

CHAPTER IV

THE STRUGGLE OF THE PARTY TO TURN ALBANIA FROM A BACKWARD AGRARIAN COUNTRY INTO AN AGRARIAN-INDUSTRIAL ONE

(1948-1955)

1. THE 1st CONGRESS OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF ALBANIA — AN HISTORIC TURNING POINT IN THE LIFE OF THE PARTY AND OF THE COUNTRY

The 1st Congress of the Communist Party of Albania was held in Tirana from the 8th to the 22nd of November 1948 with the participation of 563 delegates with deliberative and 299 delegates with consultative vote, representing 29,137 members and 16,245 candidate members.

The Report on the Activity of the Central Committee was delivered by the General-Secretary of the Party, Comrade Enver Hoxha. In it he analyzed the entire activity of the Party since

its founding, assessed the successes attained and the stages through which the Party and the country had passed and made a wide-ranging exposure of the circumstances and causes of the errors which had been proven in the course of the application of the Party line. The policy of the Party for the coming period was clearly laid down in this report. The Party spirit, running through it and the principled stand taken towards the fundamental problems of the Party, guided the delegates correctly and determined the success of the proceeding of the Congress.

The Fundamental Directions for the Construction of the Socialist Base.

The Congress laid great stress on the need to carry through to the end the struggle against the distortions in our political line that had resulted from the hostile Yugoslav interference, and defined the main directions for the construction of the socialist base.

Its fundamental economic objective was to raise the country from its profound backwardness through a vigorous development of the forces of production.

The essence of this task was the socialist industrialization and the electrification of the country. The absolute necessity for industrialization was dictated by the need to create an entirely new material and technical basis for the people's economy, to extend production of goods within the country, to prepare the condi-

tions for the reorganization of agriculture on a socialist basis, to increase the roll-call of the working class so as to strengthen its leading position and, finally, by the need to preserve the gains of the revolution and ensure the construction of socialism.

Socialist industrialization had to be carried out at a rapid rate, within the shortest possible time, so as to overcome the backwardness inherited from the past, to ensure the independent development of economy and to achieve an appreciable rise in the material and cultural level of the working masses. The attainment of this objective rested, in the first place, on a thorough exploitation of the resources of the soil and subsoil, by improving and reorganizing the existing industry and by setting up a series of new industrial projects and branches.

Besides the socialist industrialization the Congress attached great importance to the development of agriculture and to lifting it out of its state of backwardness. The only way to attain this objective fully was the socialist reorganization of the countryside. After criticizing the errors committed on the question of collectivization, the Party was instructed to orientate itself

«towards strengthening the socialist sector of agriculture (the State farms) and towards the gradual, cautious, and voluntary collectivization of the rural areas through agricultural labor coope-

ratives, with the political, economic and the organizational support of the State»¹.

Since the conditions for extensive collectivization were not yet ripe, the Party embodied its policy in this field in the slogan «as to collectivization, neither rush it nor mark time».

The individual farms, which made up the major part of the agricultural economies, were at a low state of development; therefore it was judged necessary to give all-round aid to the individual laboring peasants so that agricultural production would be increased.

At the same time, the Congress instructed that the danger of capitalist development in the countryside in conditions of the predominance of individual farms, should not be lost sight of, even for a moment. It issued instructions that a policy of economic restriction and political isolation of the capitalist elements in the rural areas should be applied.

In carrying out this policy in the countryside, the Party was to be led by the Leninist slogan: «Reliance on the poor peasant, alliance with the medium peasant, struggle against the kulak».

The development of the country along socialist lines demanded the continuation of the struggle to eliminate its cultural backwardness, to intensify the cultural and ideological revolu-

1) Resolution of the 1st Congress of the CPA. Principal Documents of the PLA, Vol. I, p. 454. Tirana, 1960.

tion. In this connection, all possible measures were to be taken for the application and extension of compulsory education, especially of secondary vocational education, for the development of higher education and for training higher cadres at home and abroad.

After criticizing the attempts of the Yugoslav revisionists and of the Koçi Xoxe group to introduce into the sphere of education, art, and culture the spirit of negating the cultural traditions and values of the Albanian people, the Congress laid down the main directions which were to comprise the essence of the development of the cultural revolution in this field. Education and culture should belong to the people and serve the broad masses of the working people. While national values, were to be preserved and endowed with a profound socialist content. In education, art and culture the Party was to fight against the influence of bourgeois ideology and rely strongly on Marxist-Leninist science.

The directions and task laid down by the Congress put an end to the distortions observed in the practice of socialist construction; they completed, crystalized and developed the Party program for the construction of the basis of socialism. They found their concrete expression in the long-term plans for the economic and cultural development of the country.

The Congress considered and approved the directives of the two-year plan for the economic and cultural development of the country for the

period 1949-1950, during which the ground was to be prepared for passing to the stage of developing our economy with longer term plans.

Primary importance in the two-year plan was given to the development of industry. 47 per cent of all the investment funds for that period were allocated to it. Priority was given to increasing mineral production and, in particular, petroleum and bitumen. The development of light industry occupied second place. The two-year plan envisaged the construction of the «Stalin» Textile Plant, the Maliq Sugar Refinery, of the Selita Hydro-power Plant, and a series of other projects. The further development and cooperation of the handicraftsmen was to play a special role also in overcoming the difficulties of supplying the population with industrial goods.

In the sphere of agriculture the increase of agricultural products was envisaged through the extension of the sown area increasing yields, extending the irrigation and drainage network, agricultural mechanization, etc.

The Further Strengthening and Democratization of the People's State Power

For the purpose of building the basis of socialism, the Congress pointed out the imperative need to further strengthen and democratize the regime, to strengthen the People's Army and the State Security Service.

The administrative division of the State

Power into district and municipal councils, the former concerned mainly with problems of rural areas and the latter with those of towns and cities, was considered to be wrong in principle. This administrative measure, borrowed from the Yugoslav revisionists, had brought about the artificial segregation of the urban from the rural workers. In order to eliminate this weakness, instructions were issued for the immediate amalgamation of the district councils with those of the towns and cities so that the local organs of the State Power would take up all the problems of political and economic life of the district.

The dualism between the State and the Party was criticized and so was the abnormal situation created as a consequence of this dualism which had brought about the undervaluation and weakening of the role of the organs of the State Power, increased bureaucracy and delay in solving problems. The People's Councils and their executive apparatuses were to use all the prerogatives with which they were invested by the law, with the purpose of enhancing their role.

The hostile activity carried on uninterruptedly by the imperialists and their servants against the People's Republic of Albania with the aim of destroying it, obliged the Party and the Albanian people to be constantly vigilant and to unceasingly increase the defensive potential of the fatherland. This duty assumed still greater importance from the fact that Al-

bania was building socialism encircled by hostile states.

The 1st Congress directed that measures should be taken for the all-round strengthening of the People's Army, for raising its fighting capacity and readiness and for its further modernization. It instructed that the military and political training of the army proceed according to programs compiled on the basis of Marxist-Leninist ideology, the experience of the Albanian National-liberation Army, and Soviet military science, in conformity with the conditions of the country.

One of the most difficult tasks of the Party at this time was to eliminate the mistakes in the organs of the State Security Service, their re-orientation on the right path and the further strengthening of these organs which, in the years gone by, had been affected more than any other sector by the Yugoslav interference and Koçi Xoxe's Trotskyite activity. The Congress approved all the measures that the Party had taken following the 11th Plenum of the Central Committee for the liquidation of the police methods in the Security organs and for purging from them persons who had committed grave offenses. It especially emphasized that the work of the Security Forces must be carried out under the direct guidance and control of the Party and that socialist justice must be defended.

At the same time the Congress issued instructions that the analysis of the errors in the State Security Service be made in a Party

spirit. The State Security Service had rendered invaluable service in defence of the victories of the revolution. The condemnation of mistakes should in no way be turned into an attack against the vital need for the State Security Service nor take the form of a general condemnation of the security men. Those who had erred would be helped by the Party to correct their mistakes. The Congress warned that the class enemy would try to take advantage of the situation created following the exposure of the Tito clique and Koçi Xoxe's group by directing its blows mainly against the organs of the State Security Service.

«The Party should work to strengthen the State Security Force as much as possible, because this is the beloved weapon of the People's Power, directed by the Party, which protects the Party and the State from the hostile activity of foreign and internal enemies»¹.

To lay down a correct internal policy it was necessary also to pursue a correct, principled foreign policy.

The Congress condemned the actions of the Yugoslav revisionists aimed at isolating Albania completely from the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries, as well as the attempts

1) Resolution of the 1st Congress of the CPA. Principal Documents of the PLA. Vol. I. p. 456.

of Koçi Xoxe's anti-Party group to follow blindly the nationalist, anti-Soviet policy of the Yugoslav leadership. It mapped out a Marxist Leninist foreign policy which emanated from the very nature of the socialist State and responded to the interests of the people and the fatherland. This policy was inspired, first and foremost, by friendship and cooperation with the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries, by the need to assist the struggle of the various peoples against imperialism in order to safeguard and ensure their national independence, by the efforts for the preservation of peace and the establishment of good neighborly relations.

**The Constitution of the
Party of Labor of Al-
bania**

A correct political line could be applied only if all the organizational distortions were done away with and a Marxist-Leninist organizational line elaborated. The reestablishment of Marxist-Leninist norms was to complete the marking of a turning point in the Party.

The Congress decided to change the name of the Party from the Communist Party of Albania to the **Party of Labor of Albania (PLA)**. This change was dictated by the social composition of the country and the Party and did not damage its character or aims. In Albania the bulk of the population (about 80 per cent) was composed of peasants. This was reflected in the Party, too, where the overwhelming majority

of its members were toilers of the soil. The PLA was to be the continuation of the Communist Party.

The norms and rules on which the inner life of the Party was constructed, were embodied in the Constitution of the Party of Labor of Albania adopted by the Congress.

The aims of the Party: the immediate aim — the construction of socialism — and the ultimate aim — the construction of communism — were formulated in general lines in the preamble of the Constitution.

The Constitution emphasized the leading role of the Party both in the People's State Power as well as in the entire political, economic, and cultural life of the country.

The structure and the whole inner life of the Party was based on democratic centralism. The application of this fundamental principle during the National-liberation War had been limited by the circumstances. After the liberation of the country, it was seriously violated through the intervention of the Yugoslav revisionists and by the activity of Koçi Xoxe's group. The Congress instructed that this principle should «be applied and preserved by us as the apple of our eye»¹.

The Constitution guaranteed the organizational and ideological unity of the Party which it described as an indispensable condition for the

1) Resolution of the 1st Congress of the CPA. Principal Documents of the PLA, vol. I, p. 459.

preservation and strengthening of the unity of the working masses around the Party enabling it to fulfil its aims.

This fundamental document formulated, for the first time, the duties of the Party member as the vanguard fighter for the socialist construction of the country, for the continuous strengthening of the unity of the people in the Democratic Front, and for the defense of the People's Republic of Albania. It especially emphasized the duty of the communist to be «exemplary in behavior and morality» as well as the duty to maintain and continuously strengthen his links with the masses, to be outstanding as a leader of the masses.

The Constitution defined the rules for admission to membership of the Party on the basis of the social conditions of the country during the period of transition to socialism. A person who exploited the labor of the others could not be admitted to membership in the Party. For the admission of working people to membership there was established a graduated scale of prerequisites according to their social origin and status, giving precedence to workers and poor peasants.

The adoption of the Constitution was a great event in the life of the Party, which, for seven years on end, had regulated its inner life solely on the basis of resolutions, circulars and instructions.

The Constitution was a sound guarantee to prevent any future violations of the Leninist

norms of the inner life of the Party. The Congress laid down the task

«of fighting against all manifestations aimed at damaging the organizational rules and principles of the Party defined in its Constitution»¹.

At the same time the Congress decided to intensify the Party's ideological work. Instructions were given and concrete measures were set out for the study of Marxism-Leninism and the History of the Party through forms of education in the Party, through various courses of the Party School, and through individual study.

The Congress expelled Koçi Xoxe and Pandi Kristo from its ranks as Trotskyites, enemies of the Party and people, and agents of the Yugoslav revisionist leaders.

It elected the Central Committee of the Party, composed of 21 members and 10 candidates to membership. Enver Hoxha, Mehmet Shehu, Hysni Kapo, Beqir Balluku, Gogo Nushi, Spiro Koleka etc., were elected to the Political Bureau. Enver Hoxha was reelected as Secretary-General of the Party.

The proceedings of the Congress were conducted on a high level, in a healthy spirit of criticism and self-criticism. The broad and lively participation in the discussion of the problems

1) Resolution of the 1st Congress of the CPA. Principal Documents of PLA, vol. I. p. 463.

on the basis of Marxist-Leninist principles contributed to the correct solution of the fundamental problems of the policy and inner life of the Party.

While condemning the intervention of the Yugoslav revisionists and Koçi Xoxe's Trotskyite activity the Congress did not permit itself to swing to the other extreme. The Congress described as extremely harmful and condemned the attempts made by Gjin Marku to give an entirely distorted direction to the proceedings of the Congress. Speculating on the struggle that the Party had declared on Trotskyism and revisionism, Gjin Marku attempted to have the entire political line which the Party had pursued in the past rejected, accusing all the principal leading cadres of the Party of being infected with Trotskyism and demanding that they should be placed in the same category as Koçi Xoxe and punished severely. In this way he aimed at changing the leadership of the Party, at taking up the banner of «the saviour» and emerging at the head of the Party. A few others who had committed grave offenses against the Party also behaved in the same way in order to cover up their personal responsibility and emerge free of blame. In his contribution to the discussions Comrade Enver Hoxha helped the delegates to expose the real intentions of Gjin Marku and of the other unhealthy elements, to avoid any confusion and to preserve to the end the revolutionary and principled spirit of the proceedings of the Congress.

The Congress of the CPA further deepened and formally sanctioned the change effected by the 11th Plenum of the Central Committee in the inner life of the Party and the country. It provided the Party with a correct Marxist-Leninist general line and armed the working people with a scientific program for the construction of the basis of socialism.

The Congress marked the crowning of the victory of Marxism-Leninism over opportunism and Trotskyism and armed the Party with a great experience in the struggle against modern revisionism.

It strengthened the unity of the Party and its loyalty to Marxism-Leninism and to proletarian internationalism.

The Congress foresaw also the great economic and political difficulties that the Party would encounter in the fulfilment of the tasks laid down. It prepared the Party to face these obstacles and to overcome them with success.

The materials of the Congress were taken up with the entire people. The working masses embraced the line of the Party in its entirety, they criticized courageously the errors committed in the past, expressed their loyalty towards the Party and their determination to apply its program.

A new and healthy situation was created within the Party. The country entered a new phase of development.

2. THE STRENGTHENING OF THE LINKS BETWEEN THE WORKING CLASS AND THE PEASANTRY IN BATTLE WITH DIFFICULTIES

The Central Committee of the Party immediately took a series of essential steps to put into effect the changes decided by the Congress. All the laws, ordinances etc., were reviewed. With the new administrative division of the country, which reduced the number of districts by half, the forces of the Party and of the State were concentrated in fewer places. Besides this, experienced cadres with authority were sent from the centre to the local Party and State organs. The uniting of town and regional Committees put an end to the division created between town and countryside.

The grass root organizations of the Party were based on centers of production. The Party put the mass organizations on the right road. The errors committed in connection with the Democratic Front were corrected. The organizational structure and tasks of the Front were correctly defined and this was reflected in the new Constitution of the Democratic Front of Albania. The Party acted in time against the tendency manifested after the Congress by some communists, who were of the opinion that the Front should be dissolved, because the political work with the masses was being done by the trade unions, the organizations of youth and of women. The Democratic Front was the embodiment of the unity of the Albanian people

around the Party. This form of organization, which had become a sound tradition, appeared as the most appropriate one for the uninterrupted strengthening of the political unity of the broad masses of the people in the struggle for the socialist construction of the country for the defense of the Fatherland.

On the basis of the direction given by the 1st Congress of the Communist Party of Albania, the Congress of Unification of the Youth held in Shkodra in September 1949, fused the Communist Youth Organization and the People's Youth Organization¹ into a single organization that was named the Labor Youth Union of Albania. The Party charged the LYUA as its main task with keeping alive and further developing among the broad masses of the youth the spirit of sacrifice that had characterized it during the war and during the early years after liberation. Being in the forefront of socialist construction, the youth of the country were called upon to turn their attention to education, culture and technique, in order to provide new cadres of high ideological and vocational technical training.

The PLA instructed the trade unions of Albania to play a decisive role in the communist education of the workers and employees as well as in the fulfilment of the State plan. In the struggle for the carrying out of these tasks the

1) «The People's Youth» was the name given to the Union of the Albanian Anti-fascist Youth at its 3d Congress in October 1946.

working class would be tempered in an all-round manner and thus become capable of fulfilling better its leading role in the building of socialist society and in strengthening the basis of the Party. This instruction found expression at the 2nd Congress of the Trade Unions held in October 1949.

The Party Policy for Procurement and Supply

The most urgent problem, which at that time constituted the key to the series

of Party tasks was to strengthen the economic links between the working class and the peasantry and to achieve an immediate rise in the productive forces of agriculture. In a country like Albania, where small peasant economy prevailed, it was impossible to emerge from backwardness and build socialism without improving the situation in agriculture, without its further development and advancement. Industry could not be set up without ensuring supplies of raw materials and foodstuffs for the working people.

To achieve this, it was necessary, first of all, to put into effect a policy which would stimulate an increase of agricultural and livestock products.

The existing system of procurement and supply, far from solving this problem, had become an obstacle to the development of the forces of production in the countryside. The peasant did not show the proper concern about

increasing agricultural products, because his surpluses of major products, especially grain, were taken over by the State. Another adverse influence in this direction was exerted by the outmoded system of rationing on the basis of which the peasants were supplied with coupons for industrial goods. Under these conditions, the peasant did not feel obliged to hand over to the buying and selling cooperatives products that were not subject to compulsion. Such goods he did not put on the market, or else he sold them at exorbitant prices. Besides this, because of the shortage of industrial goods in the free market, the peasants hesitated to hand over their quotas to the State. Those who profited from this situation were the kulaks and speculators. While ensuring goods of primary necessity from the State through their ration cards, they developed a black market in agricultural and industrial products and thus, exploited the working masses of town and countryside.

The economic ties between town and countryside were being weakened. The worker began to view the peasant as a speculator. On their part the organs of the State, in order to collect the compulsory quotas had often been obliged to enforce administrative measures against the peasants. The alliance of the working class with the peasantry was in jeopardy.

In order to avoid this danger and to further strengthen the alliance of the working class with the peasantry, the Central Committee of the Party took a whole series of important eco-

conomic measures to aid the peasants, such as increasing agrarian credits, expanding the irrigation and drainage network, assistance from the Machine and Tractor Stations, etc. But these measures could not fully solve the problem of establishing sound economic links between the town and the countryside and of strengthening this alliance, when small private ownership predominated in the countryside. The alliance of the working class with the peasantry could be further strengthened mainly through the economic ties in the sphere of trade by the exchange of industrial goods for agricultural products. These ties were more understandable and advantageous to the peasant. The Party concretized its policy in this sphere by instituting a **new system of procurement and supply** which was approved by the Central Committee in January 1949.

According to the new system, what the peasant was obliged to hand over to the State was determined by the acreage and the quality of his land. Not all his surpluses of agricultural and livestock products were taken over, but only a portion of them, whereas the remainder he could freely dispose of himself. This system stimulated the development of the forces of production in agriculture and livestock farming. The peasant, knowing in advance the amount of produce that he was obliged to hand over to the State, would try his best to produce as much as possible in order to obtain as large a surplus as possible.

Through the new system of procurement the State ensured a good portion of the necessary quantities of grain, of agricultural and livestock products. Another portion was ensured through the new system of supply by procuring the surpluses left over to the peasant. This system regulated the exchange of industrial goods with agricultural and livestock products and the supply of the working people of the city with goods of prime necessity. This system was based on the setting up of three kinds of markets.

The state guaranteed market, on the basis of ration cards, supplied working people employed by the State and other institutions together with dependent members of their families who were incapable of working. All the private handicraftsmen who did not exploit the work of others also were provisioned by the State guaranteed market so as not to hinder the production of handicraft goods, thus helping the revitalization of trade between town and countryside.

The barter market supplied the peasants by exchanging the surpluses of their own produce with industrial commodities. The principal commercial link between the countryside and the city were the buying and selling cooperatives. They had to be converted into important economic and social organizations which would serve the strengthening of the economic links and the alliance between the urban and rural working people.

The free market aimed at satisfying the

needs of the peasants and of the city folk which were not met by the guaranteed and barter markets and provided for that category of people who were not provided with ration cards. Prices in this market were much higher than those in the first two markets. Through the free market, the State aimed at withdrawing as much as possible of the money accumulated by the peasants and capitalist elements in private trade. Besides this, the free market spurred the peasants to exchange his own products through the barter market.

The new system of supply differentiated between the working people and the parasites, stimulated a larger labor force to engage in productive work in both urban and rural regions, and saved a large quantity of grain which formerly had been distributed improperly and wasted.

The application of the new system of procurement and supply demanded the consolidation and vitalization of the State and cooperative trade, the main sphere of economic links between the town and the countryside. The reorganization of trade was effected in conformity with this system. The measures applied aimed at making the trade organizations better able to carry out the economic policy of the Party and to combat bureaucracy in their midst. The new forms of trade served directly also in revitalizing and expanding light industry.

To improve the organization of trade, a just and rapid distribution of good, the Party

devoted special care to training cadres and launched the slogan: «Communists must learn about trade».

A new stand was taken also towards the small private traders and private handicraftsmen. At a time when socialist commerce and industry were incapable of meeting all the demands of the working people, the need arose to revitalize, to a certain degree, the small private market. This was done with the aim of better meeting the needs of the working people. The development of small private trade and handicrafts was also of political importance, as it helped to strengthen the unity of the small private merchants and producers around the Democratic Front.

To permit the revitalization of small-scale trade and private handicraftsmanship meant to allow some sort of revitalization of the capitalist elements. But whatever danger there might have come to the socialist economy from the capitalist sector, was avoided by the systematic control the State exercised over it. Besides this, the capitalist sector did not have any great weight in the national economy and was in no position to engage in competition with the socialist economy.

The new system of procurement and supply was not confined to exchange alone. It was an important integral part of the economic policy of the Party that directly helped the development of all branches of the people's economy. This system resolved correctly the problem of

strengthening the alliance of the working class with the peasantry.

In Struggle with Difficulties in the Application of the New System of Procurement and Supply

The application of the new system of procurement and supply encountered major difficulties. This

system embodied the policy of the Party of restricting the capitalist elements of city and countryside in favor of the working masses. The new ordinances imposed supplementary taxes on the kulak and blocked his way to speculation. This was one of the main reasons why the kulaks, from the very beginning, opposed the new system. Taking advantage of the fact that the peasant had not yet come to understand the profits accruing to him from this system and that the propaganda of the Party in this respect was still weak, they tried to distort its content and to set the peasants against the People's Regime. They resorted to such slogans as «the new system is good for the workers and employees only», «the Regime has left the peasantry without bread and clothing, therefore don't till the land», «It is the time for the poor peasants to die for lack of bread», «do not hand over the harvest». In many a village the school children were incited to demand bread ration cards. In order to hide their hostile activity, on one hand, the kulaks themselves turned in their quotas while, on the other, they incited the poor and medium peasants not to hand in their pro-

ducts. Spurred on by the kulaks, some peasants refused to harvest the planned agricultural products, thinking that in this way they would escape their grain quotas. They did not understand that these obligations were determined not on the basis of the products harvested, but on the basis of the area of land under cultivation.

The peasants offered resistance also to the application of the ordinances of the Government to hand over their quotas of other agricultural and livestock products, especially, meat. In this respect, an adverse influence was exerted also by the fact that, in clarifying the Resolution of the 1st Congress, some Party workers, while criticizing the errors committed in the past, had given the impression that there would be no obligations in the future.

Even some communists fell into the trap set by the kulaks. Because they were not aware of the importance of the new system and the perspective that it opened to the development of the economy, in general, and agriculture in particular, they suspected that this system was to the detriment of the poor peasants. There were some secretaries of grass root organizations, communists and members of the people's councils, who, under pressure from the kulaks, slipped into opportunist positions and retreated before the difficulties in the application of the ordinances for the procurement of agricultural and livestock products. Others became sceptical and «complained» to the Central Committee and

Comrade Enver Hoxha, expressing their opinion that «the ordinances of the Government on procurement were unjust», that «agriculture was being ruined» that «the peasants were discontented», etc.

Comrade Enver Hoxha's Open Letter «On Some Problems of the Countryside», published in March 1949 in «Zëri i Popullit» was of great importance in changing the existing state of affairs. This letter explained the absolute necessity for the new system, emphasizing especially the perspectives that it opened to the development of agriculture and the entire people's economy.

Comrade Enver Hoxha called the attention of the Party organizations on the hostile activity of the kulaks. The kulak was not in a position to carry on the struggle against the People's Regime with his own forces. He needed allies, people who would adopt and spread his slogans. That is why he attempted to generalize his own discontent, to make it a discontent of the entire peasantry and to raise the latter against the People's State Power. The Letter called on all communists to stand in the forefront of the struggle for the application of the new system of procurement and supply, not to yield to the difficulties encountered and, through their explanatory work, to eliminate the influence of the hostile work of the kulaks in the ranks of the peasantry.

Comrade Enver Hoxha criticized those communists who had no clear perspective of the

development of the countryside on the road towards progress and prosperity, who remained slaves to the backward mentality, saying that «all our peasant wants is some kerosine and salt which are produced in the country». He pointed out the reactionary character of this thesis which divorced the peasant from the aim and effort to improve his wellbeing, darkened the prospects of the development of agriculture and of the construction of socialism in the countryside. He explained that «the Party leads the people towards socialism, towards happiness and abundance, it does not lead them to the Middle Ages. The Party works for today as well as for tomorrow». The life of the peasant cannot be improved without the all-round mechanization of agriculture, and this cannot be attained if agriculture is not in a position to supply the city with the necessary agricultural products and industry with raw materials.

The root of the evil, Comrade Enver Hoxha explained, did not lie in the content of the ordinances on procurement and supply but in the feeble links of the communists with the peasant masses, in the absence of all sided explanatory work in the countryside.

The Letter «On Some Problems of the Countryside» intensified the struggle of the grass root organizations and the district Party committees for the complete and just application of the decisions of the Central Committee of the Party and the ordinances of the Government on the new system of procurement and supply.

Following Comrade Enver Hoxha's Open Letter, those Party committees which previously considered the overall fulfilment of the tasks of procurement impossible, shook themselves free from and rejected this attitude. All-round measures were taken to convince the peasants of the justice of the new system and to carry out an organized and more fruitful struggle against the class enemy.

The application of the new system of procurement and supply was hindered also by inadequate State reserves of industrial goods to be exchanged for agricultural products. Besides this commodities were not being properly distributed owing to shortcomings of the commercial enterprises.

The weaknesses were due to the fact that Party organizations showed little concern about economic problems. After the 1st Congress, their attention was centered on inner Party problems, which were examined and solved correctly, whereas insufficient efforts were made to tackle economic problems. On top of this, Party organizations had even less experience in the field of economic management. Thus they were lacking in initiative and looked to the central organs to solve everything. Often economic problems were regarded only from the viewpoint of immediate daily needs.

The Central Committee criticized this erroneous stand and called on the Party organizations to center their attention on an efficient organization and sound political direction of

economic questions, doing away with the idea that everything could be solved through mass meetings and manifestations. Also criticized was the mistaken idea, which had begun to spread among Party and State cadres, that the economy could be advanced by relying mainly on foreign aid.

In these circumstances, the Party had to engage in all-round work to raise the confidence of the cadres and the working people in their own forces, to convince them that the decisive factor for building socialism in Albania, were the internal forces and resources, while foreign aid constituted an important complementary factor.

In order to meet the demands of the working people for industrial commodities and agricultural products the Party took measures to strengthen the handicraft cooperatives, correcting errors that had become apparent in the past. To stimulate increased agricultural and livestock production, the Council of Ministers allocated special credits for the autumn sowing of the year 1949 and reduced procurement quotas 15 per cent through a reclassification of land.

The Party had it clear that the great tasks which it faced could be coped with successfully only by firm reliance on the masses. It told the people openly about all the difficulties the country was meeting and would have to go through and called on them to surmount them courageously. In response to this call, thousands of working people of the city and country volunteered for the construction of the «Stalin» Tex-

tile Plant in Tirana, the Maliq Sugar Refinery and other projects of the two-year plan. The determination of the people to build socialism was demonstrated also in the case of the 1st State Loan, which was turned into a great political action, demonstrating at its best the unity of the people with the Party and their loyalty to its political line.

Smashing the Plans of Internal and External Enemies

The great economic difficulties the country went through after the historic turning point of the 1st Congress were exploited in every conceivable way by the imperialists and Yugoslav revisionists. They believed that the Party of Labor of Albania could do nothing to cope with the difficult situation, and that the most favorable moment had come to carry out their sinister plans regarding Albania, which, following Tito's betrayal, found itself geographically surrounded by hostile states.

The radio and the press of the U.S.A., Great Britain, Yugoslavia, Greece, etc. launched a furious campaign of slanders and lies against the People's Republic of Albania, representing it as an «aggressor». From the air and in other ways imperialist and Yugoslav secret agents continually spread leaflets in which they called on the Albanian people to rise against their Party and Government.

Alongside their propaganda activity, the external enemies of our country assembled and

organized the fugitive reactionary Albanians. With these elements, the imperialists and the Yugoslav revisionists set up new subversive organizations and held special conferences. Hundreds of political fugitives were sent to Albania as saboteurs.

By land, sea, and air, all along the State boundaries provocations were mounted uninteruptedly. All these activities were aimed at preparing the ground for direct armed intervention against the People's Republic of Albania.

Espionage activity especially increased. The U.S., British, Italian, Greek and Yugoslav agents acted against Albania on the basis of coordinated plans.

The Yugoslav revisionist leadership set in motion its agents in Albania through its diplomatic mission to Tirana. This became a center for organizing subversion and economic sabotage. Propaganda and threats were used to organize the fleeing of Albanian citizens into Yugoslavia.

The agents of foreign spy centers established contact with criminals at large within the country. With their help they committed acts of terror, assassinated militants of the Party and the State, among whom was Bardhok Biba, deputy to the People's Assembly and First Secretary of the District Party Committee of Mirdita. They set fire to storehouses in cooperative farms, Government offices and schools in the countryside.

The Titoite leaders resorted to all-round

pressure and blackmail in the diplomatic sphere and did their best to isolate the People's Republic of Albania. They cut off all air communication between Albania and the other socialist countries, unilaterally declared the Treaty of friendship, cooperation and mutual assistance between Yugoslavia and Albania invalid and, finally, demanded the withdrawal of the Albanian Legation from Belgrade. Emboldened by the intensification of the imperialist and revisionist activity, the class enemy within the country, did their best to create an atmosphere of fear and uncertainty. They spread such rumours as: «war will break out soon», «there are disagreements within the Government and the Central Committee», «the situation will change very soon», etc.

The internal reaction used the campaign of the Party against the activity of the Yugoslav leadership and the Koçi Xoxe group for its own purposes. Hostile elements, exploiting the errors of the past tried to attack the Party line as a whole. Those who had been affected justly by the reforms and the laws of the People's Power began to complain that they had been treated unfairly. Pretending that they wanted to redress any evil which had occurred and that they were allegedly «concerned about the welfare of the people», they turned criticism of past mistakes into a campaign against the Party activists and the local organs of People's Power for the purpose of alienating them from the masse and inciting them against the admi-

nistration. They tried to remove the names of the communists from the lists of the candidates to the People's Councils. They attempted to replace class struggle and direct the blows of the Party and people against the State Security organs. The warning given at the 1st Congress, to the effect that the enemy would concentrate its blows against these same organs helped in the timely exposure of the tactics employed by the enemy, in the defense of the organs and employees of the State Security service, and in the correction of the errors of some communists in this respect.

It was in these circumstances that, on the 2nd of August, 1949, Greek armed forces, supported by artillery and aircraft suddenly attacked Albania and penetrated some 300-400 meters into Albanian soil. This provocation was an act of aggression calculated to establish the chauvinist claims of the Greek Government on Korça and Gjirokastra. The armed forces of the People's Republic of Albania dealt with this aggression completely smashing and eliminating the enemy.

While Greek forces were violating the boundaries of Albania, the Yugoslav Government increasing its hostile activity, also undertook threatening troop movements on the northern boundaries of Albania in the districts of Ochrida and Struga. At the same time the U. S., British and Italian secret service dropped from the air increased numbers of diversionists with the aim of provoking trouble in the rear

of the army. Reactionary elements within the country were ready to take to the mountains. The Yugoslav Government had undertaken to equip them with arms. These groups, made up of the remnants of the «Balli Kombëtar» and «Legality» organizations were wiped out by the organs of the State Security Service before they could stage their «uprising».

All these facts proved that the People's Republic of Albania was facing a coordinated, aggressive activity of the Greek monarchic-fascists, the Yugoslav revisionists and the Italian neo-fascists, under the leadership and with the support of the U.S. and British imperialists.

In those difficult moments the Albanian people rallied still more strongly around their Party. They were ready to defend the victories of the people's revolution at all costs. Thousands of people volunteered to take up arms and fight the aggressors. On a decision of the Party and Government tens of thousands of peasants were armed and participated together with the forces of the Security Service and the border guards in wiping out the bands of diversionists and criminals. The working masses demonstrated their loyalty to the Party and the people's Government by throwing themselves with all their might into the fulfilment of the economic tasks.

In strengthening the ties of the Party with the masses and deepening the people's confidence in their Party and Government an important

role was played by the visit of Comrade Enver Hoxha to the northern provinces in September 1949 and his meetings with the local people.

The struggle of the Party and the people to overcome the extraordinary difficulties and to eliminate the activity of the imperialists and revisionists was crowned by a series of important successes in the economic sphere.

The volume of procurement in the year 1949 in comparison with the year 1948 was as follows: wheat 138.8 per cent, maize 255.7 per cent. Compared with the year 1947 the turnover of goods in 1949 was 137.7 per cent. As a consequence the fund of accumulated products grew, new sources of production were ensured in the countryside, the market situation improved and the working masses were better supplied. The economic links between town and countryside and the alliance of the working class with the peasantry were strengthened.

3. PRESERVING AND STRENGTHENING IDEOLOGICAL AND ORGANIZATIONAL UNITY, FULFILLING THE TWO-YEAR PLAN

Under the new conditions, the Party would be able to apply its policy to cope with the difficulties, provided it preserved and strengthened its unity and ensured the fulfilment of the two-year plan.

**Eliminating Distortions
and Violations of the
Party Line**

After the turning point, some distortions and violations of the Party line, breaches of discipline and abuses of criticism and self-criticism due to the misinterpretation of the inner democracy of the Party and to imperialist and revisionist pressure became apparent.

The Central Committee took immediate measures to put an end to these manifestations, demanding the rigorous application of the constitution of the Party.

An unhealthy state of affairs in the Party organization of the Lushnja district was put right. Ambition, arrogance, career-seeking and liberalism towards the kulak had struck deep roots, a situation that the class enemy had used to its own advantage. The District Party Committee was dissolved and the main culprits were removed from the leading organs and from the Party. Cadres sent out by the Central Committee strengthened the Party leadership in this district.

The Party also condemned manifestations of opportunism apparent in the work of some employees of the organs of justice who, speculating on the fact that the organs of justice are independent institutions, underrated the Party control and did not keep in mind in their practice that these organs have a class character and cannot act outside the class struggle.

It was at this time that the anti-Party group of Abedin Shehu and Niazi Islami was exposed.

The distinguishing features of this group were: yielding under the pressure of the bourgeoisie and despondency and lack of faith in the economic line of the Party. This group considered the two-year plan to be unrealistic and spread the spirit of demobilization amongst the cadres and workers. The defeatist work of the members of this group had an influence in the failure to complete the plan in industry, in petroleum extraction and transport, where they occupied leading positions. Besides this, they did not appreciate the importance of the history of the Albanian people, they scorned the working masses, especially the Albanian working class. They had no faith in the defense capacity of the country or in the military preparedness of the People's Army.

The Plenum of the Central Committee of the PLA held in February 1950 exposed the viewpoints and activity of this anti-Party group and took all-round measures to wipe out the spirit of defeatism it had disseminated.

The vigilance of the Central Committee also exposed in good time and smashed the anti-Party activity of Gjin Marku and Nexhip Vinçani who were distorting the policy of the Party and undermining the leadership of the Party in the army.

In order to block the way to violations of the line of the Party, to preserve and strengthen its unity, it was imperative, besides other things, for the Party to rid itself of a number of unworthy members. For this purpose in Ja-

January 1950 the Central Committee of the PLA took the decision on the verification Party cards.

The verification of the Party cards was an important organizational measure which served to cleanse the ranks of the Party, procure complete and exact information on every communist, establishing order in questions of Party administration. It helped, at the same time, to strengthen the whole internal life of the Party and became a school for the education of the communists.

The Party did not consider this purge as the only measure to strengthen itself. Besides this, it devoted great care to the ideological and political training of its members, especially of those who had entered the ranks of the Party prematurely, who remained at a low ideological and political level, but were loyal and determined to apply its line. At the same time, the Party took important measures for raising the educational level of the communists.

The 2nd National Conference of the Party The 2nd National Conference of the PLA held in Tirana in April 1950 was devoted to finding ways and means to overcome the difficulties impeding the fulfilment of the two-year plan and to strengthen the leading role of the Party.

The Conference made an assessment of the national and international situation since the 1st Congress of the Party.

The year 1949 witnessed important changes in the ratio of forces in the world arena in favor of peace and socialism.

The triumph of the Chinese revolution and the proclamation of the People's Republic of China on the 1st of October 1949 was a brilliant victory of the great Chinese people and the greatest historical victory of the international working class since the Great October Socialist Revolution. It inflicted a decisive blow on the colonial system and shook the capitalist world to its foundations. The ratio of forces in the world changed in favor of socialism. The Chinese revolution became a source of inspiration for the oppressed peoples and a great force of attraction for the world revolutionary movement. Another victory for socialism was the creation of the Democratic Republic of Germany.

The world socialist system now comprised more than one-fourth of the territory and more than one-third of the population of the earth. The socialist camp included: the USSR, China, Albania, Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, the Democratic Republic of Germany, Hungary, the People's Democratic Republic of Korea, Mongolia, Poland, Rumania and the Democratic Republic of Vietnam.

In these circumstances and in order to avoid utter defeat, the imperialists intensified their hostile activities against the socialist countries as well as their preparations for launching aggressive wars. Under the guidance of the U. S. imperialists, the aggressive military bloc of the

«North Atlantic Treaty Organization» (NATO) was set up. It was directed primarily against the Soviet Union and the countries of people's democracy. The increase of the subversive activity of the imperialists against the socialist camp was directly connected also, with the all-round imperialist and revisionist offensive against Albania. The enemy thought that Albania was isolated from the socialist camp and represented its weakest link.

But geographic isolation did not prevent the socialist camp from giving the Albanian people all-round help and support. On the contrary, with the broadening and strengthening of this camp, the internal and international positions of the People's Republic of Albania were still further strengthened. In these difficult times for Albania, the Soviet Union showed itself ready to advance the credits Albania needed for the development of its socialist economy and defensive power. The other socialist countries also were ready to help the PRA.

The 2nd National Conference expressed its gratitude for this help and demanded that more be done to further strengthen the bonds of friendship with the Soviet people, the Chinese people and with the other fraternal peoples of the socialist countries.

Analyzing the internal situation, the Conference pointed out that despite the important progress achieved the plan of industrial production, especially for oil extraction for the year 1949 had not been fulfilled. This was due

to a number of factors. Prior to their departure from Albania, the Yugoslav specialists had degazified the oil fields. The defeatist activity of the anti-Party group had exercised an adverse influence. Shortcomings in the management of industry and lack of sufficient manpower were other causes.

In agriculture, too the tasks had not been completed. As a consequence of shortcomings in the work of the Ministry of Agriculture, there were irregularities in the registration of land for taxation purposes, in agricultural statistics, in registering reclaimed lands, as well in the division of the arable land between regions. This situation had hindered the planning of the planting and procurement of agricultural products.

To cope with the existing situation and to fulfil the two-year plan, the Conference instructed that the 1950 plan must be overfulfilled in all its targets to cover deficits of 1949 wherever possible.

In the sphere of agriculture the Conference set the Party as its principal task, the carrying out of a great political campaign of patient explanation and organization to convince the peasants to plant those crops of which the national economy was in need and which were included in the State plan.

At the same time, the Conference drew attention to the fact that the problem of collectivization should not be lost sight of, although it was not to be rushed. It demanded that special care should be taken

«to strengthen the cooperative farms so that they serve as an example and stimulus for the setting up of new cooperative farms in the lowlands»¹.

With a view to enhancing the leading role of the Party, the Conference instructed that the method of work and collective leadership, must be improved, bureaucracy combatted and great care shown for the political direction of economic and State problems. The Conference criticized instances when Party organizations had replaced State and economic organs and demanded that their leading role should be played not through substitution, but through sound political explanatory activity and continuous help and check up in the Party spirit.

The Conference criticized some instances of lack of concern for the organizations of the masses, and the arrogant behavior of some communists towards the people. It stressed the need for continuous work to strengthen the links of the Party with the masses, to further enliven the mass organizations and the People's Councils to increase the participation of the workers of town and countryside in solving problems of the State and the economy.

1) Resolution of the 2nd National Conference, April 14, 1950. Principal Documents of the PLA, vol. II, p. 31.

The Fulfilment of the Two-Year Plan 1949-1950

The decisions of the 2nd National Conference went a long way to correct many shortcomings in the work of the Party as well as to further mobilizing the communists and all the working people for the fulfilment of the two-year plan.

The work for the fulfilment of the economic tasks improved. The plan for 1950 was overfulfilled. At the end of the year the volume of industrial production had been increased fourfold in comparison with 1938. Nevertheless, the deficits from the year 1949 were not entirely covered. As a consequence the two-year plan was fulfilled only 91 per cent. However, taking into account the extraordinary difficulties of this period, this was a big success.

In 1950 total agricultural output increased 30 per cent in comparison with the year 1938. Progress was made also in the collectivization of agriculture. Their number grew from 56 cooperative farms in 1948 to 90 in 1950.

The increase of industrial and agricultural production exercised a direct influence on the improvement of the standard of living of the working masses. National income in the year 1950 was 16,8 per cent higher than in 1948. In 1950 important price reductions were made for goods in the State trade network.

Along with the economic successes, important successes were achieved in the political sphere also. The May 28, 1950 elections to the

People's Assembly, with the participation of 99 per cent of the electors, of whom 98 per cent voted for the candidates of the Democratic Front, constituted a brilliant victory. This was yet another testimony to the love and devotion the people nurtured for their Party, as well as of their determination to defend the Fatherland and build socialism.

In July 1950 the People's Assembly decided to make some additions and amendments to the Constitution of the People's Republic of Albania. These were dictated by the social and economic changes that had taken place in Albania during the four-year period since the adoption of the Constitution. The following article was added to the Constitution: «The People's Republic of Albania is a State of the workers and laboring peasants». This article expressed the political and social reality of the country and the essence of the new State of people's democracy, as a form of the dictatorship of the proletariat. Another article was added to the Constitution which recognized the leading role of the Party in the entire life of the country. It reflected the support to be given to the socialist development of agriculture, and formulated expressly for the first time the socialist principle of distribution «from each according to his abilities, to each according to his work».

The Party had remained faithful to its revolutionary foreign policy. It had taken a series of measures to ensure peace and to stop imperialist aggression. In July 1950, the People's

Assembly decided to associate itself with the Stockholm Appeal to support the world movement for peace and, at the same time, issued a declaration against the armed intervention by the U. S. imperialists in Korea. In January 1951 it approved a law condemning war-mongering and propaganda for wars of aggression, describing those as «grave crimes against humanity, against peace among the peoples and against the fatherland».

Against Manifestations of Conciliation with the Class Enemy

After the defeat which they suffered in 1949, the imperialists and Yugoslav revisionists did everything in their power to encourage the internal class enemy, prevent them losing hope and wherever possible, to incite them to actions against the people's democratic order. For this purpose they continued their unrestrained hostile propaganda, border provocations, dispatch of diversionist bands, especially espionage agents. Diversionists and spies from abroad together with local hostile elements, committed series of new acts of terror, sabotage and theft of State and cooperative property. The enemies resorted particularly to the tactics of exercising direct pressure on the communists, especially those of the countryside, and tried to compromise them. To some they would send threatening letters, others were surprised in their homes by diversionists. The kulaks used various ways and means to link themselves with the commu-

nists through marriages, material «help», etc. They addressed to the Party committees numerous provocative complaints against this or that communist, against this or that severe measure taken «unjustly» against them, asking them to annul those measures. The enemy elements would nurture in various Party members the remnants of petty bourgeois ideals and incite them to transgress communist morality, to squander and steal socialist property.

The Party, the People's Power, the working people in general, were prepared for a fierce class struggle and were determined to overcome every obstacle and difficulty on the road of socialist construction. In spite of this, the strong pressure of the external and internal enemies could not fail to live some traces. They were found even in the ranks of the Party. In the face of this pressure, a number of communists wavered, some went under. As a result some manifestations of softening, generosity and concessions, towards the kulaks and other class enemies, a trend to conciliation with them, became apparent.

Under the pressure of the class enemy, even some members of the Central Committee submitted, among them Tuk Jakova, member of the Political Bureau and Secretary of the Central Committee for organizational problems. His submission was not at all accidental. He has never been stripped of certain evils inherited from the period of the communist groups such as localism, ambition, petty bourgeois ma-

gnanimity towards the class enemy. His activity as a communist had always been permeated by a profound opportunism, by lack of revolutionary vigilance, failure to be rigorous in the performance of his duties and towards raising his ideological level.

At the 1st Congress of the Communist Party of Albania he took advantage of the condemnation of the activity of Koçi Xoxe to pose as one of the most persecuted communists and temporarily succeeded in hushing up his own stand in opposition to the line of the Party.

After the Congress and even before it, Tuk-Jakova broke under the pressure of the bourgeoisie and gravely damaged the activity of the Party through his opportunist stand towards the class enemy. To him, class struggle was dying down. In his opinion, the People's Republic of Albania was under no threat from the U.S. imperialists and Yugoslav revisionists. In various ways he encouraged a soft policy towards the kulaks. He intervened with the State organs to make things easier for hostile elements, to free them from prison. He completely underrated the hostile activity of the reactionary Catholic clergy and supported them in all sorts of ways.

Tuk Jakova was opposed to the economic line of the Party which gave priority to the development of heavy industry and in particular, to the development of the mineral industry, especially expressing himself against investments in the oil industry. He nurtured the idea that some branches of the economic plan were un-

realistic. With such an opportunist and defeatist stand he had obstructed the work of the Party and mass organizations of the fulfilment of the State plan.

Tuk Jakova had committed impermissible mistakes also in Party organizational matters. His concessions and failure to apply the Constitution and the decisions of the Party, his bureaucratic methods had brought about serious shortcomings in the cadres policy, in the method of work of the organs and apparatus of the Party and the organizations of the masses. This had brought about, also, breaches of the rules for admission to Party membership, violations of discipline and the weakening of criticism, self-criticism and vigilance.

He had been a supporter of the mistaken belief that the verification of the Party cards should be done outside the control of the communist masses without the direct participation of the basis Party organizations.

The 9th Plenum of the Central Committee held in February 1951 analyzing the political situation and the work of the Party, disclosed the causes of the opportunist manifestations towards the class enemy and showed the way to combat them. It condemned the anti-Marxist stand and the grave errors of Tuk Jakova, discharged him from his responsibilities as Secretary of the Central Committee and removed him from the Political Bureau.

On this occasion the Central Committee made a sound Marxist-Leninist criticism of its

own work and immediately corrected the shortcomings it had allowed to occur under the influence of the carelessness and opportunism of Tuk Jakova. Measures were taken to improve the collective leadership, to strengthen criticism and self-criticism, to call all the members of the plenum to account, to exercise a more systematic and exacting control over the application of its decisions.

The Party was mobilized with renewed vigour to bar the way to all manifestations of conciliation and all tendencies to come to terms with the class enemy and to deal him still heavier blows.

«Let it be borne in mind by the whole Party, — instructed the Central Committee, — that our victories do not diminish the class struggle. Faced with our successes and made desperate by its losses the enemy is intensifying and becoming more savage in its efforts to regain power, using ever more varied and newer forms»¹.

The Party organizations were placed on a more militant footing. The Marxist-Leninist analysis to which the Central Committee subjected the political situation and the work of the Party, the stern principled stand towards opportu-

1) Resolution of the 9th Plenum of the Central Committee on the Political Situation and the Work of the Party, February 23, 1951. Principal Documents of the PLA. Vol. II, p. 55.

nism helped the communists to understand more profoundly and more concretely the objective necessity of the struggle against the class enemy, to be better protected against slipping into positions of reconciliation with it. A more rigorous rule was established for their Marxist-Leninist training. The Party explained to the working masses the new forms and manoeuvres resorted to by the enemy against the People's Republic of Albania, sharpened still further their revolutionary vigilance.

In particular, their attention was concentrated on the correct application of the Party's policy in respect to the economic restriction and political isolation of the kulaks, by drawing the middle and poor peasants into the struggle on a broader scale against them. To that end, of great help were the special instructions on how to single out the kulaks which were issued by the State organs after careful work under the direct guidance of the Central Committee and the District Party Committees. The kulaks were excluded from all the State assistance enjoyed by the peasants. They were subjected to heavier taxes in money. It was decided that when the property of the kulaks was confiscated twenty five per cent thereof would be distributed free of charge among the poor peasants.

While struggling against the conciliatory attitude towards the class enemy, the Party at the same time, attacked all sectarian manifestations causing confusion among the masses and hindering their mobilization to fulfil their poli-

tical and economic tasks and to combat the enemy more vigorously. Those Party Committees that distorted the policy of the Party and permitted the application of premature administrative measures amounting to the immediate liquidation of the kulaks as a class, or still worse that even included the medium peasants in the category of kulaks, were strongly criticized. The Party was against any measure leading to artificial sharpening of the class struggle, because only the enemy could profit from such measures.

In the struggle to overcome the difficulties caused by the imperialists, the Yugoslav revisionists and the internal class enemy as well as against opportunism, the Party preserved and strengthened its ideological and organizational unity, enriched its experience in political leadership and in the socialist construction of the country.

Efforts to Lift Agriculture out of its Backwardness

The backwardness of agriculture continued to be one of the most worrying problems for the Party because it was a direct hindrance to the development of other branches of the economy. Despite the favorable effects of the measures taken in 1949-1950, they could not lift agriculture out of its backwardness. The development of agriculture continued to lag and the disproportion between the development of agriculture and industry was being deepened. This caused difficulties in meeting the needs of

the working masses for agricultural products and in supplying industry with raw materials. The use of only 75 per cent of the agricultural credits as well as the high prices of industrial goods in comparison with agricultural products were obstacles in this direction.

The problem of the slow development of agriculture and overcoming its backwardness was taken up at the April 1951, Plenum of the Central Committee of PLA. However, at this plenum the problem was tackled in an onesided manner leading to the erroneous conclusion that the small peasant economies had exhausted all their possibilities for increasing agricultural production. Proceeding from the correct premise that cooperation was the principal means of lifting agriculture out of its backwardness, the plenum decided to switch to collectivization of agriculture on a mass scale. But this was a premature decision containing in itself the danger of compromising collectivization, because the conditions for the socialist reorganization of the whole of agriculture were not yet ripe. The Party rectified this hasty decision in time. The Plenum of the Central Committee met again in May. It emphasised that under the concrete conditions of Albania the main task was not the extension of collectivization in the countryside, but the strengthening of existing agricultural cooperatives and the exploitation of all the possibilities of the small peasant economy to increase production.

Making a correct assessment of all the con-

ditions, possibilities and means, the Party reached the conclusion that the best road to advance agriculture at that time was to further strengthen and perfect the economic links between town and countryside and to correct the disproportion between industry and agriculture:

«We should bear in mind», instructed the Central Committee, «that the close linking of the city and the countryside will be achieved only on an economic basis. . . We should build our economy in a harmonious way. We are interested in advancing industry, but are just as interested in advancing agriculture and let us not forget that the development of industry depends on the development of agriculture»¹.

During 1951, aid to the countryside was increased. Measures were taken to check the errors made in the registration for taxation purposes and in the classification of the land. The obligatory grain quota was lowered by 23 per cent and individual properties with small annual incomes were exempted from taxation.

As the price ratio between industrial and agricultural goods was such that it did not encourage the peasants to increase production

1) Resolution of the Plenum of the Central Committee of the PLA of September 21, 1951. Principal Documents of the PLA. Vol. II, p. 110.

and on the whole did not attract them to the barter markets, the Party placed importance on the lowering of industrial prices. In 1951 a new prices cut for industrial goods was effected which reduced to some degree the disproportion in prices.

At the same time, efforts were made to further strengthen and develop State and cooperative commerce and especially the buying and selling cooperatives. This helped to convert them into powerful mass organizations for linking the town and the countryside economically and politically and for spreading the spirit of collectivization among peasants.

The economic measures aimed at lifting agriculture from its backwardness were accompanied by extensive political and organizational Party work. Importance was attached to the improvement of the social content and activity of basic organizations of the Party. The work of the people's councils and of the youth and women's organizations was also encouraged.

4. THE 2nd CONGRESS OF THE PLA. TASKS FOR THE TRANSFORMATION OF ALBANIA INTO AN AGRARIAN-INDUSTRIAL COUNTRY

The 2nd Congress of PLA was held from the 31st of March to the 7th of April 1952, with the participation of 592 delegates with deliberative vote and 142 delegates with consultative vote, representing 44,418 Party members and

candidate members. Party membership at this Congress was slightly smaller than at the 1st Congress mainly due to the fact that during the verification of Party cards 8 per cent of its members were expelled.

The Directives of the First Five-year Plan The Congress considered that the economic and cultural development of the country on the basis of a longer term plan was now entirely possible. It approved the directives of the first five-year plan for the 1951-1955 period.

Before being approved by the Congress, these directives were discussed for more than two months in the Party organizations and at open meetings of the workers of town and countryside. Many opinions and proposals came forth from these meetings and the majority of them were taken into consideration by the respective organs.

The plan relied first of all on our own forces on the internal resources, on the experience gained, and the capabilities of the cadres of our country. It was based also on the help of the other socialist countries, the Soviet Union in the first place. The help rendered by the Soviet Union to the People's Republic of Albania at that time aimed mainly at the development of the country's productive forces so that people's economy could stand on its own feet. The Party valued this aid as an important external factor in the construction of socialism.

The main tasks of the first five-year plan were: the acceleration of the rate of construction of the economic base of socialism and of the development of the productive forces so that, at the end of the first five-year period, Albania would be transformed from a backward agrarian country into an agrarian-industrial one; the strengthening of the alliance of the working class with the peasantry and the raising of the material wellbeing and cultural level of the working masses.

The Party defined the setting up of modern socialist industry as the key to the fulfilment of these tasks. In fact the industrialization of the country had already begun with the implementation of the two-year plan, but an extensive and comprehensive program to lay the foundations of a socialist industry was drawn up only at the 2nd Congress.

The Party appreciated correctly the principle that the production of the means of production plays the decisive role in the development of industry and the people's economy as a whole. In conformity with this principle, great stress was laid on the setting up and development of different branches of heavy industry, but not all branches of heavy industry were included because the economic and technical possibilities for this did not exist in the country. The necessary machinery was to be procured from the socialist countries through credit and exchanges. Albania was to develop those bran-

ches of heavy industry for which it possessed the natural resources and that were economically most advantageous. Under the concrete conditions of our country, heavy industry in the main, consisted of the mines, the engineering, electrical and building materials industries. It was envisaged that these branches would be developed as quickly as possible. The mining industry had prime importance. It would become the main basis for the development of other branches of industry and for the fulfilment of the needs of the processing industry for raw materials. At the same time, through the export of mineral products, our country would ensure the machinery and equipment necessary for its industry and agriculture.

During the first five-year plan the power industry would be equipped with hydro-electric and thermo-electric power-stations as the energy base to meet the needs of industry and the whole of the people's economy.

As the country had a great and urgent need for mass consumer goods and with the aim of reducing imports, the development of the light and food processing industry, relying mainly on the exploitation of local raw materials, was given an important place in the plan, too.

To ensure the rapid rise of industrial production set down in the plan, investments three times as big as those during the 1946-1950 five-year period were envisaged.

If the tasks set by the 2nd Congress for the development of industry were to be solved, two

main obstacles had to be overcome: first, the low rate of development of agriculture, which had by far the greatest specific weight in people's economy, and second, the lack of technical cadres and the low technical and educational level of its workers. Special care was taken to surmount these obstacles.

While total industrial output in 1951 was four times as big as that of the year 1938, agricultural production was only 30 per cent higher.

«The rapid growth of industry», instructed the Congress, «... demands that agriculture develop at a more rapid pace than thus far, so that it can cope with the needs of industry for raw materials as well as those of the State and the people for agricultural products»¹.

The only way to lift agriculture from its backwardness was the socialist transformation of the countryside. However, in the existing conditions, it was still not possible to follow the course of mass collectivization, because the bulk of the peasants were not as yet fully convinced of the superiority of the socialist system in agriculture, and besides, the necessary technical and economic basis was still lacking. The 2nd Congress underlined the fact that, under those

1) Resolution of the 2nd Congress of the PLA, April 1952. Principal Documents of the PLA, Vol. II, p. 149.

conditions, for the acceleration of the development of agriculture it was necessary to strengthen the existing agricultural cooperatives, to strengthen and extend the agricultural and livestock enterprises. It was necessary also to consolidate the economic ties between town and countryside through the extension of the Machine and Tractor Stations and the mechanization of agriculture, through the aid the State should give the laboring peasantry in the form of agricultural credits, the supply of the countryside with more industrial articles and the further regulation of the price ratio between industrial and agricultural goods.

The increase of agricultural production was to be achieved through the growth of crop yields and the expansion of the areas under cultivation.

The principal task of agriculture was to increase the production of food grains. Another feature of the development of agriculture during the first five-year plan was to expand the area sown to industrial crops. To fulfil the tasks in agriculture investment was to be doubled in comparison with the years 1946-1950.

Solution of the problem of technical cadres and qualified workers demanded the further development and acceleration of the cultural revolution. During the first five-year period, the network of schools was to be greatly expanded, the total number of pupils was to be increased by 370 per cent over that of the year 1938, the number of economists more than five-

fold and the number of engineers 18 fold. 8,500 technicians with secondary schooling and about 54 thousands qualified workers also were to be trained.

The Congress drew the attention of the Party to the backwardness of the regions of the North such as Kukës, Tropoja, Mirdita, Puka, etc. and recommended that special attention be given to their cultural advancement.

This five-year plan provided for the abolition of illiteracy.

The increase of industrial and agricultural production would help to raise the wellbeing of the working masses and would prepare the conditions for the abolition of the rationing system.

Investments for social and cultural needs were to be 3-4 times greater than those of the years 1946-1950.

The first five-year plan marked a new phase in the swift economic and cultural development of the country. Its fulfilment would create the essential conditions for commencing the final phase of the construction of the economic base of socialism.

Improve the Method of Political Leadership by the Party

The scientific analysis of the leadership by the Party following the 1st Congress and the summing up of its experience in that period made by Comrade Enver Hoxha in his report submitted to the Congress were of major importance. This analysis helped

the Congress to detect and criticize distortions in the application of the Party's line and the weak spots in the Party organizations. The Congress criticized opportunist manifestations towards the class enemy, bureaucracy, the monopolization by the Party committees of work that should be done by the State organs, the method of work by proclamation, of little real political work, the insufficient activization of all the communists and the mass organizations, etc. Comrade Enver condemned the tendency to solve problems by endless meetings and decisions in the following words

«We call meeting after meeting which go on for hours and days on end but very little comes out of them»¹

«Decisions are taken, many decisions at that, but not all of them are applied. Then nearly as many decisions are taken again to carry out the previous decisions. New decisions are adopted also on matters already decided upon, but forgotten. That is tantamount to trifling with the work and the decisions, to pretend that you are working and bringing out decisions, but in reality you are doing nothing, you are marking time and obstructing the work»².

1) Enver Hoxha — Report at the 2nd. Congress of the PLA, 31st of March, 1952. Tirana 1952, p. 42.

2) Ibid., p. 41.

Proceeding from the experience gained, the Congress defined as by far the most important prerequisite for the fulfilment of the first five-year plan:

«The improvement and strengthening of the Party's guiding role in the economy, the strengthening and improvement of the work for the close linking of economic problems with political work. The exercise of continuous, systematic and rigorous check up on the application of decisions and the fulfilment of the tasks of the Party and the State. The fight for well organized work and the elimination of bureaucracy»¹.

The central and local organs and the Party organizations were instructed to review and correct their methods of work on the basis of the conclusions and decisions of the Congress. It was considered imperative that the Leninist principles of collective leadership, of the rendering of accounts by directing organs to the masses of the communists who had elected them, of criticism and self-criticism, of the role of the working masses as builders of socialism and of their organizations as powerful levers of the Party, of the systematic Marxist-Leninist train-

1) Resolution of the 2nd Congress of the PLA. Principal Documents of the PLA. Vol. II, p. 411.

ing of the Party members, should not remain only a generally accepted and propagated line but be implemented in life persistently and to the full.

At the same time, the Congress especially instructed the communists to be always vigilant, never to forget for a single moment the danger threatening the Party from the pressure of the imperialists and Titoites from without, the kulaks and other class enemies from within. From the Party's experience of the struggle against deviations and internal enemies after liberation, especially in the period between the two Congresses, the conclusion was reached that the main danger was right opportunism, the offspring of capitulation to imperialist and revisionist pressures.

«The rightist deviation, opportunism, should be considered as the greatest danger to our Party... without in any way forgetting the danger of the left-wing deviation... The pressure of the bourgeoisie on our Party should be considered as a very serious danger and combated continuously with the greatest force»¹.

1) Resolution of the 2nd Congress of the PLA. Principal Documents of the PLA. Vol. II, p. 154.

Pick in One Hand and Rifle in the Other

The Congress warned Party and people that in their efforts

and struggle for the fulfilment of the first five-year plan they would encounter many difficulties, which would be surmounted only through all-round moral and material, political and military preparedness.

There were various difficulties. Those of growth were connected with the backwardness the country had inherited from the past, with the lack of experience, with the insufficient technical and cultural training of the cadres and workers in general. These were to be overcome through organization, discipline and the conviction of the masses in the correctness of the line of the Party and their mobilization.

At the same time, Party and people had to be completely prepared to cope with the difficulties the imperialists and Yugoslav revisionists would create through their all-out hostile and incessant activity against the PRA. The external enemies were framing new plans for the destruction of the people's democratic order in Albania. The Yugoslav Government together with the Greek and Turkish Government, incited and assisted by the U.S. imperialists, were preparing to rig up an aggressive Balkan pact which was directed, first and foremost, against Albania and Bulgaria.

Proceeding from this situation, the Congress laid emphasis on the slogan of the Party, which

had become also the principal motto in the activity of the masses of the people after the liberation of the country: «Let us build socialism keeping the pick in one hand and the rifle in the other»¹. It called for sharp vigilance and for the continuous strengthening of the unity of the people around the Party. Nothing should be spared in raising the defense capacity of the Fatherland, in further perfecting the People's Army, the Border Guards and the State Security Forces.

Condemning the aggression of the U.S. imperialists against Korea and their entire war-mongering and aggressive policy, the Congress instructed that a ceaseless campaign should be conducted to increase the hatred of the people against imperialism, especially U.S. imperialism, until its complete exposure. It described the struggle against imperialism as the main condition for the preservation and strengthening of peace.

Solidarity with the international working class and with all the peoples fighting for their liberation from the imperialist yoke was also stressed. The further strengthening of the friendship and cooperation with the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries was another task set. The Congress underlined the absolute

1) Resolution of the 2nd Congress of the PLA. Ibid. p. 154.

necessity of exposing the Titoite clique as an agency of imperialism.

The Congress elected the Central Committee of the Party composed of 27 members and 12 candidate members. Comrade Enver Hoxha was re-elected Secretary-General of the Party.

5. FOR THE REDUCTION OF THE DISPROPORTION BETWEEN INDUSTRY AND AGRICULTURE AND IMPROVEMENT OF LIVING CONDITIONS

The fulfilment of the first five-year plan encountered difficulties which had not been properly envisaged. The plan for the development of the economy during the years 1951 and 1952 was not fulfilled. The anticipated rise of the wellbeing of the working people was not achieved. The main source of these obstacles lay in the backwardness of agriculture and its slower than expected rate of development. While the sown area was extended according to plan, productivity, especially of food grain remained below the level assigned. There was an appreciable decline in livestock farming. Thus, the disproportion between industry and agriculture, instead of being reduced, as foreseen in the plan, was intensified.

The Causes of Disproportion Between Industry and Agriculture

This state of affairs caused the Central Committee great concern. It held a special

discussion of the matter and disclosed the causes that had brought it about.

The backwardness inherited by agriculture from the past, the low level of education and culture of the peasant masses, and the small private property in the countryside impeded the extensive use of technology and the full exploitation of the possibilities the Party had created for the growth of agricultural production. The correct instruction of the 2nd Congress for a more rapid development of agriculture and for reducing the discrepancy between industry and agriculture was not kept properly in mind and did not find full reflection in the figures of the plan. The investments did not cope with the needs for the advancement of agriculture in the conditions of small private ownership. In fact they were smaller than the investments in transport and communications. This did not respond to the task laid down by the Congress to increase agricultural production by 171 per cent at the end of the five-year plan, mainly through increased productivity.

On the other hand, in the sector of industry, too, the possibilities did not permit the intended rate of progress. The construction of new industrial projects was expanded beyond the forces and availabilities at hand. The rate set for the completion of some of the big projects could not be attained. The building of these projects required a very great annual increase of labor power averaging 26,000 persons. The recruiting

of all this manpower brought about the withdrawal of a large number of peasants from agriculture. Although the figure set was never attained, it became an obstacle both for agriculture and for the fulfilment of the plan in industry, especially in the building of industrial projects.

Apart from weaknesses of planning, the economic burdens of the peasants also adversely influenced the development of agriculture. The State quotas on the peasants were high, taxes on agriculture were still heavy. The drought of the years 1950-52 made the quotas on the peasants unrealisable. During those years the peasants had to hand over to the State 40-50 per cent of the corn production instead of approximately 25 per cent as envisaged in the plan.

The drought brought heavy losses to agriculture, and also reduced the number of livestock. One third of all the farms of the Republic lacked draught oxen at a time when the areas under cultivation had increased, the variety and volume of agricultural work had been extended and agricultural mechanization was insufficient.

The yields envisaged for the production of food grains were not attained also because part of the best land was sown to industrial crops. The expansion of those areas was done in an ill-considered manner, often without taking into consideration either the wishes of the peasants or the farm hands needed for growing these crops. As a result here also the yields failed to reach the expected levels.

The disproportion in the price ratio between industrial and agricultural products, despite the measures taken by the Party, had not been completely eliminated. With his income, the peasant could hardly afford to buy farming tools because of the high prices of the tools in comparison with the prices of farming products. Apart from this, supplying the peasants with farming tools was made difficult also because neither industry nor the artisans had turned out the planned quantities of these implements.

The failure to attain the progress foreseen in agriculture directly obstructed the fulfilment of the tasks for the production of mass consumption goods. This caused difficulties in furnishing the people with supplies and prevented the improvement of the living standards of the working people of town and countryside.

Certain other circumstances also hindered the improvement of the people's well-being. Eager for profits, the consumer's cooperatives effected the accumulation and distribution of agricultural goods as well as the sale of farming tools, mainly through the free market, thus failing to ensure the necessary goods for the guaranteed and barter markets. The big increase of the number of workers from the ranks of the peasants, who descended on the cities demanded new investments to house and supply them and their families with rationed goods. Attempts to abolish the small private trade through premature administrative measures, without taking into account the direction given by the

Central Committee on this matter, had also brought about scarcity of goods in the market.

At this time the Party discovered yet another weak spot. The excessive extension of the apparatus of the State and the mass organizations was a burden on the State budget. This had happened because the experience of the cadres did not respond to the new tasks arising from the expansion of the State sector of the economy, and it was thought that the difficulties created in this direction would be solved by expanding the administrative apparatus. Such an apparatus weighed heavily on the people's economy, weakened its management and opened the road to bureaucracy.

**Measures in Favor of
Agriculture and of Im-
proving the Wellbeing
of the Working People**

The Party could not risk that the fulfilment of the first five-year plan should be jeopardised and the alliance of the working class with the peasantry thus weakened. In march 1953, the Central Committee decided to take a number of measures aimed at the liquidation of the obstacles to the advancement of agriculture and at increasing agricultural production. As a consequence, aid to the countryside was increased to some extent, the completion of the land improvement projects on schedule was ensured, work in the Machine and Tractor Stations was

improved, and the training of cadres for agriculture accelerated.

But time showed that these measures were not sufficient and could not solve the problem in its entirety, because they did not provide new sources for the expansion of the assistance that the State could offer to the countryside, as the key to the advancement of agriculture. The proportion of investments established during the first five-year period had remained unchanged; investments for agriculture had not been increased. Various quotas and taxes still weighed unduly upon the peasantry.

From this experience the Party learned the lesson that the implementation of its correct instructions for the development of agriculture demanded more profound and better studied measures, that everyone should see more clearly that the solution of the problems of the countryside was a major political problem.

Thus in the year 1953, on the initiative of the Central Committee and under its direct guidance, the Council of Ministers adopted new and important measures favorable to agriculture, in the interest of the wellbeing of the working people of town and countryside,

The distribution of investments in the first five-year plan between the main branches of the economy was re-examined. Some premature industrial projects were cancelled. The rates of constructions of some other projects were slackened. The greater part of the investments made available from industry passed over to agri-

culture, while the remainder was used to increase the supply of articles of daily consumption and to build new houses.

Cancellation of all the Peasants' arrears of quotas of food grains and other agricultural and livestock products for the years 1949, 1950, 1951 and 1952 was announced. The quotas for the peasants on all categories of land were scaled down. Any unpaid financial taxes for all the members of the cooperatives and individual farms lacking draught oxen were written off up to the end of 1952, while they were reduced 75 per cent for those that had draught oxen. A little later another general 25 per cent reduction of taxation on the peasant farms was carried out. The prices of locally made farming tools were also reduced, while the prices paid for olives, cotton, tobacco and sugar beet bought by the State were raised.

At the same time, it was decided to increase the agricultural credits to a considerable extent and to provide agriculture with a larger number of tractors.

The apparatuses of State administration and the mass organizations were scaled down 30 per cent and a number of cadres of the administration transferred to production work, many of them being sent to the countryside.

The ordinances aimed at abolishing small private trade were annulled and measures were taken for its revival to a certain degree. At the same time, measures were taken for the strengthening of the state and cooperativist

trade. Pursuing the efforts for the improvement of the living standards of the working people, the Party attached great importance to the development of light industry, without giving up the development of heavy industry, with the aim of increasing mass consumption goods. This was to be attained by relying on the full exploitation of industry, as well as by strengthening and expanding handicrafts and local industry. To best meet the needs of the village for industrial goods, the private artizan was encouraged and efforts were made to set up various trades in the villages.

All these measures were a proof of the strength of the Party, of its ability to re-examine with a critical eye and to correct its own decisions in due time and in conformity with the concrete conditions. It was evident that the Party's guiding role in the construction of socialism could not be conceived without reviewing the tasks time after time, without revoking decisions that had become obsolete, without filling in the gaps found along the road. In his time V. I. Lenin explained that socialism could not be built

«without very many repetitions, without retracing one's steps several times, without checking up on the work, without making individual corrections, without new methods»¹.

But despite their great importance, the

1) V. I. Lenin, Work, vol. 31. p. 572. (Alb. edition).

measures taken in 1953 by our Party and Government, were still measures from above.

To attain the advances desired in the development of the economy, especially in agriculture, it was necessary to effect an all-round mobilization of manpower and inner resources, to raise to the highest grade the revolutionary impuls and creative initiative of the masses. That could be brought about only if the instructions of the 2nd Party Congress for a radical improvement of the Party's method for political direction of our economy were put into effect.

«It should be well understood by all the cadres of the Party, the State and the economy», instructed the Central Committee of the PLA, «that the great task facing us for an increase in industrial and agricultural production, in consumer goods and improvement in the living conditions of the working people cannot be successfully attained if we do not take a radical turn for the improvement of the method of running economic and State affairs»¹.

In order to improve the methods of management, the Party centered its work, first and

1) The Resolution of the Plenum of the Central Committee of the PLA. 18th of April 1954. Principal Documents of PLA. Vol. II, p. 326.

foremost, on the solution of two important contradictions.

The first contradiction was between the inadequate technical, vocational and educational training of the cadres and the ever greater demand for the direction of our people's economy. The all-round development of the people's economy, the setting up of new modern industry and the acceleration of the rate of development of agriculture demanded a raising of the level of education and culture of the cadres, the improvement of their capacities in the sectors where they worked. It became imperative to put an end to management «in general» and to manage the economy in a more concrete manner. The increased training of cadres had to respond to the demand for faultless direction of economic and State affairs.

Another contradiction existed between the high level of technology of production and the low technical and vocational level of both the workers and the engineers and technicians. Albania was witnessing the setting up of a new industry, with complex processes of production, based upon modern technique, whereas the training of the workers, technicians and engineers was not in a position to meet its requirements. This brought about incomplete exploitation of machine capacity, low productivity of labor and high production costs.

In order to solve these contradictions, the Central Committee of the Party re-examined the training and the qualification of the cadres

and workers, criticized the weak points in this respect and took measures to place them on a more sound basis.

The measures in favour of agriculture and for the raising of the wellbeing of the working people brought about the heightening of the revolutionary enthusiasm and creative initiative of the working masses. Socialist emulation involved over 90 per cent of the workers and spread to a considerable degree in the countryside, too.

It was not long before these measures gave satisfactory and visible results. In 1954 the plan of industrial production was overfulfilled to a greater degree than any other year. The area under cultivation as well as the production of food grains both followed suit. The decline of livestock farming was stopped and a considerable increase in herd numbers began. 27 per cent more living space was provided for the working people than in the year 1953. The total market turn-over increased over 13 per cent within a single year. Commercial exchanges between town and countryside were expanded.

All these factors brought about the strengthening of the alliance of the working class with the peasantry and prepared the ground for the fulfilment of the entire five-year plan.

6. STRENGTHENING IDEOLOGICAL WORK AND SMASHING ATTEMPTS TO REVISE THE MARXIST-LENINIST LINE OF THE PARTY

Following the 1st Congress of the PLA and, especially during the years of the first five-year plan, the cultural and ideological revolution spread and deepened in all directions. The level of education and culture of the working people rose. Education and culture truly came to belong to the people. The entire country was covered with a dense network of schools, theaters, cinemas, houses and hearths of culture. The first institutions of higher learning were set up. One out of every seven persons in our country was attending school. The traditional patriotism of the Albanian people had been endowed with a new socialist content. The close rallying of the working masses around the Party had been the main factor in overcoming the extraordinary difficulties that faced the country after the 1st Congress, in smashing the plans and hostile activity of the imperialists and Yugoslav revisionists towards the People's Republic of Albania. On all occasions the working people of Albania had demonstrated their sentiments of lofty internationalism. They were notable for their unsullied, militant friendship towards the Soviet people, the Chinese people and the peoples of all the countries of people's democracy, for their revolutionary solidarity with the peoples who were fighting to free themselves from the colonial and imperialist yoke, and for their soli-

clarity with the working class. Profound changes had been effected in their consciousness. A new socialist stand towards work and socialist property had made its appearance, the working people had shaken off numerous backward religious, bourgeois and petty-bourgeois prejudices. Communist morality was being strengthened among them.

However, the ideological and cultural preparedness of the communists and of all the working people was still quite low. This was apparent in their work and life. Manifestations alien to communist morality, insufficient concern for ideological elevation, the low level of ideological and political work, retreating in face of the difficulties in the field of education and culture hindered the socialist construction of the country.

Raising Ideological and Political Education to a Higher Level

The change that had begun in the sphere of raising production and in the management of the economy, the defense and the uninterrupted development of the victories of the socialist revolution demanded the raising to a higher level of the active participation of the masses in the political, economic and cultural life of the country and, as a consequence, the tempering of their socialist consciousness. The need for a more sound ideological and political education of the communists and of the working people was dictated by the circumstances. Alba-

nia had embarked on the road of socialist development in the conditions of a great economic and cultural backwardness, with a working class small in number with a low educational and cultural level and a deeply entrenched petty-bourgeois world-outlook among the working people. Albania was building socialism under conditions of capitalist encirclement, when imperialism and its agents were exerting all-round, powerful pressure on the people and the Party and engaging in an extensive campaign of slander and threats with the aim of overthrowing the People's State Power.

Considering the Marxist-Leninist ideological and political education of the communists and of the working people as a fundamental task, the Central Committee of the Party carefully examined this problem and took steps to organize it better and to place it on more militant basis.

The tendency to employ administrative methods instead of the method of convincing the masses was criticized. The erroneous idea that when the Party heads the People's Power it issues commands and gives orders was condemned. Occasions when some communists in the countryside, instead of convincing the peasants to hand over their grain quota choose the shorter road of arbitrary acts like closing the mills, preventing the peasants from carrying the products home without having paid their quotas, etc., were especially attacked.

The Party committees organized a more

extensive and more concrete work to explain the political line and the importance of the decisions of the Party. The explanatory work was linked more closely with the economic problems, with the fulfilment of the plans of the enterprise, the village or the institution. Special attention was given to the education of the working people in the spirit of a socialist attitude towards work and social property. The class struggle — the principal link in the chain of problems for ideological and political education — was tackled better by the Party. It elucidated further the absolute necessity for this struggle and did not allow the anti-Marxist idea of the «dying away of the class struggle in the period of socialist construction» to strike root in the minds of the communists. This idea was being supported by the Yugoslav revisionists and various ideologists in some communist parties, including the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. The class struggle, the Central Committee taught, will continue ceaselessly during the entire period of the construction of socialism. This occurs because the exploiting classes, even after having lost their power, never give up their attempts to re-establish their domination and because the international bourgeoisie has as its main aim the prevention of the victory of socialism on a world-wide scale, to liquidate socialist revolution wherever they have triumphed or may burst out. In this connection, the Party still further strengthened its propaganda and agitation to expose the aims

of the imperialists and their lackeys and the new forms they were using to attain these aims. It made the working people understand better the various forms of the class struggle while pointing out to them that one such form is theft, damaging or wasting of socialist property.

Measures were taken to improve the work of the press and radio as powerful mobilizing weapons in the hands of the Party. The system of Party education was reorganized. The publishing of Marxist-Leninist literature was extended. Along with the works of J. V. Stalin, the publication of which had begun in 1952, it was decided to commence publication of the complete works of V. I. Lenin. Special care was given to the raising of the ideological, educational and professional level of the functionaries of the Party apparatus and the principal cadres of the State economic organs. All the cadres and all the communists were activated better in the ideo-political education work thus doing away with the completely mistaken and harmful idea that allegedly this work was the duty only of the organs of propaganda and agitation.

To advance the cultural revolution, the Party concentrated on deepening it further, while not neglecting its further extension. Special attention was devoted to the strengthening of the scientific, ideological and political content of the school, which comprised the most important means for the educational and cultural uplifting of the masses. To speed up the development of culture in the countryside, more

funds and educational cadres than before were allotted for this purpose.

With the training of the new intelligentsia and with the setting up of scientific centers in the country, the Party now posed the task of linking science more closely with production, so that scientific research might solve the main problems of the people's economy. Special measures were taken to encourage studies in the sphere of the history of Albania, the history of Albanian literature, and the Albanian language.

Just at this time a series of new scientific, cultural and artistic institutions were set up, such as the Institute of the History of the Party, the Institute of History and Philology, the Theatre of Opera and Ballet, etc.

The Vigilance of the Party against the Penetration of Revisionism

At the time when the Central Committee was examining the strengthening of ideological and cultural work in its April 1955 Plenum, Tuk Jakova attempted to exploit this occasion to attack the general line of the Party, while presenting his own revisionist points of view.

The self-criticism that he had made at the 9th Plenum and repeated at the 2nd Congress, proved to be false; he maintained his opposition to the Party line. He was still dissatisfied with and hostile to the Party leadership and its Marxist-Leninist line. He considered that the

campaign of the Party against opportunism and its measures against the class enemy were unjust. Appraising the international events of the recent years from his anti-Marxist and revisionist positions, he had started work to revise the Party's line. For this purpose he had approached elements condemned by the Party for their anti-Marxist activity.

Tuk Jakova demanded the re-examination of the whole political and organizational line of the Party, because, in his opinion, there existed big distortions that had to be set aright as soon as possible! With the explicit purpose of striking at the leadership of the Party, and in particular, at Comrade Enver Hoxha, he raised the well known hostile thesis of the Yugoslav revisionist leadership, that they had created the Communist Party of Albania and made possible all the victories attained in the National-liberation War of the Albanian people. He urged revision of all the assessments made by the Party since its founding on the work of the communist groups and insisted especially that the negative aspects of the Shkodra group, in the leadership of which he had once taken part, be minimized.

He was opposed to the Party policy regarding the class struggle. He defended the thesis of the dying out of the struggle against the class enemy and in general tried in various ways to prevent the ideological struggle and the struggle against anti-Party tendencies and manifestations, and thus make peaceful co-

existence with opportunist points of view in the ranks of the Party acceptable.

In his hostility against the Party Tuk Jakova had gone so far as to use even the reactionary slogan of dividing the Albanian people into «Gegs and Tosks» (Northerners and Southerners).

Tuk Jakova openly demanded changes in the composition of the Central Committee to place at its head people denounced for grave offenses and anti-Marxist activity. At the same time, he called for the rehabilitation of all anti-Party elements.

His aims were clear: to replace the Marxist-Leninist line of the Party of Labor of Albania with a new course like that of the Yugoslav revisionists, so that Tuk Jakova would emerge as the «saviour» and «ardent fighter» for this course, as the person who deserved to stand at the head of the Party.

Bedri Spahiu associated himself with the revisionist thesis of Tuk Jakova.

Bedri Spahiu had been criticized many a time during his life in the Party for pronounced opportunism and gross errors in his activity. But every time he had seen the danger of exposure, he had «demanded» to be removed from the leadership of the Party, with the aim of hiding his sins. He had always nurtured bourgeois nationalism and had on the quiet supported the opportunist and liquidatory trend of Sejfulla Malëshova and Ymer Dishnica.

Bedri Spahiu was also in opposition to the

policy of the Party concerning classes and the class struggle, had capitulated before the pressure of the bourgeoisie and demanded the extinguishing of the class struggle. Like Tuk Jakova, he, too, was in favour of revising the general line of the Party, for replacement of its leadership with an anti-Marxist leadership that should be headed by Tuk Jakova and be composed of other anti-Party elements.

At the 2nd Congress of the Party, Bedri Spahiu was not reelected as a Member of the Political Bureau because of his past political errors which were fully revealed during the verification of Party Cards. From that time on, his hatred towards the Party increased still further and he was awaiting the favorable moment to vomit venom against it.

The opportunist activity and views of Tuk Jakova and Bedri Spahiu were exposed and condemned without the slightest hesitation by the Plenum of the Central Committee of the Party that met in June 1955. Tuk Jakova was expelled from the Central Committee and later from the Party, too, whereas Bedri Spahiu, who took a profoundly hostile stand at this Plenum, was expelled at once from the Central Committee and from the Party.

In taking this decision the Central Committee instructed:

«... We must continuously increase our revolutionary vigilance and intensify our battle against opportunism and the

opportunists, nipping in the bud every act of theirs to the detriment of the Party and the people»¹.

Thus the unity of the Party was defended, its Marxist-Leninist general line preserved un-sullied. The Central Committee prepared the organizations and all the communists to fight against the views of the enemies who sought to develop in the ranks of the Party a dangerous feeling of tranquility and preached the dying out of the class struggle.

The revisionist activity of Tuk Jakova and Bedri Spahiu was not accidental. Its roots lay deep in the all-round diversionist activity of the Yugoslav revisionists against the Marxist-Leninist parties and against the unity of the socialist camp. It was closely linked with the general onslaught the modern revisionists were preparing against Marxism-Leninism and the international communist movement.

After the death of J. V. Stalin in March 1953, the revisionist elements in the communist and workers' parties, including the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, began to revive, to gnaw at the foundations of their parties and to undermine the unity of the international communist movement.

During the first years following Stalin's

1) The Decisions of the Plenum of the Central Committee of the PLA, June 17, 1955. Principal Documents of the PLA, vol. II, p. 419.

death, they were engaged in strengthening their positions and getting the reins of the Party into their hands by isolating and removing the sound elements from leading positions by means of slanders, intrigues and plots. To this end Khrushchev launched the campaign of combating the so-called «cult of the individual». The PLA, while condemning the cult of the individual «as an anti-Marxist and harmful practice» did not fall into the trap set by Khrushchev with the aim of having it revise its political line and thus prepare the ground for a change in its leadership. The answer given by the Party on that occasion was:

«The spirit of acting collectively and of fighting continuously for the strengthening of collective work has always existed in the Central Committee and in the other leadership bodies of our Party. The Central Committee of our Party in granite-like unity leads the Party with wisdom and courage on the glorious road to socialism and communism. There is no enemy force, either internal or external, that could destroy the steel-like unity of our Party»¹.

In the years 1954-1955 the preparations of

1) Report of the Political Bureau approved at the Plenum of the Central Committee of the PLA, the 12th of July, 1954. Central Archives of the Party.

the revisionists for their general onslaught against Marxism-Leninism assumed wide proportions. Their activity was conducted primarily in these three directions: in spreading the idea of the dying out of the class struggle; in coming to terms with the Titoite clique and rehabilitating it; in substituting the struggle of the peoples in defense of peace for collaboration with the heads of imperialism.

As a consequence of this activity, in Hungary and in a number of other European countries of the people's democracy considerable concessions were made to the capitalist elements of the cities and especially of the country, while bourgeois ideology and culture were given free play. Meanwhile in the People's Republic of Albania not only were the class enemies not granted any concessions, but, on the contrary, the fight against them was intensified further.

The modern revisionists saw in the road followed by the Yugoslav leaders the model for their own common road; in the Tito clique they saw their most dependable ally in their struggle against Marxism-Leninism. At that time Khrushchev and, following him, the other leaders of the socialist countries, began to praise highly the foreign policy of Yugoslavia, as well as «its efforts to ensure peaceful coexistence and the preservation of peace». Khrushchev tried to prove that the foreign policy of Yugoslavia did not differ from that of the socialist countries. The idea that the questions which united the Marxist-Leninist parties with the Yugoslav

revisionists were more numerous and more important than those which divided them began to circulate. All-round efforts were made to prove the absolute necessity of rehabilitating the Yugoslav revisionist leadership. In May 1955, Khrushchev, without the approval of the other parties, decided to reject the decisions of the Information Bureau and the assessments of all the communist and workers' parties in regard to the betrayal of the Tito clique and to go to Belgrade at the head of a Soviet Party and Government delegation. Khrushchev tried to impose upon the other parties, too, his one-sided, unjust and arbitrary decisions. Just two days before his departure he informed the Party of Labor of Albania about this accomplished fact and demanded approval for the abrogation of the November 1949 resolution of the Information Bureau and the revision of that of June 1948 which exposed the betrayal of the Yugoslav leadership. At the same time, he asked the PLA to approve the text of a «decision» on this matter, which was drawn up by him and was to be published in the name of the Information Bureau, without its holding a meeting. Despite the great trust the Party of Labor of Albania placed in the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, the Central Committee of the PLA viewed Khrushchev's dangerous antics with great suspicion and in a letter addressed to the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union dated 25th of May 1955, expressed its opposition to Khrushchev's visit to Yugosla-

via and against the rehabilitation of the Tito-clique.

«We are of the opinion», the letter said «that there is a considerable difference between the content of your letter dated the 23d of May 1955 and the main thesis of the common stand we have maintained until now towards the Yugoslavs. . . The daily experience of our Party in its dealings with the Yugoslavs both before the rupture with them in 1948 and thereafter up to this day, proves in the most complete and clear manner, through many living facts, that the content of all the resolutions of the Cominform in connection with the Yugoslav problem was entirely correct, with some exceptions of tactical importance. The proposed procedure for the approval of the abrogation of the resolution of the meeting of the Cominform of November 1949 seems to us incorrect. . . In our opinion, such a hasty (and rash) decision on an important problem of principle, without first making a profound analysis jointly with all the interested parties in this matter, and even more so, its publication in the press and the comments made about it in the conversations in Belgrade would not only be premature, but would also inflict serious damage on the general orientation. . . We are

convinced that this general line of our Party in our relations with Yugoslavia is correct, with the exception of some details of minor importance»¹.

The Central Committee of the PLA demanded from the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union the examination of these problems in a meeting of the member parties of the Information Bureau, to which the PLA should be invited to state its opinion.

Persisting in the decision he had taken, Khrushchev went to Yugoslavia, humiliated himself before Tito confessing that «grave errors had been committed in respect to the Communist Party of Yugoslavia and the Yugoslav leadership»(!) and in reality rehabilitated him. This was unprecedented in the history of the international communist movement, an open violation of the decisions taken jointly by the fraternal parties, in complete disregard for the other parties.

In the line followed by the Tito clique Khrushchev found the embodiment of his desires and efforts to a rapprochement with U.S. imperialism. In his speech delivered in Belgrade he openly expressed this aspiration. The Yugos-

1) Letter of the CC of PLA to the CC of the CPSU, May 25, 1955. Central Archives of the Party.

lav policy of cooperation with the Western countries, he said, «finds full acceptance with us.» In an interview with some U.S. journalists Khrushchev expressed his opinion that the struggle for peace is a political notion that stands outside the ambit of the class struggle, the safeguarding of peace being the concern of both the socialist and imperialist states. This interpretation which he put on the question of peace, in fact negated the well-known Leninist thesis, that imperialism is the source of war.

While attempting to raise this anti-Marxist viewpoint of theirs to the level of theory, the modern revisionists tried to paralyze the vigorous anti-imperialist struggle of the masses for peace and began to preach that the main fight to ensure peace was in meetings and talks with the ringleaders of imperialism. Under the influence of these efforts, during 1955 the activity of the international organizations for the preservation of peace suffered a marked decline. Instead of the fight for peace the revisionists were advocating pacifism.

Khrushchev described the conference of the four great powers, the Soviet Union, the USA, Britain and France, held in Geneva in July 1955, as «a new stage in the mutual relations between states, a turn for the better towards ensuring peace». The heads of the participating imperialist governments, he said were «reasonable people who were trying to ensure peace». He began to talk everywhere about «the spirit of Geneva». Meanwhile the leaders of the other

states participating at the Geneva Conference, first and foremost the USA, used this «spirit of Geneva» in order to demand concessions from the Soviet Union, especially unilateral disarmament.

The revisionist elements under Khrushchev's influence and instigation, became active in other countries, too. In Hungary, Imre Nagy became a great menace to the Hungarian Workers' Party and to the People's State Power. Coming out openly against the socialist development of the countryside, against the principles of democratic centralization and the leading role of the Party, Tuk Jakova and Bedri Spahiu had wanted to play a similar role in Albania.

To defend Marxism-leninism at that time and to prevent revisionism from changing into a unified international trend meant to preserve the purity of the Marxist-Leninist line, first and foremost, in one's own party, to purge it of revisionist elements and to keep its unity tight.

The expulsion of Tuk Jakova and Bedri Spahiu from the Party ranks and the smashing of right opportunism not only barred the way to revisionism but also made our Party better prepared for the coming struggle against the appearance of right opportunism in the international communist movement.

The Fulfilment of the First Five-year Plan

The fight of the Party on the ideological front was closely lin-

ked with its struggle for the fulfilment of the first five-year plan.

The economic measures taken to lift agriculture from its backwardness were carried out through improvement of the planning of agriculture. The pronounced centralization in this branch had shrivelled the initiative of the farms and to some degree hindered the development of agriculture. Under the new method of planning, the State plan for the development of agriculture determined the volume of the obligatory quotas of agricultural and livestock products, the amount of the surplus to be bought by the State, the amounts contracted for and the volume of the payment in kind for the work of the Machine and Tractor Stations. Meanwhile the planning of agricultural production was being done directly by each State, cooperatives and individual farms in collaboration with the organs of agriculture and the Machine and Tractor Stations, having in mind the fullest possible utilization of the soil and climatic conditions in each region. The new method released many farming specialists from bureaucratic routine and increased the responsibility of the State cadres in the districts for the management of agriculture.

The year 1955 marked an important turn in industrial production, particularly, in the mining industry, an appreciable improvement in

the method and organization of work at production centers, in the management of the economy by the State and Party economic organs.

The first five-year plan was successfully fulfilled. In 1955 the total volume of industrial production was 179 per cent bigger than in 1950, and 11.5 times bigger than in the year 1938. Its average annual increase was 22 per cent. In some branches of industry, as for example in the extraction of chromium ore, in the machine making industry, the timber industry, local industry etc. the planned targets were overfulfilled. The handicraft cooperatives fulfilled the five-year plan 10 months ahead of schedule. During the first five-year plan about 150 new State or cooperative factories and enterprises of industrial production were set up and commissioned.

Important progress was achieved in agriculture. The production of food grain in the year 1955 was 53 per cent greater than in 1950.

The impetuous development of the economy and the increase of industrial and agricultural production made possible the improvement of the material wellbeing and the raising of the cultural level of the working people. The overall volume of the circulation of commodities in 1955 was 105 per cent greater than in the year 1950. The national income increased about 70 per cent, the real wages of the workers and employees 20 per cent and the income of the peasantry 35 per cent. At the end of the five-

year plan it was decided to partly abolish the rationing system.

Big successes were scored in the development of culture and education. The network of schools was expanded and the number of pupils and students increased. Illiteracy among people up to 40 years old was virtually wiped out.

The principal objective of the first five-year plan for the transformation of Albania from a backward agricultural country into an agrarian-industrial country was, in general, achieved. The basis of the new socialist industry was laid, the socialist sector of agriculture was expanded, the prerequisites for the speeding up of the collectivization of agriculture and for completing the building of the economic base of socialism in the forthcoming five-year plan were created.

During the period of the first five-year plan the Party gained invaluable experience in the leadership of the State and economy for the socialist construction of the country. It also accumulated a wealth of experience in its activity for the mobilization of the masses and in the political and ideological struggle against the class enemy within and outside the country, as well as against right opportunism.