

## CHAPTER V

# THE PARTY OF LABOR OF ALBANIA AND ITS STRUGGLE TO COMPLETE THE BUILD- ING OF THE ECONOMIC BASIS OF SOCIALISM (1956-1960)

### 1. THE 3d CONGRESS OF THE PLA. THE DI- RECTIVE ON ACCELERATING THE COLLECTIVI- ZATION OF AGRICULTURE

In December 1955, the Central Committee decided to convene the 3rd Congress of the PLA which would define the new tasks for the coming five-year period. The Central Committee came before the Party and the people with a rich balance-sheet of successes, with a record of a determined principled struggle for the application of the Marxist-Leninist line, with a clear perspective of the road to the socialist construction of the country to its credit. In the preparatory period before the new Congress, the PLA found itself facing the acute problems for the international communist movement stemming

from the 20th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union as well as the pressure the Soviet leadership exerted on it to impose the revisionist course.

**The Revisionist Course of the 20th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union**

At the 20th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union held in February 1956, the Khrushchev group, after three years of preparation, unleashed a fierce attack against the fundamental principles of Marxism-Leninism and against the Marxist-Leninist general line which had been followed by the Communist Party of the Soviet Union under the leadership of J. V. Stalin.

The report of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union submitted to the Congress by N. Khrushchev presented a number of so-called «new» theses, which allegedly comprised «a creative development of the Marxist-Leninist theory in the conditions created by the changes in the ratio of world forces in favor of socialism». These theses were cloaked with Marxist-Leninist language in order to mislead public opinion inside and outside the Soviet Union, whereas in reality they represented a departure from Marxism-Leninism, a revision of it.

Khrushchev distorted the Leninist teachings on war and peace; he elevated «peaceful coexistence between the two systems» to the

general line of the foreign policy of the Soviet Union and of all the socialist states. Lenin taught that the fundamental principle of the foreign policy of a socialist country and of a communist party is proletarian internationalism and not peaceful coexistence. It is

«the alliance with the revolutionaries of the advanced countries and with all the oppressed peoples against the imperialists of all hues»<sup>1</sup>

Khrushchev imposed on the socialist states, on the international communist and workers' movement the choice: «either peaceful coexistence or the most destructive war in history. There is no third course». Thus, for the sake of peaceful coexistence with imperialism on any terms, the Soviet leadership propagated the ideas of giving up the class struggle on a world scale, of renouncing the revolutionary liberation struggle of the peoples against the imperialist yoke, and of withholding the all-out aid which should be given to the peoples by the socialist countries and the international communist and workers' movement. It made the solution of the problems of peace and freedom of the people subject to the establishment of friendly relations between the two great powers of the world, the Soviet Union and the United States of America.

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1) V. I. Lenin «The Foreign Policy of the Russian Revolution». Works, Vol. 25, p. 86.

Khrushchev declared: «We want to be friends and to collaborate with the United States in the sphere of the struggle for the peace and security of the peoples as well as in the economic and cultural spheres», «our aim is to achieve a radical improvement in Soviet-U.S. relations».

Thus, on the one hand, he spread the false idea that U. S. imperialism, the biggest and fiercest enemy of peace and freedom, had given up or might give up its predatory and aggressive designs, that the socialist countries and the other independent countries would be permanently secure from imperialist aggression. But for this it was necessary to accept eternal coexistence between socialism and capitalism, since socialism would triumph on a world scale through «peaceful competition between the two systems — the capitalist system and the socialist system». On the other hand the Khrushchev group gave the U.S. imperialists to understand, that the dominating economic and military positions of the U.S.A. in the various countries would not be affected at all, that these countries should accept the division and domination of the world by the two great powers, which «would ensure peace» through their close collaboration, by using all their huge economic and military resources, all the means of propaganda, and the international organs such as UNO, etc.!

The Soviet leadership linked the problem of peaceful coexistence between States of different social systems with the forms of transition to socialism. Subordinating the transition to socia-

lism to peaceful coexistence, Khrushchev laid all the emphasis on «peaceful transition» and identified it «with the parliamentary road». «In the present day conditions», he declared, «the working class has the possibility of winning a stable majority in Parliament and of transforming it from an organ of bourgeois democracy into a weapon of the true will of the people, into an organ of true democracy, of democracy for the working people»! He described the road of the October Revolution as «correct only under those historical conditions»! These theses constituted a negation of the socialist revolution and of the dictatorship of the proletariat.

The report of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union openly appraised Yugoslavia as a «socialist country», where «in the process of the building of socialism original and concrete forms of management of the economy and construction of the State apparatus were being developed». This appraisal tore up all the decisions of the Information Bureau on the betrayal of the Yugoslav revisionist leadership and supported the Yugoslav road of the liquidation of the Marxist-Leninist party and the dictatorship of the proletariat and the reestablishment of capitalism.

A still more powerful blow was dealt at the party, at the revolution and at the dictatorship of the proletariat in the «secret» report «On the cult of the individual and its consequences» that was submitted to the delegates of the 20th Congress by N. Khrushchev. This report blacke-

ned the glorious road pursued by the Bolshevik Party since the death of V. I. Lenin, calling it a road «full of errors, grave distortions and monstrous crimes». The responsibility for all this was attributed to J. V. Stalin, who for 30 years had led the Party and the Soviet State with so much wisdom and ability towards victories of historic world importance, and who had been acknowledged by the international communist movement as a great Marxist-Leninist and revolutionary. Distorting documents and using declarations made by the enemies of socialism, Khrushchev fabricated the basest slanders and lies to accuse Stalin of «arbitrary cruelty», of «isolation from life and reality» and described him as «despot», «terrorist», «ignorant». At the same time he announced the rehabilitation of enemies of the socialist order who had been condemned as agents of the imperialist States.

The attack against J. V. Stalin was a direct blow against his revolutionary work, against the teachings of Marxism-Leninism, and the socialist order. It had the definite aim of justifying the liquidation of the Marxist-Leninist line of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union worked out by its former Congresses, of having a new revisionist political line adopted and of revising Marxism-Leninism. To prepare the ground for the attainment of its aims, it was essential for the Khrushchev group to denigrate Stalin, who had so resolutely defended Marxism-Leninism and had developed it further under the new conditions created in the world with the victory of

the October Socialist Revolution, with the construction of socialist society in the Soviet Union and with the creation of the socialist camp after World War II. To camouflage his own counter-revolutionary revisionist activity, Khrushchev & Co made use of the so-called «cult of the individual of Stalin», taking advantage of the fact that the cult of the individual is alien and hateful to Marxism-Leninism.

J. V. Stalin had been opposed to the cult of the individual and had often criticized it; he had correctly appreciated the role of the masses and had always upheld the principle of collective leadership of the Party and the Soviet State. But he had not taken adequate measures to restrain the excessive and entirely unnecessary praises the Soviet propaganda had lavished on him in the last years of his life. This fact was exploited by Khrushchev's group for its own anti-Marxist, anti-socialist aims, by fabricating the so-called «cult of the individual of Stalin» as its principal weapon in the struggle against Marxism-Leninism.

Khrushchev and his group declared their revisionist course to be the general line of the international communist movement and resorted to every means to make it obligatory on all the communist and worker's parties.

The conclusions of the 20th Congress became the ideological nourishment for the revisionists of all countries. They were powerful weapons placed in the hands of the imperialists and all reactionaries to fight against the socialist

countries, against communism, against the revolutionary liberation movement. Encouraged by these conclusions, the enemies of communism launched a furious campaign against Marxism-Leninism, especially against the revolution and the dictatorship of the proletariat. They directed their attack especially against the socialist order in the Soviet Union and in the other countries, as well as against the communist parties in capitalist countries. In this respect, the Yugoslav revisionists claim special distinction. They said that the course of the 20th Congress was in conformity with the road they had been following for quite some time. A tense situation was being created in the international communist movement.

**Defeat of Attempts to  
Revise the Line of the  
PLA'**

The 20th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union encouraged and set in motion the anti-Party and hostile elements in Albania, too. Great hopes were aroused among them that at last the time had come to change the Marxist-Leninist course of the PLA and for them to regain their lost positions, i.e., to start the same process as that going on in the Soviet Union and in certain countries of the people's democracy. The Tito clique directly assisted these elements, especially through the Yugoslav Legation in Tirana. Under its guidance, the organization of an underground counter-revolutionary movement was commenced, aimed at



changing the situation and seizing the reins of the Party and the People's Power. A number of Party members who had been punished for grave offenses, and some secret agents of the imperialists and Yugoslav revisionists were included in this movement. The anti-Party and hostile elements, more than anyone else publicized the 20th Congress, trying to create a favorable atmosphere for the revision of the Marxist-Leninist political line of our Party and for the rehabilitation of Koçi Xoxe, Tuk Jakova, Bedri Spahiu and many other enemies of the Party and the people. They played down the political and economic successes attained under the guidance of the Party, speaking of the existence of «cult of the individual», of violation of «Leninist norms», of «a harsh stand towards the kulaks and other class enemies», of «hesitation and procrastination in the improvement of relations with Yugoslavia». They called these «consequences of the erroneous viewpoints and practice of J. V. Stalin» and put forward the need to liquidate this line, for measures against those responsible who had permitted such things. In Tirana the anti-Party elements also took advantage of the lack of vigilance and other pronounced weaknesses within the Party Committee of the city of Tirana.

The revisionists used the Party Conference of the city of Tirana, held in April 1956, to launch their attack on the line and the leadership of the Party. Through their representatives, whom they had managed to have elected as de-

legates, they put forward their anti-Marxist platform there. At the same time they demanded the postponement of the 3rd Congress, because, allegedly, more time was needed to re-examine the line and make new preparations in the spirit of the 20th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union! As it turned out later, all this had been hatched up behind the scenes by the Yugoslav legation.

By misusing the inner democracy of the Party, the anti-Party elements created a tense situation at the Conference. The revisionist viewpoints were opposed by the majority of the delegates, but there were some among them who were swayed under the weight of this subtle demagoguery.

The Central Committee rightly appraised the situation as very serious and immediately concluded that the enemies of the Party and socialism had a finger in this. It sent Comrade Enver Hoxha to the Conference. There he unmasked the aims of the revisionists and put forward the firm line of the PLA for the preservation of the purity of its revolutionary policy and practice. The delegates fully supported this stand of the Party and condemned the attempts of the enemies to turn it from its Marxist-Leninist line. The Conference forced the anti-Party elements to admit from their own mouths the aims and character of their counterrevolutionary activity. The revisionist plot was defeated.

Drawing lessons from this event, the Central Committee instructed the whole Party:

«... In no way at all can the slightest slackening of vigilance be permitted, nor can we allow ourselves to be filled with self-complacency and thus leave a clear field for enemy activity»<sup>1</sup>.

With their eyes opened by this event, the communists mobilized themselves to fight in a more revolutionary manner in defense of the Party line and for the fulfilment of their tasks.

Meanwhile, Khrushchev, on his part, pressed the Central Committee of the PLA to re-examine its general line in the spirit of the conclusions of the 20th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and to adopt a new line at the 3rd Congress. At the beginning this pressure was exerted in Moscow through Suslov, a member of the Soviet revisionist group. In the name of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union he demanded, through Liri Belishova, that the leadership of the PLA reexamine, in particular, its stand towards the Yugoslav revisionists and towards the sentences which had been pronounced against Koçi Xoxe, Tuk Jakova and the other anti-Party elements, because, he alleged, errors could have been committed «under the influence of Stalin's cult of the individual». This demand was repeated in the most open and per-

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1) Letter of the Central Committee of the PLA to All the Party Organizations, April 21, 1956. Central Party Archives.

sistent way by the leader of the delegation of the Soviet Union who had come to Tirana to take part in the 3rd Congress.

The Plenum of the Central Committee unanimously and unhesitatingly rejected these attempts to revise the correct line of the Party and expressed its determination to continue on the road followed up till then by the PLA.

The 3rd Congress of the PLA began its proceedings on 25th May 1956, and lasted until 3rd June. It was attended by 670 delegates with deliberative vote and 121 delegates with consultative vote, representing 41,372 members and 7,272 candidates to membership of the Party.

The Congress examined the activity of the Central Committee and of the whole Party, amended the Constitution of the Party, and approved the directives for the second five-year plan.

**The Determination of the Party to Continue its Marxist-Leninist course**

Under the conditions of the general onslaught of international revisionism against Marxism-Leninism

and the pressure exercised by Khrushchev on the PLA, the principal problem was: on which course should the Party, proceed? That of the 20th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union or its own Marxist-Leninist course?

Contrary to what the revisionists demanded:

«Having heard and discussed the report on the activity of the Central Committee, delivered by the First Secretary of the Central Committee of the PLA, Comrade Enver Hoxha, the 3rd Congress of the Party of Labor of Albania decided to fully endorse the political line and practical activity of the Central Committee as well as the conclusions and proposals contained in the report.

The Congress noted with satisfaction that the general political, economic, and organizational line followed up to now by the Party has been correct.»<sup>1</sup>

The Congress firmly condemned the activity of the anti-Party elements at the Party Conference of Tirana and any attempt to revise the political line of the PLA. It described as completely correct the measures taken by the Party

«against all the anti-Party and deviationist, revisionist, Trotskyite, opportunist groups and elements.»<sup>2</sup>

The Congress reached the conclusion that the Party had applied the Marxist-Leninist standards punctiliously in the punishment of the anti-Party groups and elements as in its

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1) Resolution of the 3rd Congress of the PLA. Principal Documents of the PLA. Vol. II, p. 452.

2) Ibid., p. 481.

entire inner life. The decisions of the Party found the full approval of all its organizations.

Dealing with the problem of the class struggle as one of the most important problems about which the fight between Marxism-Leninism and revisionism was being waged, the Congress considered it

«a mistake to think that the class struggle is dying away and that the overthrown classes would give up their struggle of their own free will»<sup>1</sup>.

The Congress instructed the communists not to relax their vigilance even for a second, and warned them that there will be such elements who

«may think that, with the change of the situation, the discipline in the Party, the vigilance of the Party should be changed, too, and that everything should be replaced with an opportunist softness, with an easing of the class struggle, that the errors and crimes that they have committed should be hidden from the Party and the people, that «the time has come when, under the slogan of democracy, they can violate true democracy»<sup>2</sup>.

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1) Resolution of the 3rd Congress of the PLA. Principal Documents of the PLA. Vol. II, p. 481.

2) Ibid, p. 481.

This is how the Congress faced up to the tense situation that was being created within the international communist movement following the 20th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union.

Hence the duty to continue the merciless struggle against all opportunist manifestations, against the danger of rightism and to preserve, as the most precious thing, the unity and solidarity of the ranks of the Party.

The 3rd Congress decided unanimously and without the slightest hesitation to continue the Marxist-Leninist course which had been pursued by the Party since its formation.

A revolutionary Marxist-Leninist spirit — essentially opposed to the revisionist spirit that permeated the conclusions and the decisions of the 20th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union — ran through all the conclusions and decisions of the 3rd Congress of the PLA.

However, the 3rd Congress did not openly condemn the anti-Marxist theses of the 20th Congress of the CPSU. The Central Committee of the PLA had made known to the Soviet leadership its opposition and reservations over a number of their theses and actions. At the same time, the press of the People's Republic of Albania was intentionally giving various assessments practically contrary to those of the 20th Congress. But the PLA in its Congress could not express its opposition and reservations about the conclusions of the 20th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union publicly

because, at that time, such an act would have been to the benefit of the enemies of communism who had unleashed a frenzied campaign against the Soviet Union and the unity of the socialist camp and the international communist movement. The Albanian communists have always felt it their noble internationalist duty to defend the first socialist State in the world and the whole socialist camp. Besides this, at that time, the real aim that the Khrushchev group hoped to achieve with its new theses was still not well recognised.

The main thing was that the Party of Labor of Albania did not make any concessions of principle in the face of the pressure of the Khrushchev group and did not make the revisionist course of the 20th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union the basis of its line as was the case with a number of communist and workers' parties. It preserved its general Marxist-Leninist line intact.

The amendments made by the Congress to the Constitution of the Party did not affect its Marxist-Leninist principles and standards. The new Constitution defined the duties and rights of the Party members more precisely. The rich experience the Party had gained in organizational and ideological matters and in the political leadership of the socialist construction of the country found expression in this Constitution.



## **2nd Five-year Plan Directives**

While approving the directives of the 2nd five-year plan for the years 1956-1960, the Congress defined as the main tasks: the development of industry, especially of the mining industry, mainly on the basis of the full utilization of the productive capacities in operation and by the exploitation and putting into action of the internal reserves; the rapid development of agriculture, mainly through the socialist reorganization of agricultural production; the improvement of the material situation and the raising of the living standards and of the cultural level of the people.

In conformity with these tasks it was envisaged to increase the total volume of industrial production by 92 per cent at an average annual rate of not less than 14 per cent. The production of petroleum, chromium ore, coal and electric power, as well as the production of consumer goods, would develop at an accelerated rate.

The Congress directed that there should be a marked increase of agricultural and animal products, too. But the Congress laid down that the main task for agriculture and the entire people's economy was the extension of the collectivization of agriculture, to complete the laying of the economic base of socialism throughout the country and to bring about rapid all-round development of the countryside.

The Congress considered the instruction of the December 1955 Plenum of the Central Committee for the acceleration of the collectivization

of agriculture completely correct and timely. All the political, economic and organizational conditions had been created for the transition to this new stage of the socialist reorganization of the countryside. The masses of the peasantry had become convinced of the superiority of large-scale collective agricultural production. Qualified cadres had been trained and the basis of agricultural equipment had been expanded. The Party and State were in a position to tackle the tasks arising from the extension of the collectivization of agriculture. The existence of the necessary conditions for the transition to the socialist reorganization of the countryside on a wide scale was confirmed by the fact that the task posed by the Central Committee in December 1955 of doubling the number of cooperatives within the year 1956 had been completed by the eve of the Congress.

Based on these conditions, the 3rd Congress put forward the task of completing the collectivization of agriculture, in general within the period of the 2nd five-year plan. In the first place, the collectivization would encompass the lowland areas and, partly, the hill country. In mountain areas there were to be set up mainly agricultural collectives and livestock cooperatives.

The Congress instructed that in the collectivization the Leninist principle of the free will of the peasantry must be strictly observed. It demanded that the Party organizations and the Government organs should use only the method

of persuasion by publicising the example of the cooperatives which had been set up. Any other method of work which might infringe, in the least, the principle of free will was considered alien and would be condemned by the Party.

The State would support the collectivization of agriculture by increasing mechanization, adding to the area of reclaimed land, extending land improvement projects and by giving all-round help to the agricultural cooperatives.

The objective of continuously improving the living standards and of raising the cultural level of the working people ran right through the directives of the plan. The increase of industrial and agricultural production would make it possible to abolish the rationing system during the 2nd five-year plan and to lower the prices of goods of daily use year by year. The real wages of the workers and employees would increase 25 per cent while the income of the peasants 35 per cent.

In order to achieve the best possible results in the 2nd five-year plan, the Congress called on the communists and all the working people to realise that

«the place of honour, the battle front for the construction of socialism is where the material blessings are produced, in the factory, on the construction site, or the State farm, at the machine and tractor station, or the cooperative»<sup>1</sup>.

1) The Resolution of the 3rd Congress of the PLA. Principal Documents of the PLA. Vol. II, p. 478.

Finally, in its proceedings the Congress elected the new Central Committee composed of 43 members and 22 candidates to membership, thus increasing its numbers. Enver Hoxha was re-elected First Secretary<sup>1</sup>.

The 3rd Congress upheld the revolutionary policy of the Party and, in the spirit of this policy, defined the new tasks for the construction of the economic base of socialism, putting first and foremost the task of completing the collectivization of agriculture.

## **2. THE STRUGLE OF PLA AGAINST MODERN REVISIONISM. — THE MAIN DANGER IN THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNIST MOVEMENT**

After its 3rd Congress the PLA found itself facing a dangerous situation in the international communist movement which had been created by the spread and enlivenment of modern revisionism.

**The Revival of Revisionism in the International Communist Movement**

**20th Congress of the Communist Party of the**

The situation created in the second half of the year 1956 was a consequence of the

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1) The title of General Secretary of the Party was replaced by the title of First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Party by decision of the 12th of July, 1954 Plenum of the Central Committee of the PLA.

Soviet Union. A profound ideological confusion swept over the greater part of the communist and workers' parties. Taking advantage of the great prestige and authority of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, the Khrushchevite group exerted continuous pressure on the leadership of the other parties for the purpose of making them replace their previous Marxist-Leninist course with the revisionist course of the 20th Congress. It organized conspiracies to remove from the leadership of the parties all those who opposed the spread of revisionism. The Tito clique, on the other hand, made a great fuss about the «triumph of the Yugoslav course» and, where they could, intervened in every conceivable manner in order to accelerate the disintegration of the Marxist-Leninist parties and the socialist order. The Soviet leaders and the Yugoslav revisionists cooperated closely in the anticommunist campaign launched by international revisionism under slogans of the struggle against «Stalinism», against «dogmatism», against «the cult of the individual». Khrushchev met Tito in order to coordinate their activities in his campaign and to single out who of the leaders of this or that party was to be removed and who was to be placed at the head.

Under these circumstances, the opportunists in the ranks of the various communist and workers' parties came out in the open and, with the direct support of the Soviet leadership and the Titoites, launched an attack against Marxism-Leninism. Anti-Party elements were re-

habilitated although many of them were known world wide as counter-revolutionaries.

The Italian opportunists headed by Palmiro Togliatti were prominent among the revisionists of the capitalist countries in the campaign against Marxism-Leninism. They advanced the thesis of the degeneration of the Soviet order and that of the people's democracy and put forward the need for their replacement with «an order of unlimited democracy». At the same time they sang praises to «the Yugoslav experience». Under the guise of the «struggle against the hegemony of a single party» they attacked the unity and the common political line in the international communist movement based on Marxism-Leninism and invented the thesis of «polycentrism» — the creation of many centers in the movement. They came forward with the slogan of the «Italian road to socialism», a reformist parliamentary road which excluded any revolutionary uprising and any attempt to destroy the bourgeois State Power. Such a road was, according to the Italian revisionists, the only suitable course for all the capitalist countries of the West.

In the socialist countries, revisionism spread and deepened in Poland and Hungary more than anywhere else. With the help of the Khushchev group, anti-Marxist elements condemned for revisionist and anti-socialist activity and viewpoints emerged at the leadership of the workers' parties of these countries. The dicta-

torship of the proletariat was paralysed. The ideology and culture of western bourgeoisie was allowed to spread far and wide. Disguised as «cultural circles» counter-revolutionary hotbeds were set up in various cities. The aim of the revisionists was to do away completely with the dictatorship of the proletariat and the socialist order.

This situation was exploited by the imperialists who incited, spread and organized counter-revolution in those socialist countries where the revisionists had created a favourable ground, and in direct or indirect collusion with them, set about working for the elimination of the socialist order and for the re-establishment of capitalism.

International imperialism and the revisionists together organized the counterrevolutionary revolt in the Polish city of Poznan in June 1956, as well as the counter-revolutionary uprising in Hungary in October-November 1956.

The Hungarian People's Democracy was threatened with the danger of complete liquidation. The Hungarian Workers' Party was destroyed. Betrayed by the revisionists, the Hungarian communists and working people made a desperate stand. The counter-revolution in Hungary kindled the anti-communist hysteria all over the world. The socialist system was facing a grave trial.

The peoples of the socialist countries and the revolutionary forces all over the world

were greatly concerned about the fate of socialism in Hungary. Soviet troops were stationed in the People's Republic of Hungary, but the Khrushchev group hesitated to send them into action to suppress the counter-revolution. Only in the face of the great pressure from below and, especially when it saw that Hungary was slipping out of the sphere of its influence, was it finally obliged to permit the Soviet Army to go to the aid of the defenders of the Hungarian revolution. The counter-revolution was crushed.

The Hungarian counter-revolution was the offspring of revisionism. The Yugoslav revisionists, the most ardent supporters of the Hungarian revisionists, who played a special role in the preparation of the counter-revolution, hoisted the flag at half mast when it failed. Tito termed it «an uprising of the entire people», which was brought about by «the grave errors of the Rakosi regime and the hesitation to overthrow it»! On the other hand, he described the help of the Soviet Army as «savage and impermissible intervention». Imre Nagy, the head of the counter-revolution, found refuge at the Yugoslav Embassy in Budapest.

After the defeat of the counter-revolution, the Soviet leadership, which was no less responsible than the Tito clique for its preparation, tried by every means to cover the traces of its grave offense. It sacrificed Imre Nagy, whom it had itself placed at the head of the Hungarian State. Unlike the Titoites it was obliged to call



the uprising «counter-revolutionary» as it was in fact. However, it blamed the «dogmatists» and not those who really were to blame — the revisionists — for bringing about the counter-revolution.

The Hungarian counter-revolution failed, but its roots were not destroyed. Revisionism in Hungary was not eliminated, it only made a withdrawal. The close collaborators of Imre Nagy kept their key-political positions in the State and in the re-organized ruling Party.

**Revolutionary Internationalist Stand of the PLA**

Without any reservations the PLA identified itself with the revolutionary working people of Hungary and raised the entire Albanian people on their feet to come to their aid with every means. Through the «Zëri i Popullit», it declared:

«The Albanian people denounce with contempt the bloody deeds of the imperialists and fascist counter-revolutionaries who aim at tearing Hungary away from the socialist camp, at overthrowing the regime of the workers and peasants and at establishing the savage dictatorship of capital»<sup>1</sup>.

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1) Editorial of the «Zëri i Popullit», October 30, 1956.

On its part, the Government of the People's Republic of Albania, in a special declaration, made the following appeal:

«In the present circumstances the socialist victories of the Hungarian people achieved during these years must be defended with determination»<sup>1</sup>.

The PLA and the entire Albanian people welcomed the victory of the Hungarian people as a victory of all the socialist countries, of all the freedom-loving peoples.

Analyzing these bitter events, the Party of Labor of Albania, unlike the Soviet leadership and the Hungarian leadership, who put the blame for the counter-revolution on the so-called «dogmatists», on the «previous Hungarian leadership», put its finger on the real main culprits — the revisionists — and criticized them for the «repeated and lightning changes of leadership (in Hungary — Edit.), which had left the Party and the State without a directing staff, without a strong and trustworthy leadership»<sup>2</sup>.

The PLA drew important lessons from what

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1) The Declaration of the Government of the People's Republic of Albania, 3rd of November, 1956. «Zëri i Popullit», 4th of November, 1956.

2) Editorial of the «Zëri i Popullit», November 5, 1956.

happened in Hungary for its activity on a national and international scale.

«The tragedy of the Hungarian people», Comrade Enver Hoxha declared immediately after the defeat of the counter-revolution, «will certainly be a great lesson to all the honest people in the world, it will be a lesson to all those who rest on their laurels and who, listening to the imperialists and reaction, with their demagogical slogans slacken their vigilance and replace it with opportunism and dangerous leniency.

The Party and the people of Albania have never fallen and will never fall into the trap and will not be misled by slogans of «people's socialism», «revolutionary socialism», or catchwords of some sort of «democracy» that may smell of anything else but not of proletarian democracy. . . .

Therefore, today more than ever, our Party is faced with the task of intensifying its principled struggle to preserve the purity of the Marxist-Leninist theory in order to strengthen its ranks ideologically and organizationally, to strengthen the international solidarity of the working people, and it considers that the struggle for the defence of the Marxist-Leninist principles, the struggle

based on these principles, is the only correct struggle»<sup>1</sup>.

The acute international situation brought about by the counter-revolution in Hungary, was still further aggravated by the British-French-Israeli aggression against Egypt on the 29th and 30th of October 1956. This act was yet another link in the general assault of imperialism and reaction against the freedom and peace-loving forces.

Faced with such a situation, the People's Republic of Albania deemed it absolutely necessary to increase its readiness and that of the people in order to cope with the intensified imperialist-revisionist pressure. At the same time, as a detachment of the international communist movement, it considered it as its internationalist duty to make its contribution to exposing revisionism and to restricting its spread.

The situation in the international communist movement and in the world was taken up for examination at the February 1957 Plenum of the Central Committee. At this meeting Comrade Enver Hoxha made a profound Marxist-Leninist analysis of the situation and stressed once more the duties of the Party in its

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1) Enver Hoxha. Speech delivered at the solemn gathering of November 8, 1956. «Zëri i Popullit», November 9, 1956.

revolutionary struggle against imperialism and revisionism.

The imperialists and the various revisionists, Yugoslav, Hungarian, Polish, Italian and others have spearheaded their activity against the unity of the socialist camp and the international communist movement. In order to disrupt this unity they aimed at isolating the Soviet Union by detaching all the socialist countries from it and at dismembering the world communist movement. To this end, they tried to deny the universal importance of the victories and the experience of the October Revolution and the construction of socialism in the Soviet Union. The revisionist theses and decisions of the 20th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union were likewise directed against these victories and this experience. The struggle in defense of the Soviet Union under these conditions was a struggle in defense of socialism, in defense of Marxism-Leninism. For this reason the PLA deemed it necessary

*«to defend and steel the unity of the socialist countries and the fraternal communist and workers' parties around the Soviet Union»<sup>1</sup>*

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1) Enver Hoxha. «Report on the International Situation and the Tasks of the Party», delivered at the Plenum of the Central Committee of the PLA, February 13, 1957. Tirana, 1957, p. 37.

In the existing circumstances, the fight against revisionism, the Central Committee taught, assumed first importance. It instructed the communists and all the working people to understand profoundly that

«under the present conditions the struggle in the ideological sphere ranks first and foremost»<sup>1</sup>.

The PLA declared publicly that it would resolutely and persistently defend the fundamental principles of Marxism-Leninism from the blows of the revisionists.

First and foremost, it was necessary to expose the attempts of international revisionism to sow ideological confusion about the Marxist-Leninist teachings on the leading role of the party of the working class, on the dictatorship of the proletariat and on the class struggle.

All historical experience, Comrade Enver Hoxha pointed out, teaches us that

«The leadership of the party is a vital necessity in order to carry out socialist revolution and build socialism and communism»<sup>2</sup>.

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1) Enver Hoxha: «Report on the International Situation and the Tasks of the Party», delivered at the Plenum of the Central Committee of the PLA, February 13, 1957. Tirana, 1957, p. 71.

2) Ibidem, p. 58.

To deny the leadership of the Marxist-Leninist party means to leave the working class without a guiding staff, to disarm it completely and to perpetuate the domination of the bourgeoisie.

Exposing the revisionists who propagated far and wide the abolition of the dictatorship of the proletariat or its «liberalization», the PLA emphasized:

«We must not abolish the dictatorship of the proletariat, but strengthen it as much as possible, not to permit it to be weakened, «liberalized», not allow confusion and disorganization in its ranks, because that is what the enemies want»<sup>1</sup>.

It showed that those who reject the dictatorship of the proletariat reject the whole of Marxism-Leninism and go over to the side of the enemies of communism.

The Party pointed out the grave danger represented by the attempts of the revisionists to confuse the working people by spreading the «theory» of the negation of the class struggle. The class struggle, it taught,

«is an objective reality which is connected with the existence of the exploit-

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1) Enver Hoxha «Report on the International Situation and the Tasks of the Party», delivered at the Plenum of the Central Committee of the PLA, February 13, 1957. Tirana, 1957, p. 50.

ing classes or their remnants, with the existence of the agents of imperialism, with the existence of the wide sector of small producers, with the existence of capitalist hang-overs in the consciousness of the people and, finally, with the existence of imperialism»<sup>1</sup>.

Revisionism disguised its struggle against Marxism-Leninism under three main demagogical slogans: «for the creative development of Marxism-Leninism and for the struggle against dogmatism», «for the creative application of Marxism-Leninism under the specific conditions of every country» and «for the struggle against Stalinism» or «the cult of the individual».

The revisionists, the PLA pointed out, are merely speculating with the correct thesis of the creative development and application of Marxism-Leninism in the new circumstances and the specific conditions of every country. They are using these theses to negate the fundamental principles of Marxism-Leninism and to cover up their betrayal, to impose «specific socialism» and «national communism» on others.

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1) Enver Hoxha «Report on the International Situation and the Tasks of the Party», delivered at the Plenum of the Central Committee of the PLA, February 13, 1957. Tirana, 1957, p. 50.



«Marxist-Leninists», Comrade Enver Hoxha emphasized, «conceive Marxism-Leninism not as the negation of its foundations, but as an enrichment of this theory with new conclusions derived from the experience of the struggle of the working class and from the development of the sciences . . . Marxism-Leninism is a science and the objective laws developed by it are absolute truths... They cannot grow obsolete nor be negated... The fundamental problems of the construction of socialism are common problems, the laws of the development of society have no national boundaries. Historical experience shows that such common problems are: the dictatorship of the proletariat, i. e., the establishment of the political State Power of the working class under the guidance of its Marxist-Leninist party, the strengthening, in every way, of the alliance of the working class with the peasantry and with the other working strata, the liquidation of capitalist ownership and the establishment of social ownership over the principal means of production, the socialist organization of agriculture, the planned development of the economy, the guidance by the Marxist-Leninist theory, the determined defence of the victories of the socialist revolution from the attempts of subversion by the for-

mer exploiting classes and by the imperialist states»<sup>1</sup>.

The PLA made it clear once again that the struggle against the «cult of the individual of Stalin», «against his errors», «against Stalinism» was a struggle against Marxism-Leninism aimed at paving the way for the replacement of the revolutionary course with an opportunist and reformist course in all the communist and workers' parties in order to place the revisionists at the head of these parties.

«We do not agree with any of those who try to do away with all the positive revolutionary aspects of Stalin... J. V. Stalin, as everyone knows, was a great Marxist who, next to Lenin, defended Marxism-Leninism from all the enemies and revisionists and rendered an invaluable contribution to the further development of this science»<sup>2</sup>

At that time our Party spearheaded its struggle against Yugoslav revisionism, the standard-bearer of the attack on Marxism-Le-

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1) Enver Hoxha. «Report on the International Situation and the Tasks of the Party» delivered at the Plenum of the CC of the PLA, February 13, 1957. Tirana 1957, p. 40-41.

2) Ibidem, p. 43.

ninism. But it was not difficult to understand that this fight was directed against revisionism in every country and in every party, that the theses of the report of Comrade Enver Hoxha were being counterposed to the revisionist theses of the 20th Congress.

Comrade Enver Hoxha's Report «On the International Situation and the Tasks of the Party», which was approved by the Plenum of the Central Committee, made still clearer the determined Marxist-Leninist stand of the PLA on the major problems of principle that had arisen in the international communist movement after the 20th Congress. It served as a powerful weapon in the hands of the communists in their struggle against modern revisionism.

The determination of the PLA not to adopt the course of the 20th Congress, but to preserve intact its own general revolutionary line, provoked uneasiness within the leadership of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union.

This uneasiness was openly shown by the Soviet leadership in April 1957, at the time when the delegation of the PLA and of the Government of the People's Republic of Albania headed by Comrade Enver Hoxha and Comrade Mehmet Shehu went to Moscow at the invitation of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. During the discussions, when Comrade Enver Hoxha was expounding on the situation and the struggle of the PLA in the conditions of that time,

N. Khrushchev, dissatisfied by and very much nettled at the revolutionary stand of the PLA, cut him short saying: «You Albanians, it seems, want to turn us back to the road of Stalin»! He called the stand of the PLA towards the Yugoslav revisionists «a biased one» intending to «deepen the misunderstandings with them», and demanded that they «should not be harassed unjustly»! He did not hesitate to take a number of the enemies of the Party and of the Albanian people under his protection, demanding their rehabilitation. Angered by the rigid stand maintained by Comrade Enver Hoxha and the other members of the delegation in defense of the Marxist-Leninist viewpoints and activity of the PLA, Khrushchev threatened them saying: «You Albanians are hot-tempered and sectarians»!! «It is impossible to come to terms with you. The discussion is closed!» This incident was the first clash between the Marxist-Leninist revolutionary line of the PLA and the revisionist course of the Khrushchev group.

Despite the threats, the Soviet leadership did not dare to end the talks. The Khrushchev group still cherished the hopes that the PLA would give up its «stubbornness» and would submit to its dictate. One of the means that Khrushchev was to use in an effort to attain his objective was the economic aid of the Soviet Union without which, Khrushchev thought, Albania could not make a single step forward! One such means was the writing off of the credits amounting to 422 million old roubles that

the Soviet Union had advanced to the People's Republic of Albania from the time of liberation up to 1955. The Soviet leadership, as it was later confirmed, did not «cancel» the debts from motives of genuine friendship and the principles of proletarian internationalism. Meanwhile the PLA, the Government of the People's Republic of Albania and the entire Albanian people considered this help not as a charity, but as a fraternal aid, as internationalist assistance from the Soviet people to the fraternal people of a socialist country.

Neither threats nor «gifts» could shake the determination of the Marxist-Leninist leadership of the PLA to defend its general revolutionary line to the very end.

«The defence of the purity of Marxism-Leninism, the fight against revisionism, the strengthening of vigilance», Comrade Enver Hoxha declared in Moscow, «are among the main duties of the Party of Labor of Albania. Our Party... will march with determination along its correct road to build socialism in Albania successfully»<sup>1</sup>.

«... We shall not give up, even for a moment, the struggle against those who seek to revise the ideas of Marxism-

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1) Enver Hoxha. Speech delivered at the Albanian-Soviet Friendship Rally in Moscow. «Zëri i Popullit», April 17, 1957.

Leninism, be they Yugoslavs, Albanians or anyone else»,<sup>1</sup>

he reiterated on his return to Tirana.

The revolutionary internationalist stand of the PLA was expressed also in the meeting the communist and workers' parties held in Moscow in November 1957.

At this meeting, the Khrushchev group tried to have the revisionist course of the 20th Congress of the CPSU adopted as the general line of the international communist movement. These attempts were supported by a number of well-known revisionist elements from the delegations participating at this meeting.

Sharp struggle ensued over problems of principle about the transition from capitalism to socialism, about war and peace. The revisionists tried to present the Marxist-Leninist teachings about imperialist wars, armed uprising and socialist revolution, the leading role of the party of the working class in the revolution and in socialist construction, the dictatorship of the proletariat, etc., as outdated. They did not hesitate even to blacken the October Socialist revolution and the Soviet order. In the drafting of the documents of the meeting they insisted on not describing U. S. imperialism as the principal enemy of peace and of the peoples, they did not want even to mention imperialism at all. They would

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1) Enver Hoxha. Speech delivered at the Tirana meeting. «Zëri i Popullit», May 14, 1957.

not agree at all to have revisionism declared as the main danger in the international communist movement, although the events of the last two years had clearly proven this fact.

The delegation of the PLA headed by Comrade Enver Hoxha rendered a valuable contribution to the exposure of these anti-Marxist viewpoints. It united its efforts with those of the delegation of the Communist Party of China and of the other delegations that defended the fundamental principles of Marxism-Leninism at the meeting.

Faced with the iron logic of scientific arguments, the revisionists could not maintain their stand and were forced to retreat. The declaration elaborated in common and approved by the meeting summed up the experience of the international communist movement and the universal laws of socialist revolution and socialist construction and defined the common tasks of the communist and workers' parties, as well as the norms governing the relations among them. The declaration was based on the revolutionary principles of Marxism-Leninism.

Revisionism, right opportunism, was defined by the meeting as the principal danger to the international communist movement. It also exposed its sources, namely, the existence of bourgeois influence, as the internal source, and capitulation to imperialist pressure, as the external source.

Alongside with the revolutionary content

of the declaration, the delegation of the PLA and the delegations of the other parties defending Marxism-Leninism consented to leave unchanged the incorrect formulation on the 20th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union as being allegedly a Congress which had opened a new stage in the international communist movement. In fact, this constituted a concession, justified by the necessity to defend the Soviet Union from the frenzied attacks unleashed against it by the enemies of communism and to preserve the unity of the movement.

Despite this, in general the 1957 Moscow Declaration opposed the revisionist course of the 20th Congress. The approval of this declaration was a victory for the revolutionary Marxist-Leninist forces. It constituted a common fighting program for the communist and workers' parties in their struggle against imperialism and revisionism.

The PLA fully approved the activity of its delegation at the Meeting of the Communist and Workers' Parties, regarding this activity as an internationalist contribution. It identified itself with the revolutionary theses of the declaration and placed them at the basis of its struggle in defense of the purity of Marxism-Leninism.



### 3. THE STRUGLE OF THE PARTY FOR THE ESTABLISHMENT OF SOCIALIST RELATIONS IN THE COUNTRYSIDE AND FOR THE FULFILMENT OF THE SECOND FIVE-YEAR PLAN

While placing the political and ideological struggle to the fore, the Party did not neglect the economic and social tasks set down by the 3rd Congress. On the contrary, it considered the fulfilment of these tasks, first and foremost, as a major political problem.

**The Work for the Mass Collectivization of Agriculture**      The main attention of the PLA was directed to the collectivization of agriculture on a mass scale. In this field work went on in two directions; in setting up new agricultural co-operatives, as the more important direction, and in persuading the individual peasants who had not yet joined to become members of the older co-operatives. Collectivization had encompassed mainly the low lands and the hilly areas. The Party organizations supported the initiative of the peasants to set up new co-operatives by all means available and did not wait for the overwhelming majority in each village to make up their minds. Cooperatives could be set up even with a minority of the peasant households.

The Central Committee of the Party specially charged all its members and many principal cadres of the Party and State to assist

the peasants and communists of the countryside in the task. The State agricultural enterprises, in the first place, as well as working people of industrial and construction enterprises, cultural institutions and party organizations of the towns were activated for the socialist transformation of agriculture.

Parallel with the expansion of collectivization, the Party conducted extensive work for the economic and organizational strengthening of new and old cooperatives. Of particular importance in this direction was the adoption of the new Statute of the agricultural cooperatives at their 3rd Congress held in September 1956. In the new Statute the fundamental rules of internal life, the rights and obligations of the members and the economic activity of the cooperatives, were further improved. The limits of the personal plot of each member family of the cooperative were modified and fixed on a more equitable basis. The State assisted with mechanized implements, with cadres, agrarian credits, etc.

At the same time, the Party fought with determination against shortcomings and weaknesses observed in the work of collectivization. It combated the erroneous tendency of a number of peasants and a few communists of the countryside to agree to the setting up of cooperatives in the expectation that the State would supply them with bread and would meet all their other needs. The tendency to keep personal plots larger than provided for by the Sta-

tute was also attacked. Manifestations of misuse of administrative power in setting up cooperatives and of violating the free will of the peasants were also condemned.

The Party was mobilized, in particular, to suppress any attempt of the class enemy to impede collectivization. The kulaks, incited by the diversionists sent by the imperialists and the Yugoslav revisionists, attempted to commit acts of sabotage and to cause all kinds of disorders. The class enemies came out with such slogans as: «don't hurry to set up co-operatives the time limit is 1960», «you will starve to death in the co-operatives», «collectivization is a trick to take the land from the peasants» etc. Secretly, they tried to persuade the peasants not to enter the cooperatives. When a cooperative was set up, they incited its members not to abide by the Statute, they fomented discontent and tried to provoke dissention among them. They tried to sabotage the fulfilment of the obligations to the State and to hinder the use of mechanised implements.

As a result of the work of the Party and of the revolutionary enthusiasm of the masses of the peasants, the attempts of the kulaks and of other enemies remained sporadic and were defeated. They were completely isolated and exposed. Collectivization went ahead in the way and at the pace determined by the Party. The battle for collectivization, especially the struggle against the class enemies, tempered still further the political consciousness of the pea-

santry and bound it still tighter to the Party. The movement for the collectivization of agriculture became a great patriotic cause.

From the very beginning of the mass collectivization of agriculture, the Party noticed a harmful manifestation in connection with livestock farming. On one hand, a considerable number of peasants, prompted by their personal interests, hesitated to sell their surplus productive livestock to the cooperatives. Often they would slaughter or sell their livestock before joining. Thus, the majority of the new cooperatives owned very limited collective herds. On the other hand, the Party committees failed to show the same interest in the collectivization of livestock as they did in that of the land. As a consequence, when the area of the cultivated land collectivized was over 30 per cent, the number of cows was only 6 per cent, and that of sheep and goats 10 per cent.

Such a state of affairs in livestock farming damaged the people's economy and the cause of the socialist organization of agriculture. To put an end to this situation, special measures were taken to speed up the collectivization of livestock parallel with that of the land and to develop and improve animal husbandry, especially of sheep and cattle.

At the same time, the Party drew other lessons, too, from the experience of the first year of extensive collectivization of agriculture. It combated manifestations of selfsatisfaction that cropped up among quite a number of commu-

nists and instructed that one should not become intoxicated with success. Measures were taken to better publicize and generalize the experience of collectivization. In particular, improvements were made in the help extended by the State to the cooperatives through the Machine and Tractor Stations, the State Agricultural Enterprises, agrarian credits, the supply of selected seeds and pedigree stock. The planting of fruit and olive trees and vineyards to strengthen the cooperative economies made big strides in the year 1957.

While examining the problem of a more rapid improvement and increase of the cadres for the entire people's economy, the Central Committee gave particular consideration to the training of cadres for socialist agriculture. Other communists and agricultural specialists who worked in State administration organs and the Party apparatus were sent to the countryside to work in the cooperatives.

1957 marked a radical turn in the collectivization of agriculture. The area collectivised reached 58 per cent of the total area of the Republic. Whole villages had been turned into cooperatives. In some districts, collectivization included 90 per cent of the land of the peasant households. In the Vlora, Bilisht, Kolonja, Cërrik, Saranda and some other districts cooperatives were set up in all the villages.

The socialist sector became the dominant sector in agriculture. In 1957 it produced nearly half the total of food grain, 3/4th of the cotton,

and 90 per cent of the sugar beet. The economic, social and cultural situation in the countryside marked further improvement. These successes constituted a firm guarantee to push on with collectivization to its final victory.

**The Mobilization of the Masses for the Exploitation of the Internal Reserves**

1957 marked a great advance not only in collectivization, but in the entire people's economy. In comparison with 1956, total industrial production increased 26 per cent. The plan was overfulfilled on a big scale in all the main branches of industry. Agricultural production rose 15 per cent.

On the basis of these successes, beginning from October 1957, the rationing system was abolished entirely and the prices of goods were lowered. This was a great political and economic victory. The complete abolition of the rationing system and the transition to free trade, without limitations, at uniform State-fixed prices, became an important factor for a more equitable distribution of the social product on the basis of the socialist principle according to the amount and quality of the work done. The living conditions of the working masses were improved. The national income rose 14 per cent. The turnover of goods per head of population increased 19 per cent above that of 1956. Education and health services were further extended. The State University of Tirana, the largest edu-

cational and scientific center of the country, was set up.

The turn taken in 1957 in the development of people's economy had its origin in the revolutionary impetus that had gripped the working masses, in the better organization of work by the economic enterprises, by the cooperatives and the State organs, in the more efficient management of the economy by the Party.

Analyzing the fulfilment of the plan of the first two years of the second five-year period, the Party came to the conclusion that within the country there were powerful unexploited reserves that should be discovered and placed at the service of the speedy development of the economy and culture. This problem was laid before the broad working masses for discussion. At the same time, the State planning organs were ordered to re-examine the indices of the five-year plan with a view to raising them. The discussion of the matter by the people brought to light such inner reserves as to surpass the expectations of the State Planning Commission.

Relying mainly on the proposals of the working people, the 1958 February Plenum of the Central Committee took the decision to raise all the indices of the 2nd five-year plan. Thus, the total volume of industrial and agricultural production set by the 3rd Congress was increased about 17 per cent. Considerable increases were made especially in investments and capital construction. The index for the

improvement of the well-being and the rise of the cultural level of the people was also raised. The additions made to the 2nd five-year plan were based mainly on internal accumulation and reserves.

In order to carry on to the end the turn initiated, the Party mobilized its forces and the inexhaustible resources of the working people of town and country. The guiding, organizing, and explanatory work of the basic organizations and committees of the Party was improved appreciably. Their composition was strengthened by recruiting new members from among the workers and cooperative farmers, from among the working women, tested during the hightide of the work for the socialist construction and in the struggle against the class enemies.

The trade unions increased their efforts to educate the working people in the communist spirit and to apply the slogan: «Let us turn our attention to production». They intensified the production propaganda and improved their work for drawing workers into the management and administration of the economy.

The meetings of the workers about production were enlivened. New forms of emulation came into being and spread, and the creative initiative of the working people became bolder. The movement to prolong the life span of machinery, to economize and to fully exploit the productive capacities, spread far and wide. Many distinguished workers, disregarding their personal material interest, left their advanced



brigades and went over to other brigades to lift them out of their backwardness. The one-plus-two movement (every qualified worker undertaking to train two others) came into being.

The movement for every cooperative member to put in 300 calendar days of work spread all over the countryside. The workers in the mechanization of agriculture embraced the advanced initiative to extend the life span of the tractors and to save fuel.

The revolutionary mobilization of the working masses gave a further impetus to the economic development of our country. The over-fulfilment of the increased plan of industrial production for the year 1958 proved the correctness of the directives of the Party for the discovery and exploitation of internal reserves.

### **Collectivization of Agriculture Generally Completed**

The collectivization of agriculture went on rapidly. By the end of 1959 the collectivized land area reached 83 per cent, whereas the entire socialist sector of agriculture included more than 86 per cent of the country's land under cultivation. Thus, on the whole, the collectivization of agriculture had been completed. Only some of the households in very mountainous areas had not yet joined cooperatives. Thus, the directive of the 3rd Party Congress was carried out a year ahead of schedule.

The completion of the collectivization of

agriculture constituted one of the most important historic victories of the socialist revolution on the economic and social front. It led to the establishment of new socialist relations in production in the countryside. The collectivization of agriculture *was the second revolution, the most radical revolutionary turn in the economic and social relations in the countryside.* It opened the road for a speedy development of the forces of production and for radical changes in the social and cultural life of the village.

The completion of the collectivization of agriculture proved how correct and timely was the directive that the Party had issued at its 3rd Congress for the acceleration of the rate of the socialist reorganization in the countryside.

In the collectivization of agriculture the PLA always kept in mind the conditions of the political and economic development of the country. The forms, methods and rates of the cooperation of agriculture were applied in conformity with these conditions.

The collectivization began and was carried out under the conditions of the existence of small private ownership of the land by the peasantry. It was done at a time when the new socialist industry was not as yet in a position to equip agriculture with modern means of agricultural production. The PLA was convinced that collectivization should not be delayed artificially by waiting until the industrialization was completed, just as it should not be hastened

artificially before the essential political, economic and social conditions had been created. Therefore, it was begun and carried through without waiting for the industrialization of the country to be completed.

In spite of that, from the very beginning of collectivization collective farms relied on the use of mechanized implements concentrated in the hands of the State at the Machine and Tractor Stations. Farm machinery for large scale collective production in the countryside was brought from the socialist countries through commercial exchanges and credits.

The collectivization of agriculture began and was accomplished on the basis of the agricultural cooperative of the artel type. Under this form of cooperation, the land, the means of production and labor were all socialized. The incomes were divided according to the work done by each member of the collective economy.

During the process of collectivization attempts were made to use such initial forms of cooperation in production as collective farms, in which, only labor was socialized. But these forms of attracting the peasants into the cooperative movement, which were to serve as intermediate links for the transition into agricultural cooperatives, were shortlived and did not spread widely in the countryside. The peasants passed over directly and immediately to the collective farms, without using other intermediary forms.

The Albanian countryside inherited no traditions of the cooperative movement from the past. Thus, the peasantry accepted that form of cooperation in production which was presented by the Party as the most suitable. The Albanian peasantry had great faith in the Party. It had been liberated from the yoke of the foreigners and the landowners and had become master of the land only under the leadership of the Party. From their own experience the peasants were convinced that the Party had always shown them the right road and that it had firmly defended their interests. That is why they accepted the collective farms of the artel type.

After the agrarian reform in the Albanian countryside there was no great economic differentiation between the peasants regarding the amount of land and other agricultural stocks. Therefore, when they united together in cooperatives, among the members there were no big contradictions of economic interests to make it essential to resort to intermediary forms of cooperation.

The mass collectivization of agriculture did not change the policy of the Party towards the kulaks. During this stage, too, the struggle against the kulaks went on according to the previous policy of economic restriction, political isolation and elimination of them as a class. On the whole, kulaks disappeared as a class, without it being necessary to apply mass confiscation of their property. Force and violence

against the kulaks were used only when they did not submit to the laws and ordinances of the People's State Power or committed political crimes against it.

In 1960 there were still about 1,500 kulak households, or less than one per cent of the overall number of peasant households. They had by now lost their former economic basis. Each of them owned about 3 hectares of land, 1 head of cattle and 10 sheep. The previous policy was continued against the remaining kulaks. In virtue of this policy the number of kulaks continued to diminish and their economy to weaken. Hand in hand with the policy of restriction, the Party attached importance to their re-education, especially of the sons and daughters of kulak families, without relaxing its vigilance and without hesitating to hit hard when necessary.

The completion of the collectivization of agriculture and the strengthening of socialist trade made possible a very large scale reduction of the capitalist elements in the towns. The small private merchants were organized in commercial collectives whose activity was placed under State control. The greater part of the few handicraftsmen who, hitherto, had remained private, joined the handicraft cooperatives.

At the beginning of the collectivization process separate cooperatives were formed for each village, big or small. The establishment of cooperatives, on the basis of each village was

a necessary stage at the time when they had just been set up, when their means were limited and the cadres still lacked experience in managing the collective economy.

When the collectivization of agriculture was reaching completion, the small cooperatives slowly became less and less capable of responding to the need for their economic and organizational strengthening and for a rapid development of the forces of production in the countryside. Under these circumstances, it became imperative to enlarge and strengthen the cooperatives, this being felt and demanded by the cooperative peasants themselves. Therefore, the Party laid down the task of building enlarged cooperatives by uniting small ones. But it emphasized that this unification should be cautiously carried out on the basis of the free will and full conviction of the cooperative members. This was a long term task; therefore it could not to be done urgently as a campaign.

Nevertheless, at the beginning of 1959, carried away by the enthusiasm of the peasantry, in some districts the unification of the cooperatives was declared the main problem of the day, the achievement of which was envisaged within a year or two. As a result, the Party's instructions were distorted. United cooperatives were being set up without a profound study of the problem and without working out the organizational forms and rules of their activity. The unification of cooperatives was being extended not only to the lowland areas but also

to the mountain regions. Some enlarged cooperatives included 10-15 villages with up to 4000 hectares of land. Some cadres thought that in this way the problem of the economic and organizational strengthening of the cooperatives would be quickly solved.

The Central Committee discovered these shortcomings and took measures to correct them in time. It emphasized the damage that could be inflicted on the cause of collectivization through the premature and hasty unification of the cooperatives. In connection with this, it instructed that the conditions of the cooperatives should be studied minutely and that the future of their unification should be determined in conformity with this.

After that, unification was conducted more prudently, it was better studied and applied only in the lowlands. In the beginning enlarged cooperatives were set up by uniting not more than 2 or 3 villages. At the same time, the State extended its economic aid to them in the form of farm machinery, agrarian credits and specialists. To strengthen the management of the united co-operatives the Party sent to the countryside many city cadres who were elected as chairmen of these co-operatives.

The unification of small cooperatives into bigger ones created new possibilities for their economic and organizational consolidation. In the enlarged cooperatives, land and mechanized implements were put to better use and the

work of the cooperative members became more fruitful. In them the various branches of agriculture were better coordinated, investments were put to a more advantageous use and the administrative expenses were kept down. The enlargement of the cooperatives offered possibilities for a better use of the advantages created by the new socialist order in agriculture.

The collectivization of agriculture created a new economic and social basis for the formation in the peasantry of the socialist world outlook. Nevertheless, this formation could not be effected by itself and at one stroke without the educational work of the Party and without other economic and organizational measures. For centuries the peasants had been accustomed to live and work on individual economies, therefore the sentiments and aspirations of private property were deeply implanted in them. This was reflected in the deficiencies and shortcomings that become apparent in the sphere of organization and in the attitude towards work and collective property.

In these circumstances, the Party strengthened its educational work with the cooperative members to have them concentrate all their efforts on the development of the collective economy, step up their participation in production and strengthen discipline at work. Besides this, special measures were taken for the organization and rewarding of labour and for the application of the Statute.



The method of management in the cooperatives began to improve. Cooperative members showed greater concern about the collective economy. They increased their efforts to open virgin lands. The economic relations between the State and the cooperative farms were strengthened still further.

The collectivization of agriculture brought in its wake changes in the material and cultural conditions of life in the countryside. In the years 1956-1960 the peasants built about 30,000 new houses. In 1959 there were more than 2,500 schools for general education, 1,300 houses and centers of culture in the countryside, employing hundreds of cadres and specialists of middle and higher training.

**The 2nd Five-Year Plan  
Fulfilled Ahead of Schedule**

Hand in hand with the work to complete the collectivization of agriculture, the Party was fighting to ensure the fulfilment of the targets of the 2nd five-year plan in all the branches of people's economy.

Without losing sight of the fulfilment of the plan as regards quantity, it centered its attention especially on the quality of production. During the first years of socialist construction, the very low level of the forces of production, the numerous difficulties that the country was passing through, made it imperative that the main attention be directed towards the quantity of production. Now the time had come to

pay more attention to quality which was lagging behind. The Party viewed this problem not as an economic one only, but as a political and ideological problem also. The quality of production expresses the level of the economic and cultural advance of a country. Under the conditions of the socialist order, quality is an expression of the level of socialist consciousness at work and influences the raising of socialist patriotism, the strengthening of the people's belief in their own forces.

In December 1959, the Central Committee of the Party launched the slogan: «Let us turn our faces towards quality without turning our backs on quantity». At the same time, it directed that the working people should be paid not only or mainly on the basis of quantity, as before, but also on the basis of the quality of the product or service rendered. The insistent demand for the improvement of quality directly influenced the education of the working people in assuming a socialist stand towards work.

To put this directive into practice there was adopted a whole range of economic measures, aiming at perfecting the organization of labor and its rewards. The quotas of work and the classification of the workers were re-examined. In all the branches of the economy, the rates of pay were closely linked with quality. A more just connection was established between moral and material stimuli, proceeding from the principle of subjecting personal interests to the interests of society. Party organizations engaged

in extensive political activity with the working people to bring out the revolutionary importance of these measures, to explain the damage that was being done to the cause of socialism by the tendency observed in some quarters to run after money and the mistaken idea that «without money there is no emulation».

The measures to perfect the organization and the remuneration of labor were correctly grasped by the working people. They helped in raising socialist emulation to a new and higher level. The movement to set up companies and brigades of socialist labor came into being and spread throughout the country during 1960. Its motto was the slogan of the Party: «Work, learn and live in a socialist way». This movement became a major driving force to increase production, to improve quality, to advance technology and professional qualification and to strengthen the socialist consciousness of the working people. This helped to integrate work in production with learning and with the socialist way of life. The movement for invention and rationalization gained new strength, too.

The 2nd five-year plan was fulfilled and overfulfilled. Its tasks were overfulfilled to an appreciable degree, especially in industry, transport and in capital investment and construction. The overall volume of industrial production was achieved in four years and nine months, whereas the level of industrial production set for 1960 was reached in 1959. In 1960 the total volume of industrial production was

2.2 times as big as in 1955 and 25 times as big as in 1938. The highest rates of development were attained in the mining, electrical, machine-making and building materials industries. Parallel with these, the light and food processing branches of industry were also developed. As a consequence there was a pronounced improvement in the structure of the various branches of industry. In 1960 industry turned out about 40 per cent of the total volume of the national income of the country.

During the 2nd five-year plan 250 big economic and cultural projects were built. New oil fields and new iron-nickel, chromium, copper and coal mines were brought into production. The building of these projects brought about the birth of new towns.

In agriculture, the principal victory was the completion of collectivization. In 1960 the socialist sector in agriculture embraced 87 per cent of the land under cultivation. In spite of the adverse weather conditions, especially during the last two years of the five-year plan, agricultural production in 1960 was 25 per cent higher than in 1955. The area under cultivation increased 13 per cent. With the exception of wheat, yields increased in all the agricultural crops. Considerable increases were recorded in the production of tobacco, cotton and sugar-beet.

The increase of industrial and agricultural production, the increase of the productivity of labor and the lowering of the costs of produc-

tion, were the principal factors that defined an obvious increase in the well-being and the cultural level of the people. In comparison with 1955, the national income in 1960 rose 48 per cent, the real wages of the workers and employees — 29 per cent, whereas the real income of the peasantry rose 35 per cent. During the years of the 2nd five-year plan the prices of mass consumption goods were lowered 6 times, from which the people realized a gain of 7 billion and 200 million (old) leks. The volume of the circulation of goods was increased at a rate 2-3 times greater than the natural increase of the population.

Important progress was made in the development of education and culture as well as in the protection of the health of the people. In 1960, one out of every five persons of the population attended school. In comparison with 1955, the number of cadres with higher training was trebled. The average life expectancy of the population reached 62 years.

The successful fulfilment of the tasks of the 2nd five-year plan established new starting points for the further development of economy and culture on the road to the socialist construction of the country.

#### 4. CRITICISM OF THE REVISIONIST VIEWPOINTS AND THE SPLITTING ACTIVITY OF THE SOVIET LEADERS

The meeting of the communist and workers' parties of November 1957 restrained revisionism for a time, but did not stop its extension and deeper penetration in the international communist movement.

**International Revisionism Spreads further** The Yugoslav revisionists openly characterized the declaration of the meeting «as a negation of the 20th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union», «a step backwards» and «a return to Stalinism». They unleashed a fierce campaign against its revolutionary content and quickly counterposed to it their 1958 anti-Marxist «program» which was presented as an «international manifesto».

Meanwhile, the Soviet leadership headed by Khrushchev disregarded the revolutionary conclusions of the joint declaration and continued to propagate and apply the revisionist conclusions of the 20th Congress. It missed no opportunity to draw ever nearer to and establish closer collaboration with the U.S. imperialists. Khrushchev described the president and the top officials of the USA as «reasonable men», who «sincerely wanted peace and collaboration with the Soviet Union». He proclaimed world

wide that under present conditions any kind of war was unjust and inhuman. He demanded that the UNO put into effect «general and complete disarmament» of every country and of all peoples, excepting only the police which were «to preserve order»(!) and the «international armed forces» that would be created by UNO, no doubt, in order to suppress the people's wars and uprisings. He began to spread the false idea that as early as 1960 there would be «a new world without weapons, without armies, without wars!»

But Khrushchev's policy had a demagogical, eclectic and contradictory character, — a feature of every kind of revisionism. On one hand, he praised the USA and demanded close collaboration with it, on the other, he attacked it as an aggressor and world gendarme. At one time he would call the U. S. president «a friend», «a great man», «reasonable» and «peaceloving», at another time «a hangman» and «a man who could not even run kindergarten». On one occasion he would praise Tito and the Yugoslav experience to the skies, on another he would call Yugoslav revisionism «the Trojan horse» and Tito a person «who is out of step with the rest of the platoon». Likewise, he felt obliged to half-hartedly condemn the anti-Marxist program of the Yugoslav League of Communists (YLC). In this way the Khrushchev group went down the road to revisionism, trying to confuse the minds of the people, jumping from opportunism to adventurism and vice-versa, while preparing the final stab in the back for the so-

cialist camp and the international communist movement.

The process of extension and deepening of revisionism was proceeding uninterruptedly also among other communist and workers' parties in a number of socialist and capitalist countries.

The line and activity of the revisionists, especially of the Soviet leadership, had increased the ideological confusion in the international communist movement.

This situation was exploited in every conceivable way by the U. S. imperialists, who regarded the spread of revisionism as very favourable for imperialism and reaction. They intensified their aggressive activity in Asia, Africa and Latin America; turned West Germany into a dangerous hotbed of war; extended their military bases and increased their thermonuclear military potential. At the same time, they applied the tactics of breaking up the world socialist system by means of peaceful counter-revolution, encouraging every action and point of view of the revisionists for the liberalization of the political power and for the spread of bourgeois ideology in the socialist countries.

**Uncompromising Fight to Expose and Destroy Modern Revisionism** The Party of Labor of Albania followed with concern the spread of revisionism and the great danger that it presented for the socialist camp and the international communist



movement. It considered the fight against revisionism as one of its most important duties.

The public announcement of the program of the YLC offered a suitable opportunity for dealing hard blows at international revisionism in the sphere of its activity and anti-Marxist ideology. While exposing the Yugoslav program as an accumulation of the rotten theories of Proudhon, Bernstein, Kautsky, Trotzky, Bukharin etc. dressed up in a new cloak our Party advanced the slogan:

«Uncompromising struggle for the exposure and the theoretical and political destruction of modern revisionism».<sup>1</sup>

Speaking indirectly about the opportunist stand maintained by Khrushchev and other revisionists in various communist and workers' parties, the PLA pointed out:

«Only he who deliberately shuts his eyes cannot see the role that is being played by the Yugoslav revisionists in the service of the imperialists».<sup>2</sup>

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1) See the decision of the Plenum of the Central Committee of the PLA, June 20, 1958. Central Archives of the Party and «Zëri i Popullit» June 22, 1958.

2) «Modern Revisionism Must be Fought Against Mercilessly Until it is Completely Destroyed Theoretically and Politically». «Zëri i Popullit», 22nd of June, 1958.

It arranged the publication of a series of articles severely criticizing the revisionist viewpoints, bringing to light the distortions they had made in the fundamental teachings of Marxism-Leninism and defending the party of the working class and its leading role, the dictatorship of the proletariat, and the revolutionary road for the transition to socialism.

While striking blows at international revisionism in the ideological and political sphere, the leadership of the PLA carefully watched the attitude and activity of N. Khrushchev and his group. It saw that they were moving further and further away from the Marxist-Leninist principles and daily coming closer and closer to the U. S. imperialists and Titoite revisionists. The process of recognising revisionism was being deepened continuously. The leadership of the PLA began to have ever more doubts and reservations about the Communist Party of the Soviet Union headed by Khrushchev. This helped a great deal in preventing the Party falling into any of the traps laid by Khrushchev to break it and drag it on to the revisionist road. The Soviet leadership nurtured vain hopes that things would change after the signing of an agreement to advance new credits to the People's Republic of Albania for the 3rd five-year plan, and especially so after the visit of Khrushchev to Albania in May 1959.

Contrary to the insistent demands of the Soviet leadership to follow its revisionist course,

the PLA firmly pursued its own Marxist-Leninist line and intensified its struggle against Yugoslav revisionism and modern revisionism in general.

At the same time, the Central Committee of the PLA protested to the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union over certain anti-Albanian acts of Khrushchev. One such protest was in connection with the talks held between the Soviet Prime Minister and the reactionary Greek politician Venizelos. Khrushchev had alleged that during his visit to Albania he had seen Greeks in Korça, and he had not disparaged the chauvinist demand for the «autonomy of Northern Epirus». Another protest was made when the Soviet Ambassador to Belgrade accepted the slanders and abuses of the People's Republic of Albania unleashed at a meeting by the Yugoslav revisionist leader Rankovich.

All these things showed the ever increasing opposition of the PLA to the anti-Marxist stand of the Khrushchev group.

In spite of all this, up to the first half of 1960, the ideological differences between the PLA and the Soviet leadership were not made public nor were they extended to the State relations between the two countries.

At the same time, the PLA maintained continuous vigilance to detect the plans and the hostile activity of the U.S. imperialists and those of the Titoite clique against the People's Republic of Albania. In the summer of 1960 a

clandestine anti-State organization, made up of old agents of foreign intelligence services who had managed to worm their way into the organs of the Party and State administration and the Army, was discovered and wiped out. This smashed the plot to organize a counter-revolutionary uprising coordinated with armed intervention by the U.S. 6th fleet, the Greek monarcho-fascists and the Yugoslav revisionists. At the same time, the plan of the Soviet revisionist leadership, who knew about this plot, supported it, and intended to exploit it for their own purposes, was also foiled.

**The PLA's Principled Marxist-Leninist Stand at the Bucharest Meeting**

The Khrushchev revisionist group attempted a decisive blow against the international communist movement with a sudden stab in the back at the meeting, held in Bucharest in June 1960, of the delegations of the communist and worker's parties that had attended the Congress of the Rumanian Workers' Party.

According to a previous agreement, this should have been only to discuss and decide jointly on the date and the place of a meeting of the communist and workers' parties of the world.

The delegation of the PLA, headed by Comrade Hysni Kapo, found itself unexpectedly faced with an international gathering organized by Khrushchev which had an entirely diffe-

rent character. A meeting of this nature was unexpected also for the delegation of the Communist Party of China and for the majority of the representatives of the other parties that participated in it. But still more surprising and extraordinarily disquieting was the distribution by the Soviet delegation, a few hours prior to the meeting, of a document containing slanderous attacks and accusations against the Communist Party of China. Khrushchev did his utmost to have the meeting discuss those calumnies, to have the Communist Party of China condemned and expelled from the international communist movement.

The atmosphere in the meeting was very tense. The representatives of the various parties were at a loss what to say and what stand to take. The delegation of the Chinese Communist Party rejected the slanderous accusations. The Central Committee of the PLA, having been informed immediately by its delegation, considered that the situation was very disquieting and came to the correct conclusion that the socialist camp and the internationalist movement were faced with a major conspiracy hatched by Khrushchev. Acceptance of the slanderous accusations of the Soviet leadership against the Communist Party of China would have brought catastrophic consequences. In line with the instructions of the Central Committee of our Party, Comrade Hysni Kapo took a clear-cut stand against discussing at the meeting the question of the so-called «errors» of the Chinese Commu-

nist Party and against its condemnation. He described the Bucharest meeting as insufficiently prepared and contrary to the rules of procedure of the communist and workers' parties. The delegation of the PLA pointed out that the differences between the Communist Party of Soviet Union and the Communist Party of China could not be judged properly upon the material presented by only one of the parties concerned. In order to form a judgement on them it was essential to hear what the Chinese comrades had to say. These differences should have been discussed first between the two parties. If they remained unresolved, they could be taken up at a meeting of the communist and workers' parties of the socialist countries. Later the decisions of this meeting should be discussed at an international conference with the participation of all the Marxist-Leninist parties of the world which would be summoned according to the rules of procedure.

This principled stand of the delegation of the PLA was supported by a number of delegations. Meanwhile, Khrushchev called this stand an act of «rebellion» by the PLA, which he attacked sharply. Despite its persistent efforts at the Bucharest Meeting the Soviet leadership did not succeed in expelling the Communist Party of China from the international communist movement. It was decided there to summon a meeting of all the communist and workers' parties in November 1960. A special commission was charged with making prepara-

tions for it. This commission was composed of representatives from 26 parties, the Party of Labor of Albania included.

The international plot organized by the Khrushchev revisionist group failed. In Bucharest it suffered its first defeat. This was a defeat for the modern revisionism as a whole, which, from that time, began to decline.

It was now quite clear that the leadership of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union headed by Khrushchev was a clique of traitors and constituted a grave danger to Marxism-Leninism and socialism.

The Central Committee of the PLA evaluated the stand of its delegation in Bucharest as a principled Marxist-Leninist stand. It informed the entire Party of the proceedings at the Bucharest meeting and of the plot engineered by N. Khrushchev. The basic organizations of the Party unanimously supported the stand taken by the delegation of the PLA at that meeting.

**The Firm Stand of the PLA towards the Attacks of the Soviet Leadership**

Immediately after the Bucharest meeting, a fierce attack was launched against the PLA to force it to its knees and compel it to support the revisionist line and splitting activities of the Soviet leadership.

The blows were struck in many directions. The Central Committee of the PLA was made their prime target. The Soviet leadership tried

to split it, to subjugate it and at all costs to have it denounce its own stand at Bucharest, and take measures against the «instigators». The Soviet leadership needed such a denunciation not only for the purpose of overturning the situation in Albania but also with the aim of attaining at the coming meeting of the communist and workers' parties what it had failed to attain in Bucharest.

To this end the Khrushchev group used Liri Belishova, Member of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the PLA who was obsessed with morbid petty bourgeois ambition and with pronounced sentiments of careerism. Worked upon in Moscow and incited by the same group, she placed herself in opposition to the line of the Party, becoming the peddler of the anti-Marxist line of the Soviet leadership. But her efforts encountered the steel-like unity of the Central Committee, its determination not to make any concession regarding the principled and the revolutionary Marxist-Leninist course of the Party. Thus, the attempt of the Khrushchev group to change or shake the positions of the Central Committee were defeated.

Taking advantage of the unbounded love of the Albanian communists for the Bolshevik Party of the Soviet Union, the Soviet leadership tried to arouse confusion and have them rise against the Marxist-Leninist leadership of their own Party. It employed the personnel of its Embassy in Tirana, who enjoyed great freedom of action in Albania, in order to make contacts with officers and generals, cadres of the Party



and State organs and officials of the economy and culture. Khrushchev's agents expressed their «anxiety» about the «deviation from the Marxist-Leninist line» and «the betrayal» of the «Albanian-Soviet friendship» by the leadership of the PLA. Later, they would ask such provocative questions as: «Are you going to stand by the Soviet Union or will you go against it, as your leadership is doing?» The Khrushchev group pinned their hopes, especially, on the cadres who had pursued their studies in Soviet schools. But all their hopes were frustrated. The Albanian communists, their revolutionary senses tempered by the Party, knew very well how to differentiate between the Soviet Union and the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, on the one hand, and the anti-Marxist, anti-Albanian activity of the Soviet leadership, on the other. The Khrushchevite revisionists did not find nor did they manage to open a single breach in the ranks of the Party. It was precisely against this steel-like unity around the Central Committee that their plans were shattered.

Koço Tashko, the President of the Auditing Commission of the PLA, who had shown pronounced vacillations and had often been criticized for deviations and opportunism, followed Liri Belishova in yielding to Soviet pressure. Both of them were expelled from the Party as enemies.

The Soviet leadership extended its attacks to the economic and cultural spheres, too. Re-

gardless of the agreements concluded between the Governments of the People's Republic of Albania and of the USSR it delayed and, in some cases, entirely stopped the shipment of goods and industrial equipment to Albania. It rejected the request for a quantity of grain to ensure the people's daily bread of which there was a shortage caused by the extraordinary drought of 1960. The Khrushchev group exploited this occasion as a means of pressure to compel the PLA to submit, thinking that hunger would force the Albanian people to rise against their Party. Khrushchev threatened the Party and the Government of the People's Republic of Albania that he would stop sending any kind of armaments and military equipment to the People's Army of Albania, because, he declared, «You are only in the Warsaw Pact in meantime.»

In August 1960, the Soviet leadership sent a letter to the Central Committee of the PLA in which it demanded that the «Party of Labor of Albania and the Communist Party of the Soviet Union should go to the forthcoming meeting in November with complete identity of views»! In other words, the PLA should give up the principled stand it upheld in Bucharest as well as its Marxist-Leninist line. Otherwise, the Khrushchev group threatened, «the spark of misunderstanding» kindled in Bucharest «will flare up»!!

Under no circumstances could the PLA accept such an «identity» which would have been nothing else but a criminal collaboration against the Communist Party of China and, consequently

against the socialist camp and the international communist movement. Therefore, it rejected the dastardly request of the Soviet leadership.

Meanwhile, the delegation of the PLA in the commission of the 26 parties that was to draft and formulate the declaration of the general meeting of the communist and workers' parties of the world was fighting with determination against the attempts of the revisionists to draw up an anti-Marxist document.

**The PLA's Criticism of the Khrushchevite Revisionists at the Second Moscow Meeting**

The delegation of the PLA at the November 1960 Moscow Meeting of the 81 communist and workers' parties was headed by Comrade Enver Hoxha.

At this meeting, the delegation firmly carried out the instruction of the Central Committee to defend the Marxist-Leninist line. It scornfully rejected the deals proffered by Khrushchev and his collaborators to break the resistance of the PLA by promising greater economic aid and by the admission that «a mistake may have been committed by the Soviet functionaries.»

The PLA did not yield even in the face of the new threats of Khrushchev who declared that «from now on the relations between Albania and the Soviet Union would be built on a new basis»!

In his speech delivered at the Moscow meeting, Comrade Enver Hoxha put forward the principled view of the PLA on the main pro-

blems over which the differences had arisen. He dwelt especially on the problems of war and peace, of peaceful coexistence, of the roads of transition to socialism, on the question of Stalin, the question of Yugoslav revisionism and the danger of modern revisionism for the international communist movement, on the relations between the communist and workers' parties.

Directly criticizing the Soviet leadership headed by Khrushchev as well as the other revisionists who were spreading false ideas about a change in the nature of imperialism as a result of the new ratio of forces in the world in favor of socialism and of the alleged possibility of coming to terms and collaborating with U.S. imperialism for the creation of «a world without weapons, without armies and without wars», Comrade Enver Hoxha declared:

«The Party of Labor of Albania is of the opinion that imperialism, first of all U.S. imperialism, has changed neither its skin, nor its nature. It is aggressive, it will be aggressive, while even a single tooth remains in its mouth... It may plunge the world into a war. Therefore we... continue to insist that it should be made clear to the peoples that there can be no absolute guarantee that there will be no world war until after socialism has triumphed throughout

the entire world or in the greatest number of the countries of the world»<sup>1</sup>.  
«Whoever does not see this is blind, whoever sees it but covers it up, is a traitor in the service of imperialism»<sup>2</sup>.

Considering the preservation and the consolidation of peace as a very important task, the delegation of the PLA expressed the conviction that this duty could not be fulfilled through useless talk with the heads of imperialism, cajoling and making concessions to the U.S. imperialists and capitulating to their pressure. It would be fulfilled only through determined political and ideological struggle to foil the aggressive imperialist plans, continuously increasing the vigilance and the revolutionary impetus of the masses and mercilessly condemning every opportunist stand, every point of view and action which aimed at lulling the peoples to sleep, every tendency towards moral disintegration and soft living. In order to make it impossible for the imperialists to launch a new world war, it was necessary to face them with all the economic, military, moral and political power of the socialist camp, the strength of the international working class, the national-liberation move-

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1) Enver Hoxha. Speech at the Moscow Meeting of the Communist and Workers' Parties, November 1960, CPA.

2) Enver Hoxha — Ibid.

ments and all the freedom-loving countries and peoples of the world.

At a time when it was imperative for the military power and preparedness of the socialist camp to be at its highest level, the PLA deemed it entirely out of place and condemned the insistence of the Khrushchev group on keeping the secret of the atomic bomb from the socialist countries and its unwillingness to equip the armies of these countries with nuclear weapons.

«Why shouldn't China have the atomic bomb?» asked Comrade Enver Hoxha, «We are of the opinion that she should have it... We have the atomic bomb to defend ourselves. It is fear that guards the vineyards, goes a saying of our people. The imperialists should be afraid of us and terribly afraid at that»<sup>1</sup>.

Further on he criticised the revisionists for their opportunist interpretation and application of the question of peaceful coexistence between States of different social systems. He described as anti-Marxist the stand of the Soviet leadership which presented peaceful coexistence as a general line of the Soviet Union and all the socialist countries. Comrade Enver Hoxha expressed the view of the PLA that the policy of peace-

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1) Enver Hoxha. Speech at the Moscow Meeting of the Communist and Workers' Parties, November 1960. Central Archives of the Party.

ful coexistence between States of different systems constitutes only one of the aspects of the foreign policy of the socialist countries. The two other and more important aspects of this policy are: fraternal collaboration and mutual aid among socialist countries and unreserved support and aid to the revolutionary liberation struggle of the working masses of the oppressed peoples, against imperialism and reaction.

By following a policy of coexistence on any terms, of conciliation and collaboration with imperialism, the Khrushchev group had in fact rejected the class struggle. In practice, the revisionists extended coexistence between States with different social systems to the relations between exploiting and exploited classes within the capitalist countries and to those between the dependent and colonial countries and the imperialist powers.

«Peaceful coexistence between two opposing systems,» Comrade Enver Hoxha pointed out, «does not mean, as the modern revisionists claim, giving up the class struggle. On the contrary, the class struggle should continue; the political and ideological struggle against imperialism, against bourgeois and revisionist ideology should be further intensified. While constantly fighting to establish Leninist peaceful coexistence, making no concessions of principle to imperialism, the class struggle in the ca-

pitalist countries, as well as the national-liberation movement of the peoples of the colonial and dependent countries should be developed further».<sup>1</sup>

The delegation of the Party of Labor of Albania was of the opinion that the communist and workers' parties of the capitalist countries should have as their main task to arouse the masses against imperialism and all its lackeys within their countries in order to make life impossible for them, to disrupt their economic and military bases, to undermine their rule, to destroy their State power of political oppression and to establish a new people's State power. This State power should be strengthened and developed as a dictatorship of the proletariat. Only thus can the transition to socialism be ensured.

The problem as to what road should be followed in order to establish the people's power and to pass over to socialism was clear to the Marxist-Leninists, while Khrushchev, as Comrade Enver Hoxha brought to light, distorted and confused this issue in the direction that pleased the opportunists.

«So far, no people, no proletariat, no party has seized power without bloodshed and without violence...

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1) Enver Hoxha. Speech delivered at the Meeting of the Communist and Workers' Parties in Moscow, November 1960. CAP.



Our Party thinks that on this problem we should be prepared to follow both roads, especially, that of seizing power by violence, because if we are well prepared from this point of view, the first possibility (the peaceful road — Edit.) has a better chance of success»<sup>1</sup>.

In connection with the question of Stalin, Comrade Enver Hoxha criticized the Khrushchev group for not presenting this question correctly, in an objective and Marxist-Leninist manner, at the 20th Congress, for unjustly condemning Stalin and his work. This question concerned the entire international communist movement and not only the Soviet Union. Therefore, the condemnation of Stalin at the 20th Congress, without prior consultation with the other fraternal parties, was an arbitrary decision and grave blunder.

«The Party of Labor of Albania... was not and will never be convinced on the issue of the condemnation of Comrade Stalin in the manner and form in which it was done.

The Party of Labor of Albania is of the opinion that it is neither correct, normal, nor Marxist to wipe out the name and the great work of Stalin for the

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1) Enver Hoxha. Speech delivered at the Meeting of the Communist and Workers' Parties in Moscow, November 1960. CAP.

whole of that epoch, as is being done, The fine and immortal work of Stalin should be defended by all of us. He who does not defend it is an opportunist and a coward»<sup>1</sup>.

In order to defend Marxism-Leninism, to preserve the unity of the socialist camp and the international communist movement, the PLA considered it imperative to fight and expose modern revisionism to the very end. Comrade Enver Hoxha underlined that

«the three years that have passed since the Moscow Conference have fully verified that the modern revisionists are nothing but splitters of the communist movement and the socialist camp, avowed enemies of socialism and the working class»<sup>2</sup>.

He criticized the Soviet leadership for failing to apply the Moscow declaration of 1957, for not condemning the Yugoslav revisionist group as it was stipulated there, for having come to terms with and rehabilitating it. The PLA expressed its firm opinion that J. V. Stalin had not been mistaken but had been completely correct in his evaluation of the Yugoslav revisio-

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1) Enver Hoxha. Speech delivered at the Meeting of the Communist and Workers' Parties in Moscow, November 1960. CAP.

2) Enver Hoxha. Ibid.

nists. They comprised a very dangerous agency of imperialism, therefore a merciless ideological and political struggle should be continued against them. The PLA was in a better position to confirm this evaluation, because more than anyone else it had experienced on its own back the hostile activity of the Titoites coordinated with the activity of the American imperialists.

But revisionism, Comrade Enver Hoxha pointed out, was to be found not only in Yugoslavia. It was spreading in a most disquieting way among other parties as well. For this reason the definition, which the 1957 Moscow Declaration had made of modern revisionism as the main danger, was correct and should remain in force until this danger was completely eliminated. Consequently, the demand of the Khrushchev group that modern revisionism should be considered as already exposed and defeated was absolutely mistaken and was aimed at covering up Khrushchevite revisionism which was far more dangerous than the Yugoslav brand of revisionism. After demonstrating, from facts, that the counterrevolution in Hungary was prepared by the Hungarian and Yugoslav revisionists with the knowledge and direct support of the Soviet leadership, after pointing out that the disturbing events in Poland, in other socialist countries and in quite a number of communist and workers' parties were the consequence of the spread of revisionism, Comrade Enver Hoxha addressed the participants of the meeting as follows:

«We ask why are these things happening in the international communist movement, in our camp, following the 20th Congress? Do they perhaps happen because the leadership of the Party of Labor of Albania is sectarian, dogmatic, pessimistic?

Such a thing should be of deep concern to us and we must look for the cause of the disease and cure it. Certainly the disease cannot be cured by patting the renegade Tito on the back nor by noting in the declaration that modern revisionism has been completely defeated, as the Soviet comrades claim»<sup>1</sup>.

A source of especially great concern was the plot hatched up by the Khrushchev group in Bucharest against the Communist Party of China and the hostile activity it had begun to engage in against the Communist Party of China and the Party of Labor of Albania since this meeting. Such acts constituted a direct danger to the unity of the international communist movement and the socialist camp. In connection with this, Comrade Enver Hoxha made a sharp principled criticism of the Soviet leadership.

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1) Enver Hoxha. Speech at the Meeting of the Communist and Workers' Parties in Moscow, November 1960. CAP.

«The Party of Labor of Albania is unanimously of the opinion that the Soviet comrades made a grave blunder in Bucharest, they unjustly condemned the Communist Party of China... The Bucharest meeting should, under no circumstances, be forgotten but must be severely condemned as a stain on the international communist movement»<sup>1</sup>.

The delegation of the Party of Labor of Albania pointed out that later the Soviet leadership, fully conscious of what they were doing, had further deepened the grave error they had committed in Bucharest. The Albanian delegation informed the meeting of the communist and workers' parties of the ferocious fascist-type attack the group of Khrushchev had launched against the PLA to force the latter to follow the erroneous course and to support the anti-Marxist stand of the Soviet leadership against the Communist Party of China. To attain this end, Khrushchev and other Soviet leaders continued their pressure on the delegation of the PLA in Moscow, acting like true blackmarketeers. At the very first meeting our delegation was faced with the alternative: «Albania must decide to go either with the 200 millions (with the USSR. — Edit.) or with the 650 millions (the People's Re-

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1) Enver Hoxha, Speech delivered at the Meeting of the Communist and Workers' Parties in Moscow, November 1960, CAP.

public of China — Edit)»!!, either «it must accept peaceful coexistence, or a single atomic bomb would suffice to wipe Albania and its population right out»!! Not even a representative of imperialism had offered such alternatives and threats to the Albanian people. When they failed to attain anything out of these threats, Khrushchev declared to the Chinese delegation: «We have lost Albania and you have gained it»! Later, on the eve of the meeting of the Communist and workers' parties, the Soviet leadership distributed to all the delegations materials full of calumnies and lies against the Communist Party of China and in which the PLA also was accused of «departing from Marxism-Leninism» and of «anti-Sovietism».

Comrade Enver Hoxha, informing the meeting about these profoundly anti-Marxist acts by the Khrushchev group, addressed the latter as follows:

«What are these monstrous accusations, this 'dealers' treatment of our Party, our people and our socialist country, which, it seems, can be lost or won as in a card game? . . . You consider Albania as a trading token . . . There was a time when Albania was considered a trading token, when others thought it depended on them whether Albania would exist or not, but that time came to an end with the triumph of the ideas of Marxism-Leninism in our country. . .

You, Comrade Khrushchev, raised your hand against our small people and the Party of Labor of Albania, but we are convinced that the Soviet people, who have shed their blood for the freedom of our people, too, that the great party of Lenin, are not in accord with this activity of yours»<sup>1</sup>.

The delegation of the PLA explained that in its severe but principled criticism against the Soviet leadership it intended only to preserve the unity of the international communist movement and socialist camp. Unity could not be preserved without laying bare errors and evil manifestations, without severely condemning them and correcting them on a Marxist-Leninist basis. To those trying to silence the Party of Labor of Albania and to force it to submit to their erroneous course, Comrade Enver Hoxha replied:

«... Let no one think that, because Albania is small and the Party of Labor is small, Albania and its Party of Labor should do what someone else says, when they are convinced that that someone else is mistaken.

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1) Enver Hoxha. Speech delivered at the Meeting of the Communist and Workers' Parties in Moscow, November 1960, CAP.

Marxism-Leninism has given us the right to have our say and no one can take it right away from us, neither through political or economic pressure, nor through threats or epithets that may be hurled at us<sup>1</sup>.

It was at this meeting of the communist and workers' parties that the crystallization of the two opposing lines in the international communist movement — the Marxist-Leninist line and the revisionist line — became still more apparent.

The struggle between these two lines had become unavoidable although at this meeting the Soviet leadership tried to avert the strife that had broken out in the editing commission. In Khrushchev's speech and in the speeches of a number of heads of delegations there was no mention of any kind of contradictions or differences in the international communist movement, as if none existed at all. The Khrushchevite revisionists aimed thus at concealing the existence of the two opposing lines so as to prevent the Communist Party of China and the Party of Labor of Albania from having their right of reply to the calumnies contained in the Soviet materials distributed on the eve of the meeting. In this way they wanted to avoid any criticism

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1) Enver Hoxha. Speech delivered at the Meeting of the Communist and Workers' Parties in Moscow, November 1960. CAP.



against the revisionist viewpoints and the divisive and the destructive activity of the Khrushchev group, to put the blame for the differences on the Communist Party of China and the Party of Labor of Albania. But this tactic met with complete failure. After the criticism by the Albanian and Chinese delegations, the struggle between the two lines in the international communist movement flared up very fiercely.

The representatives of all the parties were obliged to express their stand one way or the other on the problems under discussion. At this point, the revisionists attempted to distract the attention of the participants of the meeting from the problems of principle and to turn the meeting into a platform of base attacks against the Communist Party of China and the Party of Labor of Albania. But this attempt failed, too. Many of the delegations of the Marxist-Leninist parties supported the Communist Party of China and the Party of Labor of Albania in defence of the revolutionary line of proletarian internationalism. The revisionists were forced to retreat.

The declaration approved by the meeting of the 81 communist and workers' parties of the world, in general, embodied the revolutionary Marxist-Leninist principles. The attempt of the Khrushchevite revisionists to impose their revisionist line upon the international communist movement was foiled. The Marxist-Leninist line scored yet another victory.

The definition of the content of our epoch

made by the meeting of the 81 communist and workers' parties in 1957 as «period of transition from capitalism to socialism» was supplemented in the new declaration as follows:

«Our epoch, the principal content of which is the transition from capitalism to socialism, which began with the October Socialist Revolution, is the epoch of the struggle between the two opposing social systems, the epoch of socialist revolutions and of national-liberation revolutions, the epoch of the collapse of imperialism, of the liquidation of the colonial system, the epoch of the transition of the other peoples to the road to socialism, of the triumph of socialism and communism on a world scale»<sup>1</sup>.

Thus, the revisionists were deprived of the possibility of speculating with the incomplete definition of the content of our epoch and of presenting it as an epoch of peaceful coexistence and of economic competition without revolutions and wars of liberation.

A series of revisionist theses which were included in the draft declaration presented by the Soviet leadership and applied by them in

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1) The Declaration of the Meeting of the Representatives of the Communist and Workers' Parties, November 1960.

practice were also rejected. Such theses were: «peaceful coexistence is the general line of the foreign policy of the socialist countries»; «the possibilities for the peaceful transition to socialism are constantly on the increase»; «in the present period it is possible to prevent all wars,» etc.

In the declaration of the meeting, against the wishes of the Khrushchevite revisionists, it was clearly defined that: — the nature of imperialism has not changed and remains the basis of aggressive wars; — the principal force of aggression and war is U.S. imperialism; — it is at the same time the citadel of world reaction and international gendarme, the enemy of the peoples of the entire world; — in order to avoid a world war it is necessary to arouse all the peoples in struggle against imperialism, dealing the main blow at U.S. imperialism and setting up a common anti-imperialist front; — the national-liberation wars constitute an important force for the prevention of a world war; — these wars should have the all-round support of the socialist countries, of the international communist and workers' movement; — all the Marxist-Leninist parties are independent, equal; — by means of consultations they work out their common views and coordinate their actions in the struggle for the same purpose, etc.

The many efforts of the Khrushchevite revisionists to put aside the definition of revisionism as the main danger, made in the 1957

declaration, were defeated. The definition remained in the new declaration. In addition:

«the communist parties unanimously condemned the Yugoslav form of international opportunism, which is a concentrated expression of the theories of modern revisionism. After having betrayed Marxism-Leninism... the leaders of the Yugoslav Communist League detached their country from the socialist camp, made it dependent on the so-called «aid» of the U.S. and other imperialists... The further exposure of the Yugoslav revisionist leaders and the active struggle to protect the communist movement as well as the workers' movement from the anti-Leninist ideas of the Yugoslav revisionists remains an imperative task for the Marxist-Leninist parties»<sup>1</sup>.

However, the declaration reflected some incorrect assessments, such as the evaluation of the 20th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, which was left as it was in the 1957 declaration, as well as some other erroneous theses. The PLA was entirely oppo-

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1) The Declaration of the Meeting of the Representatives of the Communist and Workers' Parties, November 1960.

sed to such evaluations and erroneous theses and openly expressed its viewpoints at the meeting. The delegation of the PLA signed the declaration on the bases that in general its content was correct. For the sake of the unity of the socialist camp and the international communist movement it conceded some incorrect assessments.

The activity of the delegation of the PLA at the Meeting of the 81 communist and workers' parties was fully and unanimously approved by the plenum of the Central Committee. It assessed the stand of the delegation as «determined and principled», and the speech and the entire activity as «very positive and useful».

While reporting to the entire Party on the stand and activity of the delegation, the Central Committee also explained the reasons for and the aims of the sharp, principled and comradely criticism which it had made of the Soviet leadership at the meeting. Through such criticism the PLA aimed at putting an end once and for all to the splitting activity of Khrushchev and his followers, at preserving and strengthening the unity of the international communist movement. It aimed also at putting a stop to the intervention of the Soviet leadership in the internal affairs of the PLA, at eliminating the differences and, as a consequence, at strengthening the fraternal relations between the PLA and the Communist Party of the

Soviet Union, between the People's Republic of Albania and the USSR, at preserving and strengthening the socialist camp. If it had not acted as it did, the PLA would not have felt itself a revolutionary, internationalist Marxist-Leninist party. It has taught its members to be always correct, principled and courageous in the defense of the purity of Marxism-Leninism; to use criticism and self-criticism as a powerful weapon for the elimination of weaknesses and for advancing the cause of socialism.

The courageous, principled Marxist-Leninist stand of the Albanian delegation at Bucharest and at the second meeting in Moscow, in such complicated circumstances of the international communist movement as those created by the activity of the Khrushchevite revisionists, demonstrated the high level of revolutionary maturity of the PLA. Such a stand served as a great example for the Albanian communists in the fierce struggle that had erupted between Marxism-Leninism and modern revisionism. The sympathy and the support of the world revolutionary Marxist-Leninist forces for the PLA was increased even more

While approving the stand of its own delegation at the Moscow meeting and taking an example from this stand, the PLA assessed the determined revolutionary principled struggle conducted by the Communist Party of China as a decisive contribution to the victory scored by Marxism-Leninism over revisionism at this

meeting. The common struggle and the revolutionary identity of points of view on the great problems of principle of the international communist movement strengthened the ties and the collaboration between the two parties.

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