

CHAPTER EIGHT

THE BEGINNING OF THE COMPLETE CONSTRUCTION OF SOCIALIST SOCIETY

1. Transition to a New Stage

With the construction of the economic base of socialism, the PR of Albania entered a new stage of development, the stage of the complete construction of socialist society. The fundamental tasks of this stage were laid down by the 4th Congress of the PLA which held its proceedings in Tirana from 13 to 20 February 1961. The reports of the leading organs of the Party were discussed at the Congress which also approved the resolution on the activity of the CC of the PLA as well as the directives for the 3rd Five-year Plan of the economic and cultural development of the PRA.

The 4th Congress of the PLA was held in the conditions of the exacerbation of the ideological struggle in the international communist movement about the major problems of world development, problems which were put forward and discussed at the Meeting of the 81 communist and workers' parties in Moscow in November-December 1960. The Congress fully approved

the activity of the delegation of the PLA at this meeting.

The delegations of 24 communist and workers' parties attended the proceedings of the Congress. Many other parties sent messages of greetings to the Congress. The representatives of the CPSU and of some other parties had been charged with the special mission of exercising pressure on the delegates to the Congress so that they opposed the Marxist-Leninist line of the PLA and came out against its leadership.

For this purpose, the Soviet representative and some others, who followed him, raised in their speeches theses which were in opposition to those expressed in the political report of the CC of the PLA delivered by Comrade Enver Hoxha. They also tried to force the representatives of the other communist and workers' parties to change the substance of their speeches and to oppose the line of the PLA.

The delegates to the Congress replied to this hostile interference with their determination to continue still more vigorously their fight in defence of the purity of Marxism-Leninism, to implement the revolutionary political line of the PLA and the decisions of the 4th Congress. In their speeches the representatives of the Marxist-Leninist parties highly praised the revolutionary stand of the PLA and fully supported its political line.

The Congress unanimously approved the reports, the resolution and the decisions on the 3rd Five-year Plan. The supreme leading organs of the Party were elected by unanimous vote. Comrade Enver Hoxha was re-elected First Secretary of the CC of the PLA.

The 3rd Five-year Plan (1961-1965) marked the beginning of the stage of the complete construction of socialist society in Albania. The Congress defined the complete construction of the material-technical base of socialism, the development and perfection of the socio-economic relations of socialism and the deepening of

the ideological and cultural revolution as the main objectives of this stage.

The completion of the construction of the material-technical base of socialism called for the further industrialization of the country, the development of agriculture and its total transformation into an intensive agriculture, as well as for the deepening of the technical-scientific revolution. This would be done in several five-year plans in which Albania would be transformed from an agrarian-industrial country into an industrial-agrarian country.

The Congress issued directives for the increase of industrial production and the improvement of its structure, the setting up of a multi-branched industry based mainly on large-scale machine production, advanced technology and local raw materials. The intensification of agriculture both in the plains and the hilly and mountainous zones would be achieved through the numerical increase of the mechanized means, the raising of the productivity of labour and the improvement of the structure of agricultural production.

The complete construction of socialist society also necessitated the perfection of the relations of production in all fields: ownership, exchange and management.

The deepening of the ideological and cultural revolution, and the communist education of the working people assumed major importance in this new stage.

The Congress stressed that the class struggle had not ended with the liquidation of the local exploiting classes. It would continue to be a stern struggle also in the period of the complete construction of socialist society, especially on the ideological front, between the socialist ideology and the bourgeois and revisionist ideology, and it was on this struggle that the fate of the construction of socialism depended. The class struggle within the country was closely linked with the class

struggle in the international arena. The internal and external enemies had not given up their hopes of and attempts at overthrowing the socialist order in Albania and re-establishing capitalism. In these circumstances, the further strengthening of the socialist state was an indispensable condition for the complete construction of the socialist society and the defence of the socialist order in Albania.

The directives of the 3rd Five-year Plan set as the main task that Albania was to progress more rapidly on the road of its transformation from an agrarian-industrial country into an industrial-agrarian country, with priority being given to the development of the heavy industry.

New branches of industry would be created such as the processing of copper, iron-nickel, and chromium ores, the ferrous metallurgy and the chemical industry for the production of nitrogenous and phosphate fertilizers.

The directives envisaged that the total industrial output would be increased by 52 per cent at an average annual rate of 8.7 per cent.

In the field of agriculture it was necessary to eliminate the disproportion created in the development of industrial and agricultural production. For this purpose, differently from the other five-year plans, the directives of this five-year plan envisaged a higher rate of increase for agricultural production as compared with industrial production. At the end of the five-year plan the total agricultural output would be increased by 72 per cent at an average annual rate of 15.5 per cent. The main task of agriculture remained the increase of the production of bread grain with the aim of achieving the self-sufficiency of the country in this field.

For the fulfilment of the tasks of the 3rd Five-year Plan the directives envisaged that capital investments would be 51 per cent higher than in the 2nd Five-year

Plan, or nearly equal to the capital investments of the 1st and 2nd five-year plans taken together.

The material well-being would be improved and the cultural level of the masses would be raised on the basis of the increase of industrial and agricultural production. The national income would increase by 56 per cent. The average wage of the workers and office employees would be increased by 30 per cent, and the income of the peasantry by 35 per cent.

The complete construction of socialist society called for the school and science to be more closely linked with the practice of the socialist construction and the communist education of the working people. That is why the directives envisaged a change in the organization of scientific work on the basis of the fundamental principle of the combination of lessons with productive labour, and a closer linking of theory with practice and of school with life.

The great tasks of the 3rd Five-year Plan were to be fulfilled by relying mainly on the internal resources and our own forces, the credits which the Soviet Union, the People's Republic of China and the other countries of people's democracy were to give the PR of Albania on the basis of the respective agreements served only as auxiliary factors.

2. On the Fulfilment of the 3rd Five-year Plan Mainly with Our Own Forces

Right after the 4th Congress of the PLA, when it became clear that its attempts at imposing its will on Albania were futile, the Soviet leadership cut off all the credits envisaged in the agreements between the two countries. These credits as well as those from the countries of people's democracy of Europe represented a

considerable part of the funds needed for the construction of some industrial projects of the 3rd Five-year Plan.

After Liberation, Albania's foreign trade was done mainly with the Soviet Union and the countries of people's democracy of Europe. About 45 per cent of the Albanian exports went to the Soviet Union and about 55 per cent of the machinery, equipment and other industrial goods necessary for the development of the people's economy came from there.

Besides, the departure of all foreign specialists who abandoned the work started at various projects caused heavy damage to many branches of the economy, especially geological research, mining and construction. The foreign specialists left unfinished about 40 important objects of the 2nd Five-year Plan in the industrial sector alone. Difficulties increased even more after the cessation of military aid.

Thus in the first years of the 3rd Five-year Plan, the fulfilment of the plan in many sectors of the economy was made very difficult and to a certain extent the development of the Albanian economy as a whole was impaired.

When the Soviet leadership went on with its utter disregard for the demands of the PLA for the normalization of relations, and with its anti-Albanian activity, going so far as to attack the PLA publicly and break off diplomatic relations with Albania, the CC of the PLA in its declaration of October 20, 1961 and Comrade Enver Hoxha in his speech on the occasion of the 20th anniversary of the founding of the PLA on November 7, 1961 spoke openly about the grave situation that had been created in Albanian-Soviet relations, about the true cause of the deterioration of these relations and the major difficulties that had arisen as a result of the activity of the Khrushchevites.

Faced with these new conditions the CC of the PLA

and the Council of Ministers had to make some changes in the tasks of the 3rd Five-year Plan. They cancelled some industrial projects from the construction plan and postponed the commissioning of some others. They raised the norm of accumulation of the national income above the planned target, increased the material reserves necessary for the uninterrupted development of the economy and the strengthening of the defence capacity of the country. Many imported articles were replaced with locally produced goods.

Under these circumstances, the Albanian people mobilized all their forces and worked with the same spirit of sacrifice as in the time of the National Liberation War.

Among the important measures taken by the government for the fulfilment of the tasks of the 3rd Five-year Plan relying on our own forces were consultations with the broad masses of the people. These were organized about the more important problems of the 3rd Five-year Plan. Our Party had always paid great importance to consultations with the broad masses of the people. However, in the new conditions when the principle of self-sufficiency assumed broader political and economic significance, these consultations had vital importance and were an indispensable condition for overcoming difficulties.

In the second trimester of 1961, a broad popular consultation for the further strengthening of the savings regime took place all over the country.

As a result of the initiatives taken for reducing production costs, cutting down on unnecessary or premature investments and other such measures 1 billion and 900 million leks were spared in 1961 only. This sum represented more than 6 per cent of the state budget.

In January-February 1962 was organized a popular consultation about the local construction of machinery

and equipment, spare parts and other import materials through better utilization of inner reserves and all-round development of the creative initiative of the working masses. As a result of the initiatives of workers the copper smelting plant at Gjegjan of Kukës was set up with our own forces, thereby doubling the production capacity of the copper smelting industry. The workers and specialists of the oil industry reconstructed the mechanical engineering plant in Stalin City. As a result the production capacity of this plant increased more than three fold and it became the main mechanical engineering base for the oil industry. On the basis of self-reliance were built the oil bitumen coking factory, the cement factory in Tirana as well as a number of new factories and mines. The first machines of Albanian make (diesel engines of 15 horse power, drilling-rigs for geological research, threshing-machines, electric motors, small hydro-turbines, centrifugal pumps) were produced during these years. Mechanical industry was reorganized and further strengthened and concentrated. Work began for the building of the tractor spare parts plant in Tirana which was made operational in the first year of the 4th Five-year Plan. By the end of 1964 there were 170 mechanical engineering plants and workshops all over the country of which 25 were big enterprises of national importance. In 1965 the mechanical engineering industry met about 54 per cent of the needs of the economy for spare parts.

Due to the speedy development of socialist industrialization the number of people working in state enterprises increased. The number of working people in the main cities like Tirana, Durrës, Vlora, Elbasan, etc., grew considerably. However, the vigorous development of the country brought about population movements from the countryside to the town to a greater degree than necessary. During 1945-1960 the population of the towns grew over two times. More than half of

this population growth was due to the population movement from the countryside to the town. This led to changes in the social structure of the population and the creation of a surplus labour force in the town.

The spontaneous movement of the labour force from the countryside to the town hampered the development of agriculture at a time when it could not yet cope with all the needs of the people's economy for agricultural and livestock products. Besides there was still a large reserve of unemployed labour force in the town, made up especially of women. In 1960 women constituted only one fourth of the entire number of working people employed by the state. On the other hand, the natural growth rates of population in Albania increased with each passing year. All this made up a great reserve which had to be taken into account in considering the movement of the population from the countryside to the town.

These important problems were taken up at the popular consultation on the further improvement of the socialist organization of work which went on from April until the end of September 1964. It exerted a major influence on the improvement of the socialist organization of work. Good work was done, in particular, in limiting the unnecessary movement of the labour power from the countryside to the town. As a result, during the years of the 3rd Five-year Plan the way of growth of the urban population began to change. While during 1945-1960 this growth had mainly a mechanical character (movement of people from the countryside to the city) after 1960 the expansion of cities was due mainly to the natural growth of population. Thus the depopulation of the countryside was avoided and the rates of participation of women in the productive sphere were stepped up. In the years of the 3rd Five-year Plan the number of women work-

ing in state enterprises increased by 60 per cent while that of men 32 per cent.

Stemming the trend of rural depopulation favoured agriculture but it could not eliminate the disproportion existing between the development of agriculture and industry.

In 1960 industrial production was 25 times and the population 56 per cent that of 1938 while agricultural production had risen only 72 per cent.

In order to fulfil the needs of the country for agricultural and livestock products, the state had to import great quantities of bread grain, rice, fats, sugar, etc. However, import was not the way to the solution of this problem. In these circumstances, the speedy growth of agricultural and livestock production, especially bread grain, constituted one of the main economic tasks for all the country.

During the previous two five-year plans, agriculture had developed mainly extensively. However, the population and its needs for agricultural and livestock products grew more rapidly than the cultivated area. So, parallel with the opening up of new land, agriculture and livestock breeding.

The conditions for transition to an intensive agriculture existed already. The big socialist economies (agricultural cooperatives and state farms), the mechanization of work processes in agriculture, the extension of the irrigated area and the increase in the number of specialists constituted the necessary base for the intensification of agriculture.

A popular consultation about the intensification of agriculture was organized in the second half of 1961. Special attention was devoted to the application of modern agrotechnics and the mobilization of all inner reserves for the constant growth of agricultural production. Thousands of new hectares were made irrigable. Relying on their own resources the peasantry built

hundreds of simple irrigation systems while at the same time planting as many fruit orchards and vegetable, citrus plantations and olive groves as possible.

Meanwhile state aid to the countryside increased further which contributed to the extension and consolidation of the mechanical base of agriculture.

Enlargement of agricultural cooperatives through the unification of smaller ones was one of the more important roads for the economic-organizational consolidation of agricultural cooperatives.

This process, which had begun in 1959, extended in scope and spread all over the country during the 3rd Five-year Plan. The process of unification of smaller cooperatives took place especially in the plains and in the hilly zones. The enlarged cooperatives included 2-3 and even 7-8 smaller cooperatives. All the smaller cooperatives in most lowland districts united into enlarged cooperatives. This led to the reduction of their number. From 1484 cooperatives in 1960, in 1965 their number decreased to 368 of which 560 were enlarged cooperatives.

The unification of cooperatives, the creation of a multi-branched agriculture and the extensive application of the requirements of advanced agrotechnics in all the crops created the objective conditions for an increase in the participation in work. Beginning from 1964 remuneration in kind per workday was replaced everywhere with remuneration in money. The state short-term credits to the agricultural cooperatives based on the workdays put in played an important role in increasing the participation in work of the cooperativists. These credits were used by the cooperatives for monthly advances to their members. Economic relations between the state and the agricultural cooperatives were further improved and developed. Taxation on agricultural cooperatives was placed on fairer bases. Payments for the work done by the MTAs was reduced, whereas payment in kind for deep ploughing was lifted.

Although the collectivization of agriculture was on a whole considered complete in the end of the 2nd Five-year Plan, there were still some mountainous zones without cooperatives. So, parallel with the economic-organizational strengthening of the existing agricultural cooperatives new cooperatives were set up in the mountainous villages not yet collectivized for the complete collectivization of all the peasant economies.

Thanks to the profound socio-economic transformations in the countryside the mode of living of the peasantry changed, too. Still this constituted only the first steps towards the socialist construction of the countryside. Essential differences still remained between the countryside and the town. A long time was needed to eliminate these differences. However, the complete construction of socialist society demanded the ever greater narrowing down of these differences.

In June 1963, the 3rd Plenum of the CC of the PLA laid down the main roads for the rapid improvement of the material well-being and the raising of the cultural level of the countryside. In the first place, relations of distribution and redistribution of agricultural products and incomes in the countryside had to be further perfected and their management improved.

Special attention was paid to the improvement of the nutrition of the peasantry, to changing their mode of dressing and extending the use of household furniture and appliances in order to enable them to live in a cultured way and in more hygienic surroundings. The building of dwelling houses and the construction of objects of an economic, social and cultural character was speeded up and its quality improved. The state charged specialists to make plans for the rebuilding of villages and model designs for dwelling houses. In the years of the 3rd Five-year Plan, the peasantry built about 27 000 new houses with their own means. Bakeries, canteens, public baths, laundries, crèches and

kindergartens, infirmaries, shops and centres of communal services were set up.

Much work was done for the electrification of the countryside, its supply with drinking water, the extension of its communications and connections with the town. Handicrafts services and trade reached the remotest villages. Sanitation and the work of health institutions were improved further.

The network of 8-year schools was extended and efforts were made to include all the peasant youth in it.

In order to free the peasantry from prejudices and leftovers from the past and to educate it with the communist ethic and world outlook, particular attention was devoted to the struggle against such backward customs as debased women and prevented them from taking an active part in the political, economic and social life of the country as well as to scientific-atheist propaganda.

The urban population made a major contribution to the improvement of the well-being of the peasantry. Through patronage, cultural brigades, the sending of various technicians and specialists, and other forms of assistance the working class showed the peasantry how to lead a more cultured life and better manage its income.

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With the construction of the economic base of socialism in the town and countryside, the liquidation of the exploiting classes and the raising of the socialist consciousness of the working masses, the social base of the people's power was strengthened and the alliance of the working class with the peasantry steered further.

In these conditions, the further consolidation and democratization of the people's power as well as the improvement of the method of management of the economy and culture on the part of the state organs assumed particular significance.

Attention was in the first place devoted to the consolidation and perfection of the state apparatus, to ensuring the broad participation of the working masses in state activities, in order to encourage the development of their creative initiative in all forms.

With the extension of the socialist sector both in the town and in the countryside, the volume of work of the people's councils increased, too. However, their organizational structure and the quality of their work did not fully respond to the new demands of the administration of town and countryside.

Enlargement of agricultural cooperatives had raised new problems for the people's councils of the countryside.

Unification of villages demanded the reorganization and strengthening of the people's councils, the improvement of the quality of their administrative work. So, the people's councils of villages were dissolved and replaced with the people's councils of united villages. The people's councils of localities were dissolved in the zones in which the unification of the villages was completed and the councils of villages were directly linked with the organs of state power in the district.

With the new elections to the people's councils held in May 1964 their composition was improved, too. Of 22,650 councillors elected, almost one fifth were women and more than three-fourths people working directly in production. The people's councils of villages, towns and the districts were given broader competences. A number of activities in the field of trade, communal services, town-planning etc., passed to their competence.

The sphere of activity of the people's councils of

the districts was extended further. Many economic enterprises working on locally produced raw materials were placed under their dependence, these councils were given greater rights in the field of planning, budget and administration.

The People's Assembly adopted the Family Code and made amendments and additions to the Labour Code, the Penal Code and the Law on Elections to the People's Councils.

The measures taken during the 3rd Five-year Plan were on a whole correct. They contributed to the consolidation and improvement of the work of the state apparatus, making it simple and more flexible. They placed an important role in enhancing the initiative and independent activity of the local organs of state power. However, there were also some measures which did not recommend themselves. Thus the decision on the dissolution of the people's councils of the villages which belonged to the enlarged cooperatives and their substitution with the united councils had many shortcomings. It led to the narrowing down of the base and sphere of the activity of the state, the weakening of its links with the masses, made their problems more difficult to solve and hampered the development of the countryside in general. Likewise the increase of the number of central organs through the creation of new ministries made the state apparatus more cumbersome and costly. So these decisions were revoked afterwards.

3. Development of the Ideological and Cultural Revolution

With the transition of the country to the stage of the complete construction of socialist society many new problems emerged. Their solution demanded, on

the one hand, a better skilled working class, a better educated peasantry, a larger number of cadres and specialists and, on the other hand, a higher socialist consciousness of all working people and the eradication of alien concepts and manifestations which, somewhere more and somewhere less, still lingered in their midst. All these necessitated the further deepening of the ideological and cultural revolution.

The institutions of people's education played the main role in the communist education of the younger generation and the training of cadres. Some organizational changes were made in these institutions and the educational network was extended. In 1965 Albania had 425,000 pupils and students, or 13 000 more than in 1960. In the years of the 3rd Five-year Plan 5000 students graduated various high schools.

With the 15-year plan (1961-1975) of development of scientific work, which was approved in 1961, Albanian science entered a new stage of its planned development. A fundamental task of this plan was the development at more rapid rates of the natural and technical sciences for a thorough assessment and ever better exploitation of the natural assets of the country, without slowing down the rates of development of social sciences. For this purpose, study groups and laboratories were set up at factories and plants and new scientific institutions like the Institute of Geology, the Institute of Industrial Research, the Institute of Hydro-meteorology, the Institute for Protection and Restoration of Monuments, etc., were set up. The studies and experiments conducted by these scientific institutions coped with many important problems of the development of the economy and culture. In the field of geology and mining new sources of useful minerals were found and put into exploitation. Most important among them was the discovery of new oil deposits. In the field of technical sciences the designs for the hydro-

power stations «Frederick Engels» on the Mat River and «Joseph Stalin» on the Bistrica River, for the chain of hydro-power stations on the Drin River, the copper smelting factory at Gjegjan were worked out. In the field of biology, such fundamental studies as «The Biology and Biochemistry of the Forage Flora of Our Country», «The Weeds of Agricultural Crops», «Aromatic Plants and Their Utilization», «Local Tanning Plants» etc., were carried out. In the field of agriculture, local elite seeds were produced, the production of grain and fruits was reorganized and sheep and cow breeds improved. In the field of social sciences, the «History of Albania» (vol 2), «The History of Albanian Literature» and many monographs on problems of history, literature and Albanian language were published. The First Conference of Albanological Studies held in Tirana in November 1962 was an important event for our social sciences.

In the field of literature and art the process of the crystallization of the features of socialist realism, its consolidation and enrichment in struggle against bourgeois-revisionist influences was developed further. Literature devoted greater space to the treatment of everyday themes, strengthened its socialist content among the masses. It was enriched with new means of expression and the proliferation of literary genres which were never seen before, reaching a higher stage of artistic maturity.

Typical of this development was the emergence of a great number of new talents with marked artistic individualities.

Poetry remained one of the most active genres in this period, too. Typical was the development of the lyrical-epic poetry in which the spiritual world of the new man, the vitality of the Albanian people, their resistance against the foreign invaders and in general the historic fate of the nation and the revolution were

reflected in a vivid metaphoric language and with powerful poetic symbols. The more important creations of this period are «What Do These Mountains Think About?» by Ismail Kadare and «Devoll, Devoll» by Dritëro Agolli.

The novel, which had already achieved some successes in the fifties, assumed the leading place in the literary development of this period. It developed as an epic narration of the life and history of the people with subjects from the historical past and the National Liberation War and with philosophical undertones. The more significant novels are «The General of the Dead Army» (1964) by Ismail Kadare, «Before the Dawn» (1964) by Shevqet Musaraj and the «Dead River» by Jakov Xoxe. In the field of drama, the comedy «The Carnivals of Korça» (1961) by Spiro Çomora is prominent in this period. The creative activity increased considerably also in the field of fine arts. The sculpture «Memorial to the Congress of Përmet» (Odhise Paskali), the paintings «The Cooperativists» (Zef Shoshi), «Meeting of the General Staff» (Guri Madhi), the statue «The Same Age as the Republic» (Kristaq Rama), the bust «A.Z. Çajupi» (Llazar Nikolla), «Our Mountains» (Andrea Mano), the portraits «The Partisan» (Foto Stamo), «The Worker» (Vilson Kilica) etc., are among the more outstanding successes of this time.

Music assumed great development in this period, as seen in such major genres like the opera, ballet and symphony. The best works were «The Flower of Remembrance» (Kristo Kono) and the first Albanian ballet «Halili and Hajria» (composer — Tish Daija, choreographer — Panajot Kanaçi). The setting up of the first symphonic orchestras in the country and the creation of the Higher Conservatoire in the capital and many middle schools of music in the districts favourably influenced the development of music.

The level of the culture of the masses in town and

countryside was raised to a higher level. Cultural work extended to the broad working masses and played a great role in their education with the Marxist-Leninist ideology and in their mobilization in the struggle to overcome the difficulties of this period.

The press assumed great development, too. The number of newspapers and magazines and their circulation increased. In 1965 we published 12 newspapers and 30 magazines with a total annual circulation of 34 million copies.

The publishing of books is an important index of the mass character of culture. Over 500 books with a total of 1.850.000 copies were published in 1965.

The state gave great assistance in the dissemination of culture among the working masses, especially in the countryside. In 1965 there were 1195 hearths of culture and 337 houses of culture in the countryside and 30 houses of culture in the town. Palaces of culture were built in Tirana and some other towns. With the setting up of the Central House of Folk Creativeness in Tirana (1961) the amateur artistic movement was given a fresh impulse. The first experimental television centre was set up and the number of cinemas, libraries and museums increased.

4. Fulfilment of the 3rd Five-year Plan (1961-1965)

Relying on their own forces as well on the aid and credits which the PR of China gave them at that time, the Albanian people on a whole successfully fulfilled the main tasks of the 3rd Five-year Plan.

In the 3rd Five-year Plan, 43 per cent of the total volume of investments, or 55 per cent more than in the 2nd Five-year Plan, were used for the expansion of

the material-technical base of industry. In this period 430 new industrial, agricultural and socio-cultural projects were built.

Despite the major obstacles created by the Khrushchevites which caused a three-year delay in the building of new industrial projects the plan of industrial production was fulfilled 97 per cent. In the six main branches of industry it was even overfulfilled.

In the 3rd Five-year Plan for the first time industrial production exceeded agricultural production. In 1965 industrial and agricultural production accounted for 56.6 and 43.4 per cent respectively (at 1966 prices) as against 1960 when the figures were 48.4 and 51.6 per cent respectively.

Although the unfulfilment of the plan of agricultural production increased to some extent the proportion of the industrial production, still the change in the ratio between these two branches of the economy showed that industry had begun to outstrip agriculture, that Albania was being transformed from an agrarian-industrial country into an industrial-agrarian one.

The average annual growth rate of industrial production in 1961-1965 was 6.8 per cent. Heavy industry developed at more rapid rate. The foundations were laid for the creation of new branches of industry: black metallurgy, copper processing, chemical industry. The energy base necessary for the perspective development of industry and other branches of the people's economy was extended.

The plan of the oil industry and the extraction of useful minerals was fulfilled. Irrespective of the damage caused by the sabotage activity of the Khrushchevites, oil production increased 65 per cent compared with the 2nd Five-year Plan. The discovery of oil deposits in the calcareous strata of Patos opened new perspectives for the development of the oil industry in Albania.

The plan of chromium ore extraction was realized

112 per cent. The production of copper industry increased more than 4 times as against 1960. The new copper processing plants enabled the local processing of the copper ore. Extraction of iron-nickel increased more than 2 and a half times as against the 2nd Five-year Plan.

The hydro-power stations «Frederick Engels» on the Mat River with a capacity of 23 000 kW and the «Joseph Stalin» on the Bistrica River with a capacity of 22 500 kW were built and put into operation. These two important hydro-power stations were both designed and built by Albanian engineers and specialists. The Fier thermo-power station, one of the major energy projects of the country, began to be built in 1964. As a result in 1965 the production of electric power was 68 per cent greater than in 1960.

The construction of the greatest project of the 3rd Five-year Plan, the nitrate fertilizer plant in Fier, began in 1964 and was completed in record time, two years, and the plant was commissioned in the 4th Five-year Plan. The construction of the superphosphate plant in Laç and the caustic soda plant in Vlora began, too. Thus the bases for the chemical industry were laid.

The production of mechanical engineering industry increased two fold as against the 2nd Five-year Plan and the first important steps were taken for the production of technical equipment and machinery.

The light and food-processing industries developed at high rates, too. Along with the existing factories which were reconstructed and equipped with modern technique, many new projects like factories for the processing of grapes, olives, milk etc., were built, too. The construction of the big textile combine for the processing of cotton began in Berat in 1963.

Despite the bad weather conditions of the two first years of the Five-year Plan (the great floods of 1961-1962 and the long drought of 1962) total agricultural production in 1965 was 36 per cent greater than in 1960 and 2.3 times that of 1938.

Fifty-nine thousand ha of new land were broken in. The area of cultivated land increased 11 per cent. Important reclamation projects involving the draining of the coastal swamps and the irrigation of hilly and mountainous areas were undertaken. Work went on for the completion of the reclamation of the main plains of Albania: Myzeqe, Vurg, Thumana, Fier-Roskovec, Maliq where work began for the reclamation of Hoxhara and the draining of the Durrës and Karavasta swamps. Major work was done for the irrigation of the Korça, Devoll, Dumrea and Vurg plains. Apart from the major irrigation projects a great number of water reservoirs and pumping stations and canals were built, too. About 9000 ha of new land were reclaimed and another 25000 improved through the construction of major reclamation projects. At the end of 1965 the area of land under irrigation increased 46 per cent from 32 per cent it was in 1960.

In 1965 as against 1960 the production of bread grain increased 51 per cent, tobacco 62 per cent, cotton 53 per cent, vegetables 99 per cent.

Livestock production rose 20 per cent as against the 2nd Five-year Plan.

In order to improve the economic situation of the agricultural cooperatives of the mountainous zones obligatory procurement, quotas, taxes and MTS charges were reduced, on the other hand they were granted special credits and supplied with selected seed. Their income per 100 ha of land in 1965 was 76 per cent higher than in 1960 and their average annual income per working mass increased 28 per cent.

National income increased 44 per cent as against the 2nd Five-year Plan. Seventy-one point four per cent of this income was utilized to meet the needs of the population and 28.6 per cent to extend socialist production, to create reserves, etc.

The working people of town and countryside were

regularly supplied with the main mass consumer goods. As envisaged in the plan, in October 1961 trade prices for industrial goods were reduced with an annual benefit of 800 million leks for the population. The lower wages of some categories of workers were raised. As a result of all these measures the population benefited 350 million leks. The purchasing power of the lek increased further. The goods turnover in the socialist trade increased 36 per cent.

The state invested 43 per cent more funds for housing construction. In 1965 the number of electrified villages was about 2 times that of 1960.

The tasks of the 3rd Five-year Plan in education, culture and the health service were overfulfilled. The planned number of pupils and students was exceeded. The State University of Tirana and other higher schools trained cadres for almost all the specialities needed by our people's economy and culture. The number of cadres of medium training increased almost two fold and that of higher cadres more than two fold. While in 1960 there was one doctor per 3400 inhabitants, at the end of 1965 there was one doctor per 1865 inhabitants. In the years of the 3rd Five-year Plan the free of charge medical service for all the people, including the peasantry, became reality.

CHAPTER NINE

FURTHER REVOLUTIONIZATION OF THE WHOLE LIFE OF THE COUNTRY

1. Deepening the Line of the Masses

The country was setting out on a new, higher stage of its political, economic, ideological and cultural development. At the same time, with the advent to power of the Khrushchevites, negative transformations were taking place in the Soviet Union. Under these conditions, the PLA deemed it necessary to deepen the line of the masses and step up the struggle for the further revolutionization of the Party, the state apparatus and the whole life of the country.

In October 1965, the Central Committee of the Party and the Council of Ministers published an Appeal to the broad masses of the people to participate in the discussion and drafting of the 4th Five-year Plan (1966-1970). The basic idea of the Appeal was: reliance on the masses, summing up and dissemination, in an organized manner, of their advanced experience in order to bring about the total mobilization of the people and exploit as much as possible all the

internal material reserves. It pointed out that «... the judgement and creative thinking of the working class, the labouring peasantry and the people's intelligentsia; their initiative, are highly important factors for a realistic mobilizing and revolutionary planning.» Unlike the previous discussions by the masses of the people of the drafts of the five-year plans, this time in the draft-directives the central state organs gave not detailed figures, but only some main tentative ones.

All the working masses of town and countryside took part in the discussion held in the period November-December.

In every brigade, department, enterprise or agricultural cooperative planning commissions were set up as organs for encouraging, channelling and organizing the creative initiatives of the masses.

In their contributions to the discussion, the masses upgraded the figures proposed by the central or local state organs. They discarded many outdated concepts about the possibilities of the people's economy.

The workers pledged to increase production without asking for more investments, to exploit even in the mountainous regions the huge reserves for a drastic increase of yields in bread grain and other crops.

By their direct participation in setting the tasks for the five-year plan the working masses contributed their rich experience and creative thinking to the planning process. On the other hand, this participation increased their sense of responsibility for the fulfilment of the plan.

Meanwhile, in January 1966, on the basis of the proposals made during the discussion of the directives of the new five-year plan, a series of revolutionary initiatives emerged, like going from the centre to the base, from administration to production. Making a high assessment of these initiatives, the Political Bureau

of the CC of the Party decided that leading cadres must go to the base for a long period of time to make their contribution to the further strengthening of the work of the Party and the people's state power.

These initiatives as well as the proposals made by the masses during the popular discussion and their numerous letters to the press organs expressed the need and demand for profound changes in the method and style of work of state organs. The issue was about uprooting bureaucracy in all its harmful manifestations, as it was becoming a serious obstacle to the further vigorous development of the country. It hampered the development of the revolutionary creative forces of the people and the successful fulfilment and overfulfilment of the major tasks of the 4th Five-year Plan, and in general, the tasks of the complete construction of socialist society.

In particular, bureaucracy had struck root in the state apparatus. In many cases the management of affairs and the solution of many problems was viewed not with a political, but a technical and formal eye, and the state organs confided more in administrative measures, documents, and regulations, which in some cases had been made a fetish of, attaching only second-hand importance to the educational-political work with people. Consequently, officialdom and formalism developed, administrative practice was overloaded with official documents, statistics and unnecessary formalities, laws and codes were overburdened with superfluous details, state and economic apparatuses were inflated and their links with the masses weakened, the role of the people's councils and the direct participation of the masses in running the economy and the country were dying away.

These bureaucratic manifestations were in complete opposition to the revolutionary line of the Party and the profoundly democratic essence of the social-

ist state. Therefore, on the direct initiative of Comrade Enver Hoxha the CC of the Party and the government launched a general action to uproot bureaucracy. The directives of the Central Committee called for all-round struggle against bureaucracy in all its manifestations, in the administration, in the activity of the elected organs, in laws and ordinances, in the organization of the army, the wages ratio, etc., and reaffirmed the revolutionary and democratic principles and norms which should guide the activity of the state and the whole life of the country.

Proceeding from these directives of the Party, the government took immediate measures to reduce the volume of correspondence between state and economic organs and of statistics, simplified the system of accounting, considerably enlarged the competences of the organs depending on the ministries, the executive committees of the people's councils and the managements of enterprises, improved the method of planning for the development of the economy and culture, while strictly observing the principle of democratic centralism.

These measures necessitated the reduction of personnel. The revolutionary initiative to go from the centre to the base, from administration to production, was energetically supported by the Party. It grew into a broad movement of the masses for a more correct distribution of cadres, which created the conditions for a more democratic solution of this problem from below. Based on this movement, within a few weeks the government halved the staff of the state administration at the centre, reduced the staff of the state administration in the districts and the personnel of the state economic enterprises 10 per cent and 15-25 per cent respectively. Nearly 15 thousand cadres of administration went to work in production.

On the proposal of the government, the People's

Assembly convened in March 1966 decided on the unification and merger of some ministries, bringing their number down from 19 to 13, while at the same time simplifying their internal organizational structure.

Laws, codes and ordinances were put forward for discussion to the working masses, reviewed with a critical eye and unburdened from unnecessary articles, complicated formulations, everything outdated and alien, and thus made easier to understand. On the other hand, they were enriched with new elements which reflected the new stage of the development of the country and the demands for a better organization of work and social and state life, in general.

Meanwhile, the work of the organisms of socialist democracy, especially the elected organs of the people's state power, from village councils to the People's Assembly, was enlivened and improved, re-establishing, wherever it was violated, the basic principle of complete and effective dependence of the executive organs on the elected organs and the regular accounting of the former to the latter. Special attention was attached to the further strengthening of the cooperativist democracy by restating all the rights and responsibilities of the general meeting of the cooperativists, as the supreme organ expressing the will of the members of the cooperative. The administration personnel of the cooperatives was reduced and some of them were transferred to production sectors. The commanding system was improved further for a greater closeness and stronger ties of the army with the people, and the army cadres with the soldiers, and for the armed forces to better fulfil their tasks.

Party committees were created which took in their hands the running of party affairs in the military units and army institutions, re-establishing the

political commissars in the commands and in all the organs of the army. Ranks were abolished, with army hierarchy being based on the responsibility devolving from the functions of the cadres as provided in the staff regulations of the armed forces.

The government reconsidered the wages ratios, too. It regulated the ratio among higher, medium and lower wages, proceeding from the criterium that workers' wages, as well as the lower, and in general, medium wages of office workers should not be reduced. The salaries of higher functionaries in the leading organs of the Party and the state were reduced to a fairer ratio with the wages of the working masses.

These measures marked the beginning of a new stage in the revolutionization of the life of the country. They were summed up in the Open Letter of March 1966 the CC of the Party addressed to the communists, workers, soldiers and officers.

In the Letter an analysis was made of the objective and subjective causes for manifestations of bureaucracy. With the triumph of the people's revolution an entirely new state administration which could rely only on a limited number of qualified cadres emerged. It took over the running of the whole life of the country, while fighting to stem the wave of spontaneity of the small-scale production of goods and anarchy of small producers, which resulted in the assumption of too broad competences by the central organs. Bureaucracy also originated from the workers of the old state administration in the new state apparatus who, although linked with the Party and the people, could not fail to bring along the bourgeois mentality and practices uncritically borrowed from foreign experience as well as from a certain overestimation of their own capabilities and forces and the

resulting underestimation of the dependent institutions and cadres.

Now, new conditions were created which made the further revolutionization of the life of the country and, in the first place, the reorganization of the system of management, both necessary and possible. The Open Letter pointed out that the people's state power was already built and consolidated in all its links; it had been greatly strengthened by the triumph of the socialist relations in town and countryside and the ensuing of ever greater restrictions of petty-bourgeois spontaneity; the number of specialized cadres had been increased, and the educational, cultural and professional level and consciousness of the working masses raised. However the CC of the Party considered the struggle to uproot bureaucracy a permanent though, difficult and complicated, task. In order to carry further forward the victories achieved, the measures already taken had to be accompanied, first and foremost, with new concepts of management, with the elimination of bureaucratic methods and their replacement with genuinely revolutionary methods. To this end, all the working people should proceed, in their life and work, from the principle of putting proletarian politics in command assessing every problem from the political angle, in the first place.

Reliance on the masses of the people, listening to what they say, all-round development of their creative spirit and encouragement of their initiative, was the main guarantee for the uprooting of bureaucracy, and in general, for the further revolutionization of the life of the country. In its Open Letter, the Party stated: «The people stand above all... the people's power and its organs are weapons in the hands of the people and serve them to carry the cause of the construction of socialism successfully forward. In conformity with this, the office worker or the function-

ary of our state apparatus, whatever his functions, is only a servant of the people...»*

The Open Letter was the source of new initiatives among the masses of the people. Enterprises undertook a critical analysis of their work. As a result, the worker collectives of economic enterprises discovered new reserves, upgraded their planned targets and began to overfulfil them.

Hundreds of factory workers went to the countryside for a period of time to help the cooperativist peasants with their seasonal work, especially harvesting and thrashing. The other workers pledged to make up for their work and fulfil the planned tasks.

Amid this general revolutionary enthusiasm new elements of socialist solidarity emerged. On the initiative of the Kutalli cooperative, the advanced lowland cooperatives of the Berat district decided to assist the highland cooperatives with specialists and work tools, seeds, etc., free of charge. Villages assisted one another in carrying out important works, such as building irrigation canals, etc.

The mobilization of the peasant masses to fulfil and overfulfil the planned tasks yielded its results very soon. Yields higher than in any previous year were taken in from most crops, especially bread grain. In 1966 many highland agricultural cooperatives managed to produce their own bread for the first time.

In order to increase the defence potential of the Homeland along with the all-round work done in the People's Army for the further perfecting of the military art, the physical and military training of the population assumed vigorous development, too.

An expression of the correct understanding of the teachings of the Party was the movement to link men-

* *Principal Documents of the PLA*, vol. 5, Tirana 1974, p. 24, Alb. ed.

tal work with physical work, with production. On the basis of the instructions of the CC of the Party for the reorganization of the direct work in production of the office workers, the government decided that all the office workers and working people of culture and science must do a month's work in production, mainly in the countryside. Students of middle and higher schools were also engaged in productive work. Tens of thousands of students, accompanied by their teachers, took part in the summer actions of the youth in construction and production, especially in the building of terraces for citrus fruit in Jonufër (Vlora) and elsewhere.

2. The 5th Congress of the PLA and the Directives of the 4th Five-year Plan

The 5th Congress of the PLA was held in Tirana from November 1 to 8, 1966.

The Congress analysed the activity of the Party and summed up at a higher theoretical level the revolutionary experience of the Party and of the masses of the people, especially in the years 1961-1966. It laid down the tasks for the future, made some amendments to the Constitution of the Party and approved the directives of the 4th Five-year Plan.

The fundamental task of historic importance for the Party and our country was the uninterrupted development and deepening of the socialist revolution in all the fields: political — for the preservation, strengthening and improvement of the people's state power, economic — for the strengthening and improvement of the socialist relations in production and the complete construction of socialist society; ideological and cultural — for the implanting and com-

plete triumph of the proletarian socialist ideology in the consciousness of the whole working people, for the all-round revolutionary and communist education and tempering of the new man, the decisive factor in the construction of socialism and the defence of the Homeland.

In that period, the main link for the revolutionization of the whole life of the country was the deepening of the ideological and cultural revolution. This was determined by the fact that after the liquidation of the exploiting classes, the class struggle develops sharply, with ups and downs, and is directed not only against the internal and external enemies, it develops in the midst of the people, too, and within the Party itself, against bourgeois ideology, against alien manifestations, against patriarchal, feudal and bourgeois concepts, habits and customs inherited from the past and lingering in the minds and conduct of the working people. Proceeding from the national and international experience of the socialist construction the Congress came to the conclusion that «as long as the complete victory of the revolution in the field of ideology and culture has not been ensured, the victories of the socialist revolution in the economic and political fields cannot be secure and guaranteed, either.»*

After pointing out the successes achieved in the struggle against bureaucracy to bar the way to the revisionist and bourgeois degeneration of the people's power and to strengthen it as the main weapon in the hands of the Party and the people for the complete construction of the socialist society, the Congress reiterated the need for the state and its apparatuses being more closely linked with the people and combining the experience of the state organs from above

* Enver Hoxha, *Report to the 5th Congress of the PLA*, Tirana 1966, p. 124. 2nd Alb. ed.

with the revolutionary experience of the masses from below.

The Congress considered the education of the new man and the development of a new, socialist, stand towards work — the great school of the communist education, a very important direction of the ideological work. Taking into consideration that those engaged in mental work, the cadres and the intellectuals, because of the nature and conditions of their work, are more exposed to influences from the bourgeois and especially revisionist ideology, the Congress pointed out the special importance of their tempering on the anvil of the revolution.

The Congress considered the combination of mental work with physical work together with the workers and peasants as an important means for narrowing down differences between town and countryside, as part of a vast program which is linked with the prospects of the country's advance towards communism.

The ideological revolution should be accompanied with the extension and deepening of the cultural revolution as its component part, to realize, first and foremost, its fundamental aim — the Marxist-Leninist class education of the working people. The Congress called for culture and art to be based more firmly on native soil, as they spring from the people and belong to the people. The educational system should ensure the further revolutionization of the content and methods of teaching and education.

The 5th Congress devoted special attention to international problems, and in particular to the struggle against the united front of the Americans and Soviets. Their united front was based on their common interests and immediate strategic aims, the division of the zones of influence between and the establishment of the domination of the two superpowers over the world, their struggle against the socialist countries

which stood in revolutionary positions, against the revolutionary forces fighting for freedom, independence and socialism. The two superpowers had common interests but also contradictions which stemmed from the ambitions of either of them to win supremacy for itself, to strengthen its grouping and to extend its sphere of influence at the expense of the other. On the other hand, the two big political groupings were eroded from within by profound antagonistic contradictions. In these conditions, the struggle against the Soviet-American alliance which constituted the greatest danger to the revolutionary movement, socialism and peace, was a historic task of major international importance.

In conclusion of its proceedings the 5th Congress unanimously elected the Central Committee of the PLA and the Central Control and Audit Commission. Enver Hoxha was re-elected First Secretary of the CC of the PLA.

The 5th Congress endorsed the directives of the 4th Five-year Plan (1966-1970) for the economic and cultural development of the country.

The main task of the 4th Five-year Plan was to ensure the further development of the productive forces in order to speed up the complete construction of the material-technical base of socialism.

The annual average growth rate of industrial and agricultural production taken together was set at about 10 per cent as against 6.7 per cent it had been in the 3rd Five-year Plan.

Industrial production would increase 50-54 per cent above that of 1965. The production of the means of production would increase 65-69 per cent and that of consumer goods about 33-38 per cent. Branches of the heavy and light processing industry, such as chemical and engineering industries, electric power, copper, iron-nickel, oil, glass and ceramics industries

would be developed at higher rates. Rolled metal, nitrate and phosphate fertilizers for agriculture, calcinated soda and soda ash, brass, electric light bulbs, several kinds of paper and other articles would be produced in the country for the first time. The commissioning of the textile combine in Berat would further consolidate our textile industry.

With the 4th Five-year Plan the country entered a new stage of industrialization, the stage of the development of the heavy processing industry, which was decisive for securing the preponderance of the production of the means of production in total industrial production.

The development of agriculture was described by the Congress as the most important factor for carrying out the main economic tasks of the new five-year plan. Agricultural production was to increase at an average annual rate of 11.5 per cent and to be 71-76 per cent greater in 1970 than in 1965. These high rates would be secured by placing industry in the service of agriculture more than at any other time.

The growth, first of all, of the production of food grain, potatoes, rice and edible fats was the fundamental task of agriculture in the new five-year plan.

Intensive development, i.e., further increase of crop yields, remained the main road for the development of agriculture. Besides, the breaking in of new land was to continue at higher rates. One hundred fifteen thousand hectares of land were to be reclaimed, or twice as much as during the 3rd Five-year Plan.

Apart from the tireless work of the peasantry, which would be the decisive factor for the rapid development of the hilly and mountainous zones, some other economic measures were to be taken too: to place all agricultural taxation over the five years at the disposal of the cooperatives for their investment, to raise prices for wheat and meat procurements, to

staff the cooperatives with the necessary cadres, to increase the material assistance to them, etc. The Party and state organs must continue their clarification work to convince the peasantry to complete the collectivization in the mountain zones, too, of which 10 per cent remained still uncollectivized.

The 5th Congress decided to increase investments 34 per cent above those of the 3rd Five-year Plan, giving priority to investments in the productive sector (80 per cent of the total).

National income would increase 45-50 per cent, of which 28,2 per cent would be used for accumulation and 71,8 per cent for social and individual consumption. The real per capita income of workers and employees would grow 9-11 per cent and that of the peasantry 20-25 per cent.

In the field of education, apart from the further revolutionization of the school, which remained the main task, the Congress decided to further expand the educational system, increasing the number of pupils and students 27 per cent and that of the graduates of middle and higher schools 67-68 per cent. Considerably more funds than in the previous five-year plan would be allocated for the further development of education and culture.

The accomplishment of these tasks would lead to considerable improvement of the well-being of the people. The Congress once again pointed out that here personal and short-term interests should be correctly combined with social and the perspective interests, that there should be a revolutionary concept of the well-being of the people in socialism, which did not mean the satisfaction of petty-bourgeois whims, but meeting of material, cultural and social needs, that is, all those needs which express the prosperity of people, both in the present and in the future.

The 4th Five-year Plan was a turning-point in the

rates of growth of industrial and agricultural production, perceptibly reduced differences between agriculture and industry improved the structure of industrial production and further deepened the ideological and cultural revolution.

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The strengthening and tempering of the Party, the preservation and strengthening of its proletarian character and leading role was a primary condition for the development and further deepening of the revolutionization of the whole life of the country.

In the years following the 5th Congress, the Party membership increased at higher rates, mainly with elements from the working class. In 1970 for the first time the communists with worker social status occupied the first place (36 per cent of the membership), followed by others with employee and cooperativist status. In this manner the social composition of the leading organs of the Party changed, too, with workers accounting for 50 per cent of it.

Important measures were taken for a better understanding of the struggle against bureaucracy as a struggle which consists not merely in certain administrative measures, but in the eradication of idealist and reactionary concepts and anti-people practices in management, which stem from these concepts. Thus, control from the masses, especially worker control on the organs, apparatuses and cadres of the state and the economy was strengthened and became more effective, which constituted the essence of the struggle against bureaucracy. More people from the ranks of the working class were employed in the representative organs of the state, their authority and role were enhanced

and control on the executive committees and their apparatuses was strengthened.

According to the directives of the 5th Congress of the Party, the existing legislation underwent a general revision, 400 law provisions were abrogated and replaced with new ones. Important amendments were made in the Labour Code, the Law on Social State Security, the Decree on the People's Councils, etc.

Other initiatives emerged from among the ranks of the working masses. These initiatives were transformed into major revolutionary social movements on a national level, such as the movement for placing the general interest above the personal interest, the movement against religion, religious prejudices and backward customs, the movement for the complete emancipation of the woman, the movement for the further revolutionization of the school, etc.

3. The Movement to Put the General Interest Above the Personal Interest

The deepening of the social revolution raised, among other things, the question of putting the general interest above the personal interest, their correct combination, as a fundamental principle to maintain the socialist character of the whole system of socio-economic relations. This principle, warmly embraced by the masses of the people, found a new expression in the emulation of the workers and peasants and their efforts for the best possible fulfilment of tasks which in certain cases went as far as the supreme sacrifice. It was also expressed in the initiative of the peasants to give up part of their individual plots and excessive bonuses, to complete the collectivization of agriculture and contribute to the electrification of the whole country, to carry out actions with concentrated efforts, etc.

A new revolutionary drive of unprecedented proportions enveloped the working class of the country, in the first place. The workers pledged to fulfil the 1967 plan ahead of schedule. Within a short time, the socialist emulation initiated in certain individual plants and factories enveloped all the working collectives of the country.

Relying on the internal reserves and their own forces, the workers and specialists designed and built tens of factories, plants and workshops such as the bitumen coking factory in Stalin City, the cement factory in Tirana, potato flour factories in Shkodra, Durrës, Vlora, Tirana, etc., constructed machinery and sets of equipment, spare parts and many articles which were formerly imported.

Parallel with the extensive application of individual work norms, collective work norms were increasingly applied according to working and production conditions. Vanguard workers volunteered for work in brigades or workshops which were not too successful in the fulfilment of the planned tasks and helped them out of their state of backwardness.

The 5th Congress of the Party hailed the initiative of the enlarged cooperatives «Joseph Stalin» of Krutja (Lushnja district) and «Enver Hoxha» of Zharrës (Fier district) etc., to reduce the size of the individual plots of land of their members. As the Congress pointed out, the point was not to abolish the individual plot of land of the cooperativist which was still necessary as an economic aid for his family, but to gradually reduce the size of it as the possibilities grow for the collective economy to provide for the vital needs of the families of the cooperative members.

After the Congress, within 1-2 months, this initiative was transformed into a mass movement which enveloped the cooperatives of the Shkodra and Elbasan districts, and subsequently the whole cooperativist pea-

santry of the country. As a result, the individual plots of land were reduced by 50-60 per cent and the individual livestock by 50 per cent in favour of the collective ownership, which constituted the base of the well-being of the peasantry. After this reduction, the structure of the individual plot of land changed, too. Now it met only part of the more urgent daily needs of the family, while its possibilities of producing for the market were perceptibly restricted. This narrowed the material base of concepts and feelings based on private ownership and linked the peasant more closely with the cooperativist property.

In March 1967, the working people of the «Gjergj Dimitrov» state farm of the Tirana district reported that they gave up of their free will their personal gardens, which, as they said in their letter addressed to Comrade Enver Hoxha, «preserved and cultivated among the working people the attachment to private property and all the evils deriving from it». This initiative immediately spread among all the state farms of the country.

Meanwhile, other initiatives emerged from among the workers and intellectuals to give up excessive bonuses and donate state loan bonds to the state. Supporting these initiatives the CC of the Party and the Government declared that they would be sanctioned in the related ordinances. At the same time it pointed out that skilled and difficult work would continue to be appropriately rewarded against any petty-bourgeois tendency of equalitarianism.

The directive of the 5th Congress on the completion of collectivization even in the remotest mountainous zones was warmly welcomed at the base. Collectivization was completed in November in the Librazhd district and the mountain zones of Elbasan, in December in the Mirdita district, in January 1967 in the Dibra, Mat and Puka districts and in the highlands

of Shkodra, and in all the mountainous zones of the country in February of the same year. Almost all the peasantry was included in the new cooperatives. Now agricultural cooperatives comprised 99 per cent of the land owned by the peasantry. Agriculture was totally incorporated in the socialist system with the cooperatives accounting for 80.5 per cent and the state farms 18 per cent of the whole area of arable land of the country.

The completion of the collectivization in the mountainous zones in three months represented a major victory and an important factor for strengthening the defence capacity of the country. At the same time it faced the state organs with important problems. Now they had to give priority to the highlands in material and organizational assistance. By government decision, the production of work implements, machinery and simple sets of equipment for agriculture and livestock raising increased, craftsmen's shops were set up in every village, and many cadres, technicians, teachers, doctors and others went to the countryside. Party committees were set up to improve the work of the Party and further revolutionize life in remote mountainous zones.

Implementing the directive of the 5th Congress of the Party «to take to the hills and mountains and make them as fertile as the plains», work for the completion of collectivization in the mountain zones was accompanied with a broad movement in which the peasant youth played the main role. This movement was initiated by the youth of the Lapardha cooperative (Berat district). In the mountainous cooperatives thousands of young people began breaking in virgin land to secure the bread grain locally. This movement refuted the conservative concepts which existed in the highlands, according to which no living could be made in the highlands and that there was not arable land

enough even for half of their population. The youth of the cities, workers, office workers and students, were involved in this movement, too. A great number of workers and specialists volunteered for work in the mountainous cooperatives. This broad movement also helped bring about a change in the mode of living of the peasants of the mountain zones. Women and girls from the more advanced lowland cooperatives and from the towns played an important role in this direction by living for some time in the homes of the highlanders and working together with them. They made a valuable contribution to the improvement of the hygienic conditions of villages and the mode of living of their inhabitants. Close, fraternal collaboration was established between the workers and peasants. Different industrial enterprises in the towns sent to the villages not only agricultural implements, but also agitators and artistic groups. This did not mean that villages were taken under the patronage of industrial enterprises and socio-cultural institutions of the cities. The aim of the initiative was to convey the revolutionary spirit and ideology of the working class to the countryside. The national meeting of the workers fighting for the further development of the countryside, held in Durrës in August 1967, made a high assessment of these initiatives as an important contribution to the strengthening of the alliance of the working class with the peasantry and the narrowing down of differences between town and countryside.

The agricultural cooperatives themselves had demonstrated their superiority in raising crop yields and increasing the number of livestock, especially cows, turning rocky soil into fertile fields, building irrigation channels in difficult mountainous terrain, building roads to isolated villages and ensuring the periodical participation of leading cadres and administration workers in direct production work.

Highly assessing the movement to put the general interest above the personal interest, the CC of the PLA and the Council of Ministers took a series of important measures to strengthen the collective economies, especially the newly created cooperatives in the mountainous zones. In April 1967 it was decided that more state aid should be given to economically weaker cooperatives, old or new, in those zones through interest-free credits for the development of production, the lifting of taxation on income from individual plots of land in all agricultural cooperatives and on income from agricultural production in the newly-created cooperatives in the mountainous zones and the raising of the prices for compulsory grain procurements.

The completion of collectivization in all the mountainous zones gave rise to a broad movement of socialist solidarity which had never been seen before. Beginning from December 1967 many agricultural cooperatives and state farms donated a considerable number of animals to the cooperatives of the remote mountainous zones.

One month later, the Council of Ministers declared that the agricultural cooperatives and state farms had put at its disposal 5220 head of cattle and 45.600 sheep and goats, which was done through the utilization of the internal possibilities, without affecting the state plan for the development of livestock raising. It decided to comply with the request to distribute these animals, free of charge, among the cooperatives of the remote mountainous zones in the Shkodra Highlands, the districts of Tropoja, Puka, Mirdita and the locality of Fan (Kukës district) during the years 1968-1970.

The all-round and rapid development of the remote mountain zones figured high on the agenda of the Party and state organs. Among the ways to achieve this goal was the mass exchange of groups of people,

for a period of 1-2 months, between the cooperatives of the Northern Highlands and those of the South. Many young women from the Highlands joined courses for sanitation workers, tailors, trade workers, etc., which were organized in Durrës.

These initiatives were evidence of a new and broader concept of the collective group property. Material assistance from the lowland cooperatives contributed to the economic strengthening of the mountain cooperatives. At the same time, it had great political and ideological significance. The exchange of visits between the cooperativists of Northern and Southern parts of the country yielded its first positive results. In the remote mountainous zones they assisted the struggle against patriarchal and conservative concepts for a better mode of living. The experience of the cooperativists from the South was also used in setting up construction brigades, and shops for the processing of fruit, and the introduction of new crops, etc.

This was the beginning of an important change in the work and mode of living in the remote mountainous zones.

The socialist solidarity of the working masses was expressed in all its strength on the occasion of the earthquake which struck the districts of Dibra and Librazhd on November 30, 1967. It affected 31 localities and 134 villages, destroyed or made unfit for use 6,300 buildings, of which 130 schools.

Next day, December 1, 1967, the Government decided that all the buildings destroyed or damaged by the earthquake would be built and repaired at state expense within December 1967 and that immediate material aid, free of charge, would be given by the state to all earthquake victims.

Three thousand one hundred construction workers and specialists and thousands of other people volunteered for reconstruction work and 40.000 tons of goods

were delivered to the districts of Dibra and Librazhd. The work mates of those who volunteered for assistance to the earthquake-stricken zones worked overtime to make up for the work of their absent comrades, and the building materials factories overfulfilled their plans so as to be able to help better the earthquake-damaged zones. Despite the harshness of the winter, 19,400 people took part in that great action. This action was the starting-point of a series of other acts of heroism at work and were powerful manifestations of the socialist consciousness of the working people.

Through all this persistent self-denying work, the consequences of the earthquake in Dibra and Librazhd were liquidated and life was brought back to normal in less than one month. The Party drew important lessons from the experience of the housing construction in the earthquake-stricken districts. In his speech in Peshkopia on December 16, 1967 Comrade Enver Hoxha pointed out that construction of the damaged buildings must serve everywhere as an example for the construction of dwelling houses for the workers. Implementing the instructions of Comrade Enver Hoxha in January 1968 dwelling houses began to be built with the voluntary contribution of the masses.

This new method of work speeded up construction rates and solved to a large extent the difficult problem of housing.

4. On the Complete Social Emancipation of the Working People

The further revolutionization of the entire life of the country made the struggle against religion, religious prejudices and backward customs, a primary task in social life.

The three religions professed in Albania at that time — the Moslem religion (70 per cent of the population), the Orthodox and Catholic religions (30 per cent of the population), and their respective clergy had always been used by the foreign rulers and the exploiting classes as a means to divide and oppress the people. The struggle against religion and the clergy, waged during tens of years by the more progressive-minded representatives of the nation, had yielded positive results but still the religion and the clergy retained their privileged positions as long as the exploiting classes which they served continued to be in power.

With the National Liberation War and especially with the liberation of the country from the foreign occupiers, religion and the clergy suffered a heavy setback. The reactionary high clergy were exposed as close collaborators of the fascist occupiers. The exploiting classes which kept and supported them were overthrown. Although the socialist state respected the freedom of religion and allowed the carrying out of religious ceremonies by religious institutions, firmly relying on the materialist world outlook, the whole educational and cultural system and the entire propaganda of the Party were in irreconcilable struggle with religion and eroding its foundations.

Following the 5th Congress of the Party and Comrade Enver Hoxha's speech of February 6, 1967, when the whole country was seething with powerful revolutionary movements of the masses, the contradictions between the socialist and the religious ideologies and the everyday conflicts between the socialist norms and the religious norms grew more acute. In these circumstances a new movement against religion, its institutions and clergy, against religious prejudices and, in general, against the backward customs, arose and developed.

The «Naim Frashëri» secondary school in Durrës took the initiative at the beginning of February 1967. After a heated discussion it set out on its historic action to close down churches, mosques, tekkes, all «holy» places, to make the clergy work like everybody else and live by the sweat of their brows. Discussions and actions against religion went beyond the walls of schools, they extended to the precincts, production centres and to villages. In a short time the movement extended all over the country. It found a proper terrain due to the historical development of the country, especially in the last 25 years. So the small sparkle kindled by the revolutionary pupils of the «Naim Frashëri» school in Durrës lit a big fire which did away with the centres of religious obscurantism. This was a new class struggle led by the Party for the elimination of anachronistic mediaeval leftovers which hampered the socialist construction of the country and the formation of the new man.

Religion and its servants were made the target of the biting criticism of the people. At people's meetings the evils they had done to the country were revealed. The public was indignant also at the immorality of some clergymen which emerged at these meetings.

Typical of this movement was its great extension. Not only the young but the old, too, in whom religion had deeper roots, took part in this movement. At their meetings the old pledged to fight unhesitatingly against what remained of religion, the backward customs linked with it and other reactionary leftovers from the past and set the example in this struggle. The active participation of the older generation in the struggle against religion made possible the achievement of considerable results in a very short time.

Religious institutions were closed down one after

the other and most of them were turned into cultural institutions. Most clergymen became working people. However, this was only the first step, relatively less difficult. The fundamental task was the uprooting of the religious world outlook and backward customs expressed in tenacious, though unwritten, principles which linger on although their economic and social basis does no longer exist. This was a long, complex and protracted struggle. Old customs, ways and norms of living had to be overthrown and at the same time substituted with new customs, ways and norms. For this purpose the entire Party and all social organizations were mobilized to carry out clarifying work so as to convince people that this was the only sure method to wipe off the «stains» of the old society. As a result of this work religious ceremonies and celebrations related to birth, marriage, and death began to die away and were replaced by new popular ceremonies, people no longer gave their children names of saints. They gave them new names or names in the popular tradition.

The movement against religion and backward customs was among the more important directions of the ideological and cultural revolution. It strengthened the national unity further. World history has never known a movement of such character, proportions and concrete results. Thanks to this movement the PRA became the first country in the world without religious institutions and clergy.

The movement for the complete emancipation of women occupied a very important place among the revolutionary movements and initiatives. Like the struggle against religion and the clergy, the movement for the complete emancipation of the Albanian woman has its history which goes back to scores of years. The patriotic and democratic forces of the country

raised their voice of protest against the wretched situation of the women, against slavery and ignorance which continued to weigh heavy on them even after the proclamation of national independence. Based on the Mediaeval canons, all the retrogressive forces: the landlords, the reactionary bourgeoisie, the bayraktars, religion, the clergy considered women inferior beings, mere objects of exploitation or ornament, capable only of reproducing life, property which could be bought and sold at will, a subject devoid of all rights and dignity. The situation of the Albanian women began to change only after the founding of the Party when it called on them to take an active part in the National Liberation War, showing them that this was the only road to their national and social liberation. Their active participation in this war was a turning-point in the fate of the Albanian women. After Liberation and the establishment of the people's state power, for the first time in her history the Albanian woman won equal rights with man by law and became a major active force in the construction of socialism. Some fundamental conditions for the complete emancipation of women were created with the construction of the economic base of socialism.

In the course of more than two decades women achieved very important successes in all fields. As a result of their broad participation in the socio-political life of the country, in the Party, in the mass organizations, in the elected organs of the state, etc., the role of women had risen to a level never seen before. In 1967 there were 40 women deputies to the People's Assembly, over ten thousand were elected to people's councils and more than 1100 to people's courts, more than 30 thousand women and girls were members of leading forums of mass organizations, more than 8200 were members of the PLA, 300 thousand were members of the WUA and about 82000 young women

were members of the LUYA. However it was only their broad participation in production which ensured women their economic independence, the indispensable condition for complete equality with men. In 1967 the number of women workers was 248000 and they made up 42 per cent of the total number of working people of the town and countryside. In some branches women were in the majority: in the textile industry 72 per cent, in food processing industry 52 per cent, in the health service 69 per cent, etc. The school opened its doors to the mass of women and helped them raise their educational-cultural level. In 1967 more than 9500 women and girls with secondary technical education and more than 1300 others with higher education worked in various branches of the economy and culture. The great transformations in society, the economy, the ideology and psychology of the working masses of the town and the countryside changed the old relations between man and wife in the family through the introduction of many new, socialist elements which strengthened and developed the Albanian family.

However, these successes of historic significance could not bring about the complete emancipation of women. Patriarchal and bourgeois concepts still lingered among some conservative strata in the town and, especially, in the countryside. The 5th Congress of the Party and Comrade Enver Hoxha's speech of February 6, 1967, called for struggle for the emancipation of women. «The entire Party and country should wake up, throw backward customs into the flames and twist the neck of anyone who tramples underfoot the sacred law of the Party in defence of the rights of women and girls.»*

This call roused all the people to their feet. The movement for the emancipation of women marked a

* Enver Hoxha, *Reports and Speeches 1967-1968*, p. 6, Eng. ed.

new qualitative step forward, which was expressed in its unprecedented proportions and the variety of its forms and, especially, in its ideological content. In the course of this movement conservative concepts were resolutely discarded and revolutionary concepts on women and their place in society triumphed.

Besides the progressive strata of society, even people of the older generation who, despite their indisputable political loyalty to the socialist order, had formerly maintained an indifferent, passive, indeed conservative stand towards women, took part in this movement.

The movement for the complete emancipation of women raised a series of important problems such as their broader participation in socio-political life and work, their promotion to posts of responsibility, their educational and cultural development, their complete liberation from domestic slavery as well as the further consolidation of the family on sound socialist bases.

In order to enable women to take a more active part in political and social life, the conservative stands of some backward husbands who, especially in the countryside, prevented women from going to meetings and conferences, or participating in sports, artistic, cultural and other activities were sternly criticized. At popular conventions, women, young and old, raised their powerful voice against their black past and regressive elements and demanded the implementation of the instructions of the Party to the letter. The letters of the women and girls of the Highlands to Enver Hoxha in which they told him that, while working for the construction of the Rrogozhina-Fier railway, they had discarded their heavy clothes and dressed like the other volunteers and they trimmed their hair, which was formerly considered a disgrace to women, and promised that when they returned to their villages they would fight for the socialist way of life, had a wide response in the public opinion.

A broader participation of women in production was ensured through condemning and fighting mistrust in their capacities, limitation of their engagement to the immediate needs of the family budget, the tendency of considering only «cosy» and «clean» jobs suitable for women or, on the other hand, employing women in any kind of job regardless of their obligations as mothers and other such concepts.

This movement was expressed with special force in the struggle against the treatment of women as domestic slaves. At people's meetings barbarous customs which still lingered in some regions as for example infant betrothals, great difference of age in marriage, buying and selling of girls, the obligation of dowry, ceremonies offensive to the bride in her husband's home, charging only women with house chores and the obligation of women to carry firewood (in the countryside), etc., were condemned.

Having initiated this movement, the Party guided it with the greatest care. Very soon it yielded great results.

In the course of a few months thousands of girls and women from the city and the countryside were admitted to the Party, elected to the people's councils, volunteered for mass actions, were elected to leading posts in agricultural cooperatives, various sectors of the economy, education and the health service and enrolled in various ideo-political and professional courses. This movement encouraged the participation in production of those women and girls who until then had stayed outside it. From June to October 1967 the number of girls and women who took up jobs was 47 000. Only in 17 districts 2308 infant betrothals were broken. Those parents who had trampled underfoot the rights of their daughters had to render account to the people. Hundreds of women and girls from the districts of Fier, Lushnja, Berat, Korça, Përmet, Gjiro-

kastra, Tirana and Durrës volunteered for many months of work to help the women in the remote mountain areas. The activists of the women organization of Tirana invited peasant women for a stay of 1-6 months in their homes in the capital where they would learn a trade and be taught how to lead a cultured life.

In order to give women more free time for their professional, cultural and education uplift, rest and recreation, in the existing conditions two roads were followed: household work and child care were considered common concern of both husband and wife, and this brought about important changes in the division of work in the family while, on the other hand, the state and cooperativist organs took measures to extend the network of social services, to increase the number of crèches and kindergartens, canteens, etc., to increase the local manufacturing or, in certain cases, the import of household appliances, etc.

The movement for the complete emancipation of the woman was made the object of special study at the June 1967 Plenum of the CC of the PLA. The Plenum laid down important tasks for the further development of this movement.

5. Development of the Cultural and Technical-scientific Revolution

The development of the ideological and cultural revolution could not fail to affect one of the more important links of educational activity — the school. Brilliant results had been achieved in the field of education. It was based on the Marxist-Leninist ideology and had become property of the broad masses of the people. Half a million people, or 1/4th of the

entire population attended school. The number of teachers had reached 17 thousand. The number of cadres with secondary education was about 24,000 and of cadres with higher education 12,500. However, the school was unable to cope with all the tasks facing it for the complete construction of the socialist society. The existing education system, especially the secondary and higher school, was insufficient for the mass education of the working class and the cooperativist peasantry and not properly linked with production; the school did not take a sufficiently active part in the training of the youth to defend the Homeland; there were shortcomings in the methods of teaching and education, too. Therefore, the 5th Congress of the Party called for the further revolutionization of the school and for a new qualitative step forward in the field of education.

In the spirit of this directive a series of initiatives emerged among pupils, students and teachers and were channelled into a general movement for the revolutionization of the school and the students and teachers themselves.

School programs and textbooks were revised, outdated views which still lingered in some of them were done away with, teaching was updated and linked more closely with production. Workshops and production departments were set up at many town schools which strengthened their links with industrial and construction enterprises, while in the countryside schools established closer links between teaching and agricultural and livestock production. Schools for grown-ups were set up and professional courses were organized on a self-reliance basis in a number of industrial and construction enterprises and agricultural cooperatives and farms.

On the basis of the summing up and critical analysis of the great experience accumulated by our

new school in the March 7, 1968 programmatic speech in the Political Bureau of the CC of the PLA and in later speeches Comrade Enver Hoxha laid down the basic orientations for the further revolutionization of the school.

For a new qualitative leap in the further development of the school and pedagogical science it is necessary, in the first place, to ensure that some outdated conservative and reactionary concepts are discarded and new Marxist-Leninist concepts are established. Our school should be seen as a component part of life, which itself is a great school, therefore the idea that one can learn only or mainly at school should be combatted and replaced with the idea that one can learn also in life and at work, indeed more than at school. On the other hand, the idea that «the school is the place where one learns» should be considered outdated and replaced with the Marxist idea that «the school is the place where one learns and works».

The new school should respond to the demands of the development of production, of the socialist structure and superstructure. The many demands of this development called for the setting up of a whole range of schools and courses, with the 8-year school being retained in its general form. On the other hand the polytechnization of the school, the closer linking of teaching with work, should be advanced further. This was a problem not only of an ideological but also of a socio-economic and technical-scientific character, and an important means for narrowing down differences between mental and physical work.

The further revolutionization of the school demanded a radical revision of the curricula and textbooks in important fields which had to do with the line of the Party for the present and the future. This should be done gradually, hand in hand with the

perfection of the methods of teaching and education and the style of work, combatting verbalism and academicism, bureaucratic tutelage and officialdom in the relations between students and teachers and establishing relations of cooperation in the solution of school problems.

Comrade Enver Hoxha's theses and orientations were discussed with the broad masses of the people. This discussion went on for more than a year. A characteristic of this discussion was its broad range of problems and the unprecedented participation of the masses.

The conclusions of this discussion were analysed and endorsed by the 8th Plenum of the CC of the Party in June 1969. On their basis the Government promulgated its new school reform. According to this reform, in all the work for the revolutionization of the school absolute priority was given to the all-round Marxist-Leninist political and ideological education of the youth and the working people attending school.

The triangle learning-productive work-physical and military training was placed at the foundation of the teaching and education work of the school. This was one of the main roads to link the school closely with social and political life and give it a polytechnical character.

The new system envisaged the setting up of a broad network of part-time schools.

The reform envisaged also the revolutionization of the methods of teaching and education for the all-round progress and high proficiency of pupils and students. On the other hand, socialist democracy at school was to be strengthened and deepened in order to enhance the spirit of initiative of pupils and students in the organization and management of life at school.

The new school reform was to open up new paths

and create a new experience in carrying forward the revolution in Albania.

After the 5th Congress of the Party, in the spirit of its decisions the cultural and artistic life of the country thrived as never before. True, the literary-artistic creativeness of the masses which assumed great development was not at a very high artistic level. Still, it militated actively for the cause of the Party, and vividly reflected the life of the people and the current political problems.

In October 1968 the 1st National Folklore Festival was organized in Gjirokastra with the participation of 1500 singers, dancers, rhapsodists and instrumentalists from all over the country. During 1969 national festivals of amateur artistic ensembles, variety shows, etc., were organized in various towns of the country.

In August 1969 the people of the capital attended the final events of the 2nd National Spartakiad. More than 25,000 young sportsmen had participated in its various stages.

Important factors of the formation of the new man, literature and the arts advanced at the rates of development of the country. They were faced with increased demands. So their problems were made the object of special study by the CC of the PLA. The new tasks devolving on literature and the arts in the context of the cultural revolution, which demanded that they should make a more powerful and militant contribution to the communist education of the working people, were laid down first at the Plenum of the CC of the PLA in October 1965, then at the 5th Congress of the Party and on other occasions.

The 5th Congress of the Party instructed the writers and the artists to link themselves more closely with the people and regard this as the decisive factor in their creativeness. As a result, the concept

of creative work itself changed, too. Scores of writers and artists went to the base to live and work with workers and cooperativists so as to get a closer acquaintance of the life and work of the common people. Social problems, the complex nature of relations between people began to be treated from a broader angle and in a more profound way, and ideo-artistic elements were combined better.

Large compositions in painting and sculpture reflected the work of the working class and the working peasantry in socialism, their revolutionary actions, the epic of the National Liberation War, outstanding events of the past and the determination and patriotism of the new man. Optimism and an epic spirit permeates such sculptures as the monuments to Skanderbeg in Tirana (Odhise Paskali, Andrea Mano, Jannaq Paço), to Independence in Vlora (Kristaq Rama, Muntaz Dhrami, Shaban Hadëri), to the four Heroines at Rrëshen (Andrea Mano, Fuat Dushku, Dhimo Gogollari, Perikli Çuli), the paintings «Vojo Kushi Hurling Himself on the Enemy Tank» (Sali Shijaku), «In the Worksite of the Light» (Danish Jukniu), «December 1967» (Vilson Kilica), etc.

Music took on more definite national characteristics in its content and means of expression which distinguished it from the music of other countries.

The production of literary and artistic works increased. Periodically organized exhibitions of fine arts and decades of music played an important role in the aesthetic formation of the working people.

The vigorous development of literature and the arts raised with new urgency the problem of the new and the old, of tradition and innovation. Innovation and tradition were regarded as problems bearing mainly on the content. Innovation in life determined also innovation in art. In December 1968, Comrade Enver Hoxha clearly defined the position of the PLA

regarding this problem: «Innovation in art should not be taken to mean negation of tradition. Innovation and tradition are not opposed to and do not exclude each other.»* The Party instructed that from the literature and arts of the past we must preserve and cultivate everything which is good, close to the ideals and aspirations of the working people and serves them. In the heritage of literature and the arts we must distinguish the positive, progressive aspects from the negative ones. Comrade Enver Hoxha says, «we are opposed both to the simplistic undialectic negation of tradition as well as to deifying and kneeling obeisance to it.»**

These teachings of the Party helped the writers and artists to fight successfully against some alien modernist manifestations which had begun to crop up in literature and art.

The experience gained and the ever growing demands of life brought about a considerable advance in literature, especially in prose. Only in 1970, 40 novels by various Albanian authors were published. The more outstanding of them were «The bronze bust» by Dritëro Agolli (1970), «The castle» by Ismail Kadare (1970), «Again on his feet» by Dhimitër Xhuvani (1970). Among the best creations of other genres were the poems «Eagles fly high» (1966) by I. Kadare and «Fathers» (1967) by D. Agolli and the collections of poetry by the same authors, the collections of short stories «The white road» (1967) by Teodor Laço, «The brigade» (1968) by Anastas Kondo, «The rope of fire» (1970) by Naum Prifti.

A component and indivisible part of the socialist revolution is also the technical-scientific revolution

* Enver Hoxha, *Reports and Speeches 1967-1968*, p. 285, Eng. ed.

** *Ibidem.*

which has its own sphere of operation and is subject both to the general laws of the revolution and socialist construction and the special laws of the development of science, technology and production. The speedy development of the productive forces as an indispensable condition for the complete construction of socialist society makes necessary the carrying out of the technical-scientific revolution.

The 3rd Plenum of the CC of the Party, convened in October 1967, summed up the revolutionary initiatives of the working people in this field, laid down the guidelines and showed clear perspectives for the further development of the technical-scientific revolution.

The Party made it clear that, according to the Marxist-Leninist concept, just as any other genuine revolution the technical-scientific revolution, too, will be carried out by the broad masses of the people and not by some «learned people» or «specialists» versed in theory and science. The development of the technical-scientific revolution was aimed not at any kind of development of the productive forces but at such a development as required by the socialist relations of production, by the policy and ideology of the Party, that is, a development which excluded any manifestation of technocracy, any assessment of it from the angle of economic profitability alone, without taking into account its social consequences. The technical-scientific revolution is subject to the fundamental objective of socialist production, that is, the ever greater and better fulfilment of the material and cultural needs of the working people gradually freeing them from heavy physical work, which continued to account for a great proportion of it in industry and, more so, in agriculture and the narrowing down of the essential differences between physical and mental work, industry and agriculture, town and countryside.

The technical-scientific revolution should involve all the branches of the people's economy, all the enterprises and economic organizations of the town and countryside, further developing the movement for innovations, rationalizations and savings further and increasing the concentration, specialization and cooperation of production. The Plenum laid down the task of passing from the stage of artisan work onto advanced technology through building up the trust in creative abilities of the masses and their capability of mastering modern technology and applying it in practice.

The development of the technical-scientific revolution in industry resulted in the increased production of machinery, equipment, spare parts and mass consumer goods as well as the construction of new production lines, shops, factories and in some cases, whole plants and mines on the basis of self-reliance. In the countryside, the summing up of advanced experience led to the intensification of agriculture, the extension of experimental work, the mechanization of work processes, higher yields of agricultural crops and livestock products.

Particular importance was devoted to the regular training of workers and peasants so as to enable them to acquire the necessary technical and scientific knowledge for the revolutionization of production. In 1969, more than 40,000 workers attended schools of various profiles at their own enterprises. The textile combine in Berat was outstanding in this direction. Besides its low vocational and technical schools it ran a filial of the University and met most of its expenses.

The institutes of designing and scientific research, especially those set up at the various branches of industry, gave a valuable contribution to the development of production on scientific bases, and a closer linking of theory with practice.

The subjects of study in the field of social sciences were brought up to date in order to directly assist the solution of major ideological, economic, cultural and social problems which faced the country in the new stage of its revolutionary development. Scientific sessions on history, language, literature, folklore, pedagogy, etc., organized in Tirana and in other districts of the country gave fresh vigour to creative thinking. The National Conference on the 5th centenary of the death of our National Hero, Gjergj Kastrioti Skanderbeg, organized in Tirana in 1968, was the more important among them.

By releasing the inexhaustible creative energies of the working masses the technical-scientific revolution opened a broad scope of action for the development of the productive forces, the speedy development of technology and science.

6. Fulfilment of the Tasks of the 4th Five-year Plan

The 4th Five-year Plan was fulfilled in 4 years and 7 months in industrial production and investments whereas it was fulfilled as early as 1968, that is, two years ahead of schedule in industrial production for 1970. The average annual rate of growth of social production was 11 per cent as against 8 per cent envisaged in the 4th Five-year Plan. Two hundred new projects were commissioned in industry, agriculture, transport and other branches of the economy and culture.

The socialist industrialization of the country continued both in extension and depth during the 4th Five-year Plan. Industrial production in 1970 increased 83 per cent, as against 1965, at an average annual

rate of 12.9 per cent. Sixty-five per cent of the growth of industrial production was ensured through the utilization of the existing production capacities and 35 per cent through the commissioning of new projects.

As in the former five-year plans special attention was devoted to the development of the branches of the industry producing means of production, and the chemical, mechanical engineering and construction materials industries. New oil and gas deposits were discovered, and 22 new coal, chromium, copper, iron-nickel and other mines were built.

Among the more important projects commissioned during the 4th Five-year Plan were the hydro-power station of Vau i Dejës (with a capacity of 250,000 kW), the thermo-power station of Fier (with a capacity of 100,000 kW), the copper processing and refining plant of Rubik, the copper wire plant of Shkodra and the steel rolling plant of Elbasan, which meant the beginning of the full cycle ferrous metallurgy, the oil-processing plant of Fier, the factory of spare parts for tractors and the textile industry of Tirana, the nitrate fertilizer plant of Fier and the granulated superphosphate plant of Laç, the soda ash and caustic soda plant and the electric bulbs factory of Vlora, the «Dajti» mechanical engineering plant and the electronic factory of Tirana, the cement factories of Fushë Krujë and Elbasan, the asbestos slabs and pipes factory of Vlora, the silicate brick kiln of Tirana, the plain roofing tiles and bricks kiln of Vlora, the fibre slabs factory of Shkodra, the glass factory of Kavaja, the plastics factory of Durrës, the Rrogozhina-Fier railway, the Malësia e Madhe road, etc. While consistently implementing the policy of the priority development of the production of the means of production, the production of mass consumer goods also developed at high rates during the 4th Five-year Plan. The production of the light industry increased 73 per cent

and that of the food-processing industry 32 per cent. Many new factories, production lines and workshops were built all over the country on the basis of self-reliance. Among the more important projects in this field were the textile combine of Berat, the meat and milk processing combine of Tirana, the paper factories of Kavaja and Lushnja, flour mills, oil processing factories, etc.

One of the outstanding achievements of the 4th Five-year Plan was the electrification of the whole country, a fundamental premise for the construction of socialism, and the rapid economic and cultural development of the Homeland. The production of electric energy in 1967 was 129 times that of 1945. During this period special attention was devoted to the electrification of the countryside. The number of electrified villages until then was 730, or 28 per cent of all the villages of the Republic. According to the perspective plan endorsed in 1960, the electrification of all the villages was envisaged to be completed in 1985. However, thanks to the revolutionary drive of the working masses and the numerous initiatives taken by them, especially after the 5th Congress of the Party, to speed up the rates of the construction of socialism the conditions were created for bringing the completion of electrification nearer.

On 12 December, 1967 the 4th Plenum of the CC of the Party took the historic decision on the electrification of all the villages of the country until November 8, 1971, the day of the 30th anniversary of the founding of the PLA, that is, 14 years ahead of schedule envisaged in the perspective plan. On this occasion the CC of the Party called on the workers, the peasants and the people's intelligentsia as well as the organs of the Party and the state to mobilize all their forces to carry out this decision.

The work for the electrification of the whole

country proceeded at higher rates than those envisaged by the 4th Plenum of the CC of the Party. It was successfully completed on October 25, 1970, one year ahead of schedule. This was, Comrade Enver Hoxha said at the 6th Congress of the Party, «... a brilliant and truly historic achievement of our socialist order, which brings into evidence the concern of the Party and the state to bring about the all-round uplift and emancipation of our cooperativist countryside.»*

And in fact the countryside advanced at higher rates during these years. In the 4th Five-year Plan agricultural production increased at an annual average rate of 5.8 per cent. Many hilly and mountainous districts which formerly were not self-sufficient in bread grain, not only became self-sufficient but also were able to hand surpluses over to the state. Average yields for bread grain in 1970 were 17.3 quintals per ha. Such yields were unprecedented in the past even in the best weather conditions. Higher yields accounted for 94 per cent of the increase in bread grain production. One hundred two thousand ha of new land were broken in. The volume of mechanized work increased 80 per cent and the use of chemical fertilizers 6 times as against 1965. The process of unification of the cooperatives created the conditions for a rapid increase of agricultural production, a more rational utilization of the land, the work force and the material and financial sources.

These major achievements in the field of the economy were accompanied with important achievements in the field of education and culture, too. Compulsory 8-year education was extended both in the town and in the countryside. Secondary education was extended in all the districts, especially in the high-

* Enver Hoxha, *Selected Works*, vol. 4, «8 Nëntori» Publishing House, Tirana 1982, pp. 713-714, Eng. ed.

lands. Higher education, too, developed further and filials of the University were opened in the main towns and in some big industrial centres. In the school year 1970-1971 the number of students and pupils of all categories of schools reached to 661,000 or 120,000 above the plan. In 1970 the number of workers and cooperativists enrolled in schools was about 114,000 or more than 3 times that of 1965. In the 4th Five-year Plan the number of new cadres of higher training was 6700 while that of new cadres of medium training was in excess of 22,000. The overall number of cadres of higher training in 1970 was in excess of 15,000 while that of cadres of medium training was about 15,000.

Important events in the ideological and cultural life of our country were the publication in Albanian of K. Marx's work of genius, «Capital», the publication of Enver Hoxha's first volumes of Works as well as the «History of the Party of Labour of Albania» which was a powerful means for the revolutionary education of the working people.

The great achievements in the field of the economy and culture brought about a considerable improvement in the well-being of the people. In 1970 the national income had increased by 55 per cent as against 1965, the national income per capita increased 17 per cent. A broad network of socio-cultural services was set up in almost every cooperative. Beginning from May of 1967 prices for some industrial goods and food products were reduced by 10-70 per cent with a profit of about 50 million leks for the population. A series of measures were taken on the eve of the 25th anniversary of the Liberation of the Homeland and the triumph of the people's revolution for the further improvement of the well-being of the people: prices for some goods and services were reduced again, the system of taxation was abolished

altogether. With the new legislation on social insurance which came into force in 1967 smaller pensions were raised while larger ones were reduced.

Particular attention was devoted to the expansion of the activity of the health institutions, especially in the countryside, bringing the health service nearer to the people and giving medicine an ever more prophylactic character.

The number of hospitals increased 2.3 times while the number of doctors went up from one for 1865 inhabitants in 1965 to one for 1180 inhabitants in 1970.

The state invested large funds in housing projects. However a very important factor which opened up new prospects for a radical improvement in meeting the housing needs of the working people was the outburst of the initiative of the masses to build houses with the voluntary contribution of the workers themselves. The number of apartments built in town and countryside in the course of these 5 years was about 73,000.

The Five-year Plan 1966-1970 went down in history as the «period of the great people's initiatives and mass heroism, when the joint forces of the people, under the leadership of our Party, shook the plains and mountains. This is the period when old and young rose to their feet, when voluntary enthusiasm and drive swept the factories and villages, the schools and mines.»*

* Enver Hoxha, *Selected Works*, vol. 4, «8 Nëntori» Publishing House, Tirana 1982, p. 713, Eng. ed.

CHAPTER TEN

THE FOREIGN POLICY OF THE PRA IN THE YEARS 1961-1970

1. The International Situation in the Sixties

The period 1961-1970 was characterized by grave situations fraught with major threats to peace and international security. The policy of non-resistance to imperialism and collaboration with it in all fields, which was followed by the revisionist parties both in the countries of Eastern Europe, where they were in power, and in other countries, had encouraged the war-mongering and aggressive activities of the imperialist powers. The disintegration of the socialist camp was accompanied with the enlivenment of the pro-imperialist forces everywhere in the world.

Exploiting these circumstances, world imperialism unleashed a wave of reaction in all fields in order to eliminate socialism and drown the revolution in blood, to maintain and consolidate its positions.

The United States and its allies prepared for war, rapidly militarized their economies, increased their military budgets and engaged in a headlong

armaments race, perfected and increased their nuclear weapons. Along with this, they continued on a large scale their policy of open military aggression, their policy of neo-colonial penetration and economic subjugation of the different peoples of the world in order to undermine their freedom and national independence. All this was accompanied with savage disruptive ideological activities so as to create pacifist illusions and divert the peoples from the revolutionary road.

In 1967 the US military machine gobbled up about 70 billion dollars, or 9 billion dollars more than in 1961. Only for the war in Vietnam the Pentagon spent about 30 billion dollars yearly. It assigned huge funds for the maintenance of NATO, too. At the time of the Nixon administration, in the end of the sixties, the effective of the US armed forces reached 3,500,000, half of which served in the US bases in foreign countries all over the world. American imperialism stirred up conflicts in many countries of Asia, Latin America, etc. It organized plots and coups and brought the most reactionary cliques of these countries to power, actively supported the racist regimes in South Africa and Rhodesia, carried out armed aggressions in Indochina, the Congo, Cuba, the Dominican Republic and other countries.

A militarist course was followed also by the allies of the United States, Great Britain, France, the Federal Republic of Germany, etc., which increased their military budgets to the maximum.

The increase of the aggressiveness of world imperialism stemmed not only from its aggressive and expansionist nature, but was also linked with the betrayal of the Khrushchevite revisionists who gave the anti-communist and counter-revolutionary forces all over the world great possibilities and hopes. The slogans of the Khrushchevite revisionists about «pea-

ceful coexistence», «peaceful economic competition» between the two systems, capitalist and socialist, «peaceful transition», «the parliamentary road» to socialism, «general and complete disarmament», «a world without weapons, without armies and without wars», were enthusiastically adopted by the imperialists and international reaction for their own demagogic aims. The Soviet Union not only did not oppose their aggressive activities, but on the contrary, supported them and participated in them. It betrayed the revolutionary and liberation movements of the peoples of Africa, Asia and Latin America. Renouncing any kind of effective struggle against imperialism, the Soviet Union assumed the role of the fire-extinguisher of any popular and liberation war. It engaged in all-round «friendly» collaboration with American imperialism. At the foundation of this collaboration lay their common interests in the division of zones of influence and world domination. It posed a serious threat to the freedom and independence of all the peoples, peace and international security. However, although there was collaboration between the Soviet Union and the United States, they still had deep contradictions which did not allow them to act in harmony and unity. Besides, their efforts to achieve world hegemony and the operation of the law of the unequal development of the capitalist countries caused irreconcilable contradictions, also, between them and the other imperialist and revisionist states. They found it very difficult to keep discipline among their own satellites.

The imperialist circles of the industrialized capitalist states, while maintaining their collaboration with American imperialism against socialism and the revolutionary movements, at the same time set out on the road of independent capitalist development, outside American grip and control.

Deep-going internal and external contradictions

eroded the revisionist bloc. All the revisionist countries underwent an all-round crisis and set out openly on the road of capitalism. The revisionist states of Eastern Europe tried to escape from the Soviet grip disguised in the form of «aid» and «credits», «the international division of labour» and «the Council of Mutual Economic Aid». In order to cope with the major internal economic and political difficulties and to defy the hegemony-seeking policy of the Soviet Union, some of the revisionist cliques of these countries sought to establish direct contacts with American, West-German, French and other capital.

In the meantime the Soviet Union exercised pressure on them to keep them permanently linked to its chariot. At the foundation of its policy of relations with the «allies of the socialist community» lay blackmail and the threat of the use of force, the main weapon of which was the aggressive Warsaw Treaty.

The economic crisis of the sixties, which struck the industry, agriculture and the financial and monetary system of the capitalist world, was an expression of the exacerbation of class contradictions. The financial and monetary crisis was the more typical manifestation of it. Its consequences were a heavy burden on the backs of the masses of the working people. Inflation, taxes, prices for goods of everyday use increased at rapid rates; the cost of living went up. In these conditions the struggle of the broad masses of the people against the savage capitalist oppression and exploitation was stepped up further.

Drawing lessons from their temporary defeats, the revolutionary forces set out on the road of the reorganization, regrouping and preparation of their forces to carry the cause of the revolution and socialism always forward, to wage the struggle against imperialism and revisionism on a higher level. A great number of revolutionary communists separated

themselves from the modern revisionists and the old communist and workers' parties which had betrayed Marxism-Leninism. New Marxist-Leninist parties and organizations were set up in many countries of the world.

The anti-imperialist liberation struggle of the oppressed peoples assumed ever broader dimensions. Africa, Asia and Latin America were the centres of great revolutionary storms. On these continents imperialism was being dealt ceaseless heavy blows. A number of African countries gained their national independence and set out on the road of independent development. The resolute struggle of the Vietnamese people was the main front of the armed struggle against American imperialism.

The ceaseless strengthening of the world anti-imperialist front and the preservation of its popular character represented an historical imperative of great international importance for all the Marxist-Leninists and revolutionaries, wherever they happened to militate.

2. The Deterioration of the Relations of the PRA with the Revisionist Countries of Europe

The anti-Albanian activity of the revisionists, with Khrushchev always the protagonist, was assuming ever broader proportions. It became especially pronounced and threatening after the 4th Congress of the PLA (1961). In order to bring socialist Albania to submission, the governments of the revisionist countries of Europe set in motion the Warsaw Treaty and the Comecon through which they exercised all-round pressure on it both on the military and the economic plane.

The question of the naval base of Vlora was one of the questions of which the Soviet leadership availed itself to interfere brutally in the internal affairs of Albania. By violating the formal Albanian-Soviet agreements signed in September 1957 and May 1959, the Soviet government did everything in its power to put under its control this Albanian base which at the same time served the defence of the socialist countries.

In order to achieve its purpose, the Soviet government availed itself of a meeting of the Political Consultative Council of the Warsaw Treaty which was held in Moscow on March 28-29, 1961. At this meeting which had the examination of the situation in the armed forces of the Warsaw Treaty member countries on the agenda, Khrushchev came out with attacks and threats against the PRA. On his insistence and that of Marshal Grechko, the Political Consultative Council took a decision according to which the Albanian government was requested to hand over the administration of this base to a single Soviet command which would depend directly on the General Commander of the Warsaw Treaty, that is, Grechko himself. Otherwise, the Political Consultative Council warned that the members of this Treaty would be obliged to accept the proposal of the Soviet government to withdraw all the warships, as well as all its militarymen and specialists, from Albania.

This was another offensive and unacceptable proposal for a sovereign country such as the PR of Albania. The Albanian government strongly opposed it. On April 5, 1961, in a letter addressed to the governments of the Soviet Union and the East-European states it resolutely reaffirmed that it accepted only one solution of the problem: the base of Vlora belonged to Albania and all the naval means that were its property should be handed over to Albanian crew as soon as possible. Any other solution was an

act which would lead to the unilateral violation on the part of the Soviet Union of the existing Albanian-Soviet agreements of the years 1957 and 1959.

On August 3-5, 1961 the meeting of the representatives of the communist and workers' parties of the Warsaw Treaty member countries was convened in Moscow. The Central Committee of the PLA dispatched there a full-powered delegation, headed by Comrade Ramiz Alia, Secretary of the Central Committee. There the baseless accusations against the PLA were repeated and things went to such lengths as to deny the Albanian delegation, under the pretext that it was not «competent», the right to participate in the discussion of the problems linked with the Peace Treaty with Germany.

The delegation of the PLA denounced this hostile stand. It rejected the slanderous allegation that the PLA was afraid of assuming responsibility over so delicate a problem as the German question, etc. Likewise, the delegation of the PLA protested against this unprecedented treatment and insisted that the text of its speech should be read at the meeting and included in its protocol.

On August 8, 1961, in order to voice its opinion on the German question (it had continually demanded that the Peace Treaty with Germany should be concluded as soon as possible) and, on the other hand, to refute the baseless accusations levelled against it over this problem, the Central Committee of the PLA published the full text of this speech in the form of an official declaration in the newspaper *Zëri i popullit*.

The discriminating stand of the Khrushchevites in their relations with the PRA was reflected also in the work of the Comecon. Its members ceased their economic collaboration as well as their exchange of experience in the field of production, science and

technique and the co-ordination of their economic plans with Albania.

With the situation created in this economic organization which was manipulated by the Soviet Union, the further participation of the PRA became meaningless. That was why the Albanian government did not take place in the meeting of the Comecon which was held in September 1961 in Moscow.

Since that time the PRA did not take part in any other activity of the Comecon, just as it did not take part in any activity of the Warsaw Treaty. It conditioned its further participation in these organs with the securing of conditions for complete equality, respect of the principles on which they were founded, with the compensation of the damage caused to and the public recognition of the mistakes and faults committed against the Albanian state.

After the Moscow meeting of the 81 communist and workers' parties, the Soviet leadership stepped up its anti-Albanian activity in all fields. In the beginning of January 1961 the Soviet government unilaterally demanded that the economic agreements for the period 1959-1965, which had been approved by the two sides, should be revised. Despite the repeated steps made by the Albanian government, the Soviet leadership not only did not acquiesce to the implementation of the July 1959 agreement on the credits to be accorded to Albania, but did not even accept to sign the agreement on a loan for the mechanization of Albanian agriculture or on the goods exchange on a clearing basis for the years 1961-1965.

On January 14, 1961 the Central Committee of the PLA pointed out to the Central Committee of the CPSU that this stand of the Soviet government was not correct, that the problems it raised had a distorted character and were intended to exercise open economic pressure on the Albanian state and

the PLA on the eve of its 4th Congress, to create economic difficulties and to hamper the construction of socialism in Albania.

However, regardless of all this, the Soviet government stepped up its anti-Albanian activity and went towards establishing a savage economic, political and military blockade on the PRA. On April 26 it addressed to the Albanian government a letter in which, among other things, it said that Albania «could not hope any longer that the Soviet Union would give it aid on the former basis, an aid to which only the true friends and brothers were entitled,» that «it would re-examine the question of its further relations with the People's Republic of Albania», that «it would build these on a new basis» until the Albanian side would re-examine its stand towards the Soviet Union and the other countries of the socialist camp.*

In this manner, in the spring-summer 1961, the Soviet government sabotaged all the agreements existing between the two countries, cut off all aid and credits to Albania for the 3rd Five-year Plan (1961-1965), ceased all relations in the commercial, technical-scientific and cultural fields and withdrew all its specialists working in Albania. In May it annulled the existing bilateral agreements under which it was obliged, in the framework of the Warsaw Treaty, to supply armaments and other means to the Albanian People's Army, and stepped up its preparations for the dismantling of the Vlora base. In these circumstances, the situation on this base became extremely acute. The Soviet sailors and officers carried out numerous provocations, trying by all manner of means to create a pretext for the Soviet military intervention in Albania. Instead of military advisers they wan-

* *Principal Documents of the PLA*, vol. 4, Tirana 1970, pp. 40-58. Alb. ed.

ted to become the masters of the base. However, thanks to the resoluteness and vigilance of the Albanian militarymen they were unable to achieve this aim, although the base was gravely damaged. The Soviet government went even further by insisting on withdrawing the warships, all the equipment, technical means and other materials which belonged to the naval base of Vlora.

On May 26, 1961 it seized in a demonstrative manner 8 submarines, the floating base «Kotelnikov», as well as the Albanian warships that were laid for repair in the port of Sevastopol. On June 5, 1961 the personnel of Soviet advisers left the base of Vlora, too. In the meantime all the Albanian officers and cadets were expelled from the military schools and academies of the Soviet Union.

Despite all this, the PLA tried to maintain state relations between the two countries. For the creation of the necessary conditions for their normalization, which called for time and mutual patience, on February 6, 1961 the CC of the PLA and the Council of Ministers of the PRA requested the CC of the CPSU and the Soviet government not to extend the ideological differences that existed between the two parties to state relations, to the economic, political and military field, to take appropriate measures to put an end to their unjust stands and actions towards the People's Republic of Albania and the Party of Labour of Albania.*

However, the Soviet leadership was not for such a course. In August 1961 it annulled the agreement on the education of Albanian citizens in the schools of the Soviet Union, while in September withdrew the bursaries of more than 1,000 Albanian students,

* *Principal Documents of the PLA*, vol. 4, Tirana 1970, pp. 60-61, Alb. ed.

post-graduates and cadets that studied in different Soviet schools. Likewise, it ceased trade exchanges on a clearing basis.

This activity reached its culmination point in the period October-December 1961 when Khrushchev came out for the first time with the public denunciation of the differences. From the tribune of the 22nd Congress of the CPSU, which was held in October 1961, he attacked publicly the PLA, calling on the Albanian communists and people to carry out a counter-revolution.

In its declaration of October 20, 1961, the Central Committee of the PLA pointed out that these public attacks and slanders of the Khrushchev group served «only the enemies of communism and the People's Republic of Albania, the different imperialists and the Yugoslav revisionists... By publicly attacking the Party of Labour of Albania, N. Khrushchev actually started an open attack against the unity of the world communist and worker movement, against the unity of the socialist camp.»*

Through the speech held by Enver Hoxha on November 7, 1961, on the occasion of the 20th anniversary of the founding of the PLA, the Central Committee of the PLA called once again on the new Central Committee of the CPSU elected at the 22nd Congress to reassess objectively and with Leninist sense of justice the grave situation created in Soviet-Albanian relations by the anti-Marxist activity of the Khrushchev group, and to take the necessary measures for the normalization of these relations.**

The Soviet government replied to this request of the PLA with another hostile act, the cutting off of

* *Principal Documents of the PLA*, vol. 4, Tirana 1979, p. 153, Alb. ed.

** Enver Hoxha, *Works*, vol. 22, p. 169, Alb. ed.

diplomatic relations with Albania, an act unprecedented in the history of socialist relations. On November 25, 1961, it decided to withdraw its ambassador from Albania.¹ Only a few days afterwards, on December 3, it withdrew the whole personnel of its embassy and commercial representation from the PRA, while at the same time demanding that the personnel of the Albanian embassy and the Albanian commercial adviser should leave the territory of the Soviet Union.

Thus, the Khrushchev revisionist group, consistent in its line, cut off all relations with socialist Albania at a time when it maintained contacts with and was drawing ever closer to the most reactionary regimes of the world.

The counter-revolutionary process that took place in the other countries of European people's democracy had repercussions in their foreign policy, too. They supported and, in general, followed Moscow's example, drew closer to the Western states and opened their doors to them, at a time when, in order to isolate socialist Albania, they gave up their former collaboration with it, reducing their relations with it to the minimum.

The revisionist parties of the countries of Eastern Europe acted against Albania with great ruthlessness, especially after the 22nd Congress of the CPSU. They adopted resolutions and organized large-scale propaganda campaigns to denounce the Albanian leadership as the «cause» of the deterioration of relations, as allegedly being against any discussion about the differences that had arisen. In the meantime, the PLA was no longer invited to attend their congresses

¹ In fact the Soviet ambassador J. V. Shikin had left Albania since August 19, 1961, that is, two months before the 22nd Congress of the CPSU.

the tribunes of which were largely used for attacks against it. This was done at the congresses of the parties of Bulgaria, Hungary, Czechoslovakia and the German Democratic Republic. From all these congresses emerged the long-prepared plan of the Khrushchevites to expel the PLA from the world communist movement and the PRA from the camp of socialism.

At the same time, the ideological differences were extended to state relations, too.

In the economic, cultural and technical-scientific fields, the governments of the countries of Eastern Europe unilaterally annulled a number of agreements, withdrew their specialists, expelled the Albanian students from their schools, did not accept to sign commercial agreements for the years 1961-1965. In order to hamper the construction of socialism in Albania, in 1962 some of these governments cancelled the credits they were due to grant it for the implementation of the 3rd Five-year Plan. As a result of this hostile stand, some new industrial objects began to be built only by the end of the third year of the five-year plan, as longer time was needed to design them and procure their equipment.

Despite all these anti-Albanian stands, the relations between the PRA and the East-European states did not cease completely. They were limited only to trade exchanges on a clearing basis. In the meantime the Albanian government began to repay the credits they had accorded it.

When the military forces of the Soviet Union, Poland, East Germany, Hungary and Bulgaria carried out their military aggression against Czechoslovakia on August 21, 1968, Albania resolutely denounced this act, calling it «an aggression of the fascist type» which «represented the greatest debasement of the honour and authority of the Soviet Union

and the Soviet people on the part of the Khrushchevite revisionist Brezhnev-Kosygin clique.»¹ It was a grave warning for the peoples of Europe and the whole world about the danger threatening them from the Soviet social-imperialists. The aggression against Czechoslovakia, which was carried out by the armies of the Warsaw Treaty, proved once again what the PLA had declared long ago, that is, that the Warsaw Treaty had completely been transformed from a means of defence into a means of aggression.

Earlier, with their blockade on Albania and, later, with their occupation of Czechoslovakia the Khrushchevite revisionists definitively trampled underfoot the basic principles for the implementation of which the Warsaw Treaty had been set up.

In the particular case of the PR of Albania which the revisionists had long ago excluded de facto from the Warsaw Treaty, the existence of this Treaty played no positive role whatsoever. On the contrary, it posed a threat to the freedom and independence of the Albanian people.

For all these reasons on September 13, 1968, at an extraordinary session the People's Assembly of the People's Republic of Albania decided to denounce this Treaty and exonerate Albania from any obligation deriving from it.

The capitalist states and the western powers, in the first place, saw the withdrawal of PRA from the Warsaw Treaty and the increased threat of an eventual Soviet aggression in the Balkans, and more particularly, the exacerbation of the relations between the Soviet Union and Albania in September-October 1968, as a favourable and promising political circumstance,

¹ Declaration of the CC of the PLA and the Council of Ministers of the PRA of August 22, 1968. *Principal Documents of the PLA*, vol. 5, p. 412, Alb. ed.

hoping that eventually Albania, isolated in Europe, would integrate itself into the imperialist camp. For this purpose their propaganda gave broad publicity to news and commentaries of a provocative and war-mongering character.

The determination of the PRA to march non-stop on the road of socialism, regardless of the temporary difficulties the imperialist-revisionist blockade created for it, very soon gave the lie to these speculations.

3. The Extension of Diplomatic and Economic Relations of the PRA with Various Countries of the World

One of the aims of the foreign policy of Albania was the improvement and extension of the relations with the neighbouring states. The Albanian government was of the opinion that it was in the interest of the Albanian people and the neighbouring peoples that there should be no foreign military bases in these countries, that they should not provide facilities for the units of foreign aggressive fleets, that the bonds with the aggressive NATO pact should be broken, and the way to imperialist influences barred.

Albania was for the development of normal state relations with Yugoslavia, and did not alter its policy. The irreconcilable contradictions, in ideology and policy, with the League of Communists of Yugoslavia and with the Yugoslav state, and the polemic with them should not constitute an obstacle to the improvement of the Albanian-Yugoslav state relations.

But the Yugoslav government, which had seen the futility of the plots and underhand deals at the expense of Albania and their defeat, continued even in the sixties with its old anti-Albanian line.

In the favourable conditions when the Khrushchevite revisionists aligned themselves openly on the side of the enemies of the Albanian Party and people and when the Yugoslav-Soviet relations began to improve, it exercised continuous pressure, engaged in diversion, and created various incidents, as a result of which the situation in the Albanian-Yugoslav state relations remained tense.

The improvement of relations between the two countries was hampered also by the national-chauvinist policy of oppression and exploitation which the Yugoslav government pursued towards the Albanian population in Kosova, in Macedonia and Montenegro, in which it preserved the national feelings and patriotic traditions and was opposed to the denationalizing aims of the chauvinists.

Despite the many subsoil and energy resources, Kosova, with its fertile plains very suitable for farming and with a very active and hardworking population, was put aside as a region destined for the exploitation of its primary materials and its cheap labour force in the interests of the Yugoslav industry. The regions inhabited by Albanians in Macedonia and Montenegro were in a still more backward situation.

The policy of discrimination was openly applied also in the field of education and culture in the mother tongue, in the field of constitutional rights, etc.

The so-called freedom to live anywhere and to describe oneself in any way you like served to sanction the denationalization of the Albanian nationality in Yugoslavia by means of constant migration within Yugoslavia and abroad, at a time when the division of the compact mass of Albanians in three republics (Macedonia, Serbia and Montenegro) and in one autonomous region (Kosova) was continued in practice.

The chauvinist stand towards the Albanian population was not the result of some «mistakes» commit-

ted accidentally, or the disguised efforts of the Great-Serb forces, but the result of the open national-chauvinist policy of the Yugoslav state, which had been raised to a system for a long time.

The recrudescence of the internal and external contradictions in Yugoslavia compelled Tito, in July 1966, to liquidate the Great-Serb group of Ranković to whom he attributed the cause of all «deviations». Saddling Ranković with the blame for all the crimes perpetrated in Kosova, the Yugoslav authorities tried to handle the revolted Albanian population and pacify it with partial concessions.

The Albanian population took advantage of this situation, and within the possibilities in the existing conditions stepped up its efforts in order to realize its aspirations and just political, national, economic and cultural demands.

The PLA and the Albanian people, respecting the international norms, had the right to denounce any action which denied the national rights to their brothers of the same blood and tongue, any measure which served their denationalization and any effort to drive them from their native land, or to pit Kosova, under any form, against the People's Republic of Albania. At that time Comrade Enver Hoxha pointed out: «It would be anti-Marxist and national betrayal if we neglected anything about this fact, if we were disinterested in their fate.»*

By maintaining an internationalist stand towards the Yugoslav peoples, the Albanian government wanted them to understand this interested attitude towards the Albanian brothers of Kosova and other regions of Macedonia and Montenegro, correctly. The

* Enver Hoxha, «The Correct Policy of the Party and the Heroic Work of the People Bring Abundance and Progress Even to Our Highlands», Tirana 1970, p. 54, Alb. ed.

People's Republic of Albania was prepared to fulfill their desire for Albanian artistic and scientific publications, for films and music, and was predisposed to collaborate in the cultural field. Apart from the trade exchanges with Yugoslavia, there were possibilities for the development of cultural relations, especially with Kosova, which was linked with Albania by the bonds of the same nationality, language, traditions, culture, etc.

A step in this direction was taken in January 1968, when a group of working people of scientific and educational institutions of Kosova participated in the National Conference devoted to the 500th anniversary of the death of Skanderbeg. This was a good initiative which was encouraged to develop. On October 27, 1970, the first protocol on an extensive collaboration in the field of teaching and science for the years 1970-1971 between the University of Tirana and the University of Prishtina was signed in Tirana. The protocol was renewed in the next years.

Under this protocol it was envisaged that a number of higher cadres from the University of Prishtina would come to the University of Tirana to exchange experience, for consultations and specialization, and the University of Tirana would send a number of its cadres to the University of Prishtina to read lectures, as well as to exchange experience. It also envisaged the exchange of teaching, scientific and other literature. The realization of this protocol helped both sides to gain from each other's scientific achievements, it especially helped the University of Prishtina with lectures of various subjects, especially the history, the language and culture of the Albanian people, in the Albanian language.

While the Albanian government sincerely supported these initiatives for the extension of the cultural and scientific collaboration between the PRA

and Kosova, «Tito and company hoped to realize the old dream that through Kosova they could influence the liberal forces in Albania and, in this way, make possible the union of Albania with Kosova in the framework of Yugoslavia.»*

With the growing threat of a Soviet aggression in the Balkans, especially after the events in Czechoslovakia, the People's Republic of Albania took up a clear-cut position and adopted a correct revolutionary stand. Opposing the expansionist plans of the Soviet social-imperialists and their followers, the PRA came out firmly in defence of the freedom and independence of the Balkan peoples and declared that the Albanian people would stand by the peoples of Yugoslavia and Rumania against any aggression against them.

As for Greece, the Albanian government made efforts to have the abnormal situation in the Albanian-Greek relations ended. Along with its efforts to establish regular diplomatic relations, without preliminary conditions imposed, it gave further proof of its goodwill.

During the repatriation of the Greek refugees, accommodated in Albania during the years 1947-1949, the last groups of them, together with their possessions, of their free will returned to Greece in the period from 1961-1964.

Although there were no diplomatic relations, the desire of some Greek commercial circles for trade exchanges met with approval in the People's Republic of Albania, provided trade was done on the basis of respect for its policy of foreign trade.

The Greek governments of that time, however, raised artificial difficulties to the development of

* Enver Hoxha, *The Titoites (Historical notes)*, «8 Nëntori» Publishing House, Tirana 1982, p. 621, Eng. ed.

trade exchanges, with the result that only two trade agreements were reached between the Chamber of Commerce of Greece and that of the PRA.

Despite the goodwill of the Albanian side, the Greek governments in power, allegedly compelled by the so-called state of war with Albania, behind which were hidden territorial claims, maintained an unaltered hostile stand. They carried out provocative actions, instigated chauvinist forces and the so-called Vorio-Epirotes to demand the liberation of «Vorio-Epirus» and its «unification with Greece». These activities came up against the firm stand of the Albanian people and their government for the defence of the sovereignty and territorial integrity of the Homeland.

Hence, even after three decades, the Albanian-Greek relations remained at the old level.

With the oversea neighbour, Italy, state relations developed on the normal course. Their maintenance and further development corresponded to the common interests of both countries. The Albanian government had not shown lack of goodwill in this direction.

During the years 1961-1970, relations with Italy were further materialized in the sphere of trade, in which some achievement was made in the exchange of goods.

The PRA devoted attention also to the development and extension of relations with the Asian countries. The main place in them was occupied by the relations with the PR of China, the DR of Vietnam and the DPR of Korea.

Relations between the PRA and the PR of China were especially extended with a number of agreements and protocols covering the fields of the economy, culture, science, technique, military, and navigation.

The Albanian people and their government ap-

preciated China's aid and its role, among other outside factors, in the development of our country's economy, seeing it as aid by a friendly people, aid without strings attached and without political conditions, which served the general cause of the revolution and socialism.

Despite the differences which existed over a number of issues of principle between the two parties, Albania supported China publicly in the crucial moments through which it was going as a result of the deep internal shake-up and the general onslaught of imperialism and revisionism on it. The PRA supported China in the international arena for those stands of the Chinese side which were correct.

The Albanian diplomats fought sternly for the re-establishment of the rights of the People's Republic of China in UNO, which the American imperialists and others denied it.

The Albanian government supported the right of the Chinese people for the liberation of Taiwan and other Chinese islands, and condemned the imperialist plot of «two Chinas», or «one China and one Taiwan».

At the same time, the PLA watched with preoccupation the anti-Marxist and chauvinist stands and actions which were noticed in many cases among the Chinese leadership, and expressed its critical opinion about what was occurring in China. Without publicizing them, the PLA duly informed the Chinese leadership of the opinions in a comradely way.

The PLA opposed the out-and-out opportunist line of the Chinese leadership towards the Soviet revisionists. The Chinese maintained a wavering stand, sometimes adopting a wait-and-see and inhibiting attitude, sometimes an attitude of «attack» in conformity with the changing political circumstances and its pragmatic interests.

In October 1964, Zhou Enlai, on behalf of the

CC of the CP of China and the State Council of the PR of China proposed that the PLA support the new leadership of the Soviet Union, with Brezhnev at the head, and join it «in the struggle against the common enemy, imperialism.»

The CC of the PLA firmly rejected this proposal, which sought the cessation of the struggle against revisionism and ideological reconciliation with it. In the letter addressed to the CC of the CP of China, on November 5, 1964, it pointed out among other things that the exit of Khrushchev from the political scene was really an important victory for Marxism-Leninism, but this should not be overrated, vigilance should not be lowered, and the struggle for the defeat of modern revisionism should not be interrupted until its complete defeat.

The Chinese leadership, with its great-state chauvinism, maintained an incorrect and insincere stand towards the PLA. It did not agree with the consistent revolutionary line of the PLA and, consequently, maintained a passive attitude in the defence of the PLA from the attacks of the Khrushchevite revisionists. The Chinese leadership, with Mao Zedong at its head, strove to impose its erroneous line on the PLA and did not even accept to discuss questions of common interests, in advance.

With its readiness to compromise and conciliation with the enemies of Marxism-Leninism, the Chinese leadership tried to place Albania in the service of its strategic and tactical line in Europe and, especially in the Balkans. It was in favour of an agreement between Yugoslavia, Rumania and Albania against the Soviets. In October 1968, precisely in the situation which was created in the Balkans after the invasion of Czechoslovakia, Zhou Enlai proposed that the Albanian government begin negotiations with the Yugoslav leadership and sign a treaty of friendship and mutual aid

with it. According to him, in order to cope with an aggression by the Americans and the Soviets, Albania, as a small country it was, was left with the alternative of waging a partisan warfare or of forming a military alliance with Yugoslavia and Rumania. He accompanied this proposal with disapproval of the strategic and tactical principles of the Albanian defence, saying that Albania did not need heavy armaments.

The CC of the PLA condemned and rejected the plan of Zhou Enlai. It considered his proposal as «an attempt of a reactionary character on the part of the Chinese leadership to drive socialist Albania into the trap of war-mongering plots through military alliances, with the final aim of turning the Balkan area into a powder keg, as the Soviet social-imperialists and the US imperialists are seeking to do.»*

Whereas Albania worked for the strengthening of the friendly relations with the Chinese people, the government of Beijing began to exert economic pressure, brutally violating the Albanian-Chinese joint statements of January 1964 and May 1966, in which both sides declared that the socialist countries, big or small, economically developed or underdeveloped, must base their relations on the principles of Marxism-Leninism, respect of the independence, sovereignty, complete equality, mutual proletarian internationalist assistance and support.

The PR of China failed to observe the agreements, protocols and criteria determined by both sides. In most cases, it put off the building of industrial projects, a thing which caused a delay of one to six years

* *Letter of the CC of the Party of Labour and the Government of Albania to the CC of the Communist Party and the Government of China, Tirana 1978, pp. 38-39.*

for their completion. This is what happened with the ferro-chrome plant, etc., whereas on some other projects, as in the case of the hydro-power plant of Vau i Dejës, it abandoned altogether participation in the stage of designing, so that these projects should not be built at all. The numerous obstacles raised to accoring of credits, the delays caused in the designing of new industrial projects which would be built in Albania by the Chinese side, were essentially aimed at one thing, to cause the one-sided development of the Albanian economy. The Chinese leaders who wanted to deprive Albania of its heavy industry and transform it into a country economically dependent on China, insisted on and spread the ungrounded idea that the PRA was not in a position to build and duly commission for production the new projects forthcoming from China. Therefore, the projects of the heavy industry in Albania, which would be built with Chinese aid, were completed only through many difficulties, which were overcome with success thanks to the tireless work of the Albanian workers and specialists.

The relations of the PRA with the DR of Vietnam and the DPR of Korea developed in the spirit of friendship and collaboration and were extended gradually in various fields.

In the spring of 1961, the PRA signed the trade and navigation treaties with the DPR of Korea and the DR of Vietnam. Under these treaties provisions were made for the further development and strengthening of trade relations; each side gave the other the status of the most favoured nation in matters of trade and sea navigation, and in other fields of economic collaboration.

On the basis of agreements, which were renewable every year, the government of the PRA gave the Democratic Republic of Vietnam free economic aid,

which was appreciated as a source of great inspiration for the Vietnamese people and army and as a contribution to the strengthening of friendship between the two countries.

In 1966, with the aim of further strengthening the relations of militant solidarity between the Albanian people and the people of South Vietnam, it was decided that a permanent mission of the National Front for the Liberation of South Vietnam be opened in Tirana. In June 1969, the Albanian government recognized the revolutionary provisional government of the Republic of South Vietnam as the only legitimate government of that country, and gave the permanent mission the status of an official diplomatic representation at an embassy level.

The Albanian people stood always by the side of the peoples of Vietnam and Korea in their just war against American imperialism and its tools, for the defence of the victories achieved and for the unification of the respective countries.

During the years 1962-1970, socialist Albania extended diplomatic relations with a series of other independent states of Asia, such as Cambodia, the Arab Republic of Yemen, the Islamic Republic of Pakistan, the Republic of Indonesia, the Arab Republic of Syria, and the People's Republic of South Yemen.

Albania continued with success the extension of relations with various countries of Europe, Africa and Latin America.

At the end of this period it had diplomatic relations with most of the European countries. In the years 1969-1970, diplomatic relations were established with Sweden, Denmark, Switzerland, and Holland. Trade and cultural exchanges, too, though at a slow rate, increased.

The PRA did not establish diplomatic relations

with Great Britain and with the Federal Republic of Germany, since Britain failed to return the Albanian monetary gold and the FR of Germany did not pay the war reparations.

The relations of the PRA with the countries of the African continent extended in a special manner. The Albanian government hailed the creation of new states in Africa and, at the same time, recognized these independent and sovereign countries. Diplomatic relations were established with many of them. Meanwhile, the Albanian government showed its readiness and special concern also for the extension of economic, cultural and technical-scientific collaboration with these countries, which had just entered the road of independent development. The first steps in these fields, which were taken in the beginning of the sixties, were materialized with a series of agreements entered into with Ghana, Guinea, the Republic of Mali, Algeria, Morocco, as well as with the United Arab Republic.

The Albanian people were loyal friends and allies of the peoples of the African continent. They supported the liberation war of the peoples of Algeria, Angola, Oman, Mozambique, Guinea (Bissau), Zimbabwe, etc. The government of the PRA firmly condemned the military intervention of the USA against Congo in November 1964, and did not contribute with funds to the so-called expenditure for the UNO forces which were sent there. It unmasked the policy of racial discrimination followed by the racist and fascist cliques in South Africa, and declared that it would not establish diplomatic relations with it until it completely abandoned this policy.

As for the relations of the PRA with the Latin-American countries, diplomatic relations were established with Brazil only, whereas with Cuba, apart from diplomatic relations, Albania had trade exchanges

which were followed by cultural and technical-scientific exchanges. A good basis for the development of economic relations between the two countries was created with the signing of the trade and navigation treaty in Havana, in April 1962.

At the end of the sixties, the People's Republic of Albania had a rich balance of new achievements in the international arena. The efforts and hopes of the imperialists and the Khrushchevite revisionists to subdue it had failed. Socialist Albania was not isolated, but further strengthened its international relations, its authority and position in the world.

In 1970, the PRA had diplomatic relations with 48 states of the world, against 24 in 1960; it developed trade with more than 40 countries with different social systems and hundreds of individual firms on all continents.

CHAPTER ELEVEN

THE DEEPENING OF THE SOCIALIST REVOLUTION IN 1971-1975

The 6th Congress of the Party was convened in Tirana on November 1-7, 1971, on the eve of the great celebration of the 30th anniversary of the founding of the Party.

The Congress drew the balance-sheet of the activity of the Party in the period of the further revolutionization of the whole life of the country in the period 1966-1970, drew lessons from its experience up till then and defined new tasks for the deepening of the socialist revolution in all fields. It approved the directives of the 5th Five-year Plan (1971-1975), which envisaged an appreciable growth of the productive forces and perfecting of the relations of production, issued orientations for the drafting of a new Constitution which should be adapted to the stage of the complete construction of the socialist society, and set important tasks for the further development of the revolution in the ideological, cultural and technical-scientific fields.

Summing up the experience of the revolutionary movements of the working masses, the 6th Congress

demanding that they were carried further ahead by restricting the influence that religion, despite the historic victory achieved with the complete liquidation of its material basis, still exercised on some individuals and groups who represented the most backward stratum of the working people; by further promoting the movement for the complete liberation of the woman; by establishing complete equality between men and women both in the family and in the society; by intensifying the struggle against the petty-bourgeois mentality and psychology, while devoting special attention to the education of the working class and the broad working masses.

The 6th Congress of the Party dealt with some problems of theoretical importance. It defended Marxism-Leninism against the attacks by the various revisionists, including the Chinese, who denied the leading role of the working class and its Marxist-Leninist party, and once again pointed out the need for the revolution and the building of socialism on the basis of the doctrine of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin.

At the end of its proceedings the 6th Congress elected the Central Committee of the PLA and the Central Control and Audit Commission. Enver Hoxha was re-elected First Secretary of the CC of the PLA.

The decisions of the 6th Congress of the PLA had major significance for the strengthening of the dictatorship of the proletariat in Albania, for the intensification of the struggle against bureaucratic and liberal manifestations and the rapid-rate development of the socialist economy.

1. The Exacerbation of the Class Struggle in the Ideological, Political and Economic Fields

Following the 6th Congress, the class struggle was waged on a large scale. It was a component part of the struggle between the socialist road and the capitalist road, which went on in all fronts: in ideology, politics, economy, culture, art and other fields. This struggle was waged against the savage activity of the external and internal enemies, and in the ranks of the people against the remnants of the alien ideology, customs, norms and practices.

In these circumstances, the agent of foreign secret services, Mehmet Shehu, who continued to hold the post of the chairman of the Council of Ministers, was especially activated. He began to work out concrete plans to overturn the situation in Albania in favour of the West, to urge and throw into action in this direction different secret agents, but was wary of compromising himself. Thus, he began the implementation of the ramified conspiratorial plan by setting in motion Fadil Paçrami's hostile group in the field of culture, art and the radio and television service, the group of Beqir Balluku for the preparation of the putsch, and the group of Abdyl Këllezî, Koço Theodhosi and Kiço Ngjela to carry out sabotage in the economic field.* These hostile groups were routed, but Mehmet Shehu was able to hide his hand and escape detection.

Despite the continuous struggle waged against bureaucracy and the successes achieved, the danger of the bourgeois-revisionist degeneration of the socialist state was not eliminated. The importance of the

* Enver Hoxha, *The Titoites (Historical notes)*, «8 Nëntori» Publishing House, Tirana 1982, pp. 619-620, Eng. ed.

struggle against bureaucracy in practice had not been fully grasped. Hence, the task for the struggle against bureaucracy laid down at the 6th Congress should always be borne in mind.

Comrade Enver Hoxha's speech delivered nearly four months after the Congress, on February 26, 1972, at the Plenum of the Party Committee of Mat district, marked another moment of the further deepening of this struggle. The main idea of this speech was that everyone should understand properly that socialism is built by the broad masses of the people, whereas the role of the Party of the working class is to make them conscious.

A series of main problems which called for solution regarded the enhancement of the role of the direct control by the masses as an important means to protect the Party and the socialist state against the bourgeois-revisionist degeneration, the greater activation of the councillors and deputies in the problems of the governing of the country within the competences stipulated by law, and making the leading cadres more answerable to the working collectives.

An acute question was the maintenance and improvement of the correct ratio between the Party, the cadres and the masses, the increase in the number of communists working directly in production, the establishment of a more correct ratio between the communists and the non-party cadres in the state organs, in the administrative and economic apparatuses, and in the organizations of the masses, the employment of a greater number of communist workers and non-party people in these apparatuses. This was forcefully stressed because at that time in central apparatuses nearly 50 per cent of the cadres were communists, and even more in some ministries, or in the apparatuses of the Youth Union at the centre

and the base more than 51 per cent were communists, in the Trade Unions over 67 per cent, etc. In the People's Assembly, likewise, there was a high percentage of communist deputies.

In the great popular discussion, which followed Enver Hoxha's speech delivered at Mat and which served the further revolutionization of the whole life of the country, many of the urgent questions were solved, bureaucratic concepts and practices were hard hit, calling to account and the sense of duty and discipline were raised to a higher level. The important thing in this discussion was that the masses were not mere observers, but they raised problems, objections and made criticisms, had their say boldly about the work and the people, and also took concrete decisions and practical measures in order to solve the problems taken up.

The criticism of the masses was directed against bureaucracy and the bureaucrats, against those who did not perform their duties, those who dragged the solution of problems, those who acted against the state laws and the Party norms, against those who trampled underfoot the interests and rights of the working people.

At a time when the whole country was totally engaged in the struggle against bureaucracy, distortions were observed, which led to the spread of alien manifestations and liberal stands towards them. The clear instructions of the CC of the Party for the deepening of the ideological and cultural revolution and for fighting on both flanks, against conservatism and liberalism, were not properly applied in some fields such as in literature, music, figurative arts, the moral-aesthetic education of the youth, etc. Consequently, alien manifestations were noticed in some artistic creations, and especially in the 11th Song Festival of the Radio-Television, in some plays, films, poems, paintings and

elsewhere, in which modernist tendencies, imitation of foreign trends and departure from the national tradition were manifested. Cases of the influence of the bourgeois-revisionist ideology were noticed also in an incorrect attitude towards work, lessons and people's property, in the disregard of the norms of behaviour, the communist morality and aethics in the society and in the family, in the tendencies of some to imitate the bourgeois-revisionist way of life, etc. These manifestations had stuck root mostly in some circles of the intelligentsia and the youth.

The ideological pressure of the external enemies, combined with that of the internal enemies, had assumed the character of a real ideological aggression aimed at liquidating socialism in Albania. Therefore, the spread of alien tastes and concepts, the bourgeois fashion, behaviour and way of life, limited as it was, should be regarded as a serious threat which had to be fought forcefully and at the proper time.

Comrade Enver Hoxha's assessment of these problems in his speech delivered at the Presidium of People's Assembly on January 9, 1973, and at the apparatus of the CC of the Party on March 15, 1973, was a contribution to the stern struggle against the liberal manifestations in all fields.

In order to further deepen this struggle, the 4th Plenum of the CC of the PLA was held from June 26-28, 1973. The Plenum observed that the discussion and struggle of the working people against alien manifestations was a very important measure in order to close the paths to the penetration of the bourgeois-revisionist ideology in our country.

Especially, the Plenum condemned the activity of the group of Fadil Paçrami and Todi Lubonja and company who had carried out a hostile activity deliberately permitting, nourishing and encouraging liberalism in literature, art and culture. Fadil Paçra-

mi, in his capacity of secretary of the Party Committee of the Tirana district, in which the majority of the writers and artists were concentrated, in opposition to the line of the Party strove to snuff out the class struggle and encouraged the spread of a pronounced liberal modernist spirit in literature, art and culture. Todi Lubonja, in his capacity of director of the Radio-Television, in collaboration with Fadil Paçrami, strove to give the Radio-Television a revisionist twist, especially in music. They were in cahoot to undermine the leading role of the Party in the sector of literature, art and culture, by co-ordinating their counter-revolutionary activity, as was proved later, with other enemies in the army and the economy.

There were weaknesses, also, in the work with the youth, especially in some of its leaders who had backed up the hostile activity of F. Paçrami and T. Lubonja.

The analysis of alien manifestations revealed such phenomena in the economic field, too, where, despite the major successes, anomalies and shortcomings of a liberal character, cases of neglect of duty and violation of state laws, weakening of control and calling to account were observed. In order to dominate these weaknesses, the task was set for a correct understanding of centralism and democracy and the economic central departments, and especially, the State Planning Commission and the Ministry of Finances, which had permitted such manifestations, were criticized. The Plenum of the CC of the Party expelled Fadil Paçrami and Todi Lubonja from the CC and from the Party and discharged them of all state functions, on account of their hostile activity which had damaged the Party and the construction of socialism in our country.

After the Plenum the ideological struggle against alien manifestations in literature, art and culture was further deepened and extended in other fields, too, thus giving a new impetus to the creative work.

The Party had always paid special attention to the strengthening and steeling of the defence capacity of the Homeland. The Marxist-Leninist idea of arming and training the whole people militarily for the defence of the country was developed further in the 6th Congress of the Party. Guided by Lenin's instruction that «every citizen must be a soldier and every soldier a citizen», the Congress issued the directive that all the working people should simultaneously work, learn and train themselves for defence. For this purpose, from 1970 Comrade Enver Hoxha had given the Ministry of the People's Defence instructions on the organization of the free military school. The training of the entire soldier people for war should be organized on the basis of the theses on the Popular Military Art prepared by the Council of Defence.

One of the fundamental questions on which the Congress focused its attention was the strengthening of the leadership of the Party in the army. But many of these orientations and instructions of the Central Committee of the Party were not implemented in practice, there were violations and distortions of them, which led to the failure to properly apply the revolutionary program of training the armymen and the entire people for the defence of the Homeland. All these had their source in the activity carried out by a hostile group, headed by Beqir Balluku, former minister of People's Defence, Petrit Dume, former chief of the General Staff, Hito Çako, former chief of the Political Directory of the Army, which had been operating for a long time in the army.

This group had placed itself in the service of the revisionists of various countries and worked secretly and systematically sabotaged the decisions of the Central Committee of the Party in the army and in the defence of the country. Its final aim was to overthrow the socialist order in Albania through a putsch. Therefore, these enemies of socialism relied on foreign aid and gathered around themselves a number of wavering, career-seeking, servile and degenerate elements.

After 1971 the hostile group intensified its activity. At that time it was noticed that the various revisionists and the Chinese revisionists were drawing closer to the American imperialists and the international bourgeoisie, whereas the class struggle within the country and on a world scale was further sharpened. This situation, the hostile group decided, was propitious to intensify its undermining activity. The decisions of the 4th Plenum of the CC of the Party and the condemnation of the hostile activity of F. Paçrami and T. Lubonja dismayed the chiefs of the hostile group in the army. Therefore, for some time after the Plenum they did not dare to plot openly, but tried to hamper the application of the decisions of the 4th Plenum in the army, with which they pretended to agree.

The traitor activity of this group began to come out in the open one year after the 4th Plenum of the CC of the PLA. The «theoretical-military theses», secretly drawn up by the putschists, were discovered first. These «theoretical-military theses» were totally opposed to the revolutionary military line of the Party and the theses of the Council of Defence on the Popular Military Art. Later, the whole extent of their hostile activity was uncovered.

The 5th Plenum of the Central Committee of the Party, which met on July 25-26, 1974, condemned

the hostile activity of B. Balluku, decided to expel him from the Central Committee and the Party and discharged him from all the state functions he held. The treachery of this hostile group which, in its efforts to achieve its aim, strove to erode the army from within, to smash the defence of the country and to carry out the coup d'état, was thoroughly thrashed out for six months on end in the Party organizations in which many more incriminating facts and arguments were brought forth.

After the discussion in the Party, the 6th Plenum of the CC was held on December 16-17, 1974 to examine the hostile activity. It expelled P. Dume and H. Çako, as participants in the plot, from the Central Committee and the Party. The group of conspirators was handed over to the organs of justice for criminal proceedings.

The Party informed all the working masses about the hostile activity of the putschist group and called on them to go down to work for the liquidation of all consequences and traces of this activity.

In order to strengthen the leading role of the Party in the army, the CC of the PLA made some organizational changes. A great deal of work was done for the Marxist-Leninist ideological education of the army, and all bureaucratic and liberal manifestations in the army were resolutely combated. Special importance was attached to the military training of the People's Army and the entire soldier people. The free military schools, which had been neglected by the traitor group, increased in numbers and began to function throughout the country. Within a short period of time they became important centres of the political-military training of the working masses incorporated in all the military structures. Likewise, within a short period of time a great volume of engineering work was done for the defence of

the country and for the sheltering of the population in case of war which the group of plotters had neglected in its efforts to achieve its hostile aims.

All these measures strengthened the People's Army further more. The army and the armed people raised the level of the military readiness and defence potential, by mastering the popular military art ever better.

Outraged by the broad mass movement for the construction of socialism, the internal enemy, in collaboration with the external enemy, intensified its sabotage and hostile activity in the economy with each passing day. The activity of this group, like that of the other hostile groups, did not escape the vigilance of the Party and the people. In February 1975 it was discovered that a gang of enemies, at the head of which were Abdyl Këllezi, former chairman of the State Planning Commission, Koço Theodhosi, former minister of Industry and Mining, Kiço Ngjela, former minister of Trade, was acting in the economy. This group had links and collaborated with the two other traitor groups which were instigated and supported by external enemies. They had been working under the lap against the economic policy of our state for a long time. Their main aim was to hinder the development of the socialist economy and to set it on the road of capitalist development, by trying to introduce forms and methods of Titoite self-administration and capitalist economics in the management and organization of our economy. In order to create a state of autarchy they attempted to violate the centralized and planned management of the economy. At a time when the Party and the working masses had risen in struggle against bureaucracy, they created redundant organisms in the state and economic apparatuses. They did an especially great damage to the people's economy by sabotaging the

discovery and extraction of oil and coal, the construction of new projects, and by misusing the funds for fundamental, investments. They carried out undermining activity in agriculture and in foreign trade, too.

Letters from the people, addressed to the Party and Comrade Enver Hoxha, were a great help in discovering and exposing the hostile activity. These letters denounced the enemies, discovered the thieves, bureaucrats, those who practised favouritism, and the distortions they made by violating the laws of the state and the norms of the Party.

This hostile activity in the economy was analysed and condemned by the 7th Plenum of the CC of the PLA which was held on May 26-29, 1975. The Plenum defined the measures to be taken for the further strengthening of the economy of the country.

After thoroughly assessing the sabotage activity in the economy, it expelled Abdyl Këllezi and Koço Theodhosi from the Central Committee and the Party and, at the same time, dismissed them from all state and social functions. Later, Kiço Ngjela was dismissed from these functions, too. The decisions and conclusions of the 7th Plenum were made known to the entire people. The Plenum, after informing the working masses about the damage caused by the hostile activity of this group, reminded that the class struggle was a fierce one waged simultaneously in the political, ideological and economic fields.

The editorial of the newspaper *Zëri i popullit* of April 3, 1975, «When the class speaks bureaucracy does not speak», gave a powerful impulse to the activity of the working masses against bureaucracy. This directive editorial of the Party criticized the swelling of the apparatuses at the centre and the districts, in central departments and economic enter-

prises, and the accumulation in them of a large number of people who fostered bureaucracy. The editorial called for a halt to endless theorizing on this dangerous disease, and for organizing the struggle in practice, with concrete measures to reduce the inflated staffs and to do away with redundant organisms.

Immediately after this editorial was published the groups of the worker control, under the leadership of the Party, put forward concrete proposals for the abolishment of redundant posts and organisms in the central departments. The proposals were carried into effect forthwith. Measures of this character were also taken in the executive committees of the people's councils in order to make their apparatuses as effective and manoeuvrable as possible. The workers in plants and economic enterprises, the working people of the various institutions, came out with proposals for concrete measures to reduce the staffs. The apparatuses of the central departments were refreshed by circulating the cadres with a long seniority at work and employing people from the production fronts, who brought the spirit of the working class in these apparatuses. As a result of this process, over 9,000 people were reduced from the staffs within a few months in the districts of Tirana, Elbasan, Gjirokastra, Berat and Lezha, and most of them began to work in industry and agricultural cooperatives. The number of the cadres of worker origin, background or status in the administrative apparatuses of the central departments, economic enterprises and the various institutions at the centre and the base, grew considerably.

2. The 5th Five-year Plan and the Struggle for Its Fulfilment

The directives of the 5th Five-year Plan (1971-1975) for the economic and cultural development were approved by the 6th Congress of the Party.

In conformity with the directives of the Congress, in 1975, as against 1970, the total industrial production was envisaged to increase by 61-68 per cent, at an average annual rate of about 10.3 per cent, as against 9.8 that it was in the decade 1960-1970. Productivity of labour in industrial production would be 26-28 per cent higher than in 1970, whereas the cost of production would be 13-15 per cent lower. The production of the means of production would increase 62 per cent and mass consumer goods about 30 per cent.

In the 5th Five-year Plan, about 270 new industrial, agricultural and socio-cultural projects would be built. Most important amongst them were the major projects of the heavy industry like the metallurgical combine at Elbasan, the hydro-power station at Fierza, the plant for the deep processing of oil at Ballsh, etc. In terms of value, the building and assembly of the metallurgical combine and the hydro-power station at Fierza was estimated at nearly as much as all investments made during the 1st Five-year Plan, or about half the investments made in the 2nd Five-year Plan.

Along the priority development of the heavy industry, the light industry would develop at rapid rates, too. In 1975, as against 1970, the production of the light and food-stuffs industry would increase by 39-43 per cent.

The all-round development and the further intensification of agriculture would occupy a special place

in the 5th Five-year Plan. In 1975, as against 1970, total agricultural production would increase 65-69 per cent, at an average annual rate of 10.8 per cent, as against 5.8 per cent that it was in 1970.

The main road for the increase of the agricultural products would be by increasing the productivity of labour. In 1975, as against 1970, the yields of bread grain would increase 52 per cent. In order to achieve this, the task was laid down that an average of 23 quintals of wheat per hectare and 30 quintals of maize per hectare should be taken in from all the sown area on a republic scale.

In the framework of the struggle for the further narrowing of the essential differences between town and countryside, the directives of the 5th Five-year Plan envisaged the well-being in the countryside should be raised at rates relatively higher than in the town. The decision of the CC of the Party and the Council of Ministers on the establishment of the pension system for the cooperativist peasantry, with contributions by the state, served this end. Another measure to this effect was the cancelling of credits amounting to 130 million leks given to the peasantry for the electrification of the countryside.

The volume of fundamental investments would be much greater than those made until then in our country. It would amount to 16 billion leks, which exceeded the volume of investments made during 21 years taken together (1946-1966).

The Party linked the rapid-rate development of the economy closely with its objectives for the ceaseless raising of the material and cultural level of the people. The real per capita income of the population would increase by 14-17 per cent, whereas the income of the cooperativist peasantry would increase twice as much. Large funds were allocated to the further development of education, art, culture

and health service. In 1975, the number of pupils and students was envisaged to reach to about 870 thousand, or 18 per cent more than in 1970. The pre-school education would develop in extent, including twice as many children as before. Special attention was devoted to the training of higher cadres whose number would be 20 thousand, or about three times as many as in the 4th Five-year Plan. During the five-year plan the number of health institutions would increase considerably, and there would be one physician per 850 inhabitants, against 1,180 that it was before. The building of the television centre, the extension of the activity of the Film Studio, the setting up of the new polygraphic combine, the building of a series of houses of culture and the increased state aid for the spread of culture in the countryside, would serve to boost culture among the broad masses.

The great work for the implementation of the directives of the 6th Congress called for the all-sided mobilization of the working class, the technical-scientific forces and all the working people in the giants of industry: the metallurgical combine at Elbasan, the hydro-power station at Fierza, the plant for the deep processing of oil at Ballsh.

The metallurgical combine at Elbasan, with 15 plants, factories and auxiliary production departments, and a processing capacity of 800 thousand tons of iron-nickel mineral a year, would produce about 250 thousand tons of rolled steels, as well as nickel, metallic cobalt, pig-iron, sheet metal, pipes of various sizes, copper, etc.

The setting up of this combine marked the transition from the complex processing of non-ferrous metals to the complex processing of ferrous metals. The production of steel would give a greater impulse to the engineering industry, which would prepare

the premises for the setting up of a new branch, the machine-building industry.

The complex plant for the deep processing of oil was another major project of the 5th Five-year Plan. This plant would process 1 million tons of crude oil a year. The completion of this project would enable the transition from the simple treatment of oil to its deep chemical treatment, on the basis of up-to-date technology.

Another major project of the 5th Five-year Plan was the hydro-power station at Fierza, with an installed capacity of nearly 550,000 kW, which was greater than the capacity of all the hydro-power stations built until then, including that at Vau i Dejës which was the first hydro-power station built on the Drin River. The 166 m high dam of this hydro-power station, with a 400 m long crown, is the highest dam of this type in Europe and one of the highest in the world. The study, designing and construction of the hydro-power station at Fierza involved major difficulties and a series of complicated technical problems which were overcome and solved with success. In this process, the workers and specialists were openly confronted with the sabotage activity of the Chinese revisionists who, under various pretexts, deliberately delayed the delivery of the materials and machinery due under contract to the Albanian side, insisted on the suspension of work on important sections of the hydro-power station at Fierza and strove without success to spread a spirit of defeatism and demobilization.

In the field of agriculture the government took a series of other measures in order to hasten the economic development of the agricultural cooperatives in the hilly and mountainous zones. The essence of these measures consisted in the extension of the irrigable area, in the breaking in of new land and

their systematization at more rapid rates, in the rapid development of fruit-growing.

In the context of the development of the countryside and the narrowing of the essential differences between town and countryside, the state met the expenditure for the socio-cultural and health services and for construction of buildings for them.

An important measure for the development of the countryside was the setting up of higher-type cooperatives in the plains. In these cooperatives the state participated with non-repayable funds and means. Some of the forms of organization, management and distribution in them were closer to those applied in the state sector.

The first higher-type agricultural cooperatives were set up in 1971. In 1973 there were 25 and at the end of 1975 — 50 of them. They occupied 23 per cent of the arable area of all the cooperativist sector and produced 25 per cent of the cereals, 40 per cent of the sunflower, more than 50 per cent of the rice and cotton, etc.

The setting up of the higher-type cooperatives, which was a new experience, marked a step forward to bringing the group property closer to the property of the whole people and gave a new impulse to the development of agriculture. It created favourable conditions for the complete construction of socialism in the countryside.

Despite the difficult circumstances, the tasks set by the 6th Congress for the development of the economy and culture were generally carried out with success. This marked a further step in the complete construction of socialism in our country.

In 1975 the social product grew by 37 per cent, at an average annual rate of 6.5 per cent, whereas the national income by 38 per cent, at an average annual rate of 6.7 per cent. These growth rates were three times as

high as the rates of the increase of the population.

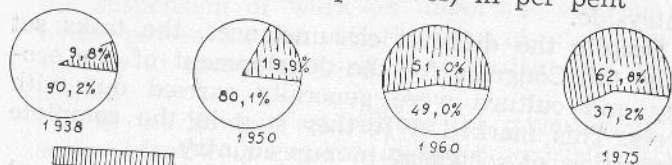
In the 5th Five-year Plan new achievements were made in the socialist industrialization of the country. In 1975, industrial production increased 52 per cent, at an average annual rate of 8.7 per cent, and accounted for about 65 per cent of the overall industrial and agricultural production, compared to 1970.

The engineering industry developed at rates higher than the other branches of industry. Now it turned out spare parts, various machinery and equipment which fulfilled the needs of the other branches of industry and agriculture. In 1975 the hydro-power stations generated 59.2 per cent of the total output of the electrical power. In the 5th Five-year Plan important steps were made towards applying nuclear physics in the technology of various sectors and branches of the economy.

In this five-year plan the hydro-power station at Vau i Dejës, Shkodra district, the Elbasan-Prrenjas railway, the factory of woollen cloths in Tirana, etc., came into full production.

The light industry succeeded in meeting 85 per cent of the needs for mass consumer goods.

Total industrial and agricultural production
(at 1976 prices, without reckoning the industrial output of agricultural cooperatives) in per cent



Total industrial production
Total agricultural production

In some branches of industry, the tasks were not carried out in conformity with the decisions of the 6th Congress of the Party. This was because of various shortcomings and weaknesses of an organizational character, the method and style of work in the management and administration of the economy, the damage caused by the plotters Abdyl Këllezi, Koço Theodhosi and others in the economic sector, especially in the sector of oil, as well as the obstacles raised by the Chinese leadership.

The agricultural production increased at an average rate of nearly 6 per cent. In 1975, the number of tractors (in 15 HP) increased 54 per cent. The irrigable area occupied nearly 50 per cent of the arable land and, as against 1970, 41 per cent more chemical fertilizers were used and 90 thousand hectares of new land were put under cultivation.

The state agricultural enterprises and the higher-type cooperatives respectively gave 37-50 and 60 per cent of such products as bread grain, cotton, sunflower, sugar-beet, citruses, milk, meat, etc.

Despite the successes achieved, the tasks envisaged by the 6th Congress for agriculture were not fully realized. This was a result of the influence of the manifestations of liberalism and technocratism on the part of the leading cadres of the Ministry of Agriculture and the sabotage work of the enemy group in the economy. Consequently, there were pronounced weaknesses in the scientific planning, a weak work was done in the systematization of land and irrigation projects, maize, sheep and goats, draft animals, fruit-growing, etc., were underrated, and the advanced experience in agriculture was not generalized.

Noteworthy results were achieved in the fields of education and culture. More than 12,500 students graduated from higher schools and more than 72,000

students graduated from secondary schools. In 1975 about 30 in 100 people went to school. By sticking to the three components of education — lessons, production work, physical and military training, the school raised the revolutionary education of the pupils and students to a higher level. The cultural-artistic activity made qualitative changes regarding the strengthening of its class and national character, and its spread on a mass scale by purging itself of the liberal-bourgeois and revisionist influences. An important event in the cultural-scientific life of the country was the setting up of the Academy of Sciences, the most important centre of scientific research, in 1972.

The scientific life of the country was enlivened, apart from other things, with the organization of conferences and congresses on studies of important problems of the country. The National Conference of Social Studies, which dwelt on different aspects of the cardinal problem of the socialist construction — the strengthening of the leading role of the working class and the perfecting of the Party-class-masses relations, held its proceedings in June 1972 in Tirana. The First Colloquium of Illyrian Studies, which contributed to the clarification of the problem of the formation and development of the Illyrian ethnos, was convened in September and the Congress of Orthography of the Albanian language, which was held in November of the same year after the broad popular discussion of the draft of «The Rules of the Orthography of the Albanian Language», adopted the unified orthography of the national literary language. Participating in this Congress were also representatives of the Albanian population of Kosova, Macedonia and Montenegro, as well as of the Arbëreshi of Italy, who made their invaluable contribution to the esta-

ishment of the orthography of the common mother tongue.

Important achievements in the field of literature and arts were made with the novels «Great Winter» by Ismail Kadare, «The Man with the Gun» by Dritëro Agolli, «The Face-up» by Teodor Laço, «The Fall of Idols», by Skënder Drini; the poem «Mother Albania», by Dritëro Agolli, the volume of poetry «The Time» by Ismail Kadare; the feature films «The Lass of Mountains», «White Roads», «Four Songs to the Party», «The Newest Town in the World»; the opera «The Commissar», composed by Nikolla Zoraqi, and with the organization of the National Folklore Festival of Gjirokastra, in 1973, the opening of the new Gallery of Figurative Arts in Tirana, etc.

The growth of the social product and the development of culture led to the raising of the people's well-being. The real per capita income of the population increased by 14.5 per cent. While implementing the task set by the 6th Congress to increase the income of the rural population at more rapid rates than that of the urban population, the real income of the peasantry increased by 20.5 per cent, whereas those of the urban population by 8.7 per cent.

Another indication of the raising of the people's well-being was the increase of social consumption at rates higher than the increase in the fund of direct wages. The total fund of social consumption in 1975 was 2.1 times greater than in 1965. The circulation of goods in this five-year plan increased by 35 per cent. The prices of mass consumer goods did not rise despite the negative influence of the economic-financial crisis of the capitalist-revisionist world. In this five-year plan housing of the population was improved and all villages were linked with telephone lines. The health network was further extended with health centres in nearly all agricultural cooperatives.

3. The International Relations of the PR of Albania

On the basis of the orientations of the 6th Congress of the Party, the People's Republic of Albania was for the strengthening of friendship with the People's Republic of China, and for the continuation of the joint struggle against imperialism and revisionism.

However, China had never remained firmly on the positions of Marxism-Leninism and had toed a line wavering sometimes to the left and sometimes to the right, failing to consider the international problems from the revolutionary class stand-point.

With the visit of the President of the USA, Nixon, to China in 1971, China actually abandoned the struggle on two fronts, against American imperialism and Soviet social-imperialism, and adopted the course of hostility to the Soviets and friendship with the Americans. Henceforth, China was joining the dance of imperialist alliances and rivalries for the division of the world, with a view to becoming a third superpower.

The change in the Chinese strategy towards rapprochement with American imperialism was sanctioned by the 10th Congress of the Communist Party of China (CPC), held in April 1974, and by the proclamation of the anti-Marxist counter-revolutionary theory of the «three worlds» in February 1975, which the Chinese leaders wanted to impose on the Marxist-Leninist communist movement and on all the peoples of the world. Proceeding from this «theory» China began to pursue a pragmatic policy and «to unite with the US imperialists and the monopolists of Europe, with fascists and racists, kings and feudal lords, most rabid militarists and war-mongers. Pino-

chet and Franco, the former nazi generals of the German Wehrmacht and the Japanese imperial army, dyed-in-the-wool criminals like Mobutu and blood-thirsty kings; American bosses and presidents of multinational companies became its allies.»*

Seeing this dangerous turn-about in the foreign policy of China, on August 6, 1971 the CC of the PLA addressed a long letter to the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China, in which it expressed its resolute opposition to this policy which ran counter to the interests of the People's China itself, the revolution and socialism. The Chinese leadership, firm in its intention to continue the anti-Marxist course it had chosen and fearing a confrontation, did not reply to the letter of the PLA. However, it was quick to react. It produced several absurd reasons not to send its delegation to the 6th Congress of the PLA, made its contacts with the PLA ever rarer, and refused a visit to China by a top-level delegation of the Party and the government of the PRA for comradely talks on the ideological and political divergences which had emerged. The Chinese functionaries began to adopt cold stands towards Albania.

China began to restrict its relations with Albania at a time when it was extending them with Rumania and Yugoslavia, and was working out a plan for the creation of a Rumanian-Yugoslav-Albanian military alliance which should serve the Chinese leadership as an instrument to achieve its aims to the detriment of the Soviet Union.

In order to bring the PRA to its knees, the Chi-

* *Letter of the CC of the Party of Labour and the Government of Albania to the CC of the Communist Party and the Government of China*, «8 Nëntori» Publishing House, Tirana 1978, pp. 47-48, Eng. ed.

nese revisionists began to set up the economic blockade against it in 1971-1975. They reduced trade with Albania to a minimum. In 1975 the Albanian imports from China showed a deficit of 40 million yuan, at a time when China's export for the same year was fully realized. Of the 35 projects that were to be built in the course of the 5th Five-year Plan with Chinese aid, only 15 were built, while the rest were postponed to the 6th Five-year Plan. In 1975, when the 6th Five-year Plan was under discussion, China accorded Albania only 25 per cent of the credit requested. In this credit the Chinese had included military items and the 20 projects not realized under the concluded agreements.

The political and economic pressure of the Chinese revisionists became more concrete also with the military-economic plot of the hostile groups headed by Beqir Balluku and Abdyl Këllezi.*

After the liquidation of the hostile groups and as a result of the resolute Marxist-Leninist stand of our country in its internal and external policy, the Chinese revisionists deepened the political and ideological differences and worsened the relations with the People's Republic of Albania more and more.

In this period, too, Albania devoted special care to the relations with the neighbouring countries. Dwelling on the relations among the Balkan states, the security and peace in this zone, in the 6th Congress Enver Hoxha called on these countries not to permit the imperialists, social-imperialists and the chauvinist cliques to turn the Balkans into a «powder keg» as they had done in the past. Albania was in favour of developing friendship without interfering into one another's internal affairs, and prohibiting activities

* Enver Hoxha, *Reflections on China*, vol. 2, «8 Nëntori» Publishing House, Tirana 1979, pp. 305-306, Eng. ed.

detrimental to the interests of the neighbouring countries in their respective territories.

Despite the irreconcilable ideological differences, relations with Yugoslavia developed in this spirit. In these years, trade exchanges were also extended. In May 1971, the agreement on the exchange of goods for 1971-1975 between the PR of Albania and the government of the SFR of Yugoslavia was signed. In this period, as in the past, questions that had to do with the exploitation of waters were solved in bilateral talks. The educational and cultural-sports relations especially with the Autonomous Socialist Region of Kosova were extended.

In these years steps forward were made towards the normalization of relations with Greece, which led to the establishment of diplomatic relations between the PRA and Greece in 1971. The establishment of relations with Greece was an important event which put an end to an abnormal situation existing from the end of the Second World War and served the strengthening of peace and security in the Balkans.

With the establishment of diplomatic relations, trade relations and exchanges began between the two countries. In October 1972 the trade agreement for 1973-1975 between Albania and Greece was signed.

Good relations existed also with Italy. In 1971-1972 the agreements for trade exchanges between the two countries proceeded normally. In November 1972 a long-term trade agreement was signed between them.

The PRA extended its trade relations also with other countries of the Balkans: Bulgaria, Rumania and Turkey.

In the implementation of the orientations of the 6th Congress for its foreign policy, the Albanian government exposed the «peaceful offensive» which

the superpowers had launched in order to disguise their aggressive plans and new plots against the peoples.

In the framework of this «peaceful offensive» on the initiative of the Soviet Union, it was decided to convene inside 1972 a pan-European conference on «questions of European security and collaboration», in which the USA and Canada, also, would participate.

In the reply of the Government of the PRA of November 18, 1972, to the memorandum of the Republic of Finland of November 9, 1972, regarding the preparatory meeting of the «general conference on European security and collaboration», once again it expressed its view that the aggressive expansionist policy of the USA and the Soviet Union, as well as West-German revanchism constituted the main danger to peace and security in Europe.* If ever, it was precisely against these that the peoples of Europe should be secured.

Consequently, Albania refused to participate in the conference on «European security» which began its work in Helsinki on July 3, 1973.

The PRA supported the heroic war of Vietnam and greeted its victory over the American imperialist aggressors and their servants. The Albanian delegation to UNO supported the demand and incontestable right of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam and the Republic of South Vietnam to membership in this organization. It backed up the national liberation struggle of the peoples of Guinea-Bissau, Angola and Mozambique, and the peoples of Zimbabwe and Namibia. The Albanian government condemned the two-faced policy and the expansionist aims of the two imperialist superpowers and their anti-Arab plans

* *Zëri i popullit*, November 21, 1972.

in the Middle East. It forcefully condemned the military coup in Chile and the tense situation created in Cyprus by the two superpowers.

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* * *

During the years 1971-1975 socialist Albania extended its relations with other countries. Diplomatic relations were established with more countries of Latin America such as Chile, Peru, Costa Rica, Argentine, Mexico, Venezuela, and of Africa and Asia such as Iran, Nepal, Equatorial Guinea, Senegal, Nigeria, Cameroun, Tunisia, Burundi, Lebanon, Benin, Guinea-Bissau, Gabon, Laos, Mozambique. In Europe, besides Greece, it established diplomatic relations with Norway, Luxemburg, and Malta.

CONCLUSION

The period from 1976 to 1980 is characterized by three events of historic importance: the 7th Congress of the PLA, which defined the roads and tasks for the further development of the socialist construction and the continuous strengthening of the dictatorship of the proletariat in Albania; the approval of the Constitution of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania by the People's Assembly; and the struggle of the PLA to expose the betrayal by the Chinese revisionists.

The 7th Congress of the PLA, called on the eve of the 35th anniversary of its founding, on November 1-7, 1976, drew up the balance-sheet of the victories achieved, summed up the rich revolutionary experience accumulated by the Party and the working masses in the period between two Congresses, and endorsed the directives of the 6th Five-year Plan.

As always, the development, strengthening and modernization of industry, especially of the heavy industry, would occupy the central place in the development of the socialist economy. The overall industrial production would increase by 41-44 per cent, giving priority to the production of the means of production, as before. The total volume of industrial production in this five-year plan was estimated to be

greater than that realized in the four five-year plans, 1951-1970.

The 6th Five-year Plan would mark the creation and development of the ferrous metallurgy and the further development of the non-ferrous metallurgy. The setting up of the industry of ferro-chrome, pyrometallurgy and copper rolling, which constitutes one of the main features of the five-year plan, would further raise the level of processing of the mineral raw materials locally, thus opening new perspectives to the increase of industrial production with very important articles.

Complete self-sufficiency in bread grain and the increase of reserves of them was defined as the main objective of agriculture. The total agricultural production was envisaged to increase by 38-41 per cent. It would be nearly equal to the agricultural production of the first three five-year plans, 1951-1965.

The 6th Five-year Plan marked another important step ahead in the development of education, culture and science. The deepening of the process of the revolutionization of school, the complete harmonization of the three components of education: lessons—productive work — physical and military training, were the main task of the educational activity.

Socialist culture and arts would develop in breadth and depth and their proletarian partisanship and popular and national character would be strengthened.

The scientific-research activity would be transformed into a general method that must pervade and precede all activities and give effective help in the solution of the problems of the construction of socialism and the defence of the Homeland.

In drawing the balance-sheet of all the work done for drafting the new Constitution and its discussion by the people, the 7th Congress examined this document with priority, assessed it as a great historic

victory of the Party and the Albanian people, as a juridical document of special importance and great value, on which the social and cultural development of the country in the stage of the complete construction of the socialist society would be based.

On December 28, 1976, in the 5th Session of the 8th Legislature, the Draft-Constitution was examined by the People's Assembly which endorsed it unanimously and definitively. Therefrom, the new Constitution came into force.

While sanctioning the victories attained and the trends of the development of Albania on the road to the complete construction of the socialist society, the new Constitution gives the maximum scope to the development of the productive forces and the relations of production, opens the road of the emancipation and the revolutionary education of the new man, the further strengthening of the socialist order and the dictatorship of the proletariat, and creates the best possible conditions for the country on its advance to communism. In this sense, it is not only a juridical document, but also a program of struggle and work for the future.

Summing up the line and experience of the Party in the field of the development and deepening of the revolution, the new Constitution «also sanctions the juridical, political, ideological and economic provisions to bar the way to revisionism and the restoration of capitalism. In this respect, our Constitution is a valuable creative contribution of the Party of Labour of Albania to the theory and practice of scientific socialism.»*

Under the new Constitution the Albanian state

* Enver Hoxha, *Report to the 7th Congress of the PLA*, «8 Nëntori» Publishing House, Tirana 1976, p. 16, Eng. ed.

is named the People's Socialist Republic of Albania (PSRA). This name not only reflects the class content of the Albanian state, its social base more precisely, but also preserves its connection with the name of the state which the previous Constitution sanctioned as the People's Republic.

The new Constitution does not conceal its open class character. It proclaims and sanctions the PSRA as a state of the dictatorship of the proletariat which expresses the interests of all the working people; defines the PLA as the vanguard of the working class, the only political leading force of the state and society; sanctions Marxism-Leninism as the ruling ideology on the basis of which the entire social order develops; describes the class struggle as the main driving force to ensure the final victory of the socialist road over the capitalist road, to achieve the complete construction of socialism and communism.

The new Constitution reflects the profoundly democratic character of the Albanian state of the dictatorship of the proletariat.

The new Constitution states clearly that the state power is an indivisible whole, that the working people exercise it through the representative organs, the People's Assembly and the people's councils, as well as in a direct manner. No one else apart from the organs expressly defined in this Constitution can exercise the sovereignty of the people and any of its attributes in the name of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania.

All the other state organs carry out their activity under the direction and control of the representative organs and render account to them.

While taking account of the great importance of the principle of democratic centralism for the socialist society, the Constitution sanctions that «the organization of the state and state activity, all the politi-

cal and economic life in the PSR of Albania» are based on this principle and develop according to it.

The fundamental rights and duties of citizens such as equality before the law, irrespective of sex, race, nationality, education or social position, the right to work, to education, and medical services free of charge, freedom of speech, the press, organization and public manifestations, the equality of woman with man, etc., which are ensured under the law and guaranteed in practice, find a clear reflection in the new Constitution.

The harmonization of the personal interests with the interests of society, as a distinguishing feature of the socialist society, is among the most important principles of the Constitution. «The rights and duties of citizens are built on the basis of the reconciliation of the interests of the individual and the socialist society, giving priority to the general interest.»

The line of the Party concerning the major questions of national sovereignty and the defence of the country's freedom and independence, which in the conditions when all-round political, ideological, economic and military pressure is exercised on Albania, assume great importance, is fully reflected and clearly formulated in the new Constitution. The defence of the country is defined as the supreme duty of and the greatest honour for all citizens, whereas treason of the country as the most serious crime. The defence of the country is ensured by the armed people, the main striking force of whom is the People's Army. The armed forces are led by the Party of Labour of Albania. The First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Party is their Commander-in-Chief, and at the same time, Chairman of the Defence Council.

Proceeding from the goal of defending the Homeland and the gains of the revolution, the Constitution sanctions that the territory of the PSRA is inalien-

able and its borders inviolable. It states that «No one has the right to sign or accept in the name of the PSR of Albania the capitulation or occupation of the country. Any such act is considered as treason to the Homeland.» Likewise, the Constitution prohibits the establishment of foreign military bases and the stationing of foreign troops in the territory of the Albanian state.

Of great importance for safeguarding the independence of the country and the socialist order is the provision of the new Constitution prohibiting the granting of concessions, the setting up of foreign economic and financial companies and other institutions or ones formed jointly with bourgeois and revisionist capitalist monopolies and states, as well as obtaining credits from them.

The Constitution sanctions the principle of self-reliance as one of its most important principles.

The Constitution also stipulates the fundamental principles of the foreign policy of the Albanian state which, in the international relations, adheres resolutely to Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism.

The Constitution contains a series of other principles and norms, which underlie the foundations of the construction and functioning of the entire economic and social, political, and spiritual life.

«The new Constitution,» Comrade Enver Hoxha said at the Congress, «provides a reflection of a true socialist society, built according to the teachings of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin, embodied in and borne out by the revolutionary practice of our country.»*

The Congress had a wide international response.

Comrade Enver Hoxha described the participation of many delegations of the Marxist-Leninist parties

* Enver Hoxha, *Report to the 7th Congress of the PLA «8 Nëntori»* Publishing House, Tirana 1976, p. 29, Eng. ed.

in the Congress, the support they gave the PLA for the construction of socialism, their assessment of its struggle against imperialism and social-imperialism, modern revisionism and reaction, as a great revolutionary encouragement.

The Congress exposed modern revisionism of all hues, and dwelt especially on the criticism against the anti-Marxist views and stands of the Chinese revisionism. Although the Congress did not address it by name for tactical reasons, it openly expressed the opinion of the PLA against the reactionary theory of the «three worlds».

Along with the mounting all-round pressure by the imperialists, social-imperialists and others on socialist Albania, in the period 1976-1978 the anti-Albanian activity of the Chinese leadership assumed broad proportions.

In order to subjugate the PLA and the Albanian state, the Chinese revisionists raised many serious difficulties and obstacles for the fulfilment of the 6th Five-year Plan. Under various trumped-up excuses, they recalled some of their specialists who worked in Albania, slowed down the rates of work and, especially, postponed the setting up of the industrial projects such as the metallurgical combine at Elbasan, the plant for the deep processing of oil at Ballsh (Fier district), the hydro-power plant at Fierza, etc., which were planned to be built with the aid of China.

The Party and the Albanian government made efforts to preserve their friendship with China in a Marxist-Leninist way, and to ensure that the relations between the two countries developed in a correct and completely equal manner and that trade was conducted as between equals.

However, the Chinese leadership went on with their anti-Albanian policy which assumed more pronounced features, especially, after the 7th Congress.

The Central Committee of the Party of Labour of Albania had long ago taken the necessary measures to cope with this new situation that was being created. Just as the PLA foresaw, the events in China evolved rapidly. On July 7, 1978 the Chinese government informed the Albanian government of its calculated decision to immediately stop its economic and military aid, to recall all the Chinese specialists who were working in Albania up till then.

The Central Committee of the Party and the Government of the PSR of Albania responded to this act with a letter addressed to the CC of the CP of China and the Chinese Government on July 29. They denounced the cessation of aid and loans to socialist Albania by China as a reactionary act from great-power positions, which was a repetition, in content and in form, of the savage chauvinist methods of the Yugoslav and Soviet revisionists.

The unilateral act of the Chinese government was an arbitrary violation of the elementary international rules and norms, an hostile act which they took to damage the economy and the defence capacity of the country and to attack the cause of the revolution and socialism in Albania.

The true reasons for the breach of the relations of economic and military collaboration with Albania, on the part of the Chinese government, were not merely of a technical character, as the note of July 7, 1978, of the Chinese government made out, on the contrary, they were of a profoundly political and ideological character. This act was the logical consequence of the complete departure «of the Chinese leadership from Marxism-Leninism and the principles of proletarian internationalism, of its rapprochement to and collaboration with American imperialism, the international bourgeoisie and reaction, of its renunciation of aid to and support for the revolutionary and liber-

ation forces in the international arena, of China's intentions to become an imperialist superpower.»*

This course of the Chinese leadership, which went through a zigzag process, had encountered the continuous opposition of the PLA; this had given rise to serious ideological and political contradictions which had been gradually growing worse between the PLA and CP of China.

In the ideological and political differences and contradictions with the PLA, in the failure of the attempts of the Chinese leadership to impose its line on the PLA, lay the real cause of the decision to cut off aid and credits to Albania. «Having failed to subdue socialist Albania,» the Letter of the CC of the PLA and the Government of the PSRA pointed out, «the Chinese leadership is now seeking to avenge itself and harm the construction of socialism in Albania. In so doing, it is revealing its anti-Marxist and counter-revolutionary countenance even more clearly.»**

The Letter acquainted world opinion also with the truth about the economic relations between Albania and China, pointing out that the Chinese revisionists presented things in a tendentious and distorted light. The Chinese note exaggerated the economic and military aid, alleging that it had a decisive effect in the development of Albania, as if the development of the country was the result of this aid and due to the Chinese specialists, when it is well known that the total value of the Chinese credits amounted to quite a small percentage of the national income

* *Letter of the CC of the Party of Labour and the Government of Albania to the CC of the Communist Party and the Government of China*, «8 Nëntori» Publishing House, Tirana 1978, p. 19, Eng. ed.

** *Ibidem*, p. 52.

of the PSR of Albania. Apart from this, the aid was not charity but credits, bilateral obligations deriving from agreements concluded between the two countries according to the desires and interests of both sides and recognized international practice of relations between sovereign states. The Chinese side had breached these agreements.

The Central Committee of the PLA and the Government of the PSRA publicly declared that the plans of the development of Albania, laid down by the Party, including also those projects which the Chinese left incomplete, as well as other new projects, would be carried out in all directions, relying on the selfless work and determination of the Albanian people.

From 1978, with the complete cessation of economic and military aid and credits on the part of China, Albania was the only country which was building socialism relying entirely on its own forces, without any kind of aid or credits from abroad, without external and internal debts.

The imperialist and revisionist propaganda tried with all its means to exercise pressure on and to hide the truth about Albania describing it as an isolated country which could not advance without the economic and military backing of a great power. It was the same story repeating itself, the same allegation which was first made when the PLA began the struggle against the Yugoslav revisionists and later against the Soviet revisionists. The same thing happened again when it denounced the Chinese revisionists and the reactionary theory of Mao Zedong thought.

Contrary to all forecasts, the Party of Labour of Albania and the Albanian people set to work for the uninterrupted construction of socialism in Albania, resolutely applying the Leninist thesis that socialism can be built even in one single country under encirclement. The Party knew the difficulties which resul-

ted from the hostile activity of the Chinese leaders and did not conceal them. It had forestalled the evil long ago, and this had a decisive role in coping with the difficulties. In 1978, when China cut off the envisaged aid and credits, Albania had such economic and military capacity which made the continuation of the construction of socialism at normal rhythms, relying only on its own human forces and material resources, completely possible.

Thanks to the persistent work of the builders, in October-November 1978, the «Light of the Party» hydro-power plant at Fierza, a part of the «Steel of the Party» metallurgical combine at Elbasan, the «Enver Hoxha» automobile and tractor combine, the oil deep-processing plant at Ballsh, were inaugurated. Besides these, the iron-nickel mine and the iron-nickel enrichment plant at Guri i Kuq (Pogradec), the paper factory at Lezha, the coal mine at Valias (Tirana), two great brigades over the Drin River at Kukës, the ferro-chromium plant at Burrel, the copper-smelting plant at Laç (Kruja), the Prrenjas-Guri i Kuq railway, hundreds of new production lines and workshops, flood-protection and irrigation projects, socio-cultural buildings, etc., were built.

The major victories achieved by the People's Socialist Republic of Albania in all fields, in the conditions of the imperialist-revisionist blockade and encirclement, are new evidence of the correctness of the internal and external policy of the PLA and the Albanian socialist state, of the Party-people steel unity, of the high political consciousness of the working masses and their readiness and mobilization for the complete construction of the socialist society and securing the defence of the Homeland.

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