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ENVER HOXHA

REPORT  
ON THE ACTIVITY  
OF THE  
CENTRAL COMMITTEE  
OF THE  
PARTY OF LABOUR  
OF ALBANIA

(Held at the 4th Congress of the PLA  
on February 13th 1961)

TIRANA, 1961

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**KIBRISTA SOSYALIST**

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**SOCIALIST TRUTH IN CYPRUS**

**TIRANA, 1961**

ENVER HOXHA

ENVER HOXHA  
CHIEF OF THE  
CENTRAL COMMITTEE  
OF THE  
PARTY OF LABOUR  
OF ALBANIA

(Elected at the 11th Congress of the P.L.A.  
on February 19th 1961)

ENVER HOXHA  
GENERAL SECRETARY

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DEAR COMRADES,

With a feeling of legitimate pride, the communists and all the Albanian people have directed their hearts and attention towards the IVth Congress of the Party of Labour of Albania, which is starting its proceedings today. This Congress marks another very important event in the glorious history of our heroic Party and of our marvelous people, for this Congress will discuss and approve the directives of the IIIrd Five-Year Plan for the further development of economy and culture, will open up new roads and still brighter prospects for our people and will further consolidate our beloved socialist Fatherland. **(Applause).**

The IVth Congress meets on the twentieth anniversary of the founding of our glorious Party. **(Tempestuous applause. Ovations)** Twenty years ago when our Fatherland was witnessing hard times, our Marxist-Leninist Party sprang up out of the bosom of our distressed but brave and fearless people. Our country was being ravaged, our people were being murdered or enslaved by fascist invaders; the Hitlerite nazi hordes were at the gates of glorious Moscow; Leningrad, the cradle of the Great October Revolution, was besieged and in great peril. The child born from the bosom of the people in Tirana on November 8, 1941 did not delay one single day, but raised its iron hand and struck mercilessly at the fascists and traitors. **(tempestuous applause and ovations).** It seized the banner of the battle for freedom in its steel-like hands, raised the fighting traditions of our people to newer heights, revived the glorious epic of Scanderbeg and of our

leaders of the Renaissance and gave it new splendor, led our heroic people towards final victory over the nazi-fascist invaders and traitors to our country, gave our Fatherland true liberty and real sovereignty, honor and dignity, security and unbounded self-reliance, tempered the age-long friendship between the Albanian people and the fraternal peoples of the Soviet Union, who helped us liberate our country, **(tempestuous applause, ovations)** between the Albanian people and the fraternal peoples of China and of the other countries of the People's Democracy of the socialist camp. **(Applause)** The people's revolution was carried out successfully and it opened the most glorious epoch of our thousands of years old history, the epoch of socialist and communist construction in Albania.

People and Party became one and inseparable, tempered in fire and flame, in suffering and toil, in joys and victories. During these twenty years, the history of the Party is the history of the Albanian people itself, its struggles are the struggles of the people, just as its victories are the victories of the people. People and Party are bound together in our country as flesh to bone. **(Tempestuous applause and ovations)**. This is the greatest victory, this is the greatest warranty for a happy future for our country. These victories were achieved by the Party, led by Marxism-Leninism in its struggle and its work. These victories were attained by the sacred blood of tens of thousands of partisans, men and women, who fell gloriously in bloody battles and encounters for the liberty of our Fatherland, for democracy, for socialism, for communism. **(tempestuous applause, ovations)**

DEAR COMRADES,

Little more than four years have passed since the time in which the IIIrd Congress of the Party was held, but tremendous changes have occurred both within our

country and in the international situation. The past years have been years of magnificent work, carried out by our working and peace-loving people, under the leadership of their heroic Party for the triumph of socialism. The IIrd Five-Year Plan was successfully fulfilled ahead of schedule, the task of socialist transformation of the countryside was concluded, as well as the collectivization of agriculture; the cultural revolution was carried further ahead. By these great victories our Fatherland has become stronger, the wealth of the country has increased, the life of the people has improved. The economic basis of socialism has been built in our country and we are now entering a new stage, the stage of the complete construction of a socialist society. **(Applause)**

In the development of the international events, these past years since the IIIrd Congress have been the years of a further growth of the strength, role and influence of the world socialist system, the years of the rise to a higher scale of the National liberation movement of the oppressed peoples, under whose blows the process of desintegration of the colonial system of imperialism has been accelerated; they have been the years of extensive battles of the working class and of all the working people in capitalist countries, against oppression and exploitation, the years of continuous decline and decomposition of the world capitalist system, the years of victories of the forces of peace and progress over the forces of war and reaction.

Our Congress meets after the Moscow Conference of the representatives of 81 Communist and Workers' Parties, which is of great importance for the international communist and workers' movement and for the cause of peace in the world.

Under such conditions then, does the IVth Congress of our Party meet. Therefore this Congress will be of great importance to our people and Party. The

decisions which will be taken by it, will determine the ways along which our Party and people will be marching to the victory of socialism in our country, to the security of peace, to strengthening of the unity of the Socialist Camp and of the Communist international movement and to the safeguarding of the purity of Marxism-Leninism.

Our Party comes to the IVth Congress stronger than ever, united as a single body around the Central Committee, bound closely with the broad masses of the people and resolved to march forward, always forward, on the glorious road illuminated by Marxism-Leninism. (Tempestuous applause)

## I. — THE INTERNATIONAL SITUATION AND THE FOREIGN POLICY OF THE PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF ALBANIA

### 1. The strengthening of the world socialist system and the further decline of the world capitalist system.

The main feature in the development of the international situation is the difference between the relation of forces in the international arena in favour of socialism and peace, and in disfavour of capitalism and war.

During the forty-three years, after the October Revolution, socialism has scored decisive victories of world historic importance. The glorious Soviet Union has become now the most powerful state in the world, the invincible bulwark of socialism and the support of all the peoples of the world in their struggle for peace, national independence, democracy and socialism. It is the first to open the road towards communism,

the road of a splendid and a happy future for all mankind. Now the Soviet Union is successfully building the technical and material basis of communism. With its splendid victories in the field of science and technology, the Soviet Union opened the epoch of the domination of cosmic space by man, (fervent applause) it now stands at the head of technical and scientific progress of our epoch. The successful fulfilment of the Seven-Year Plan opens great prospects for the fraternal peoples of the Soviet Union. It will not be long before the Soviet Union will reach first place in the world in industrial and agricultural output, when it will reach and surpass the most developed capitalist countries in the production per capita, when it will have the highest standard of living in the world. (Continuous applause)

Great successes have also been scored by the countries of the People's Democracies in Europe and Asia, which, together with the Soviet Union, form the mighty Socialist Camp. The victories of the People's Republic of China in the development of economy and culture, which are converting this nation with the largest population in the world into a mighty socialist country, are of great importance. By applying the policy of socialist industrialization, the countries of the People's Democracy have now created an advanced industry, the countries which before were agrarian, are now converted or are being converted into industrial-agrarian ones, the problem of socialist transformation of the countryside on the basis of Lenin's plan on cooperation, is solved or is being solved.

On the basis of magnificent successes and revolutionary transformations, which have taken place throughout all the countries of the world socialist system, the full and final victory of socialism is now secured, not only in the Soviet Union, but in the framework of the socialist system as a whole. (Applause) The internal social and economic possibilities for capi-

talist restauration have been eliminated; the outside imperialist and reactionary forces are not in a position today to destroy the socialist camp and to restore capitalism.

The mighty socialist camp, which includes in its bosom twelve states with one third of the world's population, has become the decisive factor in the development of the international situation, the true shield of peace, liberty and progress of peoples. History has never known such high rates of production as those achieved today by the socialist camp and which prove in every field the supremacy of the world socialist system over that of capitalism. It is foreseen that in 1965 our socialist countries will produce more than half of the world industrial production. While the imperialist camp is being gnawed at insolvable contradictions, the unity of the socialist camp, based on Marxism-Leninism and on the principles of proletarian internationalism, is continuously growing stronger, its weight and influence in the world is ever increasing. (Applause) Our just policy of peace and friendship among peoples enjoys the ardent support of all the countries and peace-loving peoples.

Our Party of Labour has always considered it its primary task and has striven with all its might to safeguard and to continuously strengthen the unity of our great socialist family on Leninist principles of equality, non-interference and mutual respect, close collaboration and reciprocal fraternal aid. In the most trying moments when international reaction, headed by American imperialism making full use of all its agents and particularly the Yugoslav revisionists, has launched its attacks on the Soviet Union and against the unity of our socialist camp, our Party and Government have hoisted the banner of unity still higher, have been, continue to be and will always be prepared to meet any exigency and carry out to the end their international duty just as the other fraternal countries

will carry out their duties towards our country if the need arises. (Tempestuous applause, ovations) One for all and all for one. The banner of our unity is the banner of our victories, of the victory of peace and socialism in the world.

The Albanian people feel a legitimate pleasure that the People's Republic of Albania, too, under the leadership of our Party of Labour, has given and continues to give its modest contribution in this impetuous growth of the international authority of the world socialist system, in the continuous growth of the supremacy of the forces of the socialist system over the forces of the capitalist system, in the historic struggle for the victory of communism.

But, while the world socialist system is in its impetuous rise, development and flourishing and is daily showing an ever increasing and indisputable superiority, the world capitalist system is in its decline and its decomposition, it is daily demonstrating its reactionary and antipopular character, its inability to solve the social problems of the time. The death knells for capitalism are ringing.

The downfall of the colonial slavery system, under the blows of the national liberation movement is the heaviest blow ever received by imperialism after the formation of the world socialist system. About 1.250 million people have been detached from the colonial system of imperialism. A great number of new and independent states have sprung up in Asia, Africa and Latin America. The great impetus of the national-liberation movement and its historic victories, aiming at the complete destruction of colonialism have dealt a death blow to imperialism. The disintegration of the colonial system of imperialism is the direct result of the might of the national liberation war of the peoples, under favourable international conditions, created through the weakening of imperialism and the strengthening of socialism. Facts reject the imperialists and



opportunists' version, according to which, the colonial and semi-colonial countries gained their political liberty with the aid of the imperialist states and not as a result of their struggle and revolution. The liberation of the peoples from the colonial enslavement has been achieved in different ways, but whatever these ways may have been, the basis of their liberation has been and remains to be the struggle of the masses of the people in different forms. During these last years, the national liberation war of the oppressed peoples under colonialism has been converted into a revolutionary hurricane on a world-wide scale, which is swiftly bringing about the decomposition of the abhorred colonial system, bringing it nearer to its doom. It has become one of the most important phenomena of our epoch, the greatest victory against imperialism, following the formation of the socialist camp. After the second world war more than forty countries have broken off their colonial fetters. In 1960, in Africa alone 17 countries proclaimed their independence. The positions of colonialism, which brought so much suffering and misery to the peoples in Africa, in Asia and in Latin America, are receiving blows and are being shattered. The victory of the democratic and anti-imperialist revolution in Cuba, which up to a short while ago was an estate of the monopolies of the United States of America, became an example and inspiration for all the other countries of Latin America. The heroic seven-year struggle of the Algerian people, the tragic events in Congo, the fighting in Laos, testify once more that the imperialists have never gone away voluntarily from the colonies.

Our Party and people, which have themselves known colonial exploitation and oppression, have supported and will always unreservedly support the national liberation armed struggle of the oppressed peoples. We consider this our internationalist duty. We express our solidarity to the brave and fraternal Algerian

people, which for so many years in succession, is fighting with an exemplary heroism and we are convinced that the day is not far off when we shall salute the Algerian Republic as a free, independent and sovereign state, with which our People's State will be happy to have close friendly relations and collaboration. (Applause) We express our full sympathy for the manly struggle, waged by the peoples of Congo and Laos against the imperialist aggressors and their lackeys and we demand that an end be put to criminal and dangerous imperialist interference in these countries.

We think that the devilish intrigues and plots of the colonialists to recapture their lost positions in the ex-colonies, constitute a serious threat to these peoples and to peace in general. The American imperialism in particular is coming out openly as the gendarme of international reaction, as it is in fact to oppress the national liberation struggle, to prolong the life of the colonial system, and to seize the ex-colonies for itself. Doubtlessly the peoples of Africa, Asia and Latin America, which, during their struggle full of sacrifices against imperialism and its lackeys have gained great experience, will know how to resist the American neo-colonialists, to recognize and discover the true face of those who, paid by American imperialism, under the mask of friendship, hide the axe under the cloak and deem it as their duty to hamper and distort their just struggle for liberation or consolidation of national independence, to sow the seed of discord among them, to keep them away from the internationalist natural support, from the countries of the Socialist Camp, and practically leave them again at the mercy of imperialist jackals. We are witnessing what is going on in the Congo, what is going on in Laos; we are witnesses of the permanent American aggression against revolutionary Cuba and the fact is not occasional that the assault of American imperialism intertwine with the in-

trigues and assaults of the Yugoslav revisionists against the heroic people of Cuba and its revolutionary leadership. If the ugly plots and the aggression of American imperialism against Cuba have failed and will fail in the future too, this is due to the firmness of the Cuban people, (Tempestuous applause, ovations) the solidarity of the countries of the socialist camp, to the peoples of Latin America and the other peace-loving peoples. There is no doubt that the further broadening of the coordinated struggle of the peoples who fight for liberty and those who are already liberated, the countries of the Socialist Camp and the other independent countries, which are against colonialism, the communist and workers' parties in the metropolis and colonial countries as well as in other countries, the further strengthening of the front of the anti-colonialist forces in the world and the exposure of American neo-colonialism and the true face of American imperialism, will hasten the definite liquidation of colonialism. Thus a new era will be opened for all those people who have suffered so much under oppression, the cause of peace in the world will be strengthened.

It is clear, dear comrades, that all these splendid victories of the world socialist system and the national liberation struggle of dependent and colonial peoples have definitely weakened the dominating positions, the influence and prestige of the capitalist system, having at the same time sharpened in an unprecedented scale the allround contradictions and its general crisis.

The creation of the world socialist system and the disintegration of the colonial system of imperialism have greatly narrowed the sphere of imperialist domination, and consequently, the sphere of the activities of its laws. This has brought about the sharpening of all the contradictions which are boring the capitalist system from within, class and national contradictions, internal and external. The attempts to save capitalism from its incompatible contradictions, to preserve its

decayed foundations through the militarization of the economy and armaments race are carrying the capitalist order towards its inevitable doom, are further tightening the knot of its contradictions. The economy of the capitalist countries has entered a blind alley, out of which it cannot escape, it is becoming more and more unstable. The time to time economic crises not only have not disappeared, as the bourgeois ideologists and their revisionist colleagues preach, but they are becoming more frequent and today seriously threaten many capitalist countries. The decay of capitalism is clearly seen in the most powerful capitalist country, in the United States of America, where large-scale unemployment has become chronic, the rates of production growth are being reduced, the armaments race has taken unprecedented proportions, the fascist racial tendencies in the country's life, are becoming more and more evident, the military circles are more and more deciding the state policy of the United States of America.

All these clearly show that the international situation is developing in favour of socialism and in disfavour of capitalism, that socialism is being strengthened every day, while capitalism is being weakened, that the Socialist Camp is far stronger than the imperialist camp. This is the feature of our epoch. In the Moscow Declaration of 1957 and in that of 1960 it is said that the fundamental content of our epoch is the transition from capitalism to socialism, that our epoch is the epoch of the struggle between two opposing social systems, the socialist and national liberation revolutions, the demolition of imperialism and the liquidation of the colonial system, the triumph of socialism and communism.

Our Party of Labour has had and continues to have a just Marxist-Leninist conception on this matter. But does this mean that the hands of the imperialists are already tied up because the socialist forces surpass

those of capitalism? That we are now in a position to impose on them our will whereas they are not in a position to do anything? That we are in a position to secure peace right now, while they are not in a position to unleash war?

The dialectical, Marxist-Leninist method and the materialist conception of history give us the just answer, that the overestimation of our forces and the underestimation of the enemy forces, on one hand, as well as the underestimation of our forces and the overestimation of the enemy forces, on the other, lead to grave mistakes. The first case causes the weakening of vigilance and leads to adventures, while the second case leads to opportunist errors and attitudes. Therefore our Party has always stressed that the correlation of forces in the world has changed in favour of socialism, that the forces of socialism are greater than those of imperialism, the peace forces are greater than the war forces, but at the same time it has not underestimated the forces of imperialism. The just line of our Party on this matter has found an accurate expression in its attitude towards the problems of peace and war, towards imperialism and so on. Our Party has always spoken and is fighting for the possibility of prohibition of the world war, that the world war is not today fatally inevitable, and at the same time has spoken about the danger of war, for as long as imperialism exists, the basis for aggressive war exists too. On one hand, all our efforts are concentrated on strengthening the socialist camp, on preserving and tempering its unity, on increasing its defensive power, while on the other hand, consistently following the Leninist policy of peaceful coexistence of states with different social systems, at the same time we have always exposed imperialism and in particular American imperialism, its war preparations, its aggressive nature. Hence our slogan «Let us hold the pickax in

one hand and the rifle in the other». (Tempestuous applause, ovations)

To consider this problem differently means to be in open contradiction to the Moscow Declaration of 1957 and that of 1960, to pass over to the rightist positions of revisionists and opportunists.

We sincerely love peace and we are striving to secure it, while the imperialists are using all their means, to prepare for the third world war. What do the facts show? Let us recall the aggression of American imperialism against heroic Korea in 1950, the Anglo-French-Israel aggression against Egypt in 1956, the Anglo-American armed interference in Lebanon and Jordan in 1958. Let us look at the exterminating war of French imperialism and the Nato block against the heroic Algerian people, the brutal interference of the American-Belgian imperialists in the Congo, that of the United States of America in Laos. These are not tiny and isolated events. If the imperialists unleash such aggressive local wars and out of them draw calculated profits, it is then possible for them to launch a world war. The American imperialists, not without intention, hinder the unification of Korea and Vietnam in the Far East. The southern parts of these countries have been converted by them into bridge-heads of aggression against the People's Democratic Republic of Korea and the Democratic Republic of Vietnam, against the People's Republic of China and against the Soviet Union, into bases for launching a new war.

The Albanian people, as well as the overwhelming majority of the peoples of Europe, holds still alive the memory of the innumerable crimes committed by the Hitlerite nazis during the II<sup>nd</sup> World War. But while the peoples were justly expecting that this monster never raise its head again, we witness that Western Germany, with the direct aid and incitement of the American, British and French imperialists, has again been armed up to the teeth. German revanchist mili-

tarism has been revived there. The same monopolistic groups which brought Hitler into power, built and furnished his aggressive war machine, now dominate there, the same Hitlerite generals, who, torch in hand, have set Europe ablaze and stained their hands with the blood of tens of millions of victims, now command there. Not only this but, in Western Germany today are concentrated and are under the command of nazi criminals Shpeidel and Hoizinger, besides the Bundeswehr troops, large selected forces, equipped with the most modern arms of the Nato aggressive block. The Adenauer's Bundeswer, which resembles the Hitlerite Wehrmacht as two drops of water, in contradiction to the Potsdam agreements, is being generously equipped by the American imperialists with atomic weapons and rockets and Western Germany itself now produces in series most up-to-date armaments.

Three successive generations, comrades, have profusely shed their blood in France to defend their country from the attacks of the German imperialists. There is no village and crossroad in France without memorials, in which are written the names of the French fallen in the war for their Fatherland against German aggressors. But what do we witness today? The German imperialists, at a time of peace and not discharging a single rifle are setting themselves comfortably in French territory, generously wetted with the blood of the immortal Communards, of Gabriel Peri and of millions of French patriots. And not only France but in Italy, Greece, Spain and in other countries.

The military expansion of German militarism is taking place in capitalist Europe with the complicity of the ruling circles of these countries and with the approval of American imperialism. Not to see the intention for which these bases are created, to close the eyes and to be silent in front of these events, which are an inseparable part of the plans for unleashing world war by imperialism, not only means to forget

the lessons of history and not to understand the development of the situation, but it means to commit a crime towards the peoples and the cause of peace.

The American imperialists have found in the German militarists and revanchists their loyal allies. During these recent years, in spite of numerous warnings made by the Soviet Union and other peace-loving countries, the American imperialists have unscrupulously continued the militarization of Western Germany at a speedy rate, and the threat against peace and security of the peoples has increased. Bonn Germany is converted into a dangerous hearth of aggression and Western Berlin into a permanent provocative den against the German Democratic Republic and the other socialist countries.

Here we are, fifteen years after the conclusion of the IInd World War, here is the danger of German militarism against peace in Europe and in the World, while the peace treaty with Germany is not yet signed. Why do the United States of America and their partners systematically oppose the proposals repeated so many times by the Soviet Union and the German Democratic Republic for the solution of the German problem? Why are they interested in dragging on as long as possible and even to prevent the conclusion of the peace treaty with Germany? Is it not clear that they do this in order to have a free hand in their inimical activity against the socialist countries, to gain time for quietly preparing and unleash aggression against us, when they deem it fit to do so, when they are ready. Our Party has always strongly exposed the revival of German revanchist militarism and has drawn the attention of our people towards this real danger. We have supported all the proposals of the Soviet Union and the Democratic Republic of Germany for the peaceful solution of the German problem. We think that in order to strengthen the security of the German Democratic Republic, of our camp and that of peace in general, it

is high time to sign the peace treaty with Germany, with both existing German states. In case Western Germany and its allies oppose this, our socialist countries, as well as other interested countries will sign a separate peace treaty with the German Democratic Republic. In this way, the plans of imperialism, with its tactics of prolongation and dragging on will be upset, the problem of West Berlin will also be solved and a great step forward will be made on the road to peace and international security. The faster this step is made the better it will be for the security of peace and the democratic development of Germany.

In the aggressive plans of the American imperialism in the Far East, Japan must play the side that Western Germany plays in Europe. The Japanese-American military treaty, which was imposed to Japan by the United States of America last year, is an important step towards the quick conversion of Japan into an imperialist aggressive bridgehead in Asia.

If the American imperialists would be for peace, as they demagogically declare, then why do they not accept the proposals of the Soviet Union and other countries of the Treaty of Warsaw for a non-aggression treaty among the member countries of the Warsaw Treaty and the member countries of the Atlantic Treaty, for the mutual liquidation of the opposing military treaties and the proposal of the People's Republic of China for a non-aggression treaty in the Pacific Ocean with the participation of the United States of America, but, on the contrary, they uninterruptedly strengthen the aggressive treaties of NATO, CENTO and SEATO, by converting them into brutal weapons of their aggressive plans? Why do they hold, widen and continuously equip with nuclear weapons and rockets about 300 military bases built in foreign territories around our socialist countries? As it is known they are directed against the Soviet Union, the People's Republic of China and other countries of the People's

Democracies in Europe and Asia. The American imperialists do not hide this. The American bases in foreign territories openly violate the sovereignty of the countries where they are established and are a means of pressure and continuous intervention in their internal affairs. They might become death blows and storms for the countries which have accepted them, in case of an imperialist aggression.

Let us mention another fact: the summit conference. The peoples hoped that out of this meeting of the heads of the great powers would come good benefits for the relaxation of international tension, the removal of the danger of war, the solution of the German and disarmament problem. As it is known the American Government by sending the spy U-2 plane over the territory of the Soviet Union on the eve of this conference, which was an aggressive, unparalleled and premeditated act, blew up the summit conference. The case of the U-2 plane is not an isolated aggressive act, used only in this particular case, but it must be evaluated and treated as an expression of the entire policy of the violation of the sovereignty, brutal intervention into the internal affairs of other countries and aggression on the part of American imperialism.

Our Party and Government have been and are always for summit talks. They have their advantages and may effectively help the cause of peace and international collaboration. But in order that such talks among government and state leaders may be effective they must be accompanied by massive conscientious actions of the peoples, for in the long run, it is the peoples who decide. (Applause)

On the other hand, it is daily proved by life itself that no international problem can be solved without the participation of such a world power as the People's Republic of China. The participation of the People's Republic of China in the summit meetings, too, is in the interests of peace and the complete solution of the

basic problems which worry mankind. The participation of the People's Republic of China in such talks makes imperative the solution of the problem of re-establishment of its legitimate rights in the United Nations Organization. **(Tempestuous applause)**

It is known by all of us that, in the framework of its aggressive policy against all the socialist camp, the American imperialism has uninterruptedly continued to act with a great hostility against the People's Republic of China. Its loss of China has been to imperialism a mortal blow. The United States of America has occupied by force Taiwan and other Chinese islands, thus committing continued aggression against the great People's China, they continue the economic blockade, armed provocations, furious campaigns and an intolerable pressure, they organized the counterrevolutionary movement in Tibet, they hinder the re-establishment of the legitimate rights of the People's Republic of China in the United Nations where the place of the great Chinese people is still held by the Chiang Kai Tshe puppet.

It is clear that, for the solution of the pending problems through talks, for the meeting of the summit on this purpose, one of the main premises is that the United States of America be obliged to put an end to this aggressive, shortsighted and dangerous policy against the People's Republic of China, that the People's Republic of China take its deserved seat in the United Nations Organization. Our Party and government will always firmly support the legitimate rights and the peaceful consistent policy of our dear friend, the great People's Republic of China. **(Tempestuous applause)**

We are unshakably convinced that its participation in the United Nations Organization and in the summit talks will have big and positive effect for the cause of peace and international security. This must be considered as a battle which must be won by the forces of

peace over the forces of war as a battle which should strengthen peace.

When the United Nations Organization was created, which set to itself as a fundamental duty to save the peoples from the horrors of a new war, the peoples based great hopes on it. And the truth is that if this organization would have expressed the will of the peoples and would not have been converted into an instrument of the foreign policy of the United States of America, in many critical occasions, it would have played a big role in the service of peace and of international security. It is worth while to notice with pleasure, as it was proved by the last session of the General Assembly, that thanks to the persistent struggle of the socialist countries participating in it, as well as of the increase, during the recent years, of the number of the recently liberated countries which bring their valuable experience of the struggle for liberty and peace, against colonialism and imperialism, the United Nations Organization is daily becoming an important platform for the defence of the people's rights and peace in the world.

The People's Republic of Albania is actively participating in its proceedings and, together with the other socialist and peace-loving countries, gives its contribution. But, at the same time, it must be stressed that the absence of the People's Republic of China is an organic shortcoming of the United Nations Organization, which greatly lowers its ability and authority. On the other hand, the American imperialists still have a great influence there through the executive machinery of the Secretariat, which is wholly in their hands as well as in the different organs of the Organization by means of the voting machinery. This negative influence often hampers the taking of effective decisions in favour of the freedom of the peoples, as is the case of Congo and Algeria, or in favour of peace and international security.

Let us examine the disarmament problem. Since 1946 and continuously during these fifteen years, chiefly the Soviet Union, has submitted countless proposals in relation with this vital problem, from the solution of the partial problems up to the general and complete disarmament. The People's Republic of Albania has supported and will always support resolutely these very important proposals. For many years in succession the General Assembly has carried on endless discussions on this problem, it has even taken a series of unanimous resolutions in favour of disarmament, but what has practically been done? Has there been taken any concrete effective measure? Has any tangible result been achieved? None, on the contrary, the armament race has been developed with the greatest intensity. The United States of America and its partners have followed uninterruptedly the policy of tension and provocation, whereas, as it is known, the Soviet Union, the People's Republic of China and the other socialist countries have not been confined only to putting forward concrete proposals, but they have taken unilateral measures to ease the path of agreement for this key problem of our times.

It cannot be denied that the discussions in the United Nations Organization as well as outside it, in different conferences and organizations, have helped to make known the just and peaceful policy of the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries and to expose at the same time the negative attitude of the Western Powers. But it must be pointed out also that the imperialist and revisionist propaganda has sought to use these prolonged and endless discussions in order to create illusions and vain hopes among the peoples, whereas the imperialist powers themselves have tried and still try that such discussions be prolonged as much as possible without any result, so that behind this empty discussions they may develop as much as possible the armament race and prepare for aggression.

How can then peace be safeguarded and world war be avoided? It is clear that imperialism does not abstain from war voluntarily, it does not drop down its arms by its own will. To believe in such a possibility means to deceive yourself. We must make it impossible then for the imperialists to unleash war and this can be attained by confronting them with the economic, military, moral and political might of the socialist camp, the might of the international working class, that of the national liberation movement, the might of all countries which are against war and of all the peace-loving forces. This is the way, the only way, if we start from positions of Marxism-Leninism. (Applause)

Peace cannot be ensured by making concessions to the imperialists or by flattering them. All the attempts of our socialist countries in the field of international relations, the policy of peaceful co-existence consistently pursued by the great Soviet Union and other socialist countries towards the capitalist countries, the permissible tactics and compromises by our side, should help to strengthen us and to weaken the enemy in order to oblige him abandon the armament race, the production and tests of atomic weapons, the creation of military bases, the preparations of the third world war.

Imperialism with the United States of America in the lead has become a serious threat to peace. It is aggressive and fierce though it no longer masters the world as it used to do in the past. Imperialism has neither changed skin nor its nature. It has not become a lamb. The wolf never becomes a lamb, says a popular proverb. Therefore bellicose imperialism does not become peace-loving. In the Declaration of the Meeting of 81 party representatives is stressed: «War is a permanent co-traveller of capitalism», that «imperialism is a serious danger to all mankind», that «as long as imperialism exists, the basis for aggressive wars exists,

too» and that «the main force of aggression and war is American imperialism». And this is true, this is what Marxism-Leninism teaches us.

Therefore, in front of this fierce enemy of all mankind, who is trying to plunge the world into another world war, which would bring about incalculable miseries and ruins using the nuclear weapons existing now, the socialist camp must be militarily as well as politically and morally prepared to deal with any kind of imperialist adventure. The masses of the peoples must rise everywhere in the world in order to stay the hand of the imperialists, to expose the intrigues of the imperialists and their servants, the revisionists, who are trying to split the peoples, to deceive them and to take them unaware, unprepared. (Fervent applause) The peoples' vigilance must be strengthened. This is the way, the only way to stop the imperialists and make them unable to unleash war. The enemy cannot be trusted, so is the case with imperialism, especially with American imperialism.

Therefore, the existence and the struggle of the two opposing world systems determine the existence of two opposing lines in international policy, on one hand, the peaceful consistent policy of the glorious Soviet Union, People's China and the other socialist countries, which daily finds the ever increasing ardent support of the peoples of the whole world, and on the other hand, the aggressive warmongering policy of the imperialist powers and chiefly of the United States of America, which endangers peace in the world. These two opposing lines in international policy have been quite clearly manifested even during the recent years.

Those who are trying to doubt our sincerity in the struggle for peace, alleging that socialism needs a world war in order to win everywhere, we tell them that we reject this charge of bourgeois propaganda for the so-called «exportation» of socialist revolution, just as we resolutely fight against the imperialist ex-

portation of counter-revolution, too. If anybody thinks that the socialist countries are for peace, because they are weak and afraid of the fate of their system, we answer them that there is no doubt whatsoever that in case the insane imperialists, without taking into consideration anything, unleash a third world war, that will result in the complete destruction of imperialism, in the liquidation of capitalism as a social system. (Fervent applause)

The struggle for peaceful co-existence among states with different social systems constitutes one of the fundamental aspects of the foreign peaceful policy of the socialist camp together with the strengthening of the fraternal cooperation and mutual aid among the socialist countries as well as the backing and support of the revolutionary anticolonialist and anti-imperialist struggle of the enslaved peoples.

The principle of peaceful co-existence which is elaborated by the great Lenin is defined in the Moscow Declaration of November 1960, as the only just and reasonable principle in relations among states with opposing social systems under the conditions of the division of the world into two systems.

The struggle to achieve peaceful co-existence is carried out through the struggle of the countries of the socialist camp and the other peace-loving countries for the solution of the concrete problems of today's international life, through negotiations, national liberation struggle of the peoples and the struggle for peace. The peoples must impose this to the imperialists, who voluntarily do not renounce the «cold war», the military blocks, the armaments race, do not renounce the interference in the internal affairs of other countries, the violation of the independence, of the sovereignty of the peoples and so on.

Fighting resolutely and consistently for peaceful co-existence, the Soviet Union, the People's Republic of China and the other socialist countries have taken numerous initiatives for the solution of pending pro-



blems. The government of the Soviet Union as well as the governments of the other socialist countries, have made continuous attempts for the peaceful solution of all the problems preoccupying mankind. All these initiatives have met with a strong echo in world public opinion and enjoy the support of all the peace-loving peoples, because they open the way towards the establishment of a lasting peace in the world. The Soviet Union and the other socialist countries, members of the Warsaw Treaty, in their efforts for the security of peace have not only made proposals, but have taken concrete steps, too. But all these efforts have not given the necessary results up to now, because against the peaceful policy of the socialist countries, supported by the other peace-loving countries, too, stands the aggressive policy of the preparation of the third world war, persistently pursued by the imperialist powers, chiefly by the United States of America. The new President of the United States, Mr. John Kennedy, too, announced that this is going to be his policy. In his message to the Congress he said that he will pursue the same course of action, that of his predecessors, the Eisenhower course, of the «cold war», of the armaments race, pressures and blackmail. Following in Eisenhower's footsteps and expressing the feelings of the American monopolies and reaction, Kennedy, in his message, declared that he will pursue the armament policy, the strengthening of the submarine fleet equipped with «polaris» missiles, the increase of rocket production, the strengthening of the aviation for armament and troop transportation purposes, and so on. The immediate increase in the value of war industry shares in the United States on the morrow of Kennedy's declaration clearly shows in whose interest it was made. President Kennedy clearly defined also his position towards the people's liberation movement, such as towards Cuba, Laos, etc., openly taking under his protection the aggressors and the people's oppressors. He did not

forget even to «promise» to the peoples living in the People's Democracies their «liberation» from communism, (laughter) for which the new President will work in the future. It is understood that Mr. Kennedy with the word «liberation» understands the restoration of capitalism, oppression and exploitation, for whose liquidation our people shed their blood. In his message Kennedy did not omit to attack the policy of the Soviet Union and that of the People's Republic of China, too. But at the same time, in order to deceive naive people, he even waved the olive branch, (hilarity) spoke of peace and coexistence, too. Undoubtedly we have to do here with a bluff «à la Kennedy», (hilarity) for were he sincere in what he was saying not only he should not have dreamt of the «liberation» of the peoples of Eastern Europe from communism but he should have pronounced himself for the establishment of diplomatic relations with the six socialist states of Asia and Europe with which the United States of America, up to now, with themselves to blame, as a result of the «cold war» policy, have no relations.

It is clear that the policy of the imperialist states continues to be what it has been, the policy which responds to the monopoly interests. Therefore the people's vigilance should increase and be strengthened more and more every day. At the same time our socialist countries will consistently continue their peaceful policy in order to undermine the imperialist plans for a new war. And there are forces to stop its outbreak. These forces are the peoples, their firm struggle, the peoples, who, as Stalin has said, if they take in their hands the cause of the maintenance of peace and defend it up to the end, peace will be safeguarded and consolidated. (Tempestuous applause, ovations)

In this tense and complicated international situation, in this struggle for the defence of peace, which has embraced all the peoples and the peace-loving forces of the world, our Party, applying successfully its

just Marxist-Leninist line and its concrete tasks, fixed by the IIIrd Congress of the Party, has taken an active part and has given its valuable contribution for the preservation and further strengthening of the unity of the socialist camp, for the exposure and the opposition of the aggressive plans and policy of the American imperialism and of all the enemies of peace and socialism, the elimination of the war danger and for the preservation of peace in general. The Party of Labour of Albania will continue to follow consistently this path in the future, too. **(Tempestuous applause, ovations)**

## 2. — The foreign policy of the People's Republic of Albania

In foreign policy, the Central Committee of the Party and the Government have resolutely and successfully carried out the tasks laid down by the IIIrd Party Congress. The international position of the People's Republic of Albania has been further strengthened. Our country extends continuously its relations with the other countries and plays an active role in the international field in favour of peace and collaboration among the peoples, against the war policy of imperialism and its lackeys. All the results achieved in the international field by the People's Republic of Albania are a real witness of the just Marxist-Leninist line pursued by our Party in the field of foreign policy.

The People's Republic of Albania has become a factor of peace and progress in the Balkan and the Adriatic area, a vivid mirror of the supremacy of the socialist system over that of capitalism, a real obstacle for the aggressive plans of American imperialism in this part of the world. For the enemies of our Party and people, for the imperialists and revisionists, we are like a thorn in the eye and they abhor us. The strategic position of our Fatherland and its great wealth are another thorn in their eye. They are enraged when they

see that within their rear a small country and heroic people fight undauntedly and persistently to defend its liberty and independence and successfully builds socialism. **(Tempestuous applause, ovations)** They are infuriated by the magnificent achievements of our people under our Party and government's leadership in all fields, the ardent patriotism, the high political consciousness, the readiness and the revolutionary vigilance of our people, the indomitable Marxist-Leninist line of our Party, which has never and will never waver to defend Marxism-Leninism, to defend the cause of the people and socialism without taking into consideration any sacrifice, to successfully face and overcome all the storms, even the fiercest and the most violent. **(Tempestuous applause, ovations)**

Albania is the only country building socialism under hostile capitalist encirclement. Its development as a sovereign state, continuously breaking the uninterrupted attacks of the enemies, witnesses the ability of our Party and Government which apply Marxism-Leninism in a creative manner in the conditions of our country, which apply a just, peaceful and vigilant policy, witnesses the strength and compactness of the socialist camp, headed by the Soviet Union. **(Tempestuous applause, ovations)**

Albania, in spite of capitalist geographical encirclement is not an isolated country from the socialist camp. She is worthy member of this camp, she is a member of the Warsaw Treaty, she has mighty and loyal friends — the countries of the socialist camp, headed by the Soviet Union — her allies are all the peace-loving peoples of the world and the mighty working class of the whole world. These are the factors on which stands the might of our socialist Fatherland, which is flourishing on the Adriatic shore. **(Applause)**

Friendship with the Soviet Union has been, is and will ever remain the corner stone of the foreign policy of new Albania. **(Tempestuous applause, ovations)** This

friendship has been forged by our heroic Party in the fire of the struggle for freedom and national independence, for socialism and peace: it is kneaded with the blood of our brave partisans and red fighters of the glorious Soviet Army, which by its historical victories against fascism in the second world war, created the conditions and helped also for the liberation of our Fatherland from the fascist monster. Friendship with the Soviet Union will live for centuries just as the lofty mountains of our Fatherland and there is no force in the world to injure it; **(tempestuous applause, ovations)** it is invincible because it stands on Marxist-Leninist and proletarian internationalist principles. This friendship is expressed and steeled every day by the fraternal relations and allround collaboration between our two countries, by the great international aid given to our country by the Soviet Union for the construction of socialism, the common struggle in favour of the cause of the peoples' freedom, peace and socialism. The Albanian people, educated by the Party, will temper and will safeguard forever as its most precious thing its love and gratitude for the great Soviet Union, for its glorious Communist Party, the Party of immortal Lenin, whose teachings illuminate the path of our Party and people in every step towards socialism and communism. **(Ervant applause)** The Albanian people will forever be grateful to the fraternal Soviet People for the international aid given to it, and assures it that just as the Albanian People has in the Soviet People its dear and beloved friend, so the Soviet People has in the Albanian People a faithful and resolute friend. **(Tempestuous applause, ovations)** The friendship and fraternal collaboration with the People's Republic of China have been further strengthened on the basis of Marxism-Leninism, the common struggle for socialism and peace and mutual fraternal aid, mutual support and reliance. **(Applause)** Thousands of kilometers separate geographically Albania from

China, but such is the might of Marxism-Leninism, that we feel very closely the friendship and exemplary solidarity of the great Chinese People of 650 million and its experienced leadership, the glorious Communist Party of China, which is successfully building socialism under the victorious banner of Marxism-Leninism. **(Tempestuous applause, ovations)** Our Party and people are proud of having such a precious friend as is the great talented Chinese People. The People's Republic of China is a mighty bulwark and the pride of our socialist camp, a true support of the cause of the peoples' freedom, of peace and social progress in Asia and in the world. We are grateful to the people and the Communist Party of China for the generous aid they have given and are giving to the Albanian people. **(Applause)**

With all the other socialist countries, — Poland, Tchekoslovakia, the German Democratic Republic, Hungary, Rumania, Bulgaria, Corea, Mongolia and Vietnam, — our people is linked by an invincible friendship and has strengthened and will further strengthen the fraternal relations in the interest of socialism and peace. **(Tempestuous applause, ovations)**

The close cooperation of the socialist countries of Europe in the framework of the Economic Council of Mutual Aid, which is expressed in the coordination of state plans, the cooperation and division of work on an international scale, the close ties and mutual fraternal aid, the cultural relations, which are continuously extending, have helped a great deal to strengthen the invincible friendship among the countries of the socialist camp. They are a clear expression of the friendship and fraternal solidarity among our countries.

All the socialist countries are united in the mighty socialist camp, which as stressed in the Declaration of the 81 Communist and Workers' Parties, is a social, economic and political family of free and sovereign peoples, united by close ties of international socialist solidarity, by the unity of common interest and aims,

countries which march on the road to socialism and communism. The unity of the socialist camp, based on the immortal principles of Marxism-Leninism, has successfully broken and will always break all the plots and attacks of international reaction, headed by American imperialism and its servants. The Warsaw Treaty is a great factor for security and peace, at a time when the American imperialists and their partners are making feverish preparations to kindle the fire of a new world war. The Party of Labour of Albania and our Government consider it, as they have always done, their main duty to safeguard and continuously steel the unity and compactness of the socialist camp, to further strengthen the Warsaw Treaty.

New Albania ever increasingly attracts the attention of the outside world, she is loved and respected by the international proletariat and peace-loving peoples for her heroic struggle against fascism, for the loyalty of our people and Party towards the socialist camp and Marxism-Leninism, for her active support of the national liberation struggles of the oppressed peoples, for her peaceful consistent policy, for her great revolutionary impetus, which led our country from slavery to freedom, from darkness to light, from poverty to the road of prosperity and happiness, on the road to socialism. This gives us fresh forces to march forward on the road to socialism and communism.

The People's Republic of Albania has pursued and will always pursue the policy of peace and friendship in its relations with other countries, a policy based on the well-known principles of peaceful co-existence among countries with different social systems. Peace is the fundamental condition under which we can build a happy life for our people. The People's Republic of Albania will always be a resolute fighter in the battle front of peace and will always repel the

aggressive policy of imperialism, all plots of the enemies of peace.

Our Party and Government have always paid special attention to relations with neighbouring countries and especially to the situation in the Balkan and Adriatic area. Our policy has always aimed and is aiming at the conversion of this area into one of peaceful, fruitful collaboration.

To this goal aims the proposal put forth by the Government of the Soviet Union and the People's Republic of Albania to convert the Balkans and the Adriatic area into a peaceful area, without atomic and rocket bases. The application of this proposal would be at the same time a contribution in the efforts for general and complete disarmament within the framework of which even the disarmament of the Balkan countries can be acceptable and carried out. We must stress that the negative factors in the situation in this area are the Balkan Treaty, the appendix of NATO, the installation of American rockets in Italy, Greece, Turkey and the frequent visits of the Sixth American Fleet in the harbours of these countries, as well as in those of Yugoslavia.

The People's Republic of Albania has continued her efforts to develop her relations with the neighbouring countries on the basis of equality, non-interference, mutual respect and benefit. With the initiative of our Government, normal relations were established with Yugoslavia. In the IIIrd Congress our Party declared that in spite of great damages caused to us by the hostile policy of the Yugoslav leaders, we were ready to establish just and neighbourly relations. And we have made sincere efforts to establish and develop normal relations, good neighbourly relations, commercial exchanges, cultural, touristic relations, and so on. But the Yugoslav leaders never renounced their hostile policy towards our country and continued and still continue their actions of brutally interfering in

our affairs, trying to liquidate our Party, our People's Power, our liberty and national independence. About this clearly speak the facts, the organization and the activation of different groups of agents, the sending of diversionists and whole gangs from Yugoslavia, the endless provocations along our border. The Yugoslav leaders in their public speeches, in their press as well as by judicial farces, which have especially increased of late, do not miss the opportunity to slander and attack our Party, our state and people, but this mud falls on their faces.

The tragedy of the Albanian population living in Yugoslavia is known by everybody. Our Party has raised and will raise her voice against the persecutions, the expulsions to Turkey and the chauvinist extermination policy pursued in Yugoslavia against our brothers of Kosova, Macedonia, Montenegro and the Dukagjini Highlands. Our Party does this as a high humanitarian duty, starting from the positions of Marxism-Leninism and will continue to do it as long as Yugoslavia has not assured to the Albanian population of one million inhabitants the full rights pertaining to it as a national minority, on the basis of the principles of international law. Just as up to now, in the future also we will be for normal neighbourly relations on the basis of peaceful co-existence and reciprocity. In this direction our People's Republic is ready to continue to develop normal relations, but on condition that the Yugoslav Government should not hamper them, should renounce as soon as possible its hostile activities against the People's Republic of Albania.

It may be said that the state of our relations with Greece has not changed at all due to the reactionary and shortsighted policy of the Greek ruling circles, which have blindly submitted themselves to the American imperialists and coordinate their inimical attitude towards Albania with that of the ruling circles of Yugoslavia. We have made numerous attempts to nor-

malize our relations with Greece, we have taken unilateral initiatives, we have given sufficient possibilities to the Greek government to respond to our readiness and good will, by the repatriation of the Greek citizens sheltered in Albania, by the clearing of the Corfu Channel and by our proposals for the normalization of the border situation, of trade and so on. But the Greek rulers have continued the policy of criminal provocations in the boundary, the mad campaigns on the so-called state of war between the two countries and the absurd claims on Southern Albania, the plots against territorial integrity of our Fatherland. It is natural that they have received and will always receive the deserved answer by us. Keeping always at a high degree our vigilance, we shall continue also in the future our policy towards normalization of relations with Greece on the above-mentioned principles, but it is natural that in this respect much depends on the Greek government, which must give up as soon as possible the inimical activities towards the People's Republic of Albania.

We greatly love and respect the fraternal peoples of Yugoslavia and Greece and wish and will work uninterruptedly that this sincere friendship we feel for the fraternal neighbouring peoples be strengthened. We are convinced that they do not approve and will never approve the criminal actions of their governments against a peaceful people which seek to live in peace and good neighbourly relations with them. We appeal to the neighbouring peoples of Yugoslavia and Greece to stop their governments and to impede them in their activities against our Fatherland, because these actions may lead to the breaking up of peace in the Balkans. We believe that the government of Yugoslavia and Greece know quite well the Albanian people and its People's Power, that if they raise the sword against the hand we are stretching to them, they should be sure that we shall break their sword. (Tempestuous applause,

ovations) In our times the old situation in the Balkans has been overthrown just as it is overthrown in the world. In the Balkans live and flourish three balkan socialist states, Bulgaria, Rumania and Albania, which are united as flesh to bone among themselves and to the other countries of the socialist camp headed by the Soviet Union. (Tempestuous applause, ovations)

The vital interests of the peoples of this region strongly lay before the socialist and non-socialist countries the need of coordinating their joint struggles for the security of peace and collaboration among states on the basis of non-interference, equality and mutual interest. We sincerely uphold the policy of good neighbourly relations, convinced that such a policy responds to Albanian interests as well as to the interests of the neighbouring countries. But let the rulers of the two neighbouring countries have no illusions that they may catch Albania asleep, that Albania can be isolated by them or that they have isolated her, as they are day-dreaming and that they will soon settle accounts with her. The Albanian people have suffered much throughout their history and it is not easy for them to fall asleep. They cannot be deceived by the Greek and Titoite bluffs.

The present Yugoslav state is not a «neutral», or «out of blocks» state as it is presented by Belgrade propaganda, or as the declared or masked friends of the Tito regime try to present it. This «neutrality» and «out of military blocks» attitude of the Yugoslav state has no resemblance whatsoever with such neutral states, as the United Arab Republic, India, Indonesia, Switzerland or Austria. The present Yugoslav state is a state that participates in the NATO aggressive block through the Balkan Treaty. The Balkan Treaty, which binds together Yugoslavia, Greece and Turkey obliges NATO, just as it obliges Yugoslavia to come to the aid of one another in any way, by any means and at any time. The Yugoslav leaders themselves have more than

once declared that this Treaty was signed, because, they allege, Yugoslavia was in danger of «being attacked» by the countries of the socialist camp. This has been and will forever be a ridiculous slander, because the socialist countries have never had, never have and will never have any intention of attacking Yugoslavia or any other country. But the opposite has been and remains true, that is, the members of the Balkan Treaty closely linked with the NATO powers, prepare their aggression, especially against the socialist countries of the Balkans. It suits the policy of the Belgrade revisionist group to declare today by words that the military articles of this Treaty «have lost their value». This of course can humbug no one, except those who like to be humbugged and indirectly like to humbug others in order to support titoism.

On the basis of this Treaty, military and operative plans are coordinated openly or in a disguised way, especially Yugoslave-Greek ones, both their armies are equipped with up to date armaments given by American imperialism, openly on credit and gratuitously, attacking bases have been prepared and many times each year groups of high officers of the general staffs of these states meet and coordinate military plans, attend manoeuvres and military games carried out in these two territories. Greece and Yugoslavia are feverishly making military preparations. American imperialism finances this great preparation up to highways of a military character which are being built by Yugoslavia. It is a crime against world peace, it is a crime against the socialist camp, it is a crime against the socialist countries of the Balkans, and particularly it is a crime against Albania, not to publicly expose the aggressive plans of the titoites and to cover them under the smoke of a false «neutrality», under the false and antimarxist slogans that allegedly the renegade titoite group is leading the construction of socialism in Yugoslavia. We have exposed and will continue to

expose the diabolic and disruptive role as well as the plots of the Titoite renegade group, who rule in Yugoslavia, against peace, against the socialist camp and against Albania, because we profoundly feel the responsibility we have towards the defence of peace, socialism, our camp and our Fatherland. **(Tempestuous applause, ovations)**

Titoite Yugoslavia plots together with her ally Greece, and in coordination with NATO and with the 6-th American Fleet in the Mediterranean against the freedom, independence and sovereignty of our country. These are proved by facts.

I can declare to the Congress, to the people and to the Party that these two neighbouring powers, Yugoslavia and Greece, in collaboration with some Albanian traitors, inside the country and deserted to Yugoslavia and in coordination with the 6-th American Fleet in the Mediterranean had organized some months ago, the attack against Albania, with the aim of liquidating the People's Republic of Albania. Their criminal plot totally failed. **(Tempestuous applause, continued ovation longues)** The plotters and the facts are in the hands of the people's justice. The detestable plot failed because our heroic Party, our people, our army and the weapon of state security, were vigilantly guarding as always the defence of the Fatherland and people. **(Tempestuous applause, ovations)**

The relations with Italy have been developed more or less normally, especially in the field of trade. The conclusion of the agreement on the reparations is a step forward. But the instalation of rockets on the Italian soil should be mentioned as a negative element. We cannot help feeling uneasy for the transformation of Italian soil into an imperialist aggressive base against our country and the other countries of the socialist camp. We observe with anxiety the acts of the Italian government in this respect and, as we have declared, we cannot remain idle.

We think that trade and cultural relations and communications between our two countries can be developed successfully and to our mutual interests if the ruling circles in Italy show a more realistic understanding of these problems. We think that it is in the interests of friendly relations between two neighbouring countries and in the interests of peace in this region that Italy should give up becoming a den for Albanian war criminals for this is not even in conformity to normal relations between the two countries.

The Albanian people have always felt themselves near the Arab peoples with whom it is bound by old historical traditions and many common habits, numerous wars fought side by side against the same enemies, by common aspirations for freedom, independence and progress. Our people and Government have supported and will support to the end the just struggle for liberation and for the consolidation of the national independence of the Arab countries. When the fraternal people of Egypt were brutally attacked by the imperialist aggressors in the Suez in 1956, the whole Albanian people rose to their feet in protest against aggression and thousands of Albanians were ready to go as volunteers to the aid of the heroic Egyptian people. Our sympathy and solidarity have always been, at the most critical moments, with the peoples of Syria, Irak, Tunis and Morocco just as they are now with the brave and undaunted Algerian people, whose just cause has won the admiration of all peace-loving peoples and it will win by all means. We have strongly denounced the unmerciful exploitation by the imperialist monopolies of the immense riches of the Arab subsoil, especially oil, and we resolutely support the right of the Arab peoples to fully take into their hands these riches, which are their own and which should serve the economic consolidation and the prosperity of the Arab countries themselves. The People's Republic of Albania is resolved to further extend in future its present re-

lations of friendship and collaboration with the Arab countries, for problems of direct mutual interest as well as for the problem of the freedom of the peoples and of peace in the United Nations Organization. We have common interests in the struggle for the security of peace threatened by imperialism. The Mediterranean Sea unites us. Let us act in a way that by our efforts, in close collaboration with the other peace-loving countries, convert this sea into a bridge of friendship and a source of prosperity for its seashore inhabitants.

The same can be said about many Asian and African countries, too, such as India, Guinea, Ethiopia, Afganistan, Indonesia, Burma, Ghana and so on, which pursue a policy of peaceful co-existence. Conditions are being gradually created for the further extension of our relations with these countries.

We have normal relations with Turkey and discussions are proceeding for their extension, mainly in the commercial field. We hope that our relations with the Government headed by General Gursel will favourably develop to the benefit of both countries and to peace in the Balkans.

Our relations with France, Austria, Finland and with a number of other countries are normal. It is our wish that these relations be further developed in the field of trade, cultural exchanges and tourism.

We recently established diplomatic relations and signed an economic and cultural agreement with the Republic of Cuba. The Albanian people, who have shown their solidarity with the heroic and revolutionary struggle of the people of Cuba, under the leadership of its distinguished son, Fidel Castro, salutes this event that opens up the path of friendship and collaboration with the new Cuba, which sprung out of the revolution, (applause) which gives possibility for comprehension and approach among our people and the peoples of Latin America.

Our Party and Government have been and always

are for normal relations with all the countries which wish to have such relations with us, on the principles of peaceful coexistence, equality, non interference and mutual respect.

The People's Republic of Albania, faithful member of the socialist camp and of the Warsaw Treaty, surrounded by the ardent love of the fraternal peoples, occupies a worthy place among peace-loving countries and does not spare and will never spare in the future, too, her efforts to give her modest contribution to the cause of peace and general disarmament. This is testified by her activity in the United Nations Organization in favour of the cause of peace and freedom of the peoples, in favour of the just and peaceful solution of the main problems which worry mankind today.

Our Party and Government, in close collaboration with the glorious Soviet Union, the People's Republic of China and the other countries of the socialist camp, as well as with all the peace-loving countries, will always fight courageously for the cause of peace. Let our Fatherland become a true bulwark of peace and socialism here on the Adriatic seashores, a glorious example of the friendship which unites the countries of the socialist camp, an example of the transforming might of socialism, the victorious ideas of Marxism-Leninism. (Continued applause, ovations)

## THE RESULTS OF SOCIALIST CONSTRUCTION IN OUR COUNTRY

Dear comrades,  
The construction of socialism in our country, this is the sacred aim, to whose achievement is devoted all the creative activity of our talented people, the heroic working class, the working peasantry and our people's



intelligentsia, who, under the leadership of our glorious Party, have completely changed the face of our country, in the literal meaning of this expression. Reporting to the Party and the people we take notice with pleasure that as a result of the successful and loyal application of the general economical and political line of our Marxist-Leninist Party for the construction of socialism, now our country is entering a new stage, the stage of the full construction of socialist society, the stage of converting our country from an agrarian industrial into an industrial agrarian one.

If we recall the bitter past of our country, the great sufferings and hardships, the valiant struggle, a struggle full of abnegation which our labouring masses have waged during all these years after the country's liberation, then will appear in a brighter light the importance of the station reached in the development of our country, the heroism of our glorious people, the merit of our Party of Labour, which as an experienced captain, led by the marxist-leninist compass, set our country on the road to knowledge and progress.

#### **A. — THE SUCCESSFUL CONSTRUCTION OF THE ECONOMIC BASIS OF SOCIALISM**

The decisive factors for our country's development on the road of socialism were born as early as November 1944, when, after the triumph of the people's revolution, was solved its chief strategical task: political power passed definitely into the hands of the working class and labouring masses, led by their Party. The deep economical and social revolutionary transformations wrought by the people's power after the country's liberation, such as nationalization of industry, transport, banks, foreign and wholesale home trade, led to the establishment of public ownership of the chief means of production and circulation and created

the first economic possibilities to embark on the construction of the new socialist society.

The passing of our country from a semi-feudal, technically, economically backward country directly into the building of socialism, overpassing the stage of developed industrial capitalism, set before our Party, as one of its most vital and urgent tasks, the creation of industry through socialist industrialization and electrification of the country. «Industry — says V. I. Lenin, speaking of its role in the building of socialist society from the view point of the situation of productive forces, i.e. from the viewpoint of the chief factor of all the social development, makes up the basis for the socialist economic organization, uniting the advanced industrial workers, uniting the class which exercises the proletarian dictatorship». (Lenin, vol. 32, pp. 270-271, Albanian edition). In formulating and applying the policy of socialist industrialization of the country the Party set out from the concrete conditions of our country, from the possibilities at home, natural resources, the profitableness and the obligations which follow as a result of the international socialist division of labour and of the economic cooperation among the countries of the socialist camp. Under the new historical conditons, for our small country, with limited possibilities in human forces and material and financial means, the creation of all the branches of industry has not been possible. The high rates of growth in the industrial production, the creation and development of some branches of heavy industry, giving priority to the mining industry, the development, alongside it, of light industry, are some of the distinguishing features of the socialist industrialization of our country.

Under the just leadership of the Party, through mobilization, creative and selfless work of the labouring masses of the town and country-side, we have now created a new industry, equipped with a modern technique. Albania has been converted into an agrarian

industrial country. This is a great historic victory of our Party and people on the road to the creation of the material technical basis of socialism, the further enlargement and consolidation of the productive forces of our country and socialist relations in production.

Along with it, our Party has waged a resolute struggle and has pursued a consistent Leninist policy for the collectivization of agriculture, which was crowned by the creation of the economic basis of socialism, in the countryside too. Our peasantry, with unshaken faith in the Party, heartily took to the road of collectivization and voluntarily and resolutely goes on along this road, fully convinced of its superiority over the small individual economy. In general, today, in our country has been achieved the collectivization of agriculture. The socialist sector in agriculture predominates with regard to the area of the arable land as well as the market production. **(Applause)**

Towards the small producers in towns our Party also followed a just policy, which aimed at the organization along the line of a socialist economy by means of their free union into the handicraft cooperatives. At present these cooperatives include the majority of our craftsmen.

The socialist forms of economy and the socialist relations in production predominate in all the branches of economy. In 1960, the socialist sector of economy yielded about 90 per cent of the national income. Last year the socialist sector included: 99 per cent of the total amount of the industrial output, 100 per cent of the wholesale trade, 90 per cent of the retail trade and over 80 per cent of the total amount of the agricultural produce. Thus in our country, the multi-form economy has generally disappeared and instead of it a single-system of socialist economy has been created. Thus the economic basis has been created in the town as well as in the countryside. The problem «Who is going to win?» has been definitely solved in favor of socialism.

Capitalist economy, the exploiting classes and the exploitation of man by man have been abolished for ever. With this great historic victory our country is marching ahead with quicker steps on the way to the further construction of the material and technical basis of socialism. (Continued applause)

On the sound basis of the new socialist relations of production the dynamic development of the productive forces of the country is proceeding on the sound basis of the new socialist relations of production, unemployment has been abolished for ever, the national income has greatly increased and the material and cultural standards of the labouring masses have been constantly raised.

The integral part of our socialist revolution are the revolutionary transformations operated in the ideological, educational and cultural fields, as well as the great work done by our Party for the education of the workers in the spirit of socialist consciousness, the raising of their technical and cultural level, the creation of the cadres of the new socialist intelligentsia.

The establishment of socialist relations in production radically changed the old structure of classes in our society. **The most distinguishing and basic feature of class structure in our country at the present stage is the existence of two friendly classes — the working class and the cooperativist peasantry, their alliance under the leadership of the working class and the consolidation on this basis of the moral and political unity of all the working people.**

Our new working class was born, grew up and has been tempered in the construction work of socialism. At present, the workers, together with their families, account for about 22,5 per cent of the total number of the population. But what is decisive, is the fact that our working class is not any more a politically oppressed and exploited class, as is the case with the working class under capitalism, but a class which has

smashed the foundations of the feudo-bourgeois bureaucratic apparatus and on its ruins has built the new power, a new leading class which maintains in its hands the political power, initiator and organizer of all the economical and social transformations, which take place in our society, a class which continuously raises its political, technical and cultural level.

With the reorganization of agriculture on a socialist basis in our village, instead of the individual peasantry, a new class — the cooperative peasantry — has been born and is being forged. The basis of its economy is no more the small private property, but the collective property. The sources of its income and well-being are no more the individual work and the primitive tools, but the collective work and an advanced technique. The development and the further economic and organizational consolidation of the socialist system in the countryside will at the same time be the process of the consolidation and the development of this class and its alliance with the working class.

In the struggle for the building of socialism the new socialist intelligentsia was formed, born of the people and loyal to them. It marches side by side with the working class and with the cooperative peasantry. Due to the educational work and the correct policy pursued by the Party, also the best men of that small number of the old intelligentsia which we inherited from the past passed on the side of the people and socialism.

Our Party has considered and considers the alliance of the working class with the working peasantry as the chief social force for the construction of socialism. For the consolidation of this alliance there have been continuously established and widened the new economic links between the town and countryside in the field of circulation and in that of production.

As can be seen, the period we have passed during these 16 years of people's power has been a period of

deep revolutionary changes carried out under the Party leadership. During this period we have overcome a series of hardships, obstacles and contradictions. These hardships and contradictions increased and became more complicated because of the various imperialist plots and the brutal intervention of the Yugoslav revisionists in our internal affairs, their hostile activity, carried out against our Party and State in all forms. In overcoming them, our Party has waged a hard, principal and consistent struggle against the internal and foreign enemies, against the imperialists and their lackeys — the Yugoslav revisionists. At the same time the Party has resolutely struck all the opportunists, deviators and traitors, who by their efforts have tried to undermine the work of the Party and detach it from the Marxist-Leninist path.

In all its activity for the socialist transformation of the economy our Party has applied a just general line, it has always relied on Marxism-Leninism, it has dealt with problems in a scientific way, it has remained faithful to the proletarian internationalism, it has been able to mobilise the broad working masses and it has made them conscientious builders and defenders of the new socialist society.

During this period our Party has also struggled to solve the non-antagonistic contradictions which were born from our forward march in the socialist construction, such as: the contradictions between a progressive political power and the relatively low level of productive forces between the rapid development of industry and the lagging behind of agriculture, between an advanced technique and lack of trained cadres, between the level of production and consumption etc. In scoring the above mentioned victories a decisive role has been played by the great efforts of our self-sacrificing and glorious heroic people, by socialist patriotism, by the talent and resoluteness of our heroic working class, of the labouring peasantry and of the

people's intelligentsia, by the just line and wise daring farsighted leadership of our Party of Labour, which applied in a creative manner the Marxist-Leninist theory in the concrete historic conditions of our country. (Tempestuous applause, ovations) On the other side, a first-hand role, as an exterior factor, has been played by the great all-sided internationalist aid given during this time to our country by the fraternal countries of the socialist camp and especially by the great Soviet Union. The Albanian people and its Party of Labour are and will always be grateful to the peoples and the communist and workers' parties of these countries for this international and fraternal aid. (Tempestuous applause)

The history of these last 20 years confirmed the legacy of our ancestors that «the rich do not make a gift of freedom, it must be won by hard fighting». By heroic struggle and violence, The Albanian people, unbent through the ages, under the leadership of its glorious Party in the 20th century, the century of Leninism, defeated the Italian and Hitlerite fascists, overthrew and thoroughly smashed the bourgeoisie and its rule, created the new Albania of the people, created the new people's rule and they are now successfully building up socialism. Precisely because the war against the imperialists, against fascism, against the bourgeoisie was waged by the Party and people in the forms mentioned above, was waged for the liberation of Albania and the seizure of power, because the people worked with a great revolutionary impetus for the reconstruction of our poor country set ablaze by the war, for the upbuilding of socialism, because we were all always ready to safeguard the people's victories, that is why we successfully overcame terrible waves and storms during these twenty years. The revolutionary impetus of the people never stopped and it will never stop, the set tasks were achieved and will be successfully achieved, the enemies were crushed and will ever be

crushed whenever they will try to touch our country and people. (Tempestuous applause, ovations). Woe would have befallen to the people if we had hoped that the American, English, French and the Italian capitalists, or the Shefqet Verlaci or Mustafa Kruja would make a gift of freedom to us. Woe would have befallen to our people if we had compromised and capitulated to the imperialists, if fear and hesitation had been shown them, if freedom, liberation, peace had been begged of them. As the sun in the Spring shines, so shines the Marxist-Leninist line of our Party. As the sun warms and causes our country to flourish, the fiery rays of this sun blind the enemies of our people, the enemies of Marxism-Leninism. (Tempestuous applause, ovations)

The 16 years of people's rule have shown the truth of the general laws of the socialist revolution, formulated by the triumphant Marxist-Leninist theory and the Soviet Union's universal experience in constructing socialism. They have also shown the practical and real possibility of the direct transition of the backward countries, from the old order to socialism, passing over the stage of developed capitalism.

## **B. — THE SECOND FIVE YEAR PLAN — AN IMPORTANT STEP IN THE FURTHER DEVELOPMENT OF OUR ECONOMY AND CULTURE**

In the period since the third Congress of the Party of Labour of Albania, which coincides with the fulfilment of the second five-year plan, an important historic step has been taken in the construction of the economic basis of socialism in our country.

The third Party Congress outlined as a main task the further development of industry, especially of the

mining industry, chiefly on the basis of the full use of the existing production possibilities, the mobilization of internal reserves and the fast development of agriculture, mainly on the basis of the reorganization of the agricultural production on a socialist basis. Relying on these factors, the task of further improving the material conditions and raising the cultural level of the working people, lay before us.

Summing up the work done in these five years, our Party, with a feeling of legitimate pride announces that in general the main task of the second five year plan has been fulfilled ahead of the schedule. (Fervent applause, ovations)

The volume of the total industrial output, forecast by the third Party Congress for the 1956-1960 period, was fulfilled in 4 years and 9 months; in the mining industry in four years and six months, while the level of the industrial output set up for 1960 was reached one year ahead of schedule. In 1960, the volume of the total industrial output increased over 118 per cent more than in 1955, as against 92 per cent which was the task set up by the Congress, with an average annual rate of 16,9 per cent as against 14 per cent. The production of the means of production (group «A») increased with an average annual rate of 18 per cent, as against 14,8 per cent and of consumers' goods (group «B») 16 per cent as against 13,5 per cent which was the task. In order to better understand the importance of these figures, the importance of our achievements, suffice it to mention that only the Peshkopia and Burreli districts in 1960 produced as much as was produced in 1938 throughout Albania, (applause) while the city of Tirana produced more than five times. Here is what our glorious Party and the people's rule are achieving, here is what a people can do when they are free.

The main task of the III Party Congress for the

collectivization of agriculture was also achieved ahead of schedule. Since July 1960 the socialist sector comprised 86,3 per cent of the cultivated land. In this way, the economic basis of socialism was built in our countryside. With the achievement of these victories which are of a great historic importance, our Party, relying on the immortal teachings of Lenin, successfully solved one of the most difficult tasks of the transitory period.

Successfully achieved were likewise the tasks set for the raising of the people's material and cultural standards. The growth of the industrial and agricultural production, the complete abolition of the ration card system, the reduction from time to time of the retail prices, etc., have greatly improved the working people's wellbeing.

The mobilization and the readiness of the working people, the encouragement of initiative with a view to the exploration and exploitation of the internal reserves and the increase in an ever higher scale of the creative energies of the working people made the revision with a view to increasing the figures of the second five-year plan possible. These additions which were approved by the plenary session of the Party Central Committee in February 1958, played an important role in overfulfilling the tasks of the second five-year plan in many important branches of production.

The successful fulfilment of the second five-year plan is the result of the great selfless work of our heroic working class, of the working peasantry and the people's intelligentsia, of the just and wise leadership of our glorious Party of Labour.

Allow me, Comrades, to report now on the achievement of the main tasks outlined by the third Party Congress for the different branches of economy.

1. — The tasks assigned to industry, construction and transports were fulfilled ahead of schedule.

In conformity with the chief task of the III Congress, during the years of the second five-year plan, the Party and Government have paid a special attention to the development of the mining industry, as a basis and support for the further development of our heavy industry. This is reflected also in the large funds invested in these very important branches of the people's economy, whose specific weight accounted for 25 per cent of the total State investments.

The target for oil extraction set by the Third Congress for 1960 was reached as early as 1957. Last year the oil industry increased its output more than four times that of 1955. (Applause)

Our heroic miners fulfilled the tasks assigned by the III Party Congress, by 106,4 per cent, giving in 1960 over two times more products than in 1955. The rates of production of the chromium ore have been attained and surpassed during all the years of the second five-year plan, securing to this branch an important place in our economy and exports. The targets set for the coal industry were likewise attained in due time widening thus the fuel basis of our country.

Our people and our Party shall be ever grateful to all the workers, technicians and engineers at the mines, who highly conscientious and sacrificial put all their energies to the task of fulfilling the plan for the good and progress of our beloved Fatherland. (Applause)

In achieving these results a great role has been played by the geological research workers. The tasks assigned by the exploration and the rise in category of the industrial reserves of useful minerals, in general, have been fulfilled. So, the necessary requisites for the increase of production and the rational exploitation of our mines have been created. Our geologists have worked with a rare courage and firmness in order

to snatch from our earth rich resources which still hide in its bowels. From the results obtained up to now, it is clear that in our country there are many valuable minerals, the exploitation of which opens up very large prospects for the further development of our people's economy. In fact, during the second five-year plan, to our mining industry were added and put into exploitation branches and new beds, such as the extraction of the iron-nickel and the concentration of copper ore. The results achieved in the exploration of the iron-nickel ores in the Librazhd-Pogradets area and the reserves assured can be considered right now sufficient for the creation in the future of the basis of the ferrous metal industry in our country. Now conditions exist that the geological previsions should be more real and especially in the oil sector where, as a result of the hurried forecasts of the geological expeditions, the tasks outlined by the February 1958 plenary session of the Party Central Committee were not fulfilled.

Considerable number of transformations have been made by the creation of the power basis and the electrification of the country. The once small power plants have been replaced by hydro-power and heat plants, equipped with new technical machinery. Today only the town of Korça produces above 70 per cent more electric power than was produced throughout Albania before liberation. The creation of the united system of power distribution made possible the combined operation and hydro and heat power plants, their rational exploitation, as well as the uninterrupted flow of the electrical power to the national economy.

The orientation of the III Party Congress for the radical exploitation of the productive capacities in general was carried out in practice by the mechanical industry workers, too. They assured more than 40 per cent of the needs of economy for spare parts by increasing in 1960 the volume of production in com-

parison with 1955, 8 times. In this way, the mechanical industry workers have made a very valuable contribution supplying many spare parts in our country, for the rational exploitation of machinery and for decreasing the import of such parts, thus making possible large savings to the State.

During the years of the second five-year plan work has been done to further enlarge the construction material and wood material industries, on whose progress depends a lot of the fulfilment in time and good quality of the construction work. The production possibilities have grown and have been enlarged, new forest belts have begun to be exploited thus assuring a growth in the production of the wood materials, bricks and tiles, cement and prefabricated construction parts, etc. The wood industry workers, not only pulled out this sector from a backward position, successfully achieving the plan, but also created the conditions for the further development of this branch of industry.

The Party, having as its main goal the improvement of the people's living standards, has taken a series of important measures to develop those branches of industry which produce mass consumption goods. Many industrial works which have created the necessary conditions for the elaboration of many agricultural and livestock products, have been built up, reconstructed and equipped with a new technique.

In the light, food and local industries appropriate conditions have been created to enlarge assortments, to improve the quality of production and make better use of the raw materials. In 1960, it is clear that larger quantities have been produced of: cotton cloth 35 per cent, shoes 63 per cent, sugar 88 per cent, beer 81 per cent, sawed wood 60 per cent, cement 64 per cent, bricks 125 per cent more than in 1955.

The handicraft cooperatives whose network extends in the larger part of the country, fulfilled the second five-year plan nine months ahead of schedule and five

months ahead of promise. Responding to the Party's call, the individual craftsmen, who have joined in cooperatives, are better fulfilling the daily needs of the people in repair and services, and have improved the quality of production, they have enlarged the number of assortments and have developed new branches of handicraft.

During the second five-year plan large investments, incomparable to those of the past period, have been made by our State for the industrialization of our country, for the development of agriculture, transports and other branches of economy and culture. The policy of our Party in the field of investments has had a just orientation. Investments have been chiefly directed towards the productive sector. Out of approximately 48 billion leks which have been invested during the second five-year plan 81,6 per cent have been invested in the productive sector as compared with 1958 prices. As always, first place has been given to industry, for the development of which there have been spent more than 21 billion leks or about 44 per cent of the total investments, whereas in agriculture there have been invested 66 per cent more funds than were envisaged by the third Party Congress.

The tasks set by the III Party Congress in the field of investments in the second five-year plan were fulfilled by 147 per cent. The second five-year plan investments are by 86 per cent greater than those of the first five-year plan. It has been calculated that in order to realize all the investments carried out during the 16 years of the people's rule, the Zogu regime would have required more than 530 years, if it went on at the 1938 rate. (Hilarity in the hall)

In the Party program for the socialist construction of the country, with a great technico-economical backwardness inherited from the past an important place has been held by the construction works which have taken large proportions. During this five-year plan

period there has been finished the construction and there have been put into use more than 250 important economic and social-cultural works, of which the most important are: The «Karl Marx» hydro-power plant, the 400 km. of high tension line to supply power to the main industrial centers of the country; the oil refinery plants at the Stalin City and at Cerrik, together with the oil pipe-line; the Alarup coal mine, the Kurbnesh copper mine, the Pishkash and Çervenak iron-nickel, the Tropoya and Martanesh chromium mines; the copper concentration factory at Kurbnesh; the brick, velvet and glass factories in Tirana; the fruit and canning, grape, tobacco fermentation factories, as well as many other projects. Besides these works, other new and large ones such as the hydropower plants at Shkopet and Bistrica, the «Ali Kelmendi» food Combine, the bread factory and the meat combine in Tirana, etc. are under construction.

Large-scale drainage and irrigation work has been carried out. Whole districts such as those of Vrina, Vurgu, Roskoveci, Myzeqeya, Terbufi, Thumana, Zadrime, etc. have been redeemed for ever from flooding. **(Applause)** In these fertile lands which only recently were breeding places of malaria and where the crops were at the mercy of nature, today wheat, cotton, vegetables are grown. The new and beautiful life, the Spring of Socialism smiles today to the Albanian farmer, who but recently was oppressed and lived in misery, while today he is the owner of the fruit of his work.

Great works have been and are carried out for the building of schools, theatres, cinemas, kindergartens and crèches, hospitals, sanatoria, rest houses for labouring people, etc. By their tireless and noble efforts our builders with their golden hands are giving to the Fatherland better and more beautiful constructions.

The Party has given special care to the further development of transports which play an important

role in the general development of economy, in the circulation of goods and in catering to the needs of passengers. In comparison to 1955, the truck station has grown by 88 per cent, that of tows by over 6,2 times, wagons 111 per cent. Our country has now a maritime fleet equipped with vessels of a tonnage of 3,7 times greater than that of 1955.

As a result of the efforts made by the transport workers the tasks set by the III Party Congress for the goods circulation have been achieved 104 per cent by the automobile transport; 131 per cent by the railway transport, 414 per cent by the sea transport. Today the automobile transport accomplishes in 8 days the volume of work which was accomplished in the whole year of 1938, while the sea transport accomplishes it within two days.

Many vanguard drivers, responding to the Party's call are successfully maintaining their daring promises to cover from 300 to 500 thousand kms. without general vehicle reparation. Their behaviour and courage at work have become an example for all the other transport workers. **(Applause)**

## 2. — The collectivization of agriculture is the greatest success of our Party in the countryside.

The policy of our Party for the socialist transformation of the countryside, based on the Marxist-Leninist teachings, was fully applied during the first four years of the second five-year plan. If the areas of a preponderantly mountainous character are to be excluded agricultural cooperatives are formed in all the villages of the other areas. This is one of the most splendid achievements of our Party and people.

The just Party line for collectivization, expressed in the well-known slogan «We must neither hurry up, nor halt at one place», which was applied in the first



stage, made it possible for the large masses of poor and middle peasants to be convinced in practice for the great benefits to be derived from the organization of collective agricultural economies as against the individual economies. The orientation of the December 1955 Plenum, which was also stressed by the III Congress, for speeding up the tempo of collectivization, marks the beginning of a new stage in the massive collectivization of agriculture in all the chief areas of the Republic. Thus, while at the end of 1955 the cooperatives comprised only 14,5 per cent of the area, a year later they occupied 30,8 per cent of the peasants' arable land. The year 1957 marked the year of the great turning point, because the agricultural cooperatives were joined in masse, not only by the poor peasants, but also by the middle peasants and the collectivized area reached 58%. In 1959, 83,2 per cent of the arable land owned by the peasantry was collectivized. Thus it became possible to carry out the task set by the third Congress one year ahead of schedule. (Applause) In this great task of the socialist transformation of the countryside, the town and village communists, the patriots, the most active members of the Democratic Front, the working class and the working peasantry, who have always abided by and continue to follow the directives of the Party conscientiously, exerted all their efforts and energies to assure our country this stupendous victory.

To achieve the victory of the cooperativist order in the countryside, our Party has been obliged to wage a bitter struggle against the external and internal enemies, against the kulaks, who strived to obstruct the entry of the working peasantry into the socialist road, exploiting the individualist psychology of the small property owner in the village. The kulaks strived to create distrust and hesitation among the peasants, to keep them away from the just road shown by the Party. But all these attempts failed. Our working and

patriotic peasantry, with unshakable trust in the Party, in its just line, abandoned the capitalist road and followed the socialist one.

Our Party line triumphed in the village and on this occasion once again was demonstrated its just line, the invincible force and unity of the Party and people, the political maturity of our peasant who resolutely and convincingly followed the road shown to him for the collectivization of farming, as the only just road to come out once and for ever from backwardness, to build the new life in the village. (Applause)

The victory of agricultural collectivization in our country is another clear demonstration verifying the truth of Lenin's teachings on the policy which the Marxist parties should follow in order to organize the working peasantry into a socialist society. In vain does the Belgrade revisionist clique speculate with «the specific road», alleging that «socialism» in the Yugoslav countryside passes along that road. The enemies of Leninism alone, as the modern revisionists are, strive to deceive the masses showing «new roads» for the building of socialism in the countryside, whereas in fact these «new roads», not only obstruct socialism in the countryside, but contribute to the further impoverishment of the peasant, his proletarianization, the enrichment of the kulak farmers, the purchase by the latter and the exploitation only in their favour of the farm machinery, even if they were State owned. With these «forms», allegedly «specific» and «new forms», so-called «preparatory» and «preliminary» for future collectivization, the modern revisionists dig the grave of socialism in the countryside, they strengthen the hand of kulakerie, they allow the rebirth each day more and more of capitalism in the village. Life has proved that the only road which assures its future to the peasantry saving it for ever from capitalist exploitation and poverty is the road of agricultural collectivization.

Let us briefly pass in review how the tasks of the second five-year plan in agriculture were carried out. The introduction in a wider scale of machinery in agriculture, the achievement of great drainage and irrigation works, the successful carrying out of the collectivization of agriculture, as well as the special care shown by the Party and the people's power for the development of agriculture during the second five-year period, have had very positive effects in the development of many branches of agriculture as well as in the increase of agricultural production. The agricultural cooperatives, though newly formed, not only have made evident improvements from an organizational and economical point of view, but have also played a great role in increasing production and in developing agriculture in general. The cooperativist sector in 1959 ensured 65 per cent of the cereal production for the Republic, 87,4 per cent of cotton, 74,7 per cent of the sugarbeet, 88% of tobacco. In 1959, for example, the cooperatives received an average of 24 per cent more incomes for working days than in 1956, besides 700 million leks used for investments. Consequently, the appearance of the village is rapidly changing, the life of the cooperative member is becoming richer every year, the cultural level is being raised. The idea of the new socialist life which is being built by the peasants under the Party leadership is taking deep roots in their consciousness.

Evident progress has been made in the State farms. This sector today represents 12,6 per cent of the cultivated area of the Republic, as against 5,7 per cent in 1955 and yields 15,5 per cent of the meat production, 25,5 per cent of the milk production, 42,4 per cent of the vegetables accumulated by the State, etc. The majority of the State farms have achieved the tasks assigned to them by the State plan and in general have become intensive and efficient enterprises. They have supplied the market, especially the town markets and

those of the chief workers centers more regularly with agricultural and livestock products.

During the years after liberation and especially during the period we are examining the Party and the Government have done a lot of work for the mechanization of farming, as well as for drainage and irrigation. On the basis of the III Party Congress directives, during the second five-year plan for agriculture there have been invested funds amounting to nearly 7 billion and 950 million leks. These funds have been mainly used for mechanization, drainage and irrigation. In 1960 the amount of mechanized processes greatly increased. Over 65 per cent of the general traction power in farming today is derived from mechanical means and there are 10 tractors (in terms of 15 HP) for every 1000 hectares.

The Machine and Tractor Stations, organized and administered by the State, have played and shall play a decisive role in our socialist farming. In relation to this Stalin has said:

«... the concentration of the chief tools of agricultural production in State hands, in the hands of the machine and tractor stations, is the only means to assure high rates in the increase of cooperative production». (J. Stalin, «Economical Problems of Socialism in the USSR», page 93, Albanian edition).

These teachings of Stalin have been applied in the Soviet Union to develop and strengthen the Soviet socialist agriculture. The correctness of these teachings as well as of the Soviet experience have been confirmed also by our experience in the specific conditions of our country. The M.T.S. in the hands of the socialist State have given an effective organized, ceaseless, disciplined and planned assistance to socialist farming in our country. Not only our peasantry has witnessed this direct and fruitful assistance of the

working class and its power, but the agricultural machinery have been rationally used, have eliminated disorganization, irrational use of materials, of fuel, of spare parts, the poor cooperatives that have less farm hands and draught animals, have been aided, a successful fight has been carried out against abuses, favoritism and our agriculture has been steadily and uninter-ruptedly developed.

With the completion of the drainage work in most of the low lands of our country, during the second five-year plan 17.000 hectares of new land were redeemed, 43.000 hectares were improved and 42.700 hectares more than in 1955 were made irrigable. Farming has likewise been aided by ever greater amounts of chemical fertilizers and selected seeds, as well as by as large a number of specialists, our country has never had before. All this has made it possible to increase the farm production at a higher rate. So, although the second five-year plan in agriculture was not fulfilled, the value of the total agricultural output in the second five-year plan is 25,5 per cent greater than that of the first five-year plan.

In 1959, farming produced more than in 1955: bread cereals 3,2 per cent, cotton 70,8 per cent, tobacco 87,3 per cent, sugar beet 31,7 per cent, etc. Though in 1960, which was the worst year for agriculture through all the period after the liberation, the volume of the total agricultural output was 6 per cent higher than in 1955, which was a good year for agriculture. This is chiefly due to the reclamation of 71.000 hectares of new land which were cultivated during the second five-year plan.

In 1959 our country produced more than in 1938: bread grains 1,7 times, potatoes and vegetables about 3 times, tobacco about 7 times and cotton 145 times, etc. An important role has been played in the fast development of cotton by the decision of the 1957 February Plenum of the Central Committee. Due to the

measures taken with regard to this plant, in comparison with 1950, the per hectare cotton yield in 1959 was doubled.

A satisfactory development during these five-years has been attained in the fruit-growing, olives, vines and citrus fruit sector. The results of this work, for which a great merit belongs to our glorious youth, will be seen especially in the coming years.

Relying on the decisions of the III Party Congress, the Central Committee, in a special manner, has reviewed and has taken the necessary measures to develop livestock. We are glad to announce to the Congress that, although the livestock sector, is still lagging behind and much must be done in the future for this problem, not only the number of livestock, but also their yield has grown. In comparison with 1955, during 1960 there were produced 59 per cent more meat, 41 per cent more milk, 47 per cent more sheep wool and 60 per cent more eggs. What is more important is the fact that the agricultural cooperatives and the working peasantry attach more value to the great importance of livestock for the people's economy and thus they have shown more care for them. Taking into consideration the measures which have been taken for the improvement of the livestock breed, especially of the sheep and assuring to it the necessary fodder base, it is possible to greatly raise the productivity of the livestock in the future.

Always led by the teaching of Leninism to increase the material interest of the cooperative and individual peasantry, the Party and the Government, besides the all-round assistance to agriculture by giving to it agrarian credits, chemical fertilizers, seeds, fruit seedlings and personnel, have established stimulating prices for the purchase of agriculture and livestock products, they have abolished the system of taxing in kind for many agricultural products, they have decided on the purchase at unified prices of some pro-

ducts, they have established a better stimulating system in according advance payments to the peasants for the sale of their cereals, industrial crops, etc. These, as well as other measures taken, have stimulated the further development of agricultural products and have made it possible for the peasantry to increase their incomes by selling more surplus products to the State and thus improve their living conditions.

### 3. — The rise of the working people's wellbeing

The incessant increase of the total industrial and agricultural production, the triumph of collectivization in the village, the development of all the other sectors of the people's economy have brought about as an objective result the further rise of the material wellbeing and the cultural standard of the people. In our country, the planned organization of the process of social production is carried out in order to assure the all-round wellbeing and development of all the members of the society.

During the application of the second five-year plan, the rise of the material wellbeing and cultural standard of the working people is characterized by these main indices:

At the end of 1960 the national income was 48 per cent greater than in 1955.

Important measures have been taken to lower the retail prices of goods, to raise pensions and low wages, to increase the prices for the purchase of the agricultural, livestock and other products. These, together with the better qualification of the workers, the raising of labour productivity have made it possible that in 1959 to raise by 29 per cent the real wages of the workers and employees.

The trade organs have better supplied the people with mass consumption goods. The volume of the cir-

ulation of goods at the end of the second five-year plan, reached 194 per cent that of 1955. An important increase has taken place in the distribution of many goods, such as rice, beans, sugar, potatoes, fats, meat, vegetables, milk, cheese, cotton and woollen cloth, shoes, etc. The supply of the people with foodstuffs, which appeared more difficult during the first five-year plan, has improved in a satisfactory way.

The results achieved in the first years of the second five-year plan in increasing the industrial and agricultural products created the conditions for the total abolition of the card-rationing system in November 1957, ahead of the time limit set by the IIIrd Party Congress. The successful application of this important measure was a great victory which testifies to the wisdom of the economic policy pursued by our Party and which has given a further impulse to the all-round development of production and distribution.

But to the trade workers has been assigned also the important task of increasing the volume of the foreign trade circulation. During these years there have been strengthened in the first place the economic relations with the socialist countries, and the exchange of goods with them has been increased. While in 1955 we had trade exchanges with 14 States, in 1960 their number reached 22. The second five-year plan, approved by the IIIrd Party Congress was overfulfilled in exports as well as in imports. Great changes have taken place in the export structure and the export capacity of our country has risen more than 7 times in comparison with 1938.

During the years of the second five-year plan a large program of measures for the enlargement and improvement of the municipal services and the housing economy was achieved. To this end, there have been spent more than 3 billion and 900 million leks, or 143 per cent more as compared with the period of the first five-year plan.

One of the problems of the living conditions of the people, wherein we have concentrated more attention, is the housing economy, the increase of its fund and its upkeep. During these last 10 years there have been built as many apartment houses as would suffice to shelter the population before the liberation of the towns of Shkodra, Durrës, Korça, Vlora and Elbasan, taken together. In the villages during this period there were built up more than 47.000 apartment houses. Towns and villages have speedily grown and new towns and villages have been built up. Tirana, the Capital of our Fatherland, can be no more recognized. It is daily changing and becoming more beautiful. Such towns as Patos, Cerrik, Bulqiza, Memaliaj, etc. have been created and enlarged. The people's power has assured and is daily assuring more houses to the working people who pay for them a very low monthly rent, which for an apartment is equal in average to less than the salary received for one and a half day's work, a thing which cannot be conceived in the capitalist countries where rents are skyhigh.

The tasks set by the III Party Congress for public health and sanitation have been successfully achieved. To this end large funds have been spent and in 1960 alone there were spent 1 billion and 620 million leks, as against 630 million leks spent in 1955. Medical aid for the working people in our country is given free of charge. The health institutions have been enlarged, they are equipped with modern apparatus and new branches have been created.

The health situation of our people has had considerable improvements. The natural growth of the population for 1000 inhabitants has been about 32 persons. Never has there been such a rapid growth of population in our country and this places our country among the first countries in the world in this respect. From 1.122.000 inhabitants which Albania had in 1945, according to the preliminary data, in the 1960 popu-

lation census, it reached 1.625.000 inhabitants. (Applause)

Special attention has been shown for the protection and wellbeing of children. While in 1955 we had 353 kindergartens and crèches, today we have about 570.

The health workers, educated in the spirit of humanism and endowed with a high socialist conscience, as the Party has taught them, have put all their efforts and scientific knowledge in the consolidation of health and happiness of our people.

The results achieved in raising the wellbeing of the people are great. These were not easily achieved, but through the selfless efforts and mobilization of all our people under the leadership of the Party. We are aware that the living standard of our people is as yet low in comparison with that of the other socialist countries, because we have inherited from the past a poor economy, backward and damaged by the war, but our people are sure that, under the leadership of their glorious Party, by their struggle and selfless work, they will be able to achieve in the future a speedy rise of their material and cultural uplift. (Applause)

#### 4. — The cultural revolution is being successfully carried out in our country.

The tasks assigned by the III Congress for the development of education, the science and culture in general have been achieved with success.

Our country has become not only a construction site but also a big school wherein one out of ten inhabitants of the entire population goes to school. Today, more than 300.000 persons are attending day and evening schools. A great stride ahead has been made by the foundation of 7-year schools so extended as to have classes of 10-15 pupils. Today we have 557 seven-

year day schools, with more than 63,300 pupils, as against 2,563 pupils before liberation.

Middle school education, which in the past was the privilege of certain strata of the population, has now taken great proportions. Middle schools are opened not only in smaller centers and districts, but also in some localities. This school-year alone over 16,000 pupils study in the day middle schools, of which 9,500 pupils in the professional and pedagogical middle schools.

During the second five-year period the Tirana State University, the biggest learning scientific center in the country, the pride of our people's rule, was opened. Today 7,800 students study in the higher institutes, at home and abroad, that is 4,6 times more students than those who studied in all the middle schools in 1938 or 3 times more the number of pupils in the 7-year schools of that period.

On the basis of this extension of the educational network and of the school reform, according to the Marxist-Leninist ideological and pedagogical principles, it has been possible to assure up to a certain degree in a satisfactory manner the necessary personnel for departments of economy and of culture.

Today in all branches of economy and culture 4,245 high cadres and about 20,000 middle cadres work. Now in our country there are employed 370 engineers as against 35 we had in 1938, 570 agronomists as against 45 there were in 1938 and 478 physicians and dentists as against 122 there were in all in our country. In 1960 alone there graduated from the universities at home and abroad about 1,000 persons, that is over 2 times more than the number of high cadres in 1938.

Our country, which 15 years ago was a backward agricultural country, today has a trained working class which has in its ranks 62 per cent qualified workers. During the second five-year period about 47,000 new workers (as against 39,000 foreseen in the plan) passed through qualification courses in the lower vocational

training schools and more than 83,000 others (as against 70,000 foreseen in the plan) passed through qualification courses in the schools for worker reserves. During the second five-year period about 9,300 middle school cadres and 2,800 high school cadres accomplished their training in the day and evening schools at home or abroad.

Comrades, do these figures not speak of that deep revolution, which is taking place in our country in this direction, too, when one thinks that in past regimes over 80 per cent of the population were illiterate and had no high education at all? We rejoice at these results, not only by looking at them as figures, but also by the fact that our cadres are coming in great numbers from the working class, from the working peasantry, from the bosom of the working people. These cadres, though young, have taken into their hands the allround direction of economy and culture and, we must say, they do well. Alongside the working class and working peasantry, the intellectuals of our country, young and old, are working inspired by high patriotic and socialist feelings and as worthy sons of the people they have put all their knowledge and ability for the prosperity and progress of their socialist Fatherland.

In our country the organization of scientific work has been put on a right basis. Important successes have been obtained, especially in the field of the historic-philological sciences. Under the Party care the treasure inherited in the field of material and spiritual culture, everything positive and progressive which the past generations of our heroic people have created through the ages, is continuously being brought into light, is becoming the people's property, is becoming a great mobilizing factor in the struggle for building the new life and culture in our country. A valuable contribution in this direction is the compilation of the «History of Albania» and the «History of Albanian Literature». Valuable studies have likewise been made by the

scientific institutions on some problems of agriculture and animal husbandry.

To educate our labouring masses culturally a wide network of cultural and artistic institutions has been created. It is a real pleasure and an expression of that deep cultural revolution which is taking place in our country to see wireless sets and books in the peasant's homes, to see cinemas, theatrical groups and artistic ensembles in our villages, to see performances given not only by professional artists but also by girls and young women liberated for ever by the Party and socialism, who take part and sing on the stages of our agricultural cooperatives.

A large movement for a more cultural living has begun to spread in our new village. Our people's intelligentsia, especially the village teachers, responding with great enthusiasm and readiness to the tasks assigned to them in the national conference of culture, have become the mainstay and support to the Party for the divulgation of culture in the masses of the people.

Important successes have been attained in the field of literature and arts. During this period about 700 original works of different kinds have been published. Today we have the Opera Ballet Theatres, the Drama theatres and 11 professional vaudeville theatres. The Opera and the first Albanian artistic films were created. Figurative art exhibitions, theatrical olympiads, folklore festivals, which together have animated the artistic-cultural life in the country, have been organized. Our writers and artists, always loyal to the great cause of the working class, by their creativeness have given a great assistance to the Party in its ideological struggle, in the education of the new individual. During this period they have created works and artistic images, wherein are incarnated the great ideals of their contemporaries and of our wonderful epoch.

Comrades,  
These colossal victories, incomparable with the past, have been scored through exertion of great efforts, through struggles against obstacles and difficulties. Today, in new Albania, the broad labouring masses, under the leadership of the Party organizations and in the personal example of the communists, are working wholeheartedly for the triumph of socialism. And there is no force which can halt this triumphant march forward! (Continuous applause)

In the great struggle for the socialist construction of the country new men were born and are being forged, imbued with the traits of communist ethics, who highly conscientious are working hard to put into practice the Party recommendations. Within a short time the socialist competition which spread widely amidst the working people rose to a new and higher level. The shock workers and the numerous vanguard workers were followed by the production rationalizers and innovators, by the heroes of socialist work, by the youth brigades, which were organized on the eve of the 15th anniversary of the liberation of our country and now have been converted into brigades which strive to receive the title of «Socialist Labour Brigade», with the slogans, «Let us work, let us learn and let us live in a socialist way».

In the work front line, where material goods are produced, these people and shock brigades heroically contend with difficulties, fight with abnegation in order to achieve the tasks set by the plan. By their heroic and glorious work they have rightly earned the admiration of their contemporaries and they will stand out as a stimulating model for the coming generations. We see in them how the individual of our epoch is being forged from day to day. This is the epoch of the triumph of revolutionary Marxist-Leninist ideas.

Allow me comrades, on behalf of the Party Central Committee to thank the most outstanding represen-

tatives of this really wonderful movement and all the working class for the great, noble work which they are doing for the good and prosperity of our dear socialist Fatherland. **(Continuous applause)**

I especially greet the hero of socialist work, the renowned brigadier, at the drilling of oil wells, Petro Oildashi; the distinguished miner of the Memaliaj coal mine, the hero of socialist work, Rexho Idrizi; the heroes of socialist work in construction: the fitter Ferit Qenska and the mason Trajçe Mazniku. Allow me, too, to greet the renowned tractor driver of the M.T.S. of Scutari, the hero of socialist work, Budë Isufi, the initiator of the movement for ploughing 12.000 hectares without general overhauling of the tractor; the tractor driver of the Kavaja M.T.S., the hero of socialist work, Shyqri Kanapari; the car driver, hero of socialist work, Bahri Doda; the heroine of socialist work Vita Ikonomi of the «Stalin» Textile Combinat, who voluntarily undertook to lead another brigade in order to pull it out of backwardness; the young teacher Omer Haxhija, director of the 11-year school at Fieri, who works tirelessly to improve the quality of his teaching.

To this chain must be added the names of tens of heroes and social labour brigades, as well as thousands upon thousands of distinguished workers of industry, farming, construction, transports, education, culture, etc., who, educated by the Party, adopt a really exemplary attitude towards labour, learning and behaviour in society. **(Tempestuous applause, ovations)**

There is no doubt that during this period, along with the great successes in our work there have occurred mistakes, shortcomings and weaknesses. Unsatisfactory have been the efforts to restrain the harmful economical tendency which aims at the onesided fulfilment of the plan, chiefly as far as quantity is concerned, without following this up with improvement in quality. People have not everywhere and always strived to establish a strict contest in the proper use of State material and

monetary values, in the exploitation of production capacities and the other internal reserves which exist without exception in all the branches of our people's economy.

In agriculture the chief shortcomings and weaknesses exist in the economic and organizational strengthening of the agricultural cooperatives, in the application, in the first place, of the Statute and the socialist principle of remuneration as well as in the use of all the able energies for work.

In our people's education we still have important shortcomings. They consist in the first place in the absence of close contact of the school with life, in the still low progress which the pupils make in learning. In spite of the great successes achieved in the extension of the school network, it as yet does not respond to the ever growing needs of the economical and cultural sectors for personnel and to the growing demands of the population for education.

These errors, shortcomings and weaknesses can be explained if we take into consideration the cultural and professional level still low of the working masses and of our personnel, to whom the Party and people have entrusted so important task to carry out. We can say with conviction that the high conscience of our workers, their interest to better achieve the task assigned, the revolutionary impetus and the enthusiasm of our workers have been distinguishing features, which have made our people to do great things, to correctly apply the Party line, to acknowledge their weaknesses and errors wherever they may be and to strive to improve them.

Taking into consideration the tasks facing the working people of our country in this new stage of the socialist construction of the country, it is necessary to improve still further the method of leadership of our economy as well as the style of work to guarantee by all means the constant supply of the enterprises and



economic organizations with raw materials, to establish everywhere a strict regime of thriftiness, to discover more internal reserves in order to raise the productivity of labour and to reduce the costs of production, to better exploit the productive capacities and to upkeep the machinery in order that the plan tasks be rhythmically fulfilled and overfulfilled on the part of any enterprise and department of production branch.

Great importance must be given to the development of the creative initiative of the workers, the accumulation, generalization, and the spreading of the advanced experience. It is the duty of the Party organizations, economic organs and the mass organizations to arouse in every worker the pride for the victories achieved, to forge active and conscientious fighters for the cause of socialism, to raise the masses of the people as a single body in order to make the magnificent program of our Party a reality. (Applause)

### III

## THE FURTHER DEVELOPMENT OF OUR COUNTRY ON THE ROAD OF SOCIALIST CONSTRUCTION

Comrades,

The Central Committee of the Party of Labour of Albania elaborated the draft directives of the 3rd Five-Year Plan for the development of the people's economy and culture. Before these draft directives be examined and finally approved by this higher forum of our Party, as it is known, they were submitted for discussion to the masses of the people. In work centers, villages, and even at the remotest corners of our Fatherland, the masses of the people discussed vividly the main figures of the splendid prospects being opened to our country by the 3rd Five-Year Plan. The draft directives were examined in detail in the meetings of the basic organizations and Party conferences, held

for reporting on the work done and on the new elections. The enthusiasm aroused among the working people by the draft directives, demonstrated once more that the figures of the 3rd Five-Year Plan are real. This plan, though heavily charged, is fully applicable and this is proved by the numerous promises taken for its fulfilment ahead of schedule.

The discussion of the main problems with the masses of the people is always considered by the Party as a problem of principle in its work. In this regard it is always led by the well-known Leninist principle of the democratic centralization, which implies the harmonious combination of the centralized leadership of the economy by the State, with the ever wider development of the creative activity of the working masses, with their direct participation in the management of production. This is the source of the ever strengthening of the ties between the Party and the people, who see in the Party the real representative of their century-old sentiments and aspirations.

The popular discussion of the draft directives demonstrated once again the essence of our State of the people's democracy, which is the organized people themselves, united by the fundamental ideas and interests of socialist construction.

Allow me, comrades, that on behalf of the Central Committee of the Party of Labour of Albania, to thank all the participants of this popular discussion for the valuable contribution which they have given in the examination of the figures of the 3rd draft-five-year plan. The wide participation of the people in the discovery of the internal reserves, their observations and proposals, have helped for the increase of production as well as for the amelioration of the planning of our people's economy.

In determining the main figures of the draft plan for the 3rd Five-Year Plan, the Party, in conformity

with its program, aims at securing the further development of the socialist revolution, of raising the productive forces to a higher level, of increasing economic potentiality and of strengthening our Fatherland, of uninterruptedly increasing the material goods in order to improve the life of the people.

On the basis of the further development of the productive forces, our working class, its alliance with the working peasantry as well as the economic, political and organizational bases of our People's Power will grow and become stronger.

**The Third Five-Year Plan will make an important step forward towards the establishment of the material and technical basis of socialism; our country will march faster on the road of transformation from an agrarian-industrial country into an industrial-agrarian one, the agricultural production will increase by quicker rates and consequently the material and cultural standard of the masses of the people will be further raised. This is the main task of the Third Five-Year Plan. (Applause)**

Our People's Republic disposes all the possibilities to turn this goal of the Fourth Congress of the Party into reality. The generally successful fulfilment of the State economic plans, the construction of the economic basis of socialism, the uninterrupted development of the productive forces, the high conscience and the socialist competition, which has been spread throughout our Fatherland, made it possible for us to put forth new tasks and to march with quicker steps on the road to socialist construction.

The high and uninterrupted rates of the development of industrial production, are distinguishing features for the Third Five-Year Plan, too. They are another clear proof of the strength and nature of our socialist economy.

The grandeur of the Third Five-Year Plan is estimated also from the large funds which will be

invested in the people's economy and which will further increase the production of the material goods. Another feature of the Third Five-Year Plan also, is the fact that a part of the investments will give their economic benefit during the first years of the fourth five-year plan, assuring thus the continuation of ever extending socialist reproduction.

In the Third Five-Year Plan there have been established such just relations which assure the harmonious development of the branches of economy, chiefly those of industry and agriculture. By the creation of the new branches of material production, the Third Five-Year Plan improves the economical structure and creates better conditions for the further increase of the social production.

The priority of increasing the production of the means of production, as compared with the production of the consumers' goods, is another distinguishing feature of this Five-Year Plan. This is the result of the economic policy followed by our Party in the industrialization of the country and in the distribution of the investments throughout the different branches of the economy.

During the Third Five-Year Plan the process of the socialist industrialization of the country will be raised to an ever higher level. New branches will be added to our up-to-date industry, equipped with an advanced technology. A greater working out of the raw material will take place, which characterizes the further rise of the level of the industrial development of our country.

**1) The continuation of the socialist industrialization of our country — decisive link for the development of the material and technical basis of socialism.**

During the third five-year plan, too, our Party of Labour considers it as an important task to further

develop socialist industrialization of the country, by giving priority to the development of the heavy industry at quicker rates.

It is foreseen that in 1965 the total volume of the industrial production (with 1960 prices) should be raised up to 52% with an average annual growth of 8,7%. In the same year the specific weight of the industrial output, as compared with the total volume of industrial and agricultural output, will reach 54%.

The production of the means of production (group «A») will be increased by 54%, while the production of the consumer's goods (group «B»), by 50%. More than half of the total volume of the industrial production will be covered by the production of the means of production.

As it is seen, in its economic policy concerning the industrialization of the country, our Party, in spite of the existence of peculiarities, has always in mind the Leninist thesis, according to which the heavy industry is the basis of socialist industrialization, that in this process the production of the means of production must be increased with higher rates than the production of the consumer's goods.

A great development will be scored by the mining industry and that of the processing in order to exploit better the resources of the country — useful minerals, fuel sources and hydro-energetics, the forest wealth, agricultural raw materials, and so on. Large funds for the establishment of branches of heavy industry, as the chemical industry for the production of nitrate and phosphate fertilizers for agriculture, will be invested, as well as for the metallurgy of iron and chromium, for the electro-metallurgy in the future.

By creating these conditions, our industry will give a stronger impetus to the development of the productive forces. A more effective structure of the economy will be created, and the further processing and the better evaluation of the raw materials of the country

will be carried on, which will improve the balance of imports and exports.

The Party has taken and will take important measures for the further development of the oil industry, as one of the main branches of great prospects of our country. In 1965, as compared with 1960, the extraction of oil is foreseen to be increased by 51% and its processing by 38%. The oil output foreseen to be extracted in 1965 will be equal to all the total production extracted during the years 1951-1956 taken together. During the third five-year plan, the volume of research drilling will be increased by 63% more than that of the second five-year plan.

The oil workers face great tasks in order to bring to the benefit of the economy new oil and gas resources. Special care must be shown for the quick and high quality drilling of the wells, in order to improve the technical-economic indexes and to raise the economic efficiency of capital investments. Advanced methods and the achievements of science must be utilized to intensify oil extraction.

There is no doubt that oil is a great wealth for our country but at the same time many friendly countries of the People's Democracies are in urgent and imperative need of oil. The extraction of oil by us will guarantee a large income to the economy of our country. All of you recall the systematic sabotage of the Yugoslav revisionists in this important branch of our economy. Their aim was to strangle our economy and make it wholly dependent on the Yugoslav economy, to achieve their devious plans to make our Party kneel down, to dictate to it and to our people their will and to eliminate the sound leadership of the Party and to substitute it with traitors, sold to them. You clearly recall the attempts of the friend and collaborator of the Yugoslav revisionists, Tuk Jakova, who tried many times in the Polit Bureau and in the Government, not only to prove that we had no oil and that that little

which we extracted was not profitable, but he tried also to defend his thesis, which of course was despicably rejected, that we must give up oil extraction. Life itself proved what criminals have been the Titoites and the friends of Tuk Jakova. The Yugoslavs and their agents were convinced that our country had very good prospects for oil, and that this oil would be extracted according to their reckonings, after eliminating the Party and its leadership. This way not only they would have secured our oil in their interest, but they would «prove» also «the inability» of our Party and its leadership and the «ability» and «wisdom» of the traitors as Tuk Jakova and his friends. But this plan of the enemies of our Party and people did not succeed and will never succeed. At present we have created a sound basis for oil, we have thousands of glorious workers, specialists and engineers, who are brought up by the Party with its greatest care, it has trained them in higher Soviet Oil Schools, which are endowed with the great experience of life and of the Soviet workers. They not only fulfil successfully their plans, but nobody can fool them.

Our oil workers must always have into consideration that oil does not flow on the land, but it is extracted out of the earth and in order to score always successes in this important branch which is profitable and with great prospects, but complicated, we must use all the knowledge, experience, methodology, vigilance and the discipline, characterizing the working class. (Continuous applause) The care, ability, vigilance, control must begin just when the geological study of the drilling point starts up to the time when oil enters the depôts. Any carelessness in this process costs millions to the people. Any data given without full responsibility diverts the research work, any mistaken drilling shuts the prospect of a well or of an entire layer. Therefore the engineers, specialists and the oil workers must take out of the well even the last drop

of oil in accordance with the technical regulations, they must exploit by new methods all the oil wells, they must control and recontrol all the data, all the studies, all the documents and every well one by one, in all the drilled objects, which are classed in the series of the wells and fields allegedly devoid of oil. These are important duties, these are indispensable duties. We think that in this manner not only shall we fulfil in a rhythmic way the assigned plan, but it will not be surprising that we may have an oil boom which will surpass all our previsions. (Applause)

The fulfilment of these duties must be accompanied by the continuous improvement of the methods of leadership and of concrete organization of work in order to follow the great and important duties the oil industry sets before us. We must do better work in the technical and professional uplift of the workers, in spreading the experience of the advanced as a condition for a better exploitation of the equipment and of the productive capacities.

On the basis of the increase of the oil production there will be extended the ability of its processing. To the oil refinery of Cerrik will be added a reforming plant which will make possible the better fulfilment of the needs of our country with liquid fuel.

Our Party is convinced that the oil workers, as always, fighting against difficulties, united and with the enthusiasm characterizing them, will mobilize all their physical and mental abilities, to produce oil for the prosperity of our country. (Tempestuous applause, ovations)

During the years of the third five-year plan, the other branches of the mining industry will also greatly progress. New mines will be opened and exploitation in depth of those existing will begin. In 1965 the total output of our mining industry will be 49% higher than that of 1960.

At the end of the third five-year plan our country

will produce 45% more coal. This means that only the production of 1965 alone will be equal to 72% of all the quantity of coal produced during the first five-year plan. For this purpose the Alarupi coal mine will be put into exploitation, and the work will proceed to put into exploitation the new mine at Mezes in Tirana.

The chromium industry will continue to be developed at a speedy rate too during this five-year plan; its output in 1965, as compared with that of 1960, will be 20% higher, or as much as 90% of the whole amount produced during the five-year plan of 1951-1955, will be produced in 1965 alone. During this five-year plan two concentration factories will be built as well as the iron and chromium plant. After the construction of these factories, the poor chromites, for which up-to-date it has been difficult to find markets will be improved, many transport means will be spared, and as a consequence a greater income will be accruing to our people.

At the end of the third five-year plan the output of the copper industry will be almost three times as high as that of 1960. Along with the better exploitation of the existing sources work will start on putting into exploitation of a new source of copper ore. I want to stress that the studies made up to now are satisfactory, they show that copper mineral extends throughout many areas of our country, often accompanied by other rare minerals.

An impetuous development will be made by the industry of iron and nickel. At the end of this five-year plan our country will produce almost half a million tons of iron-nickel. This will be a sound starting point which will help us to build our ferrous metallurgy in the near future.

During this five-year plan the natural bitumen mine will continue to be exploited and the extraction of kaoline, clay, sand and other useful minerals will increase.

The fulfilment of the great tasks which are laid before the mining industry during this five-year plan, demands the improvement of the work in the drafting and preparation of the exploitation of the mines, the raising of the scale of mechanization, of the labour productivity and the application of the advanced methods of exploitation with high technical and economical indexes.

The Central Committee of the Party of Labour of Albania has always considered the problem of continually improving the living and working conditions of the miners as of primary importance. The shortening of the working day for miners from 8 to 7 hours without reducing their wages by the end of this five-year period, serves this end. (continuous applause) Our Party is convinced that our heroic miners will match this care of the Party with deeds, that they will continuously raise the productivity of labor and will extract more and more useful minerals from our rich subsoil.

High-rate development of the oil and mining industries, the new establishments of coloured metallurgy and chemical industry, which will be built during the third five-year plan and during the coming five-year plans for the processing at home of our underground wealth, raise as an urgent problem the assurance and extension of the bases of raw materials:

The Party considers it indispensable that during this five-year plan, the geological work be extended and intensified, by paying a special attention to the complex research for finding new sources, first of all, of oil, bitumen, natural gas, coal, chromium, iron and nickel, copper as well as other useful minerals.

Under the continuous care of the Party, a number of high and middle cadres, who have gained an experience and are in a position to confront the new and important tasks laid before them by the third five-year plan, have been trained and are working now in our country in the field of geology. The working people of

geology must be guided in their studies by the deep scientific criterions and methods, in order that their conclusions may direct in a right way the series of work and geological research in general. The Party has not and will not spare its efforts to further strengthen the geology as a field of great prospects, but this in no way permits us to use without any responsibility and without any efficiency the many material and monetary means, destined for this purpose. At the same time, we must strengthen the work of the geological laboratories, not only to raise further the scientific work of analysis, but also to raise to the maximum the range of chemical and chemical-technological analysis, which will be performed at home, so as to give possibilities for a further development to the economy of the country.

The working people of geology must be very careful for the scientific enrichment, safeguarding and exploitation of the documents and materials, which must serve not only for the time being, but for the coming generations as well. Special attention must be paid to increase the effectiveness of the geological research in order to discover and raise in category the reserves with the least expenses.

The work in geological field must be evaluated not only by the volume of the work performed, but also by the quantity and quality of the useful mineral reserves put into the service of our people's economy.

The utilization of the new works foreseen in the third five-year plan, especially of those which consume large quantities of electric power and the prospects of the development of our country during the coming five-year plan, lay before us the primary task of furthering the extension of the power basis.

The Party has taken effective measures at the proper time to meet the needs of our economy for electric power. During the third five-year plan our State will invest huge funds for the purpose of strength-

ening the electric power basis. By the new hydro-power stations which will be put into exploitation in the first years of the third five-year plan, as are the hydro-power station of Shkopeti and Bistrica together with the powerful thermo-electric power station which will be built in Fieri, it will increase it 2.5 times. During the third five-year period studies will be made of the possibility of utilizing the huge energetic reserves of the Drini river and of putting them into the service of our economy. 84 per cent more electric power will be produced in 1965 than was produced in 1960.

The unified system of the distribution of the electric power will be greatly extended during this five-year plan. Many districts of the country as Shkodra, Gjirokastra, Saranda, Delvina, Rogozhina, etc. will be connected with this system.

This powerful growth of the technical and material basis requires from the working people of the energetics to further specialize themselves for the rational exploitation of the productive capacities in order to secure uninterruptedly the supply of power for industry and for all the consumers.

The main targets of the mechanical industry in future will be the profitable increase and extension of the nomenclature of the production of spare parts for the industry and especially for the oil industry, the vehicle transport, agriculture and other branches of the people's economy. The work of producing simple machines must be continued and the mechanical existing basis must be exploited in depth. In 1965 the mechanical industry must cover not less than 50% of the country's needs for spare parts. The task set by the Party for the production of the spare parts has a special significance for our country. Its achievement will help the exploitation and the better maintainance of equipment and machinery, and will reduce our imports.

We are fully convinced that the working people of the mechanical industry will carry out these

recommendations of the Party. In order to fulfil these tasks, the third five-year plan provides for the establishment of a series of important works for the extension of mechanical industry as for instance the plant for tractor spare parts, the enlargement of «Enver» plant, the reconstruction of the mechanical plant in Stalin City and so on.

**The fulfilment in time and with good quality of the magnificent program of construction foreseen by the third five-year plan, depends in a large scale on the progress and further development of the industry of materials of construction.**

The Central Committee of the Party of Labour of Albania has taken measures to accelerate the rate of development of this branch so as to be in position to meet, not only construction rates, but also to dispose reserve capacities, sufficient for covering all the needs and for the security of the further increase of construction.

Great tasks lay in front of the working people of this branch of industry, not only to reach the high rates of 79% increase of production, but also to improve radically the quality index of their work.

The increase and the extension of the assortments, the improvement of the quality and the elimination of the seasonal character of production, are the main duties of the Party organizations and of the working people of the industry of materials of construction.

The development of the wood industry has been always a problem for our Party and Government, because it has to do directly with the treatment of such great wealth as forestry. There is no field of the people's economy which has no connection with the use of the wood materials. For this reason, during the third five-year plan effective measures will be taken for the upkeep and rational exploitation of the forests, as well as for the better fulfilment of the needs of the economy with the articles of wood. Considerable invest-

ments will be made for the raising of new productive capacities, as the wood combines in Shkodra and Milot, for opening forest roads, for the raise of mechanical standard, and so on. All of these will create conditions in the future to march forward towards the balance of the cutting of the forests with their natural growth as well as towards their more rational exploitation.

Great tasks lie before the working people of the wood industry and the Party organizations for the all-sided and rational exploitation of wood, for large scale use of mechanized means, for the improvement of quality and for the permanent assurance of the man power. The turn which has just begun in this branch of our economy is a guarantee for the accomplishment of these tasks. We can say that this branch of economy got out of its backwardness and now it is applying carefully the recommendation of the Party.

**The fulfilment of the ever-increasing necessities of the population for consumer's goods makes indispensable for the further extension of light and food industries.** Great importance will be given during the third five-year plan to the strengthening and modernization of these branches of industry, by building new works equipped with modern technique, as the woolen textile factory for the production of kashmir cloth in Tirana, and the knitting combine in Korça; another big cotton textile combine will be built in Berat, the construction of the oil extraction and refining factory in Fier will be completed and the «Ali Kelmendi» food combine in Tirana will be finished; the grape and the fruit processing industries will also be greatly developed.

The construction of these new works as well as the more effective exploitation of the existing capacities of production, will make it possible to be processed at home and on a larger scale agricultural and livestock raw materials, by giving in this way a contribution to the development of these branches and to

the improvement of the material wellbeing of the people. As a consequence, the products of the light industry in 1965 will be 62% and those of food industry 43% higher than those of 1960.

The increasing and extension of assortments, the improvement of quality, the appropriation and respect of the processes of technology of production are the main duties of the working people in the branches of industry which produce consumers' goods.

Taking into consideration that our country has favourable conditions of catching and raising fish, we shall give importance to the development of this sector in the future. The working people of the fishing industry must guarantee the technical readiness of their means, to use them at the proper time and in the richest fishing zones, using various fishing methods. Together with fishing in the open sea, the fishing in the internal waters must be developed and the artificial fish raising must go on. We are convinced that all the possibilities exist to draw this important branch of our economy out of its backwardness.

**The local industry and cooperated handicraft as assistants of the national industry must also be developed in the future on the basis of the exploitation of the local raw materials and the wastes of the national industry.**

The progress of these departments depends a great deal on the local organs of the Party and of the State which must exert better leadership in their economic and financial activities and urge individual initiatives to create new articles and assortments to meet the needs of the people more fully.

In 1965 the output of local industry will grow as far up as 23 per cent and that of handicrafts 69 per cent above those of 1960. This is not an easy task to achieve without a better mobilization of the working people of these departments.

The fulfilment of the daily ever growing needs of the population for different services and repairs is the primary task of our cooperatives of handicraft workers. Led by this aim these organizations, together with the local organs of the Party and state, must deeply recognize the needs of the people for different services and according to these needs they must establish their activities and the network of such services.

**The fulfilment of the grandious tasks of the third five year plan will be accomplished to a very large extent by the large funds which will be invested for the development of the economy and culture.** The investment of this five year plan will reach up to 69,500 million leks or 51% more than in the second five year plan. As in the past, the overwhelming majority of the investment, or 81,9% of them will be made in the field of material production.

In the coming five year plan, a heavy weight will be carried by the capital construction work, for which there will be spent about 35,700 million leks with the 1961 prices, or 60% more than the volume of the constructions accomplished during the second five year plan and 400 million leks more than those spent during the fifteen years of the people's power, accounted according to 1958 prices.

Out of the total volume of constructions 72,1 per cent will be carried out for the productive branches. This will make possible the construction of more than four hundred industrial, agricultural, social and cultural works.

The magnificent plan worked out by the Party for drainage works for the elimination of the century-old swamps, for the reclaiming of as much land as possible, will enter the final stage of its completion.

For the acceleration of the rates of construction of dwellings it is foreseen to spend 6,500 million leks, or 75 per cent more than in the second five-year plan. In every working day 13 flats will be constructed as



compared with 7 built up during the second five-year plan.

Important works will be carried on for the further development of transports, by increasing the road and railway network, by mechanizing and modernizing our sea-harbours and especially the Durrës harbour, which will become one of the largest harbours on the Adriatic Sea.

The successful achievement of this program dictates the necessity of improving the technical and economical studies and of drafting the works to define the profitableness of investments, the volume of construction work as well as the necessary funds. It is necessary to pass more courageously to the typification of the drafts and the standardization of construction units, as an indispensable condition for the entry on the road of the industrialization of construction, as a better method of the acceleration of rates and of the improvement of the quality of constructions. In the field of municipal services, the work of drafting and application of the town plans will be continued. Taking into consideration the new conditions which come out as a result of the collectivization of agriculture, possibilities have been created to make the new construction in the countryside according to a plan. The working people of town-planning must give their help in this direction.

Important duties lie also ahead of the building workers for a better organization of the work, for the constant supply of the construction sites and the concentration of the forces so that the different buildings be concluded according to plan. Our builders must give high quality buildings, they must spare as much material as possible, to further mechanize the work in order to continuously reduce the construction expenditures, by discovering and exploiting the inner reserves. In this way, the Party slogan: «To construct quickly, well and cheaply» will be put into practice.

Our Party is fully convinced that the construction workers, by confronting the difficulties, will put all their energies to accomplish the splendid prospects opened to our country on the road to socialism. (Applause)

**Great tasks lie also ahead of the transport workers to transport at the proper time and uninterruptedly the raw materials and ready-made products from the production place to the market.**

In the five years to come important measures are foreseen for the development of all kinds of transport, for the increase of means and the strengthening of the material and technical basis as well as for the preparation and qualification of cadres. The volume of the transport work in 1965, as compared with that of 1960, will increase for the vehicle transport of the Ministry of Communications by 41 per cent, the railway transport by 105 per cent and for the sea transport by 2,2 times more. For this purpose important measures are envisaged for the increase of the capacities and for the improvement of the technical and economical indexes of exploitation. At the end of the five-year plan the capacity of the trucks, as compared with 1960, will be increased by 21 per cent, that of tows by 96 per cent, while the sea transport will be doubled. The Vorre-Milot railway will be constructed and put into operation and the work may begin for the construction of the Elbasan-Pishkash railroad.

A further development will be assumed by the communications through the increase and modernization of its technical basis, with the aim of a better service for the population and enterprises.

In the transport sector, the attention of the Party organizations and the State economic organs must be focussed on the upkeep of the vehicles, by increasing the care for their readiness.

Comrades,

These are the tasks in general, which are put forth by the Party for the further development of these important sectors of the economy during the third five-year plan. As it is seen, the targets are not easy. Their completion requires a full and an allround mobilization of the Party organizations and the working collectives. It requires from us to further improve the method of leadership and organization of work, to make the utmost efforts for saving, for the exploitation of the inner reserves and of the possibilities existing at home. In relation with the duties which are put forth in these sectors of the economy, I wish to speak about some very important questions which the Party and the working masses must keep in mind and which have to do with the further improvement of the quality indexes of production.

**a) In the labour productivity field.**

Our Party has always taught us that the uninterrupted increase of the labour productivity, as an economic law of socialism is the decisive factor for the acceleration of the production rates, the reduction of costs, the increase of socialist accumulation and the improvement of the material and cultural standards of the working masses. The labour productivity, as Lenin teaches us, «... is in the final analysis the most important thing, the main thing for the victory of the new social order». (V. I. Lenin, Works, vol. 29, p. 474, Alb. Ed.) Such an evaluation of this very important economic index has its incarnation and concretion in our State plans. We have achieved satisfactory results throughout all the economic activity as well as in the field of the increase of labour productivity. The target fixed by the third Party Congress has been reached in general: about 67 per cent of the total industrial production increase during the second five-year plan was reached thanks to the increase of the labour productivity.

Far greater targets are laid by the third five-year

plan. According to the draft-directives it is foreseen that the labour productivity be increased: in the general industrial production — 27 per cent, out of which in mines 25 per cent and in industry 34 per cent; in the automobile transport 15 per cent, in the railway transport — 44 per cent and in the sea transport — 75 per cent, while in construction and installations — 28 per cent. The increase with such high rates of the labour productivity during the third five-year plan will ensure about 62 per cent of the increase in the total industrial production.

As it is seen these are great targets, but fully possible to be reached, if effective measures are taken to exploit the huge possibilities existing in the economy of our country.

**The continuous technical progress is the material basis for the rapid growth of the labour productivity.** V. I. Lenin has continuously stressed that the equipment of all the branches of the people's economy with a new advanced technique, the perfection of the technology of production and the mechanization of the process of work are the material bases for the uninterrupted growth of the productivity of labour.

Unlike the capitalist system which is based on the exploitation of man by man, in our socialist economy are created unlimited possibilities for the large-scale introduction of the planned technique. The increase of the labour productivity in our country is not based on the inhuman intensification of work as it happens in capitalism. The technique with which our industry is continuously being equipped, is the source of the uninterrupted growth of production and of the productivity of labour. For this reason the up-keep and rational exploitation of the machinery, mechanism and technical equipments as the chief element of the productive capacity, have been and continue to be one of the most important tasks for the Party organizations and the State economic organs.

The Party has always made it known that the improvement of the exploitation of the machinery must aim at the intensive exploitation, by the longest possible time of operation, as well as by the raising of productivity per work-time unit. The application of these tasks demands the establishment of a fair regime in the machinery operation, the improvement of the rhythms of production and so on.

**The training and the qualification of cadres is the decisive factor for the mastering of the technique and the raising of the labour productivity.** The high rate development of socialist industrialization, the reconstruction of a great number of enterprises and their equipment with a new technique as well as the impetuous development of other branches of our people's economy, lay urgently before us the training of necessary cadres not only for putting the machinery into operation, but for the reaching of the drafted capacities.

The technique, may remain as a dead thing though it may be good and perfect, if there are no skilled people to run it. Therefore, in this five-year plan, too, our Party will pay special attention to the growth and specialization of the working class and the leading cadres, as a decisive factor for the mastering of the technique and the increase of the productivity of labour.

The application of the effective measures foreseen by the third five-year plan in the field of technical and professional training of the cadres, will create conditions to march faster towards the elimination of the disproportion existing between the necessities for cadres and the degree of their preparation, on the one hand, and the technical level and their professional training, on the other.

The solution of these tasks which are of a primordial importance for the increase of the productivity of labour and for the construction of socialism, is closely

connected with the reorganization of the universal education and professional training.

**The organization and the exploitation of the working time — important factor for the increase of productivity.** The problems in relation with the norms and with the socialist organization of work in general, have a big economic, political and social content and, as such, they have attracted continuously the attention of the Party. The participation of the workers in the normed work has been always widened in all our branches and sectors of economy. A good job has begun to be made for the revision and substitution of the experimental and statistical norms by technical norms. A better work in this regard has been done by the Party organizations and the working collectives of the oil combine in the Stalin City, at the «Enver Works» in Tirana, etc.

The technical norms are a great mobilizing force, a sound basis for the increase of productivity. They are decided, starting from the level which surpasses the average reached indexes, with the aim of attracting the broad masses of the workers towards the level of the advanced workers.

Taking into consideration the socialist principle of compensation of the work according to its quantity and quality, the Party will take, during this five-year plan, a series of important measures which are aimed at making the wage system a stronger means of stimulation for the increase of production and productivity of labour.

**The socialist emulation is a great social force for the growth of the labour productivity.** One of the characteristic particularities of the socialist organization of labour is the fact that our workers are directly interested in the growth of labour productivity. The fact that they work for themselves, for the society, and not for the capitalist, develops in every worker the high conscience and exemplary attitude towards labour. This is the source of the origin and the development

of such wonderful initiatives as are the methods «1 + 2» for the qualification of the workers, the movement for the fulfilment of the norms by each worker and, above all, the wide social movement of brigades which fight to win the title «The socialist labour brigade» under the watchword «To work, to learn and to live in a socialist way».

The Party and Trade-Union Organizations have the duty to support by all means every initiative of the workers, to generalize and propagate it. In this way, they open a wider vista to the development of the productive forces of the country, as a powerful factor of the growth of the social labour productivity by still higher rates.

b) Special care must be given to the achievement of the plan not only concerning the quantity, but also the quality.

The establishment of a series of industrial works, equipped with an advanced technique, the reconstruction and modernization of the existing industry, the raising of the scale of mechanization of construction work, the work done for the training and qualification of cadres has created favourable conditions and real possibilities for the radical improvement of the quality. The measures taken for the standardization of the products, the changing of the methodology of planification, the organization of technical controlling offices, laboratories and so on have also served to this purpose.

The industrial enterprises and those of construction dispose all their possibilities to give to the people high quality goods and works. It is high time for every enterprise or economic organization to focus their attention on the accomplishment of the quality indexes of production.

It has been noticed that during the recent years many working collectives have turned out high quality products and constructions which are received with pleasure by the people as are the products of the

«Stalin» textile combine, those of the cement works in Vlora, of the wood processing cooperative at Pogradec and of many others. But this is only the beginning of the great task facing us. Therefore the Party organizations primarily must wage a fierce and persistent fight against all alien manifestations against the narrow departmental interests and against the spirit of tolerance noticed sporadically.

The struggle for the improvement of quality is at the same time a struggle for the growth of production and the raising of the material and cultural standards of the working people. Therefore, the Party organizations must show in the future a greater care for the organization of production, for the application and the extension of the State standards and of the technical conditions, for the establishment and application of the advanced technological processes. But the improvement of the quality cannot be conceived without an ever increasing scale of technical, all-sided and systematical control, without raising the feeling of personal responsibility of the people.

c) We must further strengthen the saving regime.

The fulfilment of the magnificent program of the Party for the construction of socialism demands the mobilization and rational use of all the material and financial values, the establishment of a strict regime of saving in the people's economy as well as throughout all the State and social activity in our country.

The Party has taught the cadres and the working people that by exploiting the huge and real possibilities of the socialist order, discover and use the inner reserves of production for the further growth of the financial sources, use them for the benefit of the development of economy and for the improvement of material and cultural conditions of the working masses.

In this way it was possible to apply the recommendations of the third Party Congress for the increase of production, for the reduction of the costs and for the reduction of non-productive expenses; by sparing thus to the people's economy great sums of money above the plan. After the December 1959 plenary session of the Central Committee of the Party, a special impetus has had the struggle to economize everywhere, to manage well the wealth and the money of the people, to raise higher the socialist conscience at work. It is estimated that at the end of 1960 in the economic sector the reduction of costs surpassed the tasks assigned by the third Congress of the Party, by 700 million leks. The new tasks lying before our economy in the third five-year plan require a greater mobilization of our internal material and financial sources. A special importance, with regard to the savings, must be attached to the rational exploitation of the raw materials, to other materials, fuel, etc.

The systematic reduction of the norms in using the materials and especially the imported materials, the economy and substitution of the deficient materials must be a permanent duty of the economic and State organs. In this regard our possibilities are still greater. The application of the advanced methods and experience, the improvement of the quality of the raw materials, the application of the technical norms of the consumption of the materials, are important factors, which assure the saving of material and monetary values.

In the struggle for the establishment of the saving regime it must be kept in mind to reduce the non-productive expenses, to accelerate the circulation of the turnover means, to strengthen the hojzrashot and to reduce the excessive management expenses.

The struggle for the establishment and further strengthening of the saving regime is strictly connected with the Party work for the education of socialist

conscience in safeguarding the common property of the people. The damage and ill-management of the socialist property must be considered as a reflection of the class struggle. Therefore, besides the educational work, we must never slacken our revolutionary vigilance.

The Party organizations, mass organizations, the leaders of the economy and all the workers must have it clear that the struggle for the achievement of the planned targets is inevitably connected with the struggle for saving. The problem of further strengthening of the saving regime must be made a problem of the masses and be put under their control. The workers' initiatives for the reduction of expenses and for the strengthening of the saving regime must be supported and promoted. The Party should continue to educate the masses of the people to have a great respect for the socialist property in order to instil into the workers the sense of a strong saving regime.

## 2. — The further development of agriculture during the third five-year plan.

Agriculture is one of the main branches of the people's economy, covering in 1959 a specific weight of 42,8 per cent of national income. Starting from the great importance agriculture has for the socialist construction of the country and from the fact that in agriculture is occupied 62,7 per cent of the population, the Party has always paid and is paying special attention to its development, just as it is doing for all the socialist construction in the country-side.

The third five-year plan envisages a considerable rise in the material and cultural standards of the working people of our country, the industry in general will be extended, especially the light and food industry. The successful achievement of these important targets is

strictly bound to a considerable increase of the agricultural and livestock products. Therefore, the measures taken for the fast development of agriculture, have an important place. During the third five-year plan, the main task in agriculture is always the increase of the grain production; along with it other agricultural and livestock products must increase, too, in such a scale as to assure the satisfactory supply of the people, to fulfil fairly the necessities of the industry with raw materials and to increase their exports.

Measures must be taken to increase the agricultural and livestock products in 1965 more than in 1960 as follows: grain 95 per cent, cotton 65 per cent, tobacco 112 per cent, the sugar-beet 75 per cent, vegetables and potatoes 109 per cent, olives 181 per cent, fruit and grapes 90 per cent, milk 58 per cent, meat (live weight) 34 per cent, wool 44 per cent, etc.

On what is our Party based in establishing such targets for the rapid rise of agriculture and the increase of the agricultural and livestock products during the five-year plan?

Firstly, on the new conditions created by the conclusion of the collectivization, on the present results of the cooperatives, as well as on the measures which will be taken for their economic and organizational strengthening during the third five-year plan.

Secondly, on the level reached by the agricultural mechanization and on the measures foreseen for its further extension. Suffice it to say that in 1965, as compared with 1960, the volume of the mechanized work will almost be doubled, while the tractor depots will be enlarged more than double. For this purpose, 2,600 million leks will be invested, that is nearly three times more than the first five-year plan and 8 per cent more than the second five-year plan.

Thirdly, on the drainage of a great part of the most fertile lands of our country, as well as on the extension of the irrigated area carried out during the

second five-year plan period. The work in this direction will continue on a large scale during the third five-year plan, too, investing for this purpose 3,693 million leks, or 18 per cent more than in the second five-year plan and 2.5 times more than the first five-year plan.

Fourthly, on the reclaiming of 63 thousand hectares of virgin lands and on waging a more decisive struggle on the part of all the working people in agriculture for the increase of productivity.

The drainage work, the good plowing of the lands, and especially the periodical deep plowing, 30-40 centimetres deep, for the crops, the struggle for accumulation and good use of the organic fertilizers, the use of selected seeds, the performance at the proper time of the technical service, the fight against agricultural pests, the raising of the technical standard of the workers in agriculture and the training of a larger number of specialized cadres and leaders for the agricultural cooperatives and for the other needs of agriculture in general, all these measures must be followed and be faithfully carried out by the State organs, by the workers in agriculture and the Party organizations because they are strictly bound to the achievement of the targets laid to agriculture during this five-year plan period.

Under the first and second five-year plans the reclaiming of virgin lands and the extension of arable lands was a first-hand target, while under the third five-year plan the main task is the growth of productivity. We are a poor country, we have very little land under cultivation, our possibilities for reclaiming virgin lands are limited and in the future these possibilities will be still less. Besides this, the virgin lands which will be reclaimed in the coming five-year plans will be difficult to be totally used for the crops, they will be used especially for planting olive trees, fruit-trees and vineyards, for which we have unlimited areas. Therefore, the main road for the development of agri-

culture and for the increase of the agricultural products under the third five-year plan and later on is the constant growth of productivity, not leaving aside the struggle for reclaiming virgin lands. In this direction, if we work properly, there are inexhaustible reserves. Conceiving thus the importance of the growth of productivity, during the third five-year plan it is envisaged that the arable land be extended by 13 per cent, while the volume of the total agricultural and livestock production will increase by 72 per cent.

The tasks for the increase of the agricultural and livestock products in the third five-year plan are huge, but their accomplishment is possible. It is necessary then, that based on our conditions, as a country with a very limited arable land, measures be taken to pass everywhere into an intensive agriculture.

The extension of mechanization and of the irrigated area and the drainage of land, create favourable conditions for an intensive agriculture. With the exception of some mountainous districts, we must fight to get from cultivated areas two or three products a year. For the irrigated lands this question must be indisputable, but even in the unirrigated areas, if it is not possible to get two such products a year as the grain, it is altogether possible that within the same year, after harvesting the crops other plants such as green plants be sown, as it is always stressed by the Party. The State and agricultural organs, the Party organizations and the working people of agriculture, especially the agronomists and technicians, must consider the taking of two and three products a year from each hectare of land, as a very important duty for the development of agriculture and for the increase of the agricultural and livestock products.

The large-scale intensification of agriculture, the taking of two and three crops a year from the same land, the raising of more livestock for every 100 hectares of land, the increase of the income for every

hectare of land under cultivation, etc., are closely related to the exploitation of the numerous inner reserves of the land.

It is indispensable that the working people, particularly the agricultural specialists, recognize, obtain and put into life the advanced experience of our country and of the foreign countries, especially of those countries whose arable areas are limited. Thus, for example, in People's China and Korea not only 2-3 products a year are harvested out of the same cultivated area, but even the areas where fruit trees are planted a second crop is regularly harvested and they take abundant crops. We must begin large-scale planting of secondary crops on the lands already planted trees, especially in olive groves, which occupy a large area and are not exploited at all.

Among the most important measures to be taken during the third five-year plan, of special importance is the extension of the irrigated area. At the end of 1960 the arable land under irrigation in our country was 135,000 hectares of land, while in 1965 it will reach over 200,000 hectares. The November 1959 plenary session of the Central Committee examined in detail the problem of irrigation in agriculture and decided justly the measures to be taken for the extension of the irrigated area. This very great problem for our agriculture must be solved as soon as possible. We must fight not only to complete the irrigation projects fixed by the decision of the Central Committee, but every district, locality and village should exploit all the possibilities and means they dispose, all the sources where irrigating works can be constructed in order to increase the irrigation capacity with 65,600 hectares of land at present unirrigated, during the present five-year plan period. The sooner we finish this, the better it will be for our agriculture.

Many members of the cooperatives and other working people of this sector seek to increase the irri-

gated area only by building large irrigation works, by motor pumps, electrical pumps, which demand large sums of investments, demand a lot of time to be put into operation and which are dependent on imports. This tendency is not just for our conditions. Large irrigation works have been constructed and will be constructed in the future, too, pumps have been imported and will be imported in the future, too, of course as much as the State can afford, but the question is to exploit all the possibilities and the means existing at home for the extension of the irrigated area, to mobilize all the agricultural cooperative forces for building windlas wells, dikes, pools, reservoirs, little streams, simple artesian wells, as it is practised, for instance by some cooperatives in Korcha. The Party organizations, the technicians and the agricultural working people, the cooperated peasantry in general, must consider it as a great victory to place under water even one hectare of land more than the fixed target.

The Party organizations and the State organs must teach the cooperative members not only how to build for themselves simple irrigation works, but also how to keep up those built by them or by the State. They must learn the advanced methods of irrigation. Measures must be taken for the regulation and the tilling of the land in such a way so as to ensure the irrigation by advanced methods and to spare the water which is so valuable for agriculture.

A decisive struggle must be waged for the maintenance of the soil fertility by applying high technical methods, by securing abundant fertilizers, by studying the rotation of planting and by protecting the land from the excessive waters and erosions. A special attention should be paid to the very inclined lands which, if measures are not taken, may be easily damaged by erosion.

An indispensable condition for the increase of the agricultural production is the providing of selected

seeds. If up to now we have had still low yields much influence has been exerted by the improper seeds used. The measures for the organization of production and manipulation of seeds have been fixed properly in the special decision adopted by the Politbureau and the Government since last year. The Ministry of Agriculture and its organs, especially the working people of the State farms and the agricultural cooperatives which are responsible to produce seeds must carry out carefully all the duties assigned to them for the solution of the seeds problem.

**Great tasks lie ahead of the working people in agriculture for the development of the industrial crops during the third five-year plan.** Very great efforts must be made during the coming years for the increase of the cotton and sugarbeet yields per hectare. In 1965 we must harvest 4,5 quintals of cotton and 104 quintals of sugarbeet per hectare more than in 1960, while for the increase of the tobacco production, we must strive to harvest high yields as well as to further extend the cultivated area. A greater care and efforts than today are required for the achievement of these tasks and especially for the improvement of the quality of production. These plants quickly remunerate any toil and provide large incomes to those cultivating them.

In view of the needs of the population for vegetables, the needs of industry, and the very great profitableness of their export, a special care must be shown for the production of vegetables. **The State agricultural farms as well as the agricultural cooperatives which are responsible for the vegetable production must take all the necessary measures for the fulfilment of the plan using the most suitable land and cultivating the best varieties of vegetables which grow early and have high qualities.** All the State agricultural economies, cooperatives and individuals, especially those that are near the towns and enterprises, should take measures



to secure for themselves and for the market the necessary quantity of vegetables.

Great prospects has our country for the development of fruit-growing. This job already started, must be continued more courageously during the coming years. But it would not be just and economic if we focus our attention on the new planting and not show the necessary care primarily for the improvement of the situation of the existing olive trees, fruit trees and vineyards. Therefore, we must show greater care for their upkeep and the increase of production of the existing fruit trees and particularly of the olive trees.

The further extension of fruit-growing for industrial purposes must be applied first of all near the zones where the grape and fruit processing factories have been and will be built up. **Special attention must be paid to the creation of orchards, olive groves and vineyards on hillsides and bush areas unfit for crops. A large area must be devoted to the citrus fruit trees, particularly in the Saranda and Vlora districts, and gradually extend them to other districts assigned for such trees. Special attention must be paid to the selection of the varieties to be planted,** in order to have the best ones with a high feeding quality and taste asked for in the home and foreign markets. In order to control this work, every district should allot the State enterprises of the agricultural cooperatives which will produce fruit seedlings for their district needs. Such a measure will not only guarantee the accomplishment of the necessities for each district, but the control for the best varieties which will be planted in the future as well.

For the planting of fruit-trees and for the development of fruit-growing, in general, a great help must be given by the youth organization, which has always performed with honour every task assigned by the Party. The agricultural organs and the agricultural

cooperatives must give all possible aid and support to the youth in every action undertaken by it.

For the development of the livestock during the third five-year plan, detailed tasks have been drafted in the decision of the plenary session of November 1958 of the Central Committee. **The results achieved up to now by some of the districts and by many agricultural cooperatives prove that the tasks assigned by the Plenum for the increase of the livestock which are included generally in the third five-year plan, are fully achievable.**

On what directions must our attention for the livestock be concentrated?

**First,** attention must be concentrated on the increase of the livestock productivity, by creating suitable conditions for this purpose. First of all, all the energies of the specialists, the leaders of the enterprises and agricultural cooperatives, Party and State cadres and of all the working people of agriculture must be directed towards the exploitation of all the reserves for the improvement of the food situation. There are good examples in this respect in many agricultural farms. Silage, for instance, is becoming the main support of the fodder basis for cows in winter time, through the great work of the Party.

**Second,** in the development of all kinds of livestock, but particularly of cattle, swine, poultry and bees, because in this direction we have a great shortage.

The working people in livestock-raising must carry on a great work for the security of a suitable sheltering, without being in need of passing immediately and everywhere on big investments, as the State agricultural enterprises and some agricultural cooperatives have done. The livestock breeding must be better organized as well as the fight against diseases and effective measures must be taken for the increase of productivity in which our economy has huge losses.

Special attention should be paid to the improve-

ment of the sheep and cattle breeds. The results of the work in this direction must not be measured as up to now by the number of the breeding, by the results of the crossings, that is by the increase of the production and quality indexes.

In view of these tasks, the level of the leading work on the part of the Party and State organs must be raised to a higher scale and a better work must be done for the organization and training of cadres, for the learning and the generalization of the advanced experience. The application of these tasks will make it possible for the agricultural cooperatives to fulfil the proportion assigned by the plenary session of November 1958 for the collective livestock which they will have by 1965, increasing (in comparison with the present day situation) the number of cows by more than three times, that of sheep by two times, of sows by more than 1.6 times and of poultry by 7-8 times.

**Great tasks lie ahead of the working people of the State agricultural enterprises. They must improve their work in every direction, to better exploit the soil and the other numerous means given to them by the State, to strive to harvest as many products as possible and at a lower cost, to become an example of a high productivity, propagators of the advanced experience and the scientific achievements in agriculture.**

Comrades,

I wish to deal especially with the problems of agricultural cooperatives. Today they include almost all the agriculture of the country. On their wellbeing depends, to a large extent, the fulfilment of the tasks fixed by the plan for the quick development of agriculture and livestock and for the increase of the agricultural and livestock production. During the second five-year plan, the Party scored a historic victory with the completion of the collectivization of agriculture, but we cannot be appeased and think that from now

on the problems of agriculture will be easily solved, without great efforts and troubles.

The large economies which have already been created must be managed thriftily in order to become, indeed, advanced economies, where all their branches will be harmoniously developed. Our agricultural cooperatives are very far from such a standard. Therefore, while during the second five-year plan the struggle of the Party and State organs in the countryside was concentrated on the conclusion of the collectivization of agriculture, during the third five-year plan the main task is to strengthen the agricultural cooperatives economically and organizationally, so as to make them powerful and highly rentable economies.

This is not a simple task and it cannot be solved either by decisions or by decrees, by agitation or propaganda. It demands a careful study of the situation of each cooperative, their conditions and possibilities to develop the different branches of economy as well as the prospect of each of them.

All these great problems must be studied in every direction. One cannot decide the direction of the cooperative or the development of its branches without taking into consideration the conditions of the soil and climate, the manpower and the working means, the profitableness of the development of one branch or another, etc. The harmonious development of the branches in the agricultural cooperatives should be always considered according to the profitableness of the cooperative and to the tasks assigned to it by the State plan.

**A special care must be shown for the cooperatives of the mountainous and hilly districts.** Up to now they have a onesided development, their members get little income even when they accomplish a great number of work-days, although it often happens that they do not use all their manpower. We must give a special aid to these cooperatives, we must thoroughly study every

economy, and point out not only the branches to be developed, but also the varieties of plants which can grow better and provide a greater income to the cooperatives and the State.

Along with the work to be done for the organizational and economic strengthening of the agricultural cooperatives, during the third five-year plan the State organs, especially those of agriculture and the district Party organizations must always keep in mind the prospective development of the villages, which must be not only centers of agricultural economy, but important inhabited centers, cultural and educational centers as well, which may truly represent the new socialist village.

Looking forward for the future of the countryside in this way, now that our agricultural cooperatives and their members, especially on the low-lands, have sufficient funds for constructions, dwellings, etc., it is necessary that all these investments be well studied in order to become a basis for the future village.

**The work begun for the unification of the small cooperatives in larger units, must be continued carefully during the coming years, too.** The Party must work with a greater courage for the unification of the small cooperatives into bigger ones, especially in low-lands, but in no way allow larger cooperatives than 700-1000 hectares of land. It would make their management more difficult and instead of bringing profits, it would damage the work. In the mountainous regions the unification of cooperatives must be well-studied and only where it is indispensable, when the cooperatives are too small and near each other.

The unification of the small cooperatives has a great importance for the future of agriculture, for in this way the possibilities for a better exploitation of the reserves of agricultural economy can be created, the development of the branches of agriculture can be

better harmonized, the investments for the development of the economy are better used and a better distribution of manpower and working means is carried out, the excessive expenses made today by the small agricultural cooperatives are limited, for the administration as well as for other purposes.

For each particular case the cadres who will direct the unified cooperative must be well trained. The cooperative can march forward only when it has skilled cadres at the head of the unified economies. Therefore, the sending to the cooperatives of the selected cadres who are working in the Party or in the State administration, as well as of those who are studying in higher economic schools or Party schools, the raising of the leading qualities of the existing cadres in the agricultural cooperatives, remains in the future important duties which must be attended to by the Party organizations and State organs.

Indispensable conditions for the prosperity of the agricultural cooperatives are the application of the cooperative charter, the organization and the just remuneration of the work, the wide participation of all the cooperative able members in the unified economy. Now that we have accumulated the necessary experience, it is high time to further introduce, but carefully, some new forms, more perfect, for the organization, remuneration and planification of the work. Thus, for instance, the allotment of different funds, especially that of social aid, as well as the distribution of the income, must be done in such a manner so as to draw the interest of the cooperative members towards the increase of the agricultural production and the increase of their participation at work. In some cooperatives where the possibilities are created the giving of pensions to the disabled members can be started gradually as well as the health leave, assistance to the mothers with many children, etc. A compulsory minimum of the working days must be fixed not only

for every year, but for every month also. The establishment of crèches and kindergartens must be better organized, as well as the collective bakeries, the role of the representatives, especially in the unified cooperatives, brigades, presidiums and revising commissions, must be raised. These and other problems must be thoroughly studied and properly reflected in the model statute and in that of each cooperative. Along with these some other forms of remuneration which are applicable under the different conditions of each cooperative and conceivable by all, as is for instance the remuneration per production unit or for a given amount of money, the forms of work in accord, and so on, must be studied in detail and must be submitted to the coming congress of the agricultural cooperatives which must meet this year. The payment of the cooperative members in cash, without working days, may begin to be tested.

In order to successfully solve all the problems of the economic and organizational strengthening of agricultural cooperatives, a decisive role is played by the leading cadres. The preparation and specialization of the cadres of the agricultural cooperatives continues to remain one of the most important tasks, therefore we must further improve the work at the school of the agricultural cooperatives, in the agricultural technicians, in the agricultural institute as well as in the other educational institutions.

The further development of agriculture as a whole, and particularly that of some branches which are still lagging behind, as for instance livestock and fruit-growing, is strictly linked with a series of important measures, for which have been justly fixed the tasks in the third five-year draft plan. **The agricultural and Party working people must always keep in mind and make a problem of the masses the right exploitation of the agricultural machines, the conclusion at the proper time, the upkeep and the good use of the drainage and**

**irrigation works, the successful fulfilment of the reforestation plan, the economization of the wood raw material and the protection of the lands from erosion.**

The Party has always practised a just Marxist-Leninist policy towards the peasantry. It will exercise resolutely this policy in the future, too. During the third five-year plan, besides the huge investments, which will be made by the State for the mechanization of agriculture, for irrigation and drainage works, various aids for the development of agriculture will be given to the peasantry, as for instance the agrarian credit, chemical fertilizers, selected seeds, fruit tree seedlings, etc., which are estimated in thousands of millions of leks.

**Important tasks are laid by the new five-year plan ahead of the working people of the accumulation sector.**

According to the production plans the volume of accumulations will be greatly increased. This job demands that the trade and accumulation organs should much more strengthen their relations with the countryside and better organize the work for the purchase of the planned production through the system of contracts.

The working people of the Party, State and agriculture must persistently fight for the achievement of the tasks which lie in front of our agricultural economy. The backwardness inherited and the natural difficulties, the excessive rains which usually alternate with long periods of draught, as well as the particular soil conditions, create for us great difficulties. Nevertheless, the mild climate, abundant waters, the possibilities of raising the productivity of our lands, the broad experience which has been won during the struggle for raising the standard of agriculture, the tireless work, the readiness of the cadres and of all the working people of agriculture, as well as the unspared aid of the countries of the socialist camp, are a guarantee for the successful fulfilment of the targets of agriculture set forth by the Party. The Party is fully con-

vinced that the State organs, the specialists and all the working people of agriculture will put all their forces and their knowledge for the successful achievement of the great tasks assigned to them by this Congress.

### 3. — The tasks of the third five-year plan for the material wellbeing of the working masses.

Led by the fundamental economic law of socialism, during this five-year plan we shall take important measures to raise to a higher level the material wellbeing and the cultural level of the working masses in order to make the life of the people better, fairer and more prosperous.

On the basis of the increase of the volume of the industrial and agricultural production, at the end of 1965 as compared with 1960 the national income will increase by 56%. At the same time the real wages of the workers and employees will increase by 30% and the real income of the peasantry by 35%. The increase of the real wages is foreseen to be achieved mainly through the increase of the nominal wage and the reduction of prices of the retail goods. The real income of the working people will increase then, and in this way their purchasing power will grow. Under these conditions the working people of the state and cooperative trade are in front of very important tasks for the uninterrupted delivery of goods from the producer to the consumer. Recognizing better the needs of the people, they must further promote the industrial and agricultural production with an ever higher quality.

The Party and economic organs must work harder in order to raise the standard of the trade service, technique and cultured trade taking into consideration that in 1965 as compared with 1960 the circulation of the goods will be 38% higher. Through the trade net

work, the people will buy more goods as follows: sugar 126%, fats 68%, meat 83%, fish 124%, beans 96%, rice 118%, vegetables 40%, potatoes 122%, timber 73%, cement 117%, nails 73%, glass 183%, cotton textiles 61%, woolen textiles 53%, shoes and sandals 113%, and so on. Greater attention will be paid to the extension of the production of construction materials for market, of articles for children and of those which facilitate household chores. During the third five-year plan the agricultural, accumulation and trade organs must cover the needs of the population with vegetables and potatoes and to meet better the demands for meat and milk.

The victory of socialism in the countryside requires that the consumers cooperatives be animated as economic organizations of the masses and in this way they must serve at the proper time the members and better fulfil their demands.

The Party advises the working people of the trade to be ready to put into service of the people all their skills. It is high time now that the working people of the trade master far better their trade and specialize in work. It must be understood that our socialist trade, just as J. V. Stalin has said,

«...it is our work, a work created by us, a bolshevik work and that the trade workers, including here even the sellers at the small shops, when they work honestly, perform our revolutionary bolshevik work» (J. V. Stalin, Works, volume 13 p. 329-330 Alb. Ed.).

During this five-year plan foreign trade problems get a special importance. The working people of our country face great tasks. The volume of foreign trade rises about 65-70% as compared with that of the second five-year plan, out of which export 90-95% and the import about 50-55%. We shall continue to develop

economic and trade ties with the countries of the socialist camp. Respecting the known principles of the mutual profitableness and of the mutual nonintervention in the internal affairs, we shall develop commercial exchange with all the capitalist countries that desire to have such exchanges with our state.

The goods for export must increase continuously in quantity and assortment. Great prospects has the export of the minerals, cigarettes and tobacco, the products of food industry, canning industry, wine, fruit and fresh vegetables. Our producers and the foreign trade organs must see to it that these products be of a high quality. They must work to keep and raise the trade mark of the factory and this should become a matter of honour.

The decrease of imports must preoccupy all the working people of our country. All the economic, state and party organs should do better work in this regard. The employees of foreign trade must ensure the orders, contracts and the arrival of the articles of import at the proper time.

During the years of the third five-year plan we foresee to widen still more the tourist bases, as the natural beauties and the climate conditions allow us to deal with such a trade. We shall increase our possibilities to accept as many tourists as possible, first of all from the socialist countries.

**Wide prospects open for the construction and for the extension of the house building fund during the third five-year plan.** About 6,500 million leks or 75% more than during the period of the second five-year plan will be spent for this purpose. About 1,360,000 square meters of dwelling house surface will be built, which represents approximately the fund of dwellings of five new towns as Vlora today. The working people have in their hands a huge socialist property, which is ever increasing. Therefore it is the duty of all to upkeep and safeguard them as our own eyes.

**Important measures will be taken for the further extension of municipal services.** Up to 1965 new aqueducts will be built and those existing will be extended. The further electrification of the towns and especially of the villages will take a great leap forward. Considerable funds will be spent for the regulation and embellishment of the towns and other inhabited centers. There is no doubt that just as up to now, our people will make their contribution to the solution of the numerous municipal problems. The Party organs will know how to organize on a right way the initiative of the masses in the town and countryside to make our Fatherland flourish.

**Even in future the Party will show a still greater attention for the protection and improvement of the health of the people, for the prolongation of the human life.** To extend further the results achieved, it is necessary to give more attention to the improvement of the work in all the sectors of health and especially to hygiene and prophylaxis for the propagation of the sanitary education among the working masses. In 1965 we shall have 6,5 hospital beds for every 1,000 inhabitants. The medical personnel will greatly increase and at the end of the five-year plan we shall have one physician for every 1,600 inhabitants.

The application of this program will raise the standard of our people to a higher degree and will create conditions to make the life in the family of every worker happier and more joyful.

#### **4. The training of cadres and the development of education, culture and science during the present five-year plan.**

The allround development of our country on the road of socialist construction, the progress of technique and science, put before us as first-hand importance, the necessity of raising the educational cultural

standards of the masses, the necessity of assuring cadres for all the sectors of the economy and culture. Therefore, the problem of cadres, their training at a faster rate and in a proportional way for all the sectors, the development of education, the extension of the school network and their strengthening, the work of educational, cultural, ideological and professional uplift of the working people are of the most actual and most important problems, which are facing the Party today. On their successful solution depends on a large scale the fulfilment of the tasks for the development of our economy and culture, not only for this five-year plan, but for the future also.

The third five-year plan will mark an important turn in the training of cadres because the possibilities for confronting better and faster the great necessities in this regard have now increased.

According to the third five-year plan, in 1965 we shall have 9,700 high cadres as compared with 4,245 at present, and 35,100 middle cadres, as compared with 20,000 at present. Over 57,000 new specialized workers will be trained and at the same time the technical skill of not less than 115,000 specialized workers will be further raised.

In the fixing of the targets for the training of the cadres the Central Committee and the Government have been careful to keep a just proportion among the sectors of economy and culture having in mind the most backward sectors, the most vital in this period as well as the prospect of the development of various sectors in the future. Thus for example, the number of engineers will be much increased — from 870 existing today, to 2,290. While in 1955 in the industry and mines we had one middle and higher cadre for every 31 workers, today in the mines we have 1 such specialist for every 13 workers, and in 1965, despite the growth of the working class, we shall have one for every five workers, while for every high cadre

there will be two to three middle cadres. (continuous applause)

Agriculture will have 1,150 agronomists as compared with 570 at present. In 1965 in general it will be possible to have 1 agronomist for every 600 hectares of land, while today we have one agronomist for every 1,200 hectares of land and 1 middle agricultural technician for every 330 hectares of land, while today there is one for every 650 hectares of land.

Important measures are foreseen for the training and specialization of the health cadres, cadres of education, science, arts and other sectors of economy and culture.

In spite of these high rates of the training of cadres and our maximal prevision of our possibilities we are still lagging behind if we take into consideration the needs we have and the standard of some of the countries of the People's Democracy. We must keep in mind that in spite of the measures taken, in 1965 we will not be able to have the necessary high and middle cadres totalling to 11,235 persons, which is equal to 24 per cent of our needs for cadres.

It must be pointed out that in spite of the particular measures which have been taken, because of the deficits created, it has not been possible to achieve the figures fixed for the high cadres by the plenary session of the Central Committee of July 1957 for cadres, especially the cadres of education, medicine, etc. Therefore, the full achievement, in general and separately for each sector and district, of the targets of the third five-year plan for the training of cadres is indispensable, it is the most important link for the fulfilment of the plan in general, for the raising of labour productivity, for the mastering of technique and the organization of production.

The solution of the problem of the cadres, the application of the duties for their training and special-

lization, require that all the Party and State organs be specifically occupied with this problem.

The Third Congress of the Party drew the attention of the Party and state organs that in the work for the training of cadres to keep well in mind the disproportion between the high level of the technique and the low level of our workers. In spite of the result achieved, the disproportion in this regard continues to exist. The main reason is that the Party organizations and the leaders of the enterprises show little care for the specialization of the workers through their practice and their raising to middle technicians and chiefly for the qualification of those workers who play a decisive role in the process of production work.

It must be pointed out that the schools for the training of workers, as the most organized form of training of the specialized workers, are still behind and are training a small number of specialized workers. During the second five-year plan in these schools there have been trained averagely 5.5 per cent of the new specialized workers each year. The training of the new specialized workers must be organized at the low professional school system, (as the schools for the training of workers will be named henceforth) where programs which should fully correspond to the new technique entering our economy, must be developed.

In order to aid the training and the specialization of cadres, it is necessary to better organize the work for the propagation of the knowledge about the technical progress, the education of general culture with the education of the grown-ups and their specialization must be combined as much as possible, measures must be taken especially for the reorganization of agrarian-technical courses for the peasant youth, in order that they may have the possibilities to gain the necessary knowledge of a low agricultural technique.

The Party has always stressed that evening and correspondence schools for adults are a great reserve

for the training and the uplift of the skill of the cadres. Although in this regard satisfactory results have been obtained and hundreds and thousands of people who have raised their educational level without quitting their jobs deserve to be congratulated, you understand it, comrades, how many efforts we must still make in this direction to better confront the rates of the rapid development of economy and culture in our country.

The source of fulfilling the needs for qualified workers and specialized cadres and of generally raising the educational and cultural level of the working masses, is the further development and extension of people's education.

Among the various measures for the extension of education, **the most important link in the third five-year plan is the extension of the seven-year education and later the eight-year education**, which provides all the contingents for all the other school categories. At the end of the third five-year plan we should include in the fifth class of the eight-year schools 80 per cent of the children who finish the elementary schools and should create conditions in order to put into application the eight-year general compulsory education during the coming ten years. In the middle school education the number of pupils will be almost doubled and it will be followed by 60 per cent of the children having graduated the seven-year school. A special attention will be paid to the extension of the general middle school education by opening during the third five-year plan period about 24 middle schools of general education which will be extended throughout the district centers, the great industrial enterprises and the populated centers of some localities. On the basis of these measures real possibilities will be created to better meet the needs of production with middle cadres and to increase the contingent being trained in higher educational institutes at home and abroad. The number



of students in 1965 will reach 7,000, as compared with today's 4,300 without including the evening course students and those studying by correspondence.

The fact that in 1965 we shall have in our country 410,000 pupils as compared with today's 313,000, that is nearly one fourth of the population will learn, and the fact that in the coming years 80 per cent of the population will have 7-8 year education, shows the deep cultural revolution which is taking place in our country, carried out by our people, who are not only brave, not only industrious, but also fond of education and progressive. **(continuous applause)**

The III Party Congress set the task of improving the educational and teaching work in the schools, of overcoming the detachment of school from real life, the gradual introduction of the polytechnical education and the education of the pupils with love for work. The achievement of this task requires radical changes in the educational system. As you know, sometime ago a general popular discussion about the necessity of the reorganization of the system of education took place in our country. Our working masses, the teachers and the parents unanimously approved the theses of the Party Central Committee and the Council of Ministers for the reorganization of the school, helping with their remarks and proposals the just decisions taken by the plenary session of the Central Committee about this problem.

Following the educational reform of 1946 which profoundly democratized our system of education and paved the way for the creation of the new socialist school, the reorganization of our system of education, based on the fundamental Marxist-Leninist principles of the connection of learning with practice, is the greatest and the most important step in the field of education.

The plenary session of the Central Committee has decided that the reorganization of the school will

begin to be gradually applied from the school-year 1963-1964. But it is clear that our school should be prepared and should begin to march right now on the basis of the important principles of the reorganization laid down by our Party. The solution of these tasks requires that the necessary economic, organizational and pedagogical measures should be taken at the proper time. The Ministry of Education should take measures right now to draw up the plans and programmes, as well as to secure the text books and elaborate the documents and new instructions which will be needed for the reorganized school. At the same time the education organs and the Party organizations, in cooperation with the working people in production, should think over in order to secure the work fronts in production for the pupils as well as to secure the technical and teaching personnel. It is necessary that the education organs under the care of the Party committees, should carefully study the experience accumulated by the experimental schools and should take measures in order to spread this experience.

Parallel with the preparation and putting into effect of the reorganization of the school, a very important problem facing us is the improvement of the quality of teaching, which finds its expression in the real progress of the pupils. The weak progress of the pupils is the most serious wound at present in our educational work. This situation is — to some extent — a consequence of the extension and impetuous development of education in our country and it can be explained by a certain backwardness of the development of education in profundity and quality as compared with its development in extension and quantity. But the main reasons of this situation should be sought in the school work, in the work of the teaching staff. The problem of the improvement of the pupils' progress can and should be solved first and foremost by the teachers themselves. Our Party and people have surrounded the teachers

with special care and esteem. They highly evaluate the noble work that the teachers have carried out and are carrying on for the extension of education to the remotest corners of our country, for the communist education of the younger generation, for the dissemination of culture among the masses. But an ever greater work is required from our teachers. The teachers should not forget that they educate and prepare our younger generation every day and every hour, that they have been entrusted with the education of nearly one-fifth of the population of our country. This high and noble mission is a honour to them, but at the same time it charges them with responsibility before the people and before our Fatherland. Therefore, from the rostrum of this Congress, we once more appeal to our teachers, calling on them to mobilize all their forces in order to raise the level of their teaching and educational work, to assure a higher advancement of the pupils in their lessons and to further strengthen our school. This task cannot be achieved at once and by itself. Its achievement requires a more stubborn attitude towards their work and more efforts for the ideo-professional uplift of the teachers. **(applause)**

Within the framework of the training of cadres in general, the training of teachers is one of the most serious and urgent problems. This is in fact the key problem, the decisive link for the solution of all the main tasks in the field of education. During the third five-year plan, the number of the teachers will increase from 11,000 at present to 17,000. During the third five-year plan about 21,000 persons will attend pedagogical education schools, while only the two-year pedagogical institutes will be attended by over 4,000 students. A large number of teachers should be trained especially to teach natural sciences, mathematics, physics, chemistry and to give lessons about practical work and about general technical subjects. The difficulty of securing educational cadres is connected not only with

their quantity but also with their respective educational level, because, as it is known, we are lagging behind very much in this direction, and especially in the seven-year schools. Therefore, in 1965 the number of teachers having the necessary education in the primary schools will reach 90 per cent, as compared with 50 per cent at present, in the seven-year schools it will reach 63 per cent, as compared with 24 per cent at present and in the secondary schools it will increase from 63 per cent at present to 90 per cent. The number of pedagogues with higher school education will increase from 1,000 at present to over 2,000 in 1965, that is some hundreds of teachers more than the total number of teachers who existed in our country during the period of the past regimes.

The training of these thousands of new teachers and the raising of their educational level to the proper degree, must be a great action, not only for the Ministry of Education and its organs, but also for the entire State and the Party, for the youth organization, for the trade unions and for the women organization.

The question of education in our socialist society is a general state and social problem, it is a general popular question. Therefore, the Party should create in the field of education a general and unique front of efforts and should make this a problem of the masses, of the parents and of all the citizens, a problem of the entire society.

The socialist construction of our country, the development of the material and the technical basis of production, the solution of the problems connected with the further development of the productive forces and the speeding up of the pace for the preparations of high cadres require a greater and stubborn work on the part of our high cadres and of all the scientific working people, in order to extend the basis for the development of sciences in our country.

The establishment of the State University of Ti-

rana created more favourable conditions to raise to a higher degree the work for the training of cadres and for the development of scientific work in the broad fields of knowledge.

But despite the successes scored in the field of scientific research especially during these recent years, the development of the scientific work is not yet at the level of the present day needs and goes on at a slow pace, in comparison with the demands of the socialist construction.

In order to overcome this backwardness and in order to further develop the scientific work on a more sound basis the Central Committee recently approved the 10-15 year plan of scientific research in our country. For the further development of the scientific studies it is indispensable that parallel with the development of the humanitarian and agricultural sciences also the natural and technical sciences should be developed with rapid paces, in order to realize the studying of the natural resources of our country and their exploitation on a larger scale.

In the field of natural sciences the research work should be directed towards the chemical and the physical study of the useful minerals of our country as well as towards their practical exploitation, towards the lawfulness of the placing and of the distribution of chromites, copper etc., towards the inventory of the useful plants and of the flora of Albania etc.

The work of scientific research in the field of technical sciences should be developed by studying the regional bordering and the typification of buildings and of the constructions made of concrete, by studying the fluvial hydroenergetic sources and the modelling of the hydrotechnical projects, as well as by studying the electrification of our country.

The further development of studies in the field of agriculture should be concentrated in the first place, as it has been concentrated up to the present, on the

problems of increasing the grain production, of raising the yields and the qualities of the industrial plants as well as on the problems of fruit growing, of the fodder basis for the livestock, of the improvement of the livestock breed etc.

In the field of medical sciences, the main task is the clinical study of the diseases widespread in our country as well as the study of the measures for their diminishing and annihilation.

In this phase of the development of the historical and phylogenetical sciences, an important task is the carrying on profound studies on the key problems of our history, of our literary language, of the history of the Albanian literature etc. As it has been pointed out also in the various decisions of the Central Committee of the Party, the work in the field of the history of the material culture, especially regarding the Illyrian and the early Albanian periods, as well as in the field of the history of arts and safeguarding and restoring the monuments, should be extended.

In the field of economical, law and philosophical sciences, research work should be concentrated on the main problems, such as the features of transition from capitalism to socialism in the People's Republic of Albania, on studying the birth and the development of our state and socialist law, the laws of the construction of the socialist society in the People's Republic of Albania.

The organisation of the scientific work on a sound basis by carrying out a concentrated work and by organizing complex studies, as well as the successful realization of the great task which lay before us in the field of sciences for a period of 10-15 years, require first of all the preparation of a large collective of scientific working people, especially in the field of natural and technical sciences, as well as a work full of prospects, in order to establish and organise in the future the scientific institutions for special branches of

science, as a main basis for the successful development of a scientific work. Efforts should be made for a better combination of all the scientific forces and of the material means in our disposal. The scientific work, which serves for the construction of socialism with rapid paces, should be supported without hesitation by the leaders of the ministries and of the production centers, considering it as an important state task, which is connected organically with their concrete tasks for the construction of socialism.

The Central Committee of the Party is fully confident, that the scientific working people, like all the working people of our country, will put all their energies in order to push forward the scientific work, to solve the important problems of production and of the socialist construction of the country. In their noble work, they will enjoy as always the constant aid and support of our Party and of our people's power, so as to make our young socialist science advance and flourish. (applause)

**The great economic tasks of the third five-year plan, the rapid paces of the construction of socialism, require the raising of the culture of the masses to a higher degree, in order to reach a greater and more conscious mobilization of the masses in the struggle for the construction of socialism.** The economic strengthening of our state power and the growth of the economic and cultural welfare of our masses, have made it possible that during this five-year plan important measures be taken, in order to reply to the ever growing cultural demands of our working people, taking care that the institutions and the cultural activity should include also the masses at the most remote places of our country.

The cultural work in the towns as well as in the countryside combined with the political work of the Party and with the concrete tasks of the socialist construction, should include within the sphere of its

activity the broad masses of the people, should educate them with the spirit of the Party ideology, should raise their political enthusiasm and should mobilize them in the struggle for the realization of the tasks concerning the socialist construction of the country. A vivid cultural work should be carried out especially against the outworn mentalities and against backward customs, which impede the creative energies and hinder their energetic work for the development of the economy and culture.

In the struggle for the development of culture, the Party should rely in a large scale on our people's intelligentsia, who have always shown themselves at the height of their noble and patriotic mission, and have given many proofs concerning their abilities, their selflessness and faithfulness towards the great cause of our people and Party, towards the cause of socialism. The splendid initiatives of our intellectuals aimed at giving more culture to the masses, especially to the masses in the countryside, at drawing them as soon as possible out of their backwardness, and at leading them on the wide road of progress should be encouraged by every form and means.

Under the leadership of the Party, we should work, comrades, not only to take the culture to the masses, but at the same time, with the participation of the broad masses themselves, we should develop such a popular, cultural and artistic movement, which has no precedent, in order to develop the wonderful traditions of the creative activity of our talented people.

**In the struggle for the construction of socialism, in this massive movement for the development of culture, an important role should be played by the working people of arts and literature of our country.**

New tasks of a great importance lie before our literature and arts of socialist realism. They should take a more active part in the struggle for the education of the masses and for their mobilization in order to

score new victories on the road of the construction of socialism.

In order to carry out successfully this noble task in our present conditions, when the cultural level has risen and when the aesthetical demands of the people have grown, the creative working people of this important ideological sector should make constant efforts to link themselves more closely with the people's life, to recognize it more profoundly, to study the processes and the great transformations which have taken place in the life of the working class, of the peasantry and of the people's intelligentsia from the position of marxism-leninism. This is one of the main demands that our time, the Party and the development of literature and art itself set before the writers and artists. Entering the breast of the people is the main source of real inspiration. It is the greatest guarantee for the forthcoming successes of literature and arts. On this road in their creative work, the working people of arts and literature will always have the support of the Party and the unextinguishable and life-giving light of marxism-leninism.

The Party is fully confident that the writers, artists, composers, painters, sculptors and the artists of the stage will work and will create also in the future with high patriotic inspiration which has always characterized them, and will push forward the immortal inheritance of the creative genius of the people, of its unforgettable sons — Naim, Migjeni and many others, will enrich our literature and arts with deeds about this new glorious period of our people's life, which occupy a place of honor within the framework of the other economical and cultural successes of socialist Albania. (applause)

Comrades,

The splendid prospects which the five-year plan opens to our country are based on the just economic

and marxist-leninist policy continuously followed by our Party.

The great tasks we lay before ourselves are the result of a thorough study with the direct and very active participation of our specialists and of the working masses, they have been fairly weighed and therefore are fully realizable in all the economical, social and cultural sectors.

A guarantee for this are our great underground resources, the fuel and hydroenergetic sources, the agricultural, livestock and forest products etc. In our country there have been created favourable conditions which greatly facilitate the exploitation of these large resources, because we have set up our new and modern industry, equipped with an advanced technology and because we have strengthened the agricultural mechanics etc.

We have a wonderful talented people full of enthusiasm, who is united as a single body around its Party.

Our cadres, who have come out of the bosom of the people and are forged in the fire of the war and of the constructive work, are mastering rapidly the technique, and we are convinced that, as always they will carry out with honor all the recommendations of the Party.

A guarantee for all the victories is our glorious Party, the leading and mobilizing force of our people, is the unbreakable unity of the Party, its links with the masses, its correct line which is based always on the victorious science of marxism-leninism.

An important factor is also the precious internationalist and brotherly assistance given to us by the countries of the socialist camp, the Soviet Union, the great China and the other countries of the people's democracy, in order to fulfil the needs of this five-year plan. (continuous applause, ovations)

On your behalf, on behalf of our entire Party,

allow me to address myself to the heroic working class, to our working peasantry and to our people's intelligentsia: Forward, always forward, to make our beloved fatherland more beautiful, mightier and richer, in order to create for our children and for the coming generations a more prosperous and happier life! On your behalf, allow me to thank wholeheartedly the glorious Communist Party of the Soviet Union, The Communist Party of China and all the Communist and Workers Parties of the countries of the socialist camp, who have assisted us in an internationalist spirit and on a marxist-leninist way, for the 3rd five-year plan. (tempestuous applause, ovations)

#### ON CERTAIN PROBLEMS ON STRENGTHENING THE PARTY

Comrades,

The decisive factor of all the successes we have achieved and of those we shall achieve in the future, is our Party of Labour, its organizing and leading role, its all the time correct policy. All our people, all our communists, are proud of their Party because only under its wise, farsighted and courageous leadership the most beautiful dreams of our working people have become and are becoming realities.

The great heroic struggle, the indefatigable and selfless work tempered and cemented our party, made it brave and indomitable, made it a capable leader that enjoys the full confidence of all the working masses of our country. The strength of our Party stands in unshakable faithfulness towards marxism-leninism, in its unity, in its indissoluble ties with the people who gave birth to it and brought it up. Our Party is rallied around its Central Committee as a single body. The steel-like unity and the compactness of the ranks of

the Party have always been and remain as one of the distinguishing characteristics of our Party of Labour. Always and especially in the most important moments of the history of our Party and people, the unbreakable unity of the entire Party and people around the Party, the readiness of everyone to carry out resolutely and without hesitation the correct marxist-leninist line of our Party have been displayed with their full might.

Our Party has safeguarded as the apple of the eyes and with fanaticism the unity of its ranks; by fighting with all its forces and without the slightest hesitation against every enemy that has attempted to violate this unity however slightly. Our Party has shown itself very careful and wise towards those communists who have made mistakes but have realised their mistakes. But towards the enemies of marxism-leninism, towards the deserters and towards those who have attempted to split our unity, the Party has shown itself rough and merciless, and such it will in the future too. In our unity stands our strength, in our unity stands our invincibility, in our unity stands the guarantee of all our successes.

The further and constant strengthening of our Party is one of our main tasks, because the Party is the leading, organizing and guiding force of the whole life of our country, because the Party, as great Lenin has said, is «the brain, the honor and the conscience of our era». (Lenin, Works, volume 25th, page 239, Russian edition).

The Yugoslav revisionists, who have come out with an entire «theory» aiming at the «weakening of the role of the Party» and its «extinction» in the conditions of the building of socialism, aim precisely at striking at the heart, the brain, the head of our movement. The fact that the imperialists and their lackeys, the revisionists, have directed, so to say, their main blows, if we can express ourselves in this manner, against the Party, makes us more convinced that we

must strengthen our Party more and more and we must raise its leading and organizing role.

From the third to the fourth Congress, the organizing work of our Party has been strengthened a great deal. Working everywhere for the implementation of the tasks laid out in this regard by the third Congress of the Party, the organizing role of the Party has grown, its composition has been improved, the level of the basic organisations has been raised, the work method of the entire organizations of the Party has been improved and the organizations of the masses have been better activated and revived. These have assisted in general the successful solution of the important tasks which were assigned to our people by the second five-year plan.

But the new conditions, the new grandiose tasks fixed by this historic Congress of our Party, require that the level of the organizing work of our Party be raised still higher.

Let me deal with some main questions:

### 1. — The composition of our Party — an important index of its might.

The tasks laid before us by the 3rd Congress for the strengthening of the composition of the Party have been realized in general in a satisfactory manner. We have now as effectives of our Party 53,659 communists (50,802 Party members and 2,857 candidate members) or 5,015 more than there were at the time of the third Congress.

But the difference is not so big in the numerical increase as in the quality indexes of the composition of the Party, and this is the main thing. The big transformations in the economy of our country, the radical changes which have taken place in the framework of the classes and especially the growth and the tempering of the working class and of our co-operativist peasantry have made it possible that the Party

got increased and strengthened with sound elements, who have come out of the ranks of the best people of these classes.

Comparing the present social situation of our Party with the one we had at the time of the third Congress of the Party we have the following picture:

No	Social Situation	April 1, 1956	Jan. 1, 1961	The difference + or -
1	Workers (of the state and cooperatives of handicraft sect.)	19,76%	29,66%	+ 9,90%
2	Members of the agricultural cooperatives	10,02%	23,62%	+ 13,60%
3	Individual peasants	21,42%	3,15%	- 18,27%
4	Employees	45,20%	41,94%	- 3,26%
5	Miscellaneous (students, housewives)	3,58%	1,62%	- 1,96%

So, in the ranks of the Party there has been a considerable increase in the number of workers, from 19,76% of the entire effective of the Party they represented in the Third Congress, the workers of the state and handicraft cooperatives represent at present 29,66% with an increase of 9,90%, which may be considered satisfactory.

The Central Committee, considering the improvement of the composition of the Party as a most important factor of its might, has carefully managed the entire work in this regard, chiefly by improving its work for the enrollment of new members, by making a more correct distribution of the Party forces as well as by working better for the education and tempering of its members.

Taking into account the changes which have taken place in the structure of classes in our country as a result of the building of the economic basis of socialism, the Central Committee of the Party is of the opinion

that it is high time to reconsider the demands which exist in the Party Constitution about the admission of the new members into the Party, in keeping with their social composition. For the past period these demands were entirely indispensable, because along with the other measures they also assisted to carry out a more correct policy for the admissions into the Party. But the further keeping of these demands, which were differentiated according to the different categories, when the conditions have changed, would be anachronism.

At the present conditions there is not a single reason why the sons of the workers and of the agricultural cooperatives, who attended our schools, became intellectuals or employees of the people's power, should be submitted to more difficult conditions than the others before being admitted into the Party. Therefore a proposal is extended to the Congress to abolish the paragraphs of the Party Constitution which deal with this question and that the following general rule for the admission into the Party be fixed in the Constitution: «Everyone who demands to be admitted into the Party should submit the recommendation of three Party members, who must have a Party life of not less than three years and know the recommended person by having worked together for a period of not less than one year».

The abolishment of the differentiated demands, concerning the rules of admission into the Party of different working people, does not mean at all that from now on the Party will stay indifferent towards the social composition of the elements who are to be admitted. On the contrary as before, at present and in the future too, the Party must guide and lead with great attention, the admissions into the Party, by bringing into its ranks sound elements, first and foremost from the ranks of workers and then from the members of the agricultural cooperatives, prepared in every direction and to hold with honor and stainless the title of the Party member.

It is necessary that in the future the general orientation for the admission into the Party should be as follows: **The overwhelming majority of the admitted elements to the Party should be composed by the working people in production (in town and country-side) of whom the first place should be kept by the workers, mainly by the workers of industry, mines and transport and then by the members of the agricultural cooperatives. Towards the employees and the other strata there should be higher demands.**

The question of the normal and regular growth of the Party is a very important problem. This requires a very careful work for the constant education and activation of the masses, an intensive individual work by every communist with the masses, a constant attention by every basic Party organization for the growth of the role of the Party members.

In this regard, despite the improvements achieved, an insufficient work is being carried on, which is noted especially in relation to the admission of fewer women into the Party.

We should not forget even for a moment the fact, which has constantly been emphasized by the Party that an inexhaustible source for new forces, for sound and faithful forces towards the cause of the Party, should be considered the Youth Organisation. Our male and female youth carefully educated by the Party, stand everywhere in the front ranks of the great constructive work, which is going on throughout the country. Everywhere our youth are distinguished for their impetus and enthusiasm, for their readiness and determination, for their sharp creative mind. Is there any occasion when our Party has been in need of something and our heroic youth have not ardently and courageously responded? When has our Party appealed to our marvellous youth and they have not risen as a single body? Such a youth is a creation of the Party's golden hand. But the Party also sees in such a youth



the full guarantee for its future, because among the youth are being prepared worthy substitutes of their educators who will always hold high and stainless the glorious banner of our heroic Party, (tumultuous applause, ovations)

2. — The main problem at present concerning the organizational questions of the Party is the strengthening of the role and the growth of the level of the work in the basic Party organizations.

Evaluating always correctly the role of the Party basic organizations as the foundation of the Party, the Central Committee and the district Committees of the Party have paid also during this time a great attention to the allrounded strengthening of their work. At present the force of the basic organizations and their role for the solution of all the problems is felt everywhere. According to the directives of the Third Congress the extension and distribution of the Party forces have been improved. In all the sectors we have at present 3.336 Party basic organizations, or 188 more than we had at the time of the Third Congress. Also we have at present in the production centers 6.082 more communists than we had at the time of the Third Congress. Thus we may say that at present the extention and distribution of the Party forces fully correspond to our present tasks. This fact and the constant assistance by the Central Committee and by the district and town Committees as well as the struggle for the implementation of the Party line have raised the work level of the Party basic organizations still higher.

But taking into consideration the great tasks lying before us, it is necessary to further improve the Party basic organizations to increase their abilities.

Firstly, we must further improve the work of the Party basic organizations in the state enterprises and in the cooperatives for the management of production. For every basic organization working in production, at

present new conditions have been created which are linked with the new demands for the improvement of all quality indexes of production as well as with the great extension and development of the agricultural cooperatives. In this sense, these organizations should carry out a more profound and concrete work, in order to effectively influence the growth and the improvement of production. In this direction there is a good start, but it should be continued and carried out up to the end. Here the attention of the Party should be concentrated in three main directions: To draw the collective thought of the Party, even of the non-Party masses, in order to find out the weak points in the work of the enterprise or of the cooperative, as well as to find out the ways for their elimination; to organize properly the work with the masses, to make clear the tasks to everybody, to work for the increase of their technical and professional skill and for the mastering of the advanced experience etc, and to ensure a more effective control by the basic organizations of the Party on the activity of the administration of the enterprise.

Making the administrations of the enterprises responsible for the shortcomings noticed, not allowing them to tolerate these shortcomings and properly mobilizing the masses to overcome these difficulties, the successful fulfilment of all the tasks of the plan will be ensured. Of course it should be kept in mind not to displace and substitute the economic organs and state organs by the Party organs. Such a thing would be very harmful for the work as well as for the cadres, but nevertheless the management of the enterprise should be placed before the responsibility concerning their tasks and at the same time they should be assisted and controlled continuously for the implementation of these tasks.

The most important condition for the strengthening of the control by the basic organization on the activity of the management of the enterprise and in

general for the growing of the influence of the Party in production, is the arousing of the interest of all the communists for the fate of the state of things in the enterprise and for the realization of all the tasks.

Greater attention should be paid also to the improvement of the work of the Party basic organizations at the state administration and at the cultural, educational and scientific institutions. In these organizations a large number of communists, on whose work depends on a large scale the work of the enterprises are carrying on their activity. It should be said that the shortcomings in the unfulfilment of the plan tasks by the various enterprises, are often connected also with the shortcomings of the central administration as far as the management and assistance to the enterprises are concerned. Therefore it is necessary to work in such a manner that the role of these organizations for the improvement of the work of these apparatuses be raised. In this sense the basic organizations which carry on their activity in the ministries and in the other central institutions, as well as those which carry on their activity at the local Executive Committees or at the administration of a district, must further extend the range of problems with which they deal, aiming mainly at the struggle against bureaucracy, at the strengthening of the leading operative work, and giving to the base a greater and more effective assistance.

In the work of general rise of the role of the basic organizations and of their level first hand importance should be given also to the strengthening of the internal life of the Party. The development of the sound internal life in the Party should serve the tempering of the communists in order to do away with their shortcomings, with the remnants and mentalities of the strata out of which they come as well as to strengthen the high virtues of the communist morale.

The forge of the Party must temper such elements who should enjoy the large confidence and love

of all the working people with whom they live and work together.

In this regard we should give first hand importance to the thorough discussion and always in principle, of the questions which are laid before the basic organizations, and especially to the development of the criticism and selfcriticism.

A very serious problem for the Party organizations is also the strengthening of the revolutionary vigilance. We have won a rich experience in the struggle against the enemies inside and outside of the ranks of the Party. In a special manner we have waged a consistent, principled and correct struggle against the Yugoslav revisionism. In the struggle against the enemies our Party has been strengthened and its members have been tempered. But the enemies have not ceased their activity against our Party and our country as well as against the socialist camp and against the international communist movement. And there is no doubt that they will continue this struggle as long as they live. Therefore in this regard we should not allow ourselves to accept any opportunist illusions. The safeguarding of the Party from the hostile elements is primarily a task of every communist, so as the struggle against every enemy of the Republic is a task of every communist and of every patriot of our country. Therefore we must raise higher the vigilance of the communists and of the entire people. We are strong and our socialist camp is strong and is daily gaining strength, but this does not allow us at all to shut our eyes and to sleep on laurels. Experience teaches us that any slackening of vigilance, however slight, is a plus in favor of the enemy.

### 3. — To further improve the method of work of the Party Committees.

The Third Congress of the Party set before us the task that the struggle against the bureaucratic methods, against the leading from the office, by letters and de-

isions should be continued and the vivid work with the people in the base should be strengthened. In this regard also, during the period we are examining, many achievements have been realized. There is no doubt that the successes achieved in our country since the Third Congress of the Party up to now, are due on a large scale also to the improvement of the method of work, to the better leadership by all the Party organs. Measures of great importance, which helped for a more operative leading, for a closer and more qualified help to the base, for a sounder connection of the political and organizational work of the Party with the economical tasks, were those taken by the Central Committee for the abolishment of the regions, for the extension of competences and the strengthening of the districts with cadres, as well as for the organization of the Party apparatuses at the district committees.

Special attention, in view of the improvement of the method of work of the Party during this period, has been paid chiefly to the increase of the role of the Party committees for general leadership and especially for a better management of the economy. **The period which separates us from the Third Congress may be rightly considered as the period of a considerable quality growth of the work of the plenary sessions and of the bureaus of the Party committees.** In this regard some influence has been exerted by the constant and allround assistance given by the Central Committee of the Party, on the one hand, and by the improvement of the composition and the educational and technico-professional uplift of the members of the plenary sessions, on the other. At present, the plenary sessions of the district committees of the Party are attended by a larger number of people coming from the production centers than at the time of the Third Congress, and concretely 53 per cent more workers and 82 per cent more members of the agricultural cooperatives, while their education level has been considerably raised. The

number of the members of the plenums with higher education or uncompleted higher education, in comparison with 1956 has increased by 528 per cent, of those with secondary school education by 96 per cent and of those with seven-year school education by 70 per cent. This situation of course is reflected also in the bureaus of the Party Committees. Of much importance in this direction is the fact that nearly all the first secretaries of the Party Committees, and some of the other secretaries of the Party Committees have graduated from higher Party schools.

Also in the Party apparatuses during the recent years an evident improvement as regards the growth of the educational level of the cadres has been noticed. In comparison with 1956 we have at present the following changes:

In the apparatus of the Central Committee, from 41.4 per cent of the working people with higher and secondary education we had in the past, at present we have 83.3 per cent, of whom 57.4 per cent with higher education. While in the apparatuses of the district committees of the Party, from about 9 per cent of the working people with higher and secondary education we had in the past, we have at present over 38 per cent. According to the decisions already taken, at the end of 1965 in the apparatus of the Central Committee we shall have nearly 80-90 per cent of the entire number of the working people with higher education, while in the Party apparatuses of the districts we shall have nearly 20 per cent of the working people with higher education and 80 per cent with a secondary education. **(applause)** These data about the education level of the working people of the Party speak for themselves not only for the great work which has been performed in this direction, but they speak also of the growth of the work level of the Party Committees and their apparatuses.

But the leading work in general and especially the

correct and proper guidance of the economy by the Party Committees is a question requiring constant attention; it is a permanent task. Where should we chiefly focus our attention in this regard?

Firstly, the plenums of the bureaus of the Party Committees at their meetings should mainly deal with the most important questions which preoccupy the various sectors of work in the district with the basic questions, especially with the ideological, political and organizational work of the Party, as well as with the decisive problems of production, leaving aside the petty practical matters which should be solved by the responsible organs and cadres. This requires, on the one hand, the increase of the collective attention of the leadership of the Party in the district for the solution of the key problems of all the sectors of life; the elaboration of concrete measures connected with the welfare of the work everywhere. On the other hand, it requires the increase of the personal responsibility, of the initiative of the organs and of the responsible cadres in their work, and along with these, the strengthening of control for the good, right and timely implementation of all the tasks.

Secondly, it is necessary that the Party organs and their apparatuses should abandon the bureaucratic work and should strengthen their ties with the basic organizations, with the communists and with the masses. The strengthening of ties and especially of the assistance for the basis remains also a first task for the future. In this regard we have still shortcomings. Many comrades continue to pass through the base «on the fly». «Such visits» only to have a glance at the work and to give general instructions in their passing, do not give the necessary results. To give an effective aid, it is necessary at present to enter deeply into the processes of production, to talk with the people, to exchange opinions in the organization and above all, to teach the people how to work. And this thing cannot be carried out

either from the car or by staying one or two hours at the cooperative or at the enterprise.

The best aid which can be given to the base and in general to every sector, is the organization of a systematic, intensive and qualified control. This helps the implementation of the decisions themselves, because it does not allow them to be forgotten, but brings them always to memory. This helps also the cadres themselves because it warns them about their failings; it takes them out of slothfulness, it draws their attention in due time about the shortcomings.

Thirdly, the leading and the role of the secretaries of the Party committees should be further strengthened; in the zones of which they are responsible, keeping at the same time the responsibility as members of the collective leadership of the Party at the appropriate level. In practice shortcomings are noticed in both directions; in some places attention is paid only to the functional side of the tasks while the work in the zone concerning the assistance to be given to the instructors and basic organizations for all the problems is neglected; in some other places we see the contrary. The new organizations as experience has so far shown, are in general, we may say, best suited to the present conditions because they respond better to the present main demands: the increase of aid to the basis and the strengthening of the responsibility at the apparatus of the Party committee. But the question of the correct combination of the functional responsibility with the regional responsibility is one of its weak points to which it is necessary to pay a special attention. The Central Committee of the Party by outlying in the Party committees the responsibility of the secretary for a given zone, aimed at assuring to the basis a closer and more qualified assistance. Two main tasks came out of it for the secretary of the Party committee. On one hand to help continuously and closely the instructors of his zone. The instructor has already become the

central figure of the Party apparatus, he is the educator of the basic organizations, and not only of the basic organizations but also of the village council, of the mass organizations, of the managers of economy, etc. Therefore if he wants to instruct others, he must constantly acquire learning for himself. In this sense, the secretaries of the Party committees should consider the aid for broadening the horizon and for raising the abilities of the instructors of the Party committees as one of their most important tasks. On the other hand a closer aid should be given in order to better organize the work of the basic organizations in general.

But by carrying out this job well and properly, it is necessary to follow also the tasks of the functional sector in their districts and at the same time to feel the responsibility for the entire work in the district. Therefore, in this regard also new forms and methods of work should be found, which can assure the carrying out of the tasks as well as of their successful implementation.

**4. — We must increase the attention of the Party organs and organizations as well as of the State organs for the education of the new cadres.**

By putting into effect the recommendations of the third Congress of the Party, as well as the tasks set by the plenary session of the Central Committee in July 1957, on the work with the cadres, evident successes have been scored on the work with cadres too. The policy of cadres is already completely in the hands of the Party and all the organs and organizations of the Party have increased their responsibility in connection with this important problem. Our cadres have grown and have greatly advanced under the constant care of the Party. We may rightfully be proud not only of the number but also of the high

qualities of our cadres, who have been trained and tempered during this short period of time.

The solution of the problem of cadres is one of the most important links for carrying out the tasks facing us. And only the Party is able to carry out this great task. Therefore, in the future the Party organs and organizations should increase their attention and should continuously and regularly deal with the problem of cadres. We must strengthen our control over the whole policy of the cadres by fully implementing the instructions and decisions of the Party. The basic organizations and the Party committees, whenever they examine various problems, should ascertain what kind of persons are those who will carry out this or that task, how much are they able and conscious and they should take measures in this regard and not try to increase the number of personnel or to demand cadres from the higher bodies when they meet obstacles in their work. The work of controlling the implementation of the decisions should be connected better with the work of cadres. Our control is above every thing an aid given to the individual and in the first place to the cadres.

The main attention of the Party committees should be concentrated in these directions:

Firstly, a very important task of the Party work with the cadres is the communist education of the latter, their education with the victorious ideas of Marxism-Leninism and with the line of our glorious Party, with the best qualities of the communist moral. An important role in this regard has been and is being played by the «V. I. Lenin» Party school, as well as by the other forms of the marxist-leninist education we have in the Party. Since the time of its foundation up to present, the Party school has been and is being attended by 2.850 cadres of the Party, of the People's Power, of the mass organizations, of the army and of the detachments of the Ministry of Internal Affairs,

The «V. I. Lenin» Party school is the highest educational institution at the Party's disposal and it has carried out and is carrying out with honour the tasks set to it by the Central Committee of the Party.

In the future we must also further improve the work in the Party school. The level of the lectures should be raised, especially of the lectures concerning Marxism-Leninism and the history of the Party of Labour of Albania, by increasing the demands for studying the works of the classics of Marxism-Leninism. Also the work concerning the more profound study of the questions of the management of the economy and of the other sectors by the Party, as well as of the questions of concrete economy and agriculture, should be improved.

**Secondly**, we should increase the care of the Party for the schools and courses. The role of the Party basic organizations in them must be strengthened, both for attendance and advancement as well as for the communist education of the students and the pedagogues. The basic organizations and the Party committees in the districts, on their part, should improve the work concerning the selection of the persons who are to attend the schools and courses, taking into account their political confidence and their personal qualities and our needs.

On the other side a struggle should be waged to secure the contingents in the entire system for the training of cadres, in all the schools, and it should be pointed out that the deficits during the second five-year plan have not been small in number. Therefore, the attention of the Party organizations and State organs should increase in order to fulfil and overfulfil the planned contingents for all the schools and courses, especially to bring to these schools and courses girls from the countryside, and in the first place from the northern regions.

**Thirdly**, we should extend and improve our work

throughout all the forms of education for adults without quitting their jobs. Up to now, 20,140 persons have graduated evening and correspondence schools, ranging from the primary to the higher schools. But it should be pointed out that we do not exploit properly this important reserve for the training of cadres. It should be thoroughly understood by the Party organizations, by the mass organizations and the State organs as well as by the cadres themselves, that this is of great importance, not only because it is less expensive but also because our cadres, who have gained a long experience at work, must also receive the proper training for the posts they have, in keeping with the decisions of the Party, in order to become more able to carry out the tasks set to them.

As you are informed, the Central Committee of the Party has fixed the educational level which the cadres should have up to the end of 1965 according to the different posts and sectors they occupy. This task cannot be fulfilled only with the contingents that are graduating from the regular schools. On the other side, the Central Committee has set the tasks concerning the education that the cadres should have by the end of 1965, and not only the cadres but the communists in general also. Thus, it has been decided that the communists in the countryside should have graduated at least the primary school, while the communists in the towns — the seven-year school. This is connected with the further growth of the role of the communists. There is no doubt that in this regard also we have made considerable progress in comparison with the situation in which we were at the time of the third Congress. From 27.8 per cent of the effective of the Party covered at that time by the communists who had graduated the seven-year schools, the secondary schools and the higher institutes of learning, at present they cover 43.5 per cent of the effective of the Party. But this level cannot be considered as satisfactory and

this situation should be overcome, in the first place by attending regularly the evening and correspondence schools and by placing this question under the direct control of the basic organizations of the Party. The cadres and the communists themselves must realize the fact that their proper education is an important duty towards themselves and towards the Party.

Fourthly, a great school for the training of new cadres is, as up to now, life itself, practice and the struggle for the implementation of the Party's line. In this regard we have a rich experience which must be properly exploited. In the big projects which are to be built up during the present five-year plan period, and the cadres and workers who will take part in their construction, should undergo real training. At these projects we should train cadres not only with the aim of constructing and putting them into operation, but also with the aim of utilizing these cadres in other sectors.

In the ranks of our working class there are many advanced workers of high categories who perfectly master their professions in practice. To these people we should give also the theory in order to raise them into middle technicians by using for this aim the aid of the engineers and technicians. But as we have done up to the present, we should raise from the ranks of the working class, from the working people in production in general, also leading cadres in all the Party and State organs and in the mass organizations. This is of great, practical and principal importance, because it is connected with the improvement of the social composition of our cadres. We do not put forth this problem for the first time; it has always been taken into account by our Party and we have achieved considerable results. But at present there have been created more favourable conditions in order to secure better results, because we have now a wonderful working class, larger in number, with a longer experience,

with a higher level, vanguard workers who with their inventions, rationalizations and advanced initiatives, have brought big profits to the people's economy.

As you know, the Central Committee of the Party, has taken during this period a number of important measures for the education and the raising of women to higher posts. At present there is not a single sector where the women do not participate and everywhere they do well and with conscience. As regards the education level also, especially the girls have not remained behind in comparison with their boy friends. Therefore the possibilities exist that from now on we can work better and with more attention in order to accomplish the ranks of the cadres with women, to charge them with responsibility.

Taking a bird-eye view in general of the policy of cadres, we should say that it is necessary to improve still more our work in order to raise new leading cadres. There is no doubt that a lot of work has been done in this direction so far, especially as regards the specialist and technical cadres. We have courageously entrusted important tasks to the new cadres and the facts have shown that they have merited this trust. But in the direction of increasing the number of leading cadres, especially in certain districts and sectors, there exists a certain hesitation and for the selection and placing of the cadres the future prospect is not properly considered. They come around some known cadres and in some cases they make a wrong evaluation of the cadres, taking as a basis almost only their past, and with the past they understand in many cases the period of national liberation struggle. There is no doubt that this period is of great importance in the life of our people and we cannot help taking it into account in the evaluation of the cadres. But it should not be forgotten at all also the attitude adopted by them during these 16 years after the liberation. This period,

especially in the conditions through which our country has passed, has been also of great importance to prove the faithfulness of the cadres towards the Party, the people and Marxism-Leninism. Therefore, working for the advancement of the old cadres we should work at the same time to raise up with courage new cadres who are faithful towards the cause of the people and the Party.

A serious obstacle for the advancement and for the training of the cadres is also the work without prospects which is done sometimes. Proceeding from the demands of the moment and from the narrow interests of the sector, it is not being thought seriously about the placing of the cadres and at the same time many unnecessary transfers take place. We have achieved considerable improvements in this respect, as compared with the period preceding the third Congress but it is necessary to point out that a more resolute struggle should be waged against excessive transfers because the more forward we go, the more the sectors of work are specialized, the more harmful the unstudied transfers of the cadres become, especially those outside the work sector. In the same way it is necessary that the ministries and economic organs should put an end to the formalism concerning the training of cadres and should perform their work with more prospects. This means that they must not only draw up their respective plans, well studied, but they must also fix and follow with attention all the forms of work for the training of cadres; they must follow the advancement of the cadres themselves not only at work but also at the schools and courses and these questions must take an important place among the problems which are analyzed and in the practical work of all the organs and organizations of the Party and the State, especially in the practical work of the leading cadres.

5. — We must strengthen the work of the Party for the further growth of the role of the mass organizations.

Working for the implementation of the tasks set by the third Congress of the Party, all the mass organizations have considerably raised the level of their work during this period. The trade unions, under the leadership of the Party, have greatly improved their work to attract with enthusiasm the mass of the workers, engineers, technicians and employees in the successful solution of the production problems, in the struggle for the growth of the labour productivity, the reduction of the costs, the exploitation of the internal reserves and the increasing of production and the further development of the initiative and the creative activity of the working class. During this period the attention of the trade unions for raising the political cultural and technico-professional level as well as for the improvement of the work and living conditions of the masses of the workers, has increased also in an evident way.

The Union of the Albanian Youth of Labour, under the direct leadership of the Party has made during this period of time a better and more effective work for the communist education of the youth, has enlarged the forms and has improved the contents of its entire work in this direction by making a greater contribution to the preparation of the new man in our socialist society and by transforming our youth into a great and ready force, to carry out always and everywhere the tasks set to it by the Party.

The Women Organization, under the leadership of the Party has successfully carried out the important task of attracting the masses of the women in town and countryside to participate in productive work. At present the Women Organization is effectively fighting for the growth of the cultural and professional level



of the women, for their promotion to higher posts. The Union of the Albanian Women has distinguished itself for its attention to become acquainted with the special problems of the women, to study them closely and in keeping with them, to practise interesting work forms and activities.

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

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

In the first place we must take care that the mass organizations carry out properly their function as «levers» and as their «conveyor belts» which connect the Party with the masses. In this sense, they not only must convey the Party line to the masses and mobilize them for its perfect implementation, a task which is being carried on better and should be carried out still better in the future, but also they should continuously and regularly bring to the Party their thoughts, observations and suggestions, because this enables the Party to lead better, to take always into account the demands of the masses and to verify also the very justice of the decisions taken.

«We can lead only when we rightly express that which the people feel»; Lenin has said. (Lenin, Works, Albanian edition, Vol. 33, p. 336).

The education of the masses is one of the main tasks of the Party. Taking into account the level and various demands of every stratum of the population of

our country, as well as the specific problems and tasks they are faced with, the educational work of the Party with them should be differentiated also.

Despite the great work done so far for the education of the working class, we must still increase our attention in this regard in the future, too. The trade unions are schools of communism, therefore they should intensify their work for the ideo-political uplift of the workers, for the growth of their conscience, for the mastering of technique. We should focus our main attention on the education of the working class, by educating it with the socialist attitude towards work and the social property, with the spirit of collectivism, cooperation and mutual aid, with the spirit of innovatorism and incompatibility with every outworn practice, with the right understanding of the personal and social interest and of the standards of the communist behaviour in life and society. As for the countryside masses, our work should aim at the education of the socialist discipline at work, against lazyness, at their education with a right attitude towards the collective economy as the basis of the peasants' life and future, with right scientific conceptions, against superstitions and harmful customs, with the feeling of the new and against conservatism, for a more cultured life in the countryside. We should educate our youth with the standards of communist ethics, in the incompatible attitude towards the manifestations of the bourgeois ideology, to enable them to increase their political and technico-professional knowledge, to educate them continuously with the glorious traditions of our people and with the heroism of our times, to educate them with a socialist attitude towards work and social property, with the love for the Fatherland and with the unshakable confidence for the triumph of the cause of socialism and communism. Among the masses of women a more effective fight should be waged against fanaticism and backward customs, which violate their rights

and hinder them to take part more actively in the entire life of the country, a more effective fight should be waged against the under evaluation of their forces, against some unjust attitudes shown sometimes towards them by their husbands. On the other hand the work of raising the conscience and the culture and professional level of the women should be strengthened, in order that they themselves, and especially the female youth, be able to fight more effectively for their rights and for their lofty place in society.

Another important problem where the Party must concentrate the attention of the mass organizations and especially the trade unions of Albania and the Union of the Albanian Youth of Labour in the future is the question of discovering, studying and extending the advanced experience in production.

In our conditions, when the workers realize and feel that they are working for themselves, for the prosperity of their children, come out many new initiatives, which have as an object the better organization of labour in production, the better exploitation of the working time, the increase of production, the reduction of costs that is to say, the development at a faster rate of the economy and culture of our country. The question is that we should be able to catch these movements at their very beginning, to support them and to let them develop on a full scale, to assist the implementation, wherever the conditions exist.

In this direction, the Party should be effectively assisted by the trade unions and by the youth organizations. We can say that during the period between the two congresses good work has been done as regards the support and relatively wide extension of these new and very important movements, such as the brigades of socialist labour; 1 + 2 for the education of the cadres, the recent movement for the fulfilment of the labour targets by every worker, the movement of performing 300 work days or more in the agricultural

cooperatives, etc. In this regard the Party organizations and trade-unions of the economic enterprises in the towns of Tirana and Shkodra as well as the village organizations of the Party and the Albanian Youth of Labour at Lushnja and Fieri, which have done a better job in the direction of the study, support and extension of the new initiatives, are particularly to be commended. But we must say that in this regard we are still at the very beginning of fair results.

It should be said that as an important progressive experience which is to be supported and extended, is often considered only the experience of a number of outstanding persons throughout the entire Republic, who have scored record results. There is no doubt that the example of the heroes of socialist labour should inspire all the workers of our country. The indexes reached by them in carrying out the tasks of the plan should convince every worker of what he is able to do. But we should not see the advanced experience only in the work of these few outstanding people. In every enterprise and cooperative, in every brigade and team, there are workers who successfully fulfil and overfulfil the tasks assigned to them, who fairly organize the work, who utilize the working time properly, who turn out products of high quality and who make a lot of savings. To make all the team or brigade workers work as these people do, to raise to the level of the best ones, the mass of the workers in the brigades and teams, this is a very great reserve for the fulfilment of our plans.

In our work with the mass organizations we must take care at last to vivify their inner life, mainly by raising their sense of responsibility of every member of these organizations for the well management of the general affairs. In this regard, the creation by every organization, of a large network of activists and energetic people, conscientious and tireless, who should carry out social tasks, has a first-hand importance.

The struggle of carrying out the social tasks raises the political conscience of the people, it makes them ardent patriots of their country, indomitable fighters for the cause of the Party. Therefore, in this direction we should pay much attention to charge these activists with tasks and continuously educate them.

**6. — The further strengthening of the People's Power — indispensable condition for carrying out with success all the tasks facing us.**

The establishment of the People's Power is the greatest victory scored by our people under the leadership of the Party. The People's Power made our people masters of their destiny. Based always on the immortal teachings of Marxism-Leninism, our Party has worked with all its might to further strengthen, perfect and democratize the People's Power, in order to make it an ever more effective weapon for the consolidation of the victories scored so far, as well as for the advancement of the socialist construction of the country.

Along with the allround growth and development of our country, our State Power of the People's Democracy as a form of the proletarian dictatorship has also grown and has been perfected. As a result of the construction of the economic basis of socialism and of the establishment of the socialist relations both in town and countryside, as a result of the liquidation of the antagonistic classes, of the growth of the working class and in general the growth of the conscience of the entire working masses of our country, the socialist basis of the proletarian dictatorship in our country has been greatly strengthened and enlarged. Without doubt these things have rendered possible the development, in keeping with the new conditions of the main internal tasks and functions of our State, too.

The further and rapid strengthening and the de-

velopment of the socialist economy as well as the raising of the material and cultural level of the working masses occupy the main place in the series of tasks facing our State at present. In this direction there should be raised the skill and responsibility of the State organs, from the uppermost to the lowest bodies, for the solution on due time and correctly of the problems coming out in this field of activity. Here is the main economical and organizational, cultural and educational function of our State expressed.

The other task, also very important, of our State is the safeguarding of the victories scored so far against every attempt of the external or internal enemies. Here our State carries out its functions of suppressing the hostile activity and of defending the Fatherland.

Also in the future, these functions will remain as very important for our State, although the function of suppression is limiting its sphere of action, because on one side the exploiting classes have been liquidated and on the other side the development of economy and culture, the constant raising of the welfare of the working masses and the great political and educative work of the Party diminishes continuously criminality. This happens mainly because around our country, there exist enraged enemies, the imperialists and their lackeys who make every attempt to eliminate or at least to injure our Republic. Even the facts themselves speak that in our country at the present period, the main hostile activity is being developed in the form of espionage and subversion directed mainly by the imperialists and their lackeys. The Party has always taken into consideration this important function of our State as well as the fact that we are building socialism surrounded geographically by enraged enemies. Therefore we have paid a special attention to the strengthening of the organs of the dictatorship and we should say that these organs, under the leadership of the Party have carried out well and successfully the functions

assigned to them. **(continuous applause)** All the attempts of the enemies, since the very foundation of our State of the People's Democracy and up to now, under any form they have been made by all the external or internal enemies, have been discovered at the proper time and have been dealt with and smashed as they have deserved.

Our armed forces, our brave army, under the constant leadership of the Party has been strengthened and modernized and is quite capable to defend the People's Republic of Albania, the victories of our people. **(continuous applause)** Our soldiers, noncommissioned officers, officers and generals, fully conscientious of accomplishing their tasks towards the Fatherland and the socialist camp, have become masters in the use of all kinds of arms, including the most modern weapons at our disposal.

The organs of the State security and the people's police, under the leadership and the daily care of the Party, have been strengthened and grown in qualification to the necessary degree in order to carry out the tasks assigned to them. Characterized by the Party spirit and being all the time vigilant, they have smashed all the attempts of the enemies and of the other criminal elements. They have become a horror for the enemies and a very beloved weapon for the people, who support and assist them in their entire activity. **(Tempestuous applause, ovations)**

Our frontiers have become impassable, they are guarded and defended with heroism and pride by our brave frontier guards, in close cooperation with the people. The armed forces of the frontiers, according to the teaching of the Party, under its constant attention, educated with the ardent patriotism and with the spirit of the proletarian internationalism, have always carried out with honour the tasks concerning the defence of the frontiers of the People's Republic of Albania. **(continuous applause, ovations)**

Our Party should continue to increase its attention in order to strengthen the organs of the dictatorship in the future too. We should further strengthen our armed forces, our courageous army. We must modernize and perfect all sorts of arms. The Ministry of the People's Defence, all the commanders, the political organs and the Party organizations in the army should work with all their might to perfect the military art in order to strengthen the political and educational work, as well as the Party work at the army, to increase the knowledge of the troops and of the staffs so that every body become a real master of his weapons.

We should strengthen the Party work among the ranks of the organs of the Ministry of Internal Affairs (Security police and frontier guards). We should raise their professional capabilities, we should sharpen ever more their revolutionary vigilance in order that they be fully prepared to carry out the tasks assigned to them. We should further strengthen the ties of these organs with the people.

The tasks facing us require the strengthening of the work of the central State organs and of their apparatuses. It is high time to increase the demands towards the central apparatuses for a better qualified work, for a more profound and timely study of the problems and for more effective aid to the bases, both to the dependent enterprises and the executive committees of the people's councils. The central apparatuses must abandon petty daily questions; they must resolutely fight against the bureaucratic solution of the problems, they must deal more seriously with a correct planning and furnishing as well as with the control over the main indices. They should also rightly and rapidly solve the demands and proposals of the bases connected with production.

The foundation of our People's Power are the people's Councils, beginning from the village up to the district Councils. During the national liberation strug-

gle, as well as after the liberation our people's Councils have always carried out with honour the tasks assigned to them. Through the people's Councils we have always secured an active and broad participation of the masses in the affairs of the People's Power. At present, the people's Councils, as well as their executive Committees deal more profoundly with production problems as well as with social and cultural questions.

The extension of the socialist sector of economy in the town and the countryside, has increased a great deal the responsibility of the people's Councils. On the other side, the improvement of the work in the Ministries, requires their relieving from the direct management of a certain number of enterprises and sectors. To this end it is necessary to extend the competences of the local power. Therefore we must greatly strengthen the work of the people's Councils, especially in these main directions:

On one hand the organs and the organizations of the Party, as well as the State organs themselves should pay more attention to the organizational consolidation of the people's Councils, to their regular work, to the full activation of the various commissions and of the broad masses of the Council members, to the more effective participation of the working masses in the solution of the State problems.

On the other hand the method of work should be improved, the initiative of all the bodies of the People's Power in the localities should grow according to the competences, given to them by law.

The people's Councils in the villages should be assisted in a special manner in this regard. After the collectivization of agriculture, a new situation has been created for the people's Councils in the villages, therefore they must be instructed as how to go about their work. With the unification of the agricultural cooperatives State administration units for two or more

villages are also being created. This process is correct and must continue, but the people's Councils of these big villages face the task of taking care of the inhabited centers (of the former villages), as well as of production. The people's Council is the only and the highest authority of the State power in the village, therefore it should be acquainted with and take care of every thing. In this regard a struggle should be waged against the replacement of the people's Councils by the Chairmen of the agricultural cooperatives as well as by the higher State organs.

The work of the people's Councils in the localities must also be improved. In some zones, where the unification of the agricultural cooperatives has been completed, because of the fact that there remain only a few economical and administrative units at the dependence of the localities, the latter have been dissolved. This action is right and should be carried on to the end. But in the places where the localities are still existing, they in no way should be weakened and displaced, but on the contrary they should be assisted and activated, in order to strengthen the work of the people's Councils in the villages, to strengthen the agricultural cooperatives and gradually to proceed with their unification. This will bring about the liquidation of the localities.

Measures should be taken to strengthen the people's councils of the towns, to gradually increase and extend their competences.

The further strengthening of the People's Power requires at the same time the strengthening of socialist legality, too. In this field we have scored great successes. But in the future also great attention should be paid to the correct and perfect application of our laws. They are the laws of the people in power therefore they are sacred and compulsory for every body. The justice and control organs, as they have done so far, should carefully supervise and require without the

smallest concession the full respect of socialist legality: Comrades, The strengthening of the organizational and leading work of our Party is a permanent task incumbent on every body: on every communist, on every cadre, on every Party organization and forum. Therefore, we should put all our efforts in order to raise ever higher the level of its work, to the strengthening and cementing evermore the monolithic unity of its ranks around the Central Committee as well as the unity of the masses around the Party, in order to raise its glory to a greater eminence.

## V

### THE STRUGGLE IN THE IDEOLOGICAL FRONT AND THE PARTY TASKS

#### COMRADES,

The successful solution of the tasks for the construction of socialism is directly connected with the ideological political work of the Party, with the Marxist-Leninist education of the communists and of the masses, with the creative and faithful application of the principles of our victorious ideology, Marxism-Leninism.

Our Party has always devoted great concern to the education of the communists and the masses with Marxist-Leninist ideas, because Marxism-Leninism is the compass which directs the Party in all its activity; it acquaints people with the laws of development of society giving them the possibility to have a deep understanding of events and to act correctly in every situation. Therefore the study and the assimilation of Marxism-Leninism is indispensable not only to a limited circle of personnel of the Party apparatus, but

to all the communists, all cadres, Party or non Party members, the most different sectors of economy, art and culture, army or education. Our Party has always been conscientious that any weakening of the Party ideology, any underestimation of it, as the great Lenin says, brings about inevitably the strengthening of bourgeois ideology, which constitutes a serious danger to the very destiny of socialism. Therefore the Party has always considered ideological political work as one of the most important phases of its activity.

During the period which separates us from the III Congress a series of successes have been achieved in the Party's ideological work. Ideological work has helped achieve results, in socialist construction, in the communist education of the masses, in tempering Party unity, as well as in the allaround consolidation of our social and state socialist order.

During these years a good work has been done to achieve the task assigned by the III Party Congress that the ideological work should be closely connected with life, it should serve the struggle for increased production and of raising of the working people's wellbeing.

In the Party ideological work an important place is taken by the study of the works of the classics of Marxism-Leninism and of our Party history, the struggle to unmask imperialism, the knowledge and the study of the tactics and the strategy of the international communist movement, the struggle against modern revisionism and especially against Yugoslav revisionism. In the struggle for unmasking the enemies of socialism, as well as in the every day struggle for the construction of socialism in our country our people have been ideologically tempered, the political level of the communists and the masses has been raised, the militant character of the Party's ideological work has been strengthened. During all the period that separates

us from the III Congress, our Party has waged a resolute struggle in order to safeguard the purity of Marxism-Leninism and in this struggle its unity for putting into practice the general Party line has become indestructible.

Good results have been achieved in the Party education network as well as in the political education of youth and the education of intellectuals. The Party education network has become more flexible and all-sided, much improvement has been wrought in programs and texts. This year in the education system of all the Party are studying 38.773 persons, of which 11.864 non-Party members; the Party School during the day time and by correspondence is attended by 940 persons, without taking into account here those persons who pass through different Party courses. If we shall keep in mind that, besides the above mentioned persons, also 20.703 communists attend various schools of general culture, then we will be able to say that over 90% of all our Party members and candidate members, in one form or another, are taking the work for raising their theoretical and cultural level seriously. This, comrades, is a splendid victory, it is another important indication for the further consolidation of the Party; for the growth of its ideological, political and cultural level, a clear expression of the great efforts made by our communists to fully deserve their role as mass leaders.

A good work has been achieved during these years in the field of the publications of political literature, too. Now we have the chief works of the classics of Marxism-Leninism in Albanian. The selected works of Marx and Engels have been published in two volumes. Likewise we have published in two volumes the selected works of V. I. Lenin, while the translation and the publication of his complete works is continuing. We have in Albanian the complete works of Stalin. Various texts on Marxist philosophy and political economy, «The

History of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union» study material for the history of the Party of Labour of Albania, etc. have been published. The work begun for the publication of different documents and material of the Party and state archives is very important. All this shows what great importance our Party gives to the problem of ideological education, to the problems of Marxist-Leninist propaganda.

But we must not be satisfied with the successes achieved. The great tasks of our time, as well as the ever growing requirements of our people, Party and non-Party members, demand the further consolidation of the Party ideological work, its rise to a greater level.

**1. — The ideopolitical work of the Party must respond to the tasks of the country's socialist construction, it must serve the communist education of the working people.**

Our country is now entering a new historical period. Great tasks for the construction of the material technical basis of socialism by leaps and bounds for complete socialist society lie before us. The successful achievement of our program of socialist construction demands a great mobilisation, a great impetus and enthusiasm of the working people, it demands the raising to a higher scale of all their creative activity. This can be obtained only by means of a wide and continuous activity for their education, for raising their socialist conscience. Socialism is the work of masses and their active participation in their work directly depends on the degree of their socialist conscience.

The highest principle of the ideological work of the Party is its connection with life, the practice of socialist construction, with the concrete tasks for whose solution the working people struggle. The invincible might of Marxism-Leninism as an ever creative living

doctrine, as a guide to practical activity for the transformation of the world, resides precisely in its unbreakable connection with real life, with revolutionary practice. But at the same time, the Party has said that to combine theory with life, with practice, it does not mean at all to give importance only to practice and to underestimate the role of theory. The classics of Marxism-Leninism have always condemned spontaneity in the working movement and have stressed the great need for a revolutionary theory for the knowledge and transformation of the world. They have stressed that when theory seizes the masses it converts itself into a material force, that without revolutionary theory there cannot be any revolutionary movement. In all its activity our Party has been guided and guides itself by the idea, that theory and practice are closely bound and indivisible, that theory detached from practice is a dead thing, whereas practice which is not enlightened by revolutionary theory is blind. The detachment of theory from practice is as much harmful as the detachment of practice from theory.

The Party ideological work is not an aim in itself; it is the means, the strong weapon of the Party for achieving the Party aims: construction of socialism and communism in our country; therefore its efficacy is measured by the concrete results in this or that sector of socialist construction.

Now all means and forms of the ideological work of the Party: propaganda, agitation, the press and cultural activity, should concentrate all their efforts, to acquaint the working people with the great tasks of the third five-year plan, with the splendid prospects which open before our country and to mobilize them achieve as greater results as possible in the construction of socialism.

During these years, thanks to the great revolutionary changes which have taken place in all fields of life and thanks to the Party and state educative

work, the moral aspect of the working individual, his conscience and world outlook, his relations with collectivity and society, his attitude towards labour and public property, towards the state and the socialist fatherland has greatly changed, too. Today we are justly proud of the great successes which we have achieved in all fields of life, but these successes would have been impossible if a high conscience in work, a great resoluteness to overcome many difficulties and handicaps, an unlimited loyalty towards the cause of the fatherland and socialism had not been shown by our working people.

But, in spite of all successes achieved, much remains to be done in the struggle for the communist education of the working people, for the formation of their socialist conscience, for the education of the individual and of the new socialist society. The complete construction of the socialist society cannot be conceived without creating at the same time also a new individual, with new ideas and thoughts, high moral qualities and virtues. The bourgeois and petty bourgeois remnants in the conscience of people are a serious handicap on the road to the full victory of socialism in our country. The contradiction between the new socialist basis and the capitalist remnants in the conscience of people is one of the important contradictions of our life, for whose overcoming large work must be done.

A great importance for the present conditions of our country has the education of a socialist attitude towards labour and social property. Work is the basis of the life of society, it is the most important source of all the material and the spiritual riches; work is the chief means for the achievement of the ideals of socialism and communism, on it is expressed today the true people's patriotism and socialist internationalism; it is the best school of communist education of the masses. Only by working, V.I. Lenin has said, the individual can become a real communist.



The struggle for the formation and the consolidation of socialist attitude towards work, the struggle for putting into practice the principle «he, who does not work, does not eat», the struggle against lazy people and parasites who strive to live on society, the education with the spirit of the collectivity and mutual assistance in work and the struggle for safeguarding, consolidating and developing public property as the material basis of our socialist order, must take up a first hand place in all the Party's ideological work.

The socialist transformations and all the successes in the construction of socialism, life itself, our socialist reality, directly exercise an influence in the communist education of the masses, thus in educating a socialist attitude towards work also. But the formation of the socialist conscience of the working people is not a spontaneous process. Besides the objective, material factor, a decisive role is played by the subjective conscientious factor, the educational work of the Party, the state and the different cultural educational institutions. Only by taking both these factors together can we rightly understand the process by which socialist conscience is formed.

Great is the educating force of collectivity and positive example. The collectivity criticises people for their weaknesses, teaches and helps to keep a high socialist attitude in work and in life.

A special importance for the education of socialist attitude to work has the good organization of work, the establishment of exemplary order in work, the exercise of a strict control for the application of tasks, the just determination of work norms and the classification of workers, the strict observance of the principle of remuneration according to the quantity and the quality of work, the allround development of moral stimuli in work, etc.

In the conditions of our country the scientific atheist propaganda, the struggle against religious su-

perstitions, vain beliefs and backward customs, in order to form a just scientific materialist world outlook among the workers — is of great importance. These survivals, a consequence of the great cultural backwardness inherited from the past, are a serious obstacle for the dissemination of the new socialist culture among the masses, for their ideological education and their active and conscientious participation in the struggle for the construction of socialism.

As a result of the great economic and social changes made in our country and of the raising of the cultural and ideological level of the working people, a large part of the population, especially our youth, has been emancipated from the retrograde customs as well as from religious superstitions, etc. Nevertheless, their influence is still to be felt, especially in the countryside. That is why propaganda and all the Party educating work must energetically operate in this direction, by combatting in the first place against those superstitions and customs which do more harm to the construction of socialism, harm the economy and health of the people, violate the rights of women and hamper them in their active participation in production and all the life of the country.

The uprooting of the religious superstitions, vain beliefs and harmful customs is a hard and delicate work. They cannot be abolished neither by issuing decrees or by one single meeting. This is a kind of work which requires patience, intelligence and tact. The Party organizations should keep always in mind the advice of the Party not to offend and touch the feelings of the believers. But this does not mean that we should make concessions to some unconscientious clergy men or to any other person who tries to exert pressure on the masses, by cheating them, using religion as a mask in order to set them against the interests of the state and Party.

Giving importance to the educative work and the

convincing word of the Party for uprooting the harmful customs, the Party should carry out a large educative work in order to keep alive and further develop the good traditions and high virtues our people have inherited from generation to generation, such as love for the fatherland, bravery, the pledge of honour (besa), hospitality, sense of honour, generosity etc.

To this end should be better used all the forms of Party propaganda, our cultural institutions, the teachers and intellectuals, the press and radio, literature and arts, who should consider as one of their main tasks the struggle for the education of the working people in the ethics of the new communist world outlook.

**2. — Let us consolidate the propaganda work for the fundamental principles of Marxism-Leninism and the struggle for safeguarding its purity.**

Today a bitter struggle is going on in the world between Marxism-Leninism and the bourgeois ideology and all its manifestations for the conquest of people's minds. In front of the magnificent achievements of the socialist countries and of the dissemination of Marxist-Leninist ideas throughout the world, the imperialist bourgeoisie, the exploiting classes of all countries carry on a furious propaganda in order to spread by all means the ideology of anticommunism, monstrously distort Marxism-Leninism; grossly slander the socialist order, falsify the policy and the aims of the communists. In these efforts made by the imperialist bourgeoisie, a shameful rôle, as its assistants, is played by the leaders of right socialdemocracy, the revisionists of Marxism and opportunists of various colours.

Under these conditions the struggle in the ideological work for safeguarding the purity of the victorious doctrine of Marxism-Leninism, for a just and deep explanation of the problems of modern world development, the propaganda of the fundamental principles

of Marxism-Leninism and the just line which the Party of Labour of Albania has pursued and continues to pursue in regard to these problems, is of great importance.

Our Party, in order to have a just understanding of social phenomena and of the changes that have taken and are now taking place in the world, has always started from the materialist conception of history, the class analysis of the correlation of forces, a deep and objective study of the real situation in the world today. This is the only just method taught by Marxism-Leninism, is the method which guards one from errors in political activity. Every departure from this dialectical method leads to metaphysics and idealism, leads to revisionism and opportunism, makes one evaluate different events and situations in a distorted way.

The chief feature of all opportunists and revisionists, the old ones as well as the modern ones, is exactly the negation of these basic principles of Marxism-Leninism. Here is to be found also the source of all their distorted viewpoints, all their hostile and dangerous activity in the field of ideology and practice. The great Lenin has said that at the foundation of all the revisionist viewpoints stands the idea of collaboration of classes having opposing interests. Revising the Marxist theory of classes and the class struggle, the revisionists declare that Marxism is out-moded, they deny its fundamental principles, present in a distorted light all the big problems of our age, give up the ideological and political struggle against the class enemy, capitulate before him. Naturally, in order to disguise themselves, because if they came out in the open, no one would believe their nonsense, the revisionists try to sell their opinions as the last word of «creative» Marxism. But beautiful phrases can fool no one, much less the communists, the Marxist-Leninists, who when they judge any party or person do not judge them only by their words, by their attire, but chiefly by their

deeds, by their work. They judge by the fact to whom do these views serve, in the interest of which class these views are. In this matter the marxist parties and every communist are guided by Lenin's teachings,

«People always were and will always be the stupid victims of deceit and self deceit in politics until they learn to discover the interests of some class behind all moral, religious, political and social phrases, declarations and promises» (Lenin, Works, vol. 19, page 7-8, Russian edition).

The modern revisionists deny the chief contradictions of our times, behind which stand certain classes and social forces. Consequently, speculating with the phrases allegedly «Marxist», the revisionists spread dangerous illusions on many important problems of our age. Thus, for example, when they speak of our epoch they present it as an epoch of general calm and harmony, «wherein the social capitalist system in its classical form belongs to the past», wherein can be a question of a «general integration» of all the world, even of the same capitalists, into socialism, wherein such problems as that of the struggle between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie, socialism and capitalism, between the forces of liberty and slavery, between democracy and reaction, between the forces of peace and war, have totally disappeared. (laughter) And if one think according to revisionist logics, this is quite natural, because according to them, as a result of the change in the corelation of forces in the international arena, capitalism and imperialism have undergone radical changes, they are neither exploiters and aggressors, nor are they anymore a source of wars and oppression. Moreover, the revisionist Kardel «argued» even theoretically that the danger of war in fact emanates from the socialist countries, and especially from China and Albania! (laughter). Look

how far the enemies of Marxism have gone with their absurdities, look where their great zeal to better serve their masters, the imperialist bourgeoisie, has brought them!

The modern revisionists, leaving aside the class conception of the analysis of the situation and wanting to deceive the masses, use demagogy when they talk of the policy of peaceful coexistence or even for the problems of war and peace. They see these problems also in a topsyturvy way, with antimarxist eyeglasses. They consider the policy of peaceful coexistence, whose fundamental principles for the first time were formulated by Lenin, as a policy of appeasement with imperialism, for whose sake must be given up every kind of class struggle, according to the principle «let us not irritate the rich uncle», (laughter) who already has got weak and is going bankrupt by any way himself. According to the revisionists the policy of peaceful coexistence does not extend only to the relations among countries with different social systems, but also to relations among classes within the capitalist countries, as well as between the oppressed peoples and the colonial exploiters. The revisionists preach that no ideological and political struggle should be waged against imperialism, to expose the policy of war and aggression. These antimarxist conceptions, which are in flagrant contradiction to the interests of the working class and socialism, aim to impose on the socialist countries and communist parties an opportunist policy, a policy of prayers and caresses, a policy of dangerous concessions and compromise, giving the possibility to the enemies of socialism, the imperialists and the reactionary bourgeoisie, to make them attain their policy of war and terror, oppression and exploitation much easier. But the communist parties and socialist countries do not follow the revisionist conceptions but follow the immortal, ever victorious, teachings of Marxism-Leninism. Our Party of Labour has struggled and will

also struggle in the future against the revisionist viewpoints on those matters and will always faithfully apply the light-giving teachings of Marxism. (fervent applause, ovations)

Departing from the class stand, the modern revisionists reject as «outmoded» the principal teachings of Marxism-Leninism about socialist revolution and the dictatorship of the proletariat, as an indispensable condition for the transition from capitalism to socialism. Basis for all opportunist reasoning of the modern revisionists is the thesis that allegedly the modern capitalist state is daily losing more and more its class character, that allegedly it can equally serve the bourgeoisie as well as the proletariat. According to revisionist logics, the system of bourgeois democracy can serve as «the juridical and political framework of the elementary phases of socialist development». Starting from such conceptions, the right opportunists make absolute and even consider as the only way possible the peaceful way of transition from capitalism to socialism. They present this peaceful passage as an evolution, as a simple change in government, where some people are substituted by other people.

The Marxist-Leninists do not deny the possibility of the peaceful way of transition to socialism, but they do not understand it at all as a negation of the class struggle, as a simple assurance of a majority in the bourgeois parliament without radically smashing the old bourgeois state machinery and without replacing it by the organs of the proletarian dictatorship, fit to carry out deep socialist transformations, ready at every moment to resolutely crush every possible resistance by the bourgeoisie. The Marxist-Leninists are guided in this matter by the immortal teachings of great Lenin, who says:

«The opportunist gentlemen, including the Kautskians, as if to make fun of the theory of

Marx», «teach» the people as follows: at the beginning the proletariat should win the majority by means of the general electoral right, then to take, on the basis of such a voting of the majority, the state power and then on the basis of «consistent» democracy (some call it «pure»), to organize socialism.

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

In the beginning the proletariat should overthrow the bourgeoisie and assure to itself the state power, and then use this state power i.e. the proletarian dictatorship, as a weapon of its class in order to win the support of the majority of working people». (V. I. Lenin, Works, vol. 30 page 294 Alb. ed.). (fervent applause).

On the other hand, the Marxist Parties, as mentioned in the Moscow Declaration, do not consider at all the peaceful way as the only possible way of transition to socialism. On the contrary, they do not forget even for a moment that the ruling classes as the up-to-date historical experience teaches us, never do voluntarily give up power, therefore the Marxist-Leninist revolutionary parties get ready in a parallel and at the same time for the peaceful road as well as to seizure of power by an armed uprising, always keeping the arms loaded and the powder dry, not to be taken anawares in case the bourgeoisie uses violence against the working class which has arisen to revolution. Lenin's teachings on this matter are clear and precise:

«An oppressed class, he used to say, which does not try to learn the use of arms, to have arms, this oppressed class does not merit any

better than to be treated as slave». (V. I. Lenin, Selected works, Vol. I, page 864, Alb. ed.).

If you make a good preparation for an armed uprising, you create favourable conditions also for seizing power in a peaceful way. (tempestuous applause, ovations)

This is the only just Marxist-Leninist attitude in such an important and vital matter for the working class and all working people, which has been always held and is held by our Party. The revisionist theories on «the evolutionary and peaceful transformation» of modern capitalism into socialism aim at detaching the communist and working parties from the just revolutionary road, to detach the working masses from the struggle for the overthrow of the bourgeoisie, they aim to preserve untouched and to perpetuate the capitalist order.

Very dangerous and in flagrant contradiction to Marxist-Leninist teachings are also the opportunist and capitulating theses of modern revisionists in regard to the state and to socialist construction. Repeating the stale arguments alleging that the socialist state, the dictatorship of the proletariat and democracy are two things altogether incompatible to each other, accusing the socialist state of «bureaucratic despotism» and playing with the so called slogan «democratisation», the modern revisionists preach the «extinction», the liquidation of the socialist state right now. To the Marxist-Leninist parties it is as clear as sunlight that not the liquidation of the socialist state, but even the smallest weakening of the proletarian dictatorship organs, its liberalization at a time, when imperialism exists, which never has nor will ever give up its furious aims and strivings to destroy the socialist order, would be suicidal to our socialist countries. This was very well shown by the bitter experience of the counter-revolution in Hungary.

Marxist-Leninists do not have and cannot have the slightest doubt of the fact that the socialist state, being a dictatorship against the overthrown exploiting classes and against any type of enemies of the working class and the imperialist agents, ensures at the same time the largest democracy for the working people, for the people. These are elementary things for the Marxist-Leninist theory. Our Party has considered and considers as one of its permanent tasks, to uninterruptedly bring to perfection the socialist state order, the struggle against any kind of manifestation of bureaucracy. But it does not forget even for a moment that, as long as the danger of imperialist aggression and its subversive activity against our country and the socialist camp exist, it is not by any means permissible that on the pretext of «democratization» to weaken, be it even so slight the proletarian dictatorship organs. On the contrary, they should be always held wetted and ready to liquidate any possible attempts by any internal and external enemies.

The experience of the Soviet Union and of all the other socialist countries has proved the correctness of Marxist-Leninist theory on the existence of a series of general, indispensable laws for each country which takes the road of socialist development. The successes of our country, any socialist country and the world socialist system as a whole have been achieved precisely thanks to the just application of these general laws of socialist construction, taking into consideration the concrete conditions and the historical particularities of each country, as well as the interests of the entire socialist camp.

The revisionists of Marxism distort and deny these laws. The socialist state, according to them, must give up its economic organizational functions, otherwise «bureaucratic» tendencies would be developed, the state would convert itself into a force that would stand «above society», etc. To save themselves from all these

dangers they preach the decentralisation of economic leadership, «the self administration of the producers». Preaching the continuous weakening of the socialist state role in economy the revisionists take a stand against the very important principle of socialist construction and the socialist state organization — the principle of democratic centralism and they try to replace it by the independent and free development of economic forces, i.e. by petty bourgeois spontaneity which gives free play to anarchy in production.

Life, practice has rejected all these modern revisionist views, which serve only the class enemies, seriously damage the cause of socialist construction and create the danger of capitalist restoration. Our Party has fought and will fight firmly against all these views, it strictly adheres to the teachings of Marxism-Leninism for the construction of socialism, whose correctness has been verified by the rich and allround experience of the Soviet Union, which has universal importance, and that of all the other socialist countries. This experience is a precious treasure in the theory and practice of socialism, from which our Party has learned and will continuously learn. (fervent applause, ovations)

During these last years our Party and all the other Marxist-Leninist Parties have waged a successful struggle against the modern revisionist views, as well as against their activity to split the socialist camp and the international communist movement. But in spite of all the crushing blows and defeats it has received, revisionism is not ideologically routed, it is not definitely destroyed. Revisionism, as one of the forms of bourgeois ideological influence on the proletariat, as a reflection of bourgeois ideology in theory and practice, as stressed by the Moscow Declaration, remains the chief danger in the international communist movement.

A serious danger to the unity of the socialist camp and the international communist movement, the cause of peace and liberation of the peoples is constituted by

the revisionist treacherous Titoite group, which is the most aggressive and dangerous detachment of international modern revisionism, an experienced secret service agency of imperialism, chiefly of American imperialism. Our Party of Labour has always waged a firm struggle against the inimical views and actions of the Belgrade revisionists, considering this struggle as an indispensable condition for the protection of our Fatherland's interests, the safeguarding of the purity of Marxism-Leninism, the consolidation of the unity and compactness of the socialist camp and the international communist movement, for the successful development of the struggle against imperialism and the preservation of peace. It has considered and considers this struggle as its high internationalist duty. (fervent applause, ovations)

The Yugoslav leaders are experienced traitors of Marxism-Leninism and of the working class. Their deeply opportunist views, as it is said in the Declaration of 81 communist and workers parties, have been sanctioned in the infamous program which was adopted by the VII Congress of the Yugoslav Communist League, which is the code, the concentrated manifestation of the views of modern international revisionism.

Our Party has a long experience of struggle against the Yugoslav revisionists. It well recognizes their true face of anti-Marxists, chauvenists and experienced agents of imperialism. All the history of relations between our Party and the Yugoslav leadership, between our country and Titoite Yugoslavia, is the history of the continuous plots of the Tito clique to subdue our Party, to liquidate the independence of our country, it is the history of the heroic resistance of the Party of Labour of Albania and our people against its devilish plans, against the different pressures and blackmail.

In order to defend themselves from our Marxist-Leninist struggle of principles and to slander our Par-

ty, the Yugoslav revisionists have made and are making against us all sorts of attacks and denigrations, accusing us sometimes as «nationalists», other times as «dogmatic» and «sectarian» and other times as people «who understand nothing of Marxism». (hilarity) This is the well known tactics of opportunists and revisionists of all periods in fighting against revolutionary Marxism.

Usually the Yugoslav revisionists, wishing to deceive their peoples and naive persons, use «Marxist» terms, present themselves as resolute fighters and partisans of the freedom of the colonial peoples, of peaceful coexistence, as supporters of the Soviet disarmament proposals and finally, repeatedly swear that they are building socialism. (hilarity) In the Moscow Declaration of 81 Communist and Workers Parties it is stressed that in fact the Yugoslav revisionists are not in favour either of peace or of socialism and how can it be that the Yugoslav revisionists are in favour of peace and peaceful coexistence, against imperialism, when as it is stressed by the Declaration, they carry on a subversive activity against the socialist camp and the international communist movement, when they, under the pretext of the policy «outside blocks», carry on an activity which aims at splitting all the forces and the peace-loving states, when Yugoslavia takes part in the military block of the Balkans which is connected with the imperialist aggressive blocks of NATO and CENTO? How can it be said that Yugoslavia is a socialist state and builds socialism when, as it is stressed in the Declaration, the Yugoslav revisionists have betrayed Marxism-Leninism, detached Yugoslavia from the socialist camp, placed it at the dependence of the American and other imperialist aims, when they have placed the Communist League of Yugoslavia against all the communist international movement and fight furiously in order to destroy this movement?

Our Party stands firmly in the position of the

Declaration of the 81 Communist and Workers Parties of 1960, namely, that the further exposure of the Yugoslav revisionist leaders and the active struggle to safeguard international communist movement from the anti-leninist ideas of the Yugoslav revisionists continue to remain an indispensable duty for all Marxist-Leninist Parties. (continuous applause) It thinks that an uncompromisingly resolute struggle, a struggle up to its complete annihilation should be waged against revisionism. Any lowering of revolutionary vigilance against it, any weakening of the struggle of principles against it, any hesitation in this struggle under whichever pretext it be, will inevitably lead to the revival and the activation of revisionist tendencies which greatly harm our great cause. Without mercilessly exposing revisionism, and chiefly the Belgrade revisionist clique, imperialism cannot be properly exposed. Without making a clear cut differentiation of the boundary which divides the revisionists views from Marxism-Leninism dogmatism and sectarianism cannot be successfully fought from a correct position. The struggle for the complete ideological and political smashing up of this renegade gang is in itself an international aid to the Yugoslav people themselves.

Fighting resolutely against revisionism, as the chief danger, our Party has fought and will fight against any manifestation of dogmatism or sectarianism, which is likewise dangerous to the cause of socialism. Our Party during all its activity has had and will have in mind this matter, because only in this way we shall be guaranteed of any error in our struggle for socialism and communism.

The most important problems of our present world development and of the struggle in the ideological front have been largely dealt with from Marxist-Leninist positions in the two Moscow meetings of Communist and Workers Party representatives in 1957-1960 and have found their correct reflection in the historic

declarations approved in these meetings. Our Marxist-Leninist Party has fully approved these documents. It has resolutely fought to put into practice the principles of the Declaration of 1957 and to protect it against any distortion. In the future our Party will be faithful also to the principles of the Declaration of 1960 and will fight courageously for its application and protection. (continued applause) The Declaration of 1960 is a Marxist-Leninist Document of great importance, is a militant program for all the international communist and worker's movement. The conclusions and the principles of the Declaration are a confirmation of the general just Marxist-Leninist line, which our Party has faithfully defended and put into practice.

The Moscow Declaration deeply analyses the most important problems of the present time such as the problem of the definition of the character of our epoch, it makes a deep analysis of the change in the correlation of forces in favour of socialism in the present period, the development and the consolidation of the socialist system on one side and the decline and decomposition of the capitalist system on the other. It expresses the viewpoint of the communists for the vital problem of mankind, for the problem of peace and war. The Declaration analyses in detail the problems dealing with the struggle against colonialism, the problems of the struggle of the working class in the capitalist countries and sets the tasks of the Communist and Workers Parties of the different colonial and capitalist countries as the most consistent and resolute leaders in the struggle for freedom and independence, for liberation from national and social oppression, in the struggle for democracy and socialism. An important place in the Declaration is taken up by the problems regarding the roads to socialism, the problems of the struggle for the purity of the Marxist-Leninist ideology and for the consolidation of the unity of the international com-

munist and worker's movement and of the socialist camp.

The Declaration is pervaded by a revolutionary spirit. Its blade is directed against imperialism, especially against American imperialism, which is characterised as the chief warmonger, as enemy of the peoples, as carrier of war, an aggressor and gendarme and international exploiter, and against revisionism, which remains the chief danger, its most concrete and dangerous manifestation, the Yugoslav revisionism.

The clear and deep explanation of the problems and of the chief tasks of the international communist movement, which are contained in the Moscow Declaration of 1960, constitutes one of the chief orientations of the ideological-political work of the Party.

Our Party propaganda work with all the forms and means at its disposal, should organise the allround explanation of these matters from the positions of Marxist-Leninist revolutionary theory. Not only the communists, but all the working people and the broad masses of the people must be educated with the ideas and the spirit of the Declaration of 81 Communist and Workers Parties.

Our Party of Labour is one of the militant detachments of the international communist and workers movement. The Moscow Declaration dedicates an important place to the problems of further consolidation of the Marxist-Leninist unity of the international communist movement, to the problem of the consolidation of internationalist solidarity. The imperialists and the enemies of Marxism-Leninism in their struggle against the working class and the international communist movement have always failed besides other things also due to the fact that the proletariat and the communists have always stood solidly united not only on a national but also on an international scale. The immortal



slogan of the communists, launched since the time of the «Communist Manifesto» by Marx and Engels and which has already become the motto of all the great army of the proletariat and international communism, is «Workers of all countries, unite!» In these words is expressed the internationalist spirit of our movement, which is an irreconcilable enemy to any manifestation of chauvenism or bourgeois nationalism.

The Moscow Declaration and its principles make up a concrete basis for the further consolidation of the unity of the international communist movement, a real basis for strengthening proletarian solidarity in combat against the common enemy, world imperialism and its lackeys of all shades.

In the communist movement there are no «leading» parties and «led» parties. As is stressed in the Declaration all parties are equal and independent. They themselves formulate their policy guided by the principles of Marxism-Leninism and in conformity with the historical conditions of their country. The Marxist Parties are connected with each other as parties of a single class, of a single idea, and of a single aim, that is why they give each other brotherly mutual aid in the common struggle for the triumph of the great cause of the proletariat and exchange the experience accumulated in this struggle.

Our Party of Labour has always fought with the greatest firmness and has given its contribution in the consolidation of the unity of the international communist and worker movement on a steel-like basis of Marxism-Leninism. Guided by the principles of proletarian internationalism, it has always been and is conscientious that in our achievements are also comprised the achievements and victories of the struggle of the working class of the peoples of other countries, that the solidarity and the aid of the international

working class, of the sister parties and fraternal peoples has been and is to us a very important factor for the achievement of our aims. For this thing the Central Committee of our Party, all the Albanian communists, are grateful to the international communist movement, the working class and the sister parties of the different countries and assure them that we on our part, in the future as up to now, shall not fail to be solidary and resolutely faithful to them. (continued applause) Our Party shall always struggle on the basis of the principles of the Moscow Declaration, for the further consolidation of the unity of the international communist and worker movement, for the development of internationalist solidarity and the ties with all the sister parties. Fulfilling honestly and faithfully its internationalist duties here in Albania, in the advanced point of the socialist camp, our Party shall always keep high the banner of Marxism-Leninism, the banner of victorious socialism. (fervent applause, ovations)

In connection with these matters one of the important tasks of the Party propaganda is that also in the future it should work for the education of the communists and all the masses of the people with the Marxist-Leninist principles of proletarian internationalism, in the spirit of fraternal friendship with the peoples of the Soviet Union and of the other countries of the socialist camp, with the feeling of fraternal unity and solidarity in the struggle of the working class, the communist parties and the peoples of other countries.

The Party propaganda should make it clear to the communists as well as to the masses of people, that in our struggle for the construction of socialism, as we rely on the support of the wide masses of people within the country, we also rely, in the international arena, on the aid and support of the socialist countries, on the solidarity of the working class, the communist parties and the peoples of various countries. Without

the solidarity and the internationalist support of the revolutionary movement, the international workers' movement and the sister communist parties we cannot achieve the great aims lying before us, the construction of socialism and communism.

Comrades,

Our Party has gone through a difficult road, but at the same time a heroic one along which it has grown and become stronger. In this difficult road, in this hard struggle against numerous enemies the tempering of our Party has taken place, the unity of its ranks has been steeled, the Party ties with the people have become indissoluble. In this difficult road and hard struggle, enlightened by the teachings of Marxism-Leninism and educated with infinite loyalty to it, the Party elaborated its just general line, gained maturity to go straight ahead even under the most difficult conditions, to show courage and firmness every time it has been a question of the protection of the interests of the Fatherland and socialism, to safeguard the purity of Marxism-Leninism.

Since its foundation, against the Party and its general line have arisen different opportunist and revisionist elements, capitulants and deserters who have tried to impede our march ahead, to adapt our just line to that of our enemies, to endanger the destinies of our Fatherland and people by their mistaken, opportunist and antimarxist tendencies. Take a look at these elements, beginning with Sadik Premte, to Koci Xoxe, from Tuk Jakova to Panajot Plaku, from Liri Gega to Liri Belishova and you will see a bunch of people, selfish and ambitious, careerists and opportunists, some of whom have ended in betrayal towards the people and the Fatherland, a group of people devoid of any principle and communist morals.

The history of our Party is the history of the struggle and victory against the internal and external

enemies of our people, it is the history of the struggle and victory of our Marxist-Leninist Party for the purity of Marxism-Leninism, against internal and external opportunism and revisionism. Every communist and working man of our country should know this history well. The study of the history of the Party should be in the center of attention of the Party propaganda. It must clearly show the hard heroic and glorious road gone over by the Party, put in prominence the correctness of the line followed by our Party in every stage of its development, its loyalty to Marxism-Leninism, its resolute and courageous struggle against the imperialist enemies and their revisionist hirelings.

Our Party has always triumphed and has scored great successes in all directions, because it has always stood loyal to the people's vital interests and has resolutely defended them, because it has always relied on the people, on its force and creative abilities, because it has established close ties with the people and has strongly united them around its just line. (**Tempestuous applause, ovations**)

The people, the broad working masses, our working class in alliance with the peasantry, is that decisive force which carried out the great political and social changes in our country, that liberated the Fatherland and today is building socialism. It was the large masses of people, workers, the working peasantry, our youth and people's intellectuals who waged the glorious national-liberation war. The Party showed them that everything, the independence of the Fatherland and a better future, was in their hands and they arose as one man, filled the ranks of the army, fought heroically. The enemies then could not understand wherein lay our Party strength, how it could organize the liberation struggle, create a powerful army and liberate the country.

Later on when Albania ensued from the war

ruined and impoverished, encircled or «isolated» as our enemies preferred to say, the latter threatened and sneered at us saying: «Now what are you going to do about it, on what will you sustain yourselves, how are you going to get on in life?» (laughter) But the enemies rejoiced prematurely and made their accounts without previous consultation with the innkeeper, without our heroic people, who had taken their destiny into their hands and had become the masters of their own country. Sagely led by its Party, our People got down seriously and alongside with the achievement of radical economical-social changes, simultaneously and within a short time selflessly and stubbornly overcoming all hardships, healed the terrible war wounds, accomplished the reconstruction of the country and prepared the conditions to start on a large scale the construction of socialism in our country. (continued applause, ovations)

It has often happened that even friends who have visited Albania or have followed with interest from afar the achievements of our country, wonder and ask: how could little Albania stand up against all those tribulations, how could she emerge victorious in an unequal war with fascist invaders and traitors, how can she resist against innumerable threats and oppressions by the imperialists, the chauvenists and Titoite traitorous gang, how does she overcome hardships and score one success immediately after another in all fields of socialist construction? We reply that the decisive factor for the attainment of all our country's historical victories are the people themselves, their struggle and work, the just line of the Party, which knew how to make the masses conscientious and mobilise them in the war for liberation yesterday and in the struggle for the defence of independence and the construction of socialism today, are the indissoluble ties of the people with the Party. (Tempestuous applause, ovations) We reply that another very important factor

is the support, assistance and the friendship of the fraternal peoples of the socialist countries, the backing of all the international proletariat. Our Party has bound our people with invincible friendship and love with the peoples of other countries, with the heroic peoples of the Soviet Union, People's China and other peoples who are building socialism. Our enemies have always tried to encroach upon this sacred friendship, but this friendship never knows and shall never know what death is. (Tempestuous and continued applause, ovations) Let us take for example the friendship with the people of the great Soviet Union. This has been deeply instilled into the hearts of all the Albanians by our Party, since the most difficult days, since the time, when the Soviet peoples were engaged in the Great patriotic war, since the time when Albania suffered under the fascist heel. Our great friendship was steeled in battle and blood, in comradeship of arms, in struggle for life, for freedom, for the future. This friendship was further strengthened and steeled even more during these last sixteen years after liberation. The Soviet Union, by its victory over fascism, created real possibilities and aided for the liberation of our people, the aid and the backing of the Soviet Union has been one of the most important factors, outside ones, for the attainment of our great victories in the field of socialist construction. In this great invincible friendship, which no force and intrigue in the world can weaken, in friendship with all the other peoples of the socialist camp, our people also in the future shall find support and inspiration for new victories in the struggle for socialism and communism. (Tempestuous applause, ovations)

Our people are brave, industrious, freedom loving, faithful and progressive. Our Party, educated by Marxist-Leninist teachings, incarnates in itself also these high traditions of our people. Let us be sure, comrades, that with such a marvellous people and with our Party, irremovably faithful to Marxism-

Leninism, to proletarian internationalism, in close friendship with the fraternal peoples and sister parties of the socialist countries, our country will march ahead, always ahead, for there is neither wave nor storm that can frighten it, there is no force in the world which can halt our victorious march to the triumph of socialism and communism. **(Tempestuous and continued applause, ovations)**

Comrades,

The year we have now entered into is a great anniversary, the 20th glorious anniversary of the foundation of our heroic Party. Twenty years of our Party life are years of historical achievements, which pulled out our people and country from slavery into liberty, from darkness to light, from ignorance and backwardness on the road to knowledge and progress.

Great successes, new victories, majestic prospects lie ahead of us. With our tireless work, in steel-like unity of our ranks, let us all be mobilised, let us rally the entire Albanian people, the heroic working class, the working peasantry, our intelligentsia, the glorious youth and the women of our country, in order to honorably achieve the great tasks set by the third five-year plan, to make our country even more beautiful, ever richer, stronger to build socialist society!

Let us make 1961, the first year of the third five-year plan, the year of the great anniversary of our Party, a year of new achievements and victories as is always becoming to our heroic Party. **(Continued and tempestuous applause, ovations)**

Glory to our heroic people and its Party of Labour, the organizer and the leader of all the victories of our people! **(Tempestuous and continued applause, ovations)**

Glory to the invincible socialist camp headed by the Soviet Union! **(Tempestuous and continued applause, ovations)**

Glory to Marxism-Leninism, our victorious science! **(Tempestuous and continued applause, ovations)**

Long live the unity of the international communist workers movement in the struggle for socialism, democracy, national independence and peace! **(Tempestuous and continued applause, ovations)**

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N.I.S.H. Shtypshkronja «Mihal Duri»  
Rruga «Konferenca e Pezës»

**KONTROLI Nr. 5**

Në rast se gjeni difekte në libër,  
lutemi na e ktheni bashkë me  
fletën e kontrollit.