since the 3rd Congress, our Party has waged a resolute struggle to safeguard the purity of Marxism-Leninism, and in this struggle its unity for putting into practice the general line of the Party has become indestructible...

2. WE MUST STRENGTHEN OUR WORK OF PROPAGATING THE FUNDAMENTAL PRINCIPLES OF MARXISM–LENINISM AND THE STRUGGLE TO PRESERVE ITS PURITY

Today a bitter struggle is going on in the world between Marxism-Leninism and the bourgeois ideology and all its manifestations to capture the minds of men. Faced with the magnificent successes of socialism and the spreading of Marxist-Leninist ideas throughout the world, the imperialist bourgeoisie and the exploiting classes, wherever they are, are waging a furious propaganda struggle to spread the ideology of anti-communism in every way, committing monstrous distortions of Marxism-Leninism, grossly slandering the socialist social order, and falsifying the policy and aims of the communists. In these efforts of the imperialist bourgeoisie, the right-wing leaders of social-democracy, those who revise Marxism, and opportunists of various hues are playing a shameful role as the assistants of the bourgeoisie.

Under these conditions, the struggle on the ideological front to protect the purity of the triumphant doctrine of Marxism-Leninism, for a correct and profound explanation of the problems of present-day world development, to pro-
paginate the fundamental principles of Marxism-Leninism and the correct line which the Party of Labour of Albania has pursued and continues to pursue in regard to these problems, assumes special importance.

In order to have a correct understanding of the social phenomena and of the changes that have occurred and are occurring in the world today, our Party has always proceeded from the materialist conception of history, the class analysis of the ratio of forces, and from a thorough and objective study of the real situation existing today. This is the only correct method, the method which Marxism-Leninism teaches and the method which guards one from errors in political activity. Any departure from this dialectical method leads to metaphysics and idealism, leads to revisionism and opportunism, results in a back-to-front assessment of the different events and situations.

The main characteristic of all opportunists and revisionists, both those of the past and those of the present-day, is precisely the negation of these fundamental principles of Marxism-Leninism. This is also the source of all their distorted views, all their hostile and dangerous activity in the fields of ideology and practice. The great Lenin said that at the foundation of all the revisionist views lies the idea of the collaboration of classes with opposing interests. Revising the Marxist theory on classes and the class struggle, the revisionists declare Marxism obsolete, deny its fundamental principles, present all the major problems of our age in a distorted light, give up the ideological and political struggle against the class enemy and capitulate to him. Of course, in order to disguise themselves, because if they came out openly, no one would believe their nonsense, the revisionists try to peddle their views as the last word in «creative» Marxism. But their beautiful phrases can fool no one, much less the communists, the Marxist-Leninists, who when they judge any party or person, do not judge them
only by their words, by their attire, but chiefly by their deeds, by their work. They judge from the basis of whom these views serve, in the interest of which class are these views. In this matter the Marxist parties and all communists are guided by Lenin’s teachings that:

«People always were and always will be the stupid victims of deception and self-deception in politics until they learn to discover the interests of this or that class behind all moral, religious, political and social phrases, declarations and promises.»*

The present-day revisionists deny the chief contradictions of our times, behind which stand definite classes and social forces. Consequently, by speculating with allegedly Marxist phrases, the revisionists spread dangerous illusions on many important problems of our time. Thus, for example, when they speak of our epoch, they present it as an epoch of general peace and harmony, «in which the capitalist social system in its classical form is a thing of the past», in which it is possible to speak of a «general integration» of the whole world, even of the capitalists themselves, into socialism, and in which such problems as that of the struggle between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie, socialism and capitalism, between the forces of liberty and slavery, between democracy and reaction, between the forces of peace and war, have been totally eliminated. And if one thinks according to the revisionists’ logic, this is quite natural, because according to them, as a result of the change in the ratio of forces in the international arena, capitalism and imperialism have undergone radical changes, they are no longer exploiters or aggressors, nor a source of wars and oppression. Indeed, the revisionist

* V. I. Lenin, Collected Works, vol. 19, p. 9 (Alb. ed.).
Kardelj even produced theoretical «arguments» to prove that the danger of war, in fact, emanates from the socialist countries and especially from China and Albania! That is the depth of absurdity to which the enemies of Marxism have descended, that is where their great zeal to serve their master, the imperialist bourgeoisie, to the maximum, has brought them!

In departing from the class concept of the analysis of the situation and wanting to deceive the masses, the modern revisionists indulge in demagogy when they talk about the policy of peaceful coexistence, or the problems of war and peace. They take a back-to-front view of these problems, through anti-Marxist spectacles. They see the policy of peaceful coexistence, the fundamental principles of which were first formulated by Lenin, as a policy of conciliation with imperialism, for the sake of which any kind of class struggle must be given up, according to the principle, «Don't fall out with your rich uncle», who has already been weakened and is going bankrupt anyway. According to the revisionists, the policy of peaceful coexistence extends not just to the relations among countries with differing social systems, but also to relations between classes within the capitalist countries, as well as to those between the oppressed peoples and the colonial exploiters. The revisionists preach that no ideological and political struggle should be waged against imperialism to expose the policy of war and aggression. These anti-Marxist concepts, which are completely contrary to the interests of the working class and socialism, are intended to impose an opportunist policy on the socialist countries and communist parties, a policy of begging permission and gentle handling, a policy of damaging concessions and compromises, making it possible for the enemies of socialism, the imperialists and the reactionary bourgeoisie, to carry out their policy of war and terror, oppression and exploitation, more easily. However, the genu-
The communist parties and socialist countries cannot follow the revisionist concepts and advice, but follow the immortal, ever-victorious teachings of Marxism-Leninism. Our Party of Labour has struggled and will continue to struggle in the future, too, against the revisionist views on these matters and will always loyally apply the enlightening teachings of Marxism-Leninism.

In departing from the class stand, the present-day revisionists reject as «obsolete» the principled teachings of Marxism-Leninism about the socialist revolution and the dictatorship of the proletariat, as an indispensable condition for the transition from capitalism to socialism. The foundation stone of all the opportunist reasoning of the modern revisionists is the thesis that allegedly the modern capitalist state is losing its class character more and more each day, that allegedly it can serve both the bourgeoisie and the proletariat equally well. According to the revisionist logic, the system of bourgeois democracy can serve as the «judicial and political framework of the initial phases of socialist development». Starting out from such concepts, the right opportunists absolutize the peaceful road of transition from capitalism to socialism, and indeed, consider it the only possible road. They present this peaceful transition as an evolution, as a simple change in government, in which some people are replaced by other people.

The Marxist-Leninists do not deny the possibility of the peaceful road of transition to socialism, but they do not conceive it in the least as a negation of the class struggle, as simply securing a majority in the bourgeois parliament without smashing the old bourgeois state machine to its foundations and without replacing it by the organs of the dictatorship of the proletariat, capable of carrying out thorough-going socialist transformations and ready at any moment to resolutely suppress any possible resistance by the bourgeoisie. The Marxist-Leninists are guided in this
matter by the immortal teachings of the great Lenin, who says:

«The opportunist gentlemen, including the Kautsky-ites, as if to deride the theory of Marx, 'teach' the people as follows: first, the proletariat must win the majority by means of universal suffrage, then on the basis of such a majority vote, must take state power and then on this basis of 'consistent' democracy (some call it 'pure'), organize socialism.

«Whereas we, on the basis of Marx's theory and the experience of the Russian revolution, say:

«First, the proletariat should overthrow the bourgeoisie and secure the state power and then use this state power, i.e., the dictatorship of the proletariat, as a weapon of its class in order to win the majority of working people.»

On the other hand, the Marxist parties, as is mentioned in the 1960 Moscow Declaration, by no means consider the peaceful road as the only possible form of the transition to socialism. On the contrary, they do not forget even for one moment that the ruling classes never voluntarily give up power, and the experience hitherto teaches us this. Therefore the revolutionary Marxist-Leninist parties prepare themselves, at the same time, both for the peaceful road and for the seizure of power by an armed uprising, always keeping their guns loaded and the powder dry, so as not to be caught unawares in case the bourgeoisie uses violence against the working class which has risen in revolution. Lenin's teachings on this matter are clear and precise. He says:

* V. I. Lenin, Collected Works, vol. 30, p. 294 (Alb. ed.).
An oppressed class, which does not try to learn the use of arms, possess arms, this oppressed class deserves nothing better than to be treated as a slave.

If you prepare yourself well for the armed uprising, you also create favourable conditions for taking power in a peaceful way.

This is the only correct Marxist-Leninist stand in such an important and vital matter for the working class and all working people, and this is the stand which has always been and is held by our Party. The revisionist theories on the "evolutionary and peaceful transformation" of modern capitalism into socialism are intended to divert the communist and workers' parties from the right revolutionary road, to divert the working masses from the struggle for the overthrow of the bourgeoisie. Their aim is to keep the capitalist order unharmed and perpetuate it.

The opportunist and capitulationist theses of modern revisionists in regard to the state and the socialist construction are also very dangerous and flagrantly in opposition to the teachings of Marxism-Leninism. While repeating the stale arguments that allegedly the socialist state in the dictatorship of the proletariat and democracy are two things altogether incompatible with each other, accusing the socialist state of "bureaucratic despotism", and manoeuvring with the slogan of so-called "democratization", the present-day revisionists are advocating the "withering-away", the liquidation of the socialist state right now. To the Marxist-Leninist parties it is as clear as daylight that not only the liquidation of the socialist state, but even the smallest weakening of the organs of the dictatorship of the prolet-

ariat, its liberalization, at a time when imperialism, which never has and never will give up its aims and furious efforts to destroy the socialist order, is still in existence, would be suicidal for our socialist countries. The bitter experience of the counter-revolution in Hungary was the clearest confirmation of this.

For the Marxist-Leninists there is not and cannot be the slightest doubt about the fact that the socialist state, while being a dictatorship against the overthrown exploiting classes, enemies of the working class and imperialist agents of any type, at the same time ensures the most extensive democracy for the workers, for the people. These things are elementary to the Marxist-Leninist theory. Our Party has always considered the ceaseless perfecting of the socialist state order, the struggle against any kind of manifestation of bureaucracy, as one of its permanent tasks. But it never for one moment forgets that, as long as the danger of imperialist aggression and the subversive activity of imperialism against our country and the socialist camp exist, it is not by any means permissible, on the pretext of «democratization», to weaken the organs of the dictatorship the proletariat in the least. On the contrary, they must always be kept keen-edged and ready to liquidate any possible attempts by the internal and external enemy.

The experience of the construction of socialism in a series of socialist countries has confirmed the correctness of the Marxist-Leninist theory about the existence of a number of universal laws essential to every country which takes the road of socialist development. The successes of our country and every socialist country have been achieved precisely thanks to the correct implementation of these universal laws of socialist construction, while bearing in mind the concrete conditions and the special historical features of each country, as well as the interests of socialism as a whole.
Those who revise Marxism distort and deny these laws. The socialist state, according to them, must give up its economic organizational functions, because otherwise «bureaucratic» tendencies develop, the state is transformed into a force that stands «above society», etc. In order to escape all these dangers, they preach the decentralization of the management of the economy, the «self-administration of producers». While preaching the steady diminution of the role of the socialist state in the economy, the revisionists take a stand against the very important principle of socialist construction and the socialist state organization — the principle of democratic centralism — and try to replace it with the independent and unfettered development of economic forces, i.e., with petty-bourgeois spontaneity, which leaves the field free for anarchy in production.

Life, practice, has refuted all these modern revisionist views, which serve only the class enemies, seriously damage the cause of socialist construction and create the danger of the restoration of capitalism. Our Party has fought and will fight with determination against all these views, and rigorously adheres to the teachings of Marxism-Leninism on the construction of socialism.

During the past few years, our Party and other Marxist-Leninist parties have waged a successful struggle against the views of modern revisionists, as well as against their disruptive activity in the socialist camp and the international communist movement. But in spite of all the crushing blows and defeats it has received, revisionism has not been routed ideologically; it has not been utterly destroyed. Revisionism, as one of the forms of the influence of bourgeois ideology on the proletariat, as a reflection of bourgeois ideology in theory and practice, remains the main danger to the international communist movement.

A serious danger to the unity of the socialist camp and the international communist movement, the cause of peace
and peoples' liberation is the treacherous Titoite revisionist group, which is an aggressive and dangerous detachment of present-day international revisionism, an inveterate agency of imperialism, first of all, of US imperialism. Our Party of Labour has always waged a resolute struggle against the inimical views and actions of the Belgrade revisionists, considering this struggle an indispensable condition for the defence of the interests of our Homeland, the preservation of the purity of Marxism-Leninism, the strengthening of the unity and solidarity of the socialist camp and the international communist movement, for the successful development of the struggle against imperialism and the preservation of peace. It has always considered this struggle its lofty internationalist duty...

It thinks that a resolute and uncompromising struggle must be waged against revisionism until it is utterly defeated. Any reduction of revolutionary vigilance towards it, any vacillation in the struggle, any weakening of the principled struggle against it under whatever pretext, inevitably leads to the revival and the activation of revisionist tendencies which seriously damage our great cause. Without mercilessly exposing revisionism, and first of all, the Belgrade revisionist clique, the exposure of imperialism cannot be carried out properly. Without making a clear-cut line of distinction between revisionist views and Marxism-Leninism, dogmatism and sectarianism cannot be combated successfully from a correct standpoint. The struggle for the complete ideological and political rout of this renegade gang is an internationalist aid for the Yugoslav people themselves.

While resolutely fighting revisionism, as the main danger, our Party has also fought and will fight any manifestation of dogmatism or sectarianism, which is likewise dangerous to the cause of socialism. During all its activity, the Party of Labour of Albania always has and will have this
matter in mind, because only in this way can we be guaranteed against any error in our great struggle for socialism and communism.

Our Party of Labour has always fought with the greatest determination for and has made its contribution to the strengthening of the unity of the international communist and workers' movement on the steel foundations of Marxism-Leninism. Guided by the principles of proletarian internationalism, it has always been and is aware that the successes and victories of the struggle of the working class and peoples of other countries are part and parcel of our successes, that the solidarity and the aid of the international working class, the fraternal parties and peoples has been and is a very important factor for us in the achievement of our aims. Because of this, the Central Committee of our Party and all the Albanian communists are grateful to the international communist movement, the working class and the fraternal parties of the different countries, and assure them that we, on our part, will always remain loyal to and in solidarity with them, just as we have done up till now. Our Party will continue to fight, as always, for the further strengthening of the unity of the international communist and workers' movement, for the development of internationalist solidarity and fraternal links with all the fraternal parties. While honestly and faithfully carrying out its internationalist duties, here in Albania, our Party will always hold high the banner of Marxism-Leninism, the banner of triumphant socialism.

Comrades,

The Party of Labour of Albania has traversed a difficult, but at the same time, heroic road, in the course of which it has grown up and become stronger. On this difficult road, in this stern struggle against numerous enemies, it
has been tempered, the unity of its ranks has been steeled, the links of the Party with the people have become unbreakable. On this difficult road and in this stern struggle, our Party, enlightened by the teachings of Marxism-Leninism and educated with boundless loyalty to it, worked out its correct general line, gained the maturity to find its bearings correctly even in the most difficult situations, to show courage and determination whenever it has been a question of defending the interests of the Homeland and socialism, and safeguarding the purity of Marxism-Leninism...

The history of our Party is the history of the struggle against and triumph over the internal and external enemies of our people, the history of the struggle and victory of our Marxist-Leninist Party for the purity of Marxism-Leninism, against internal and external opportunism and revisionism. Every communist and worker of our country must become thoroughly acquainted with this history. The study of the history of the Party should be in the centre of attention of the party propaganda. It must show clearly the difficult, heroic and glorious road of the Party, while bringing out well the correctness of the line pursued by our Party at every stage of its development, its loyalty to Marxism-Leninism, and its resolute and courageous struggle against the imperialist enemies and their revisionist hirelings.

Our Party has always triumphed and scored great victories in all directions, because it has always stood loyal to the vital interests of the people and has resolutely defended them, because it has always relied on the people, on their strength and creative abilities, because it has established close ties with the people and has united them strongly around its correct line.

The people, the broad working masses, our working class in alliance with the peasantry, comprise that decisive force which carried out the great political and social trans-
formations in our country, that liberated the Homeland, and today is building socialism. It was the broad masses of the people, workers, working peasantry, our youth and people’s intelligentsia, who waged the glorious National Liberation War. The Party told them that everything, the independence of the Homeland and a better future was in their hands, and they rose to a man, filled the ranks of the army, and fought heroically. At that time the enemies were quite unable to understand wherein lay the strength of our Party, how it was able to organize the liberation war, to create a powerful army and liberate the country.

Later, when Albania emerged from the war, devastated and impoverished, encircled, or «isolated», as our enemies liked to say, they threatened and sneered at us, asking: What are you going to do now? What will you live on and how will you exist? But the enemies rejoiced too soon. They made their reckoning without the host, without our heroic people, who had taken their destiny into their own hands and had become the masters of their own country. Wisely led by their Party, our people rolled up their sleeves, and within a short time, successfully carried out radical socio-economic transformations, overcoming all the difficulties with self-denial and persistence, healed the terrible war wounds, accomplished the reconstruction of the country and prepared the conditions to begin the large-scale construction of the foundations of socialism in our country.

Even friends, who have visited Albania or who from afar have followed with interest the achievements of our country, are frequently amazed and ask: How could little Albania stand up to all those tempests, how could it emerge victorious in the unequal fight with the fascist occupiers and traitors, how can it resist the innumerable threats and pressure of the imperialists, chauvinists, and the Belgrade traitor clique, how does it overcome the difficulties and achieve successes one after another in all fields of
socialist construction? We reply that the decisive factor for the attainment of all our country's historic victories is the people themselves, their struggle and work, the correct line of the Party of Labour of Albania which has known how to make the masses conscious and mobilize them in the war for liberation yesterday, in the struggle for the defence of our independence and the construction of socialism today, the unbreakable linking of the people with the Party. We reply that another important factor is the support, assistance, and the friendship of the fraternal peoples of the socialist countries, the support of all the international proletariat...

Our people are brave, industrious, freedom-loving, loyal and progressive. Our Party, educated with the teachings of Marxism-Leninism, also embodies in itself these lofty traditions of our people. Let us be sure, comrades, that with such a marvellous people and with our Party, unwaveringly loyal to Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism, in close friendship with the fraternal peoples and parties of the world, our country will march ahead, always ahead, for there is neither wave nor storm that can frighten it, there is no force in the world which can stop our victorious march to the triumph of socialism and communism...

Glory to our heroic people and their Party of Labour, the organizer and leader of all the victories of our people!
Glory to Marxism-Leninism, our triumphant science!