

**REPORT TO THE 4th CONGRESS OF THE PLA¹
«ON THE ACTIVITY OF THE CENTRAL
COMMITTEE OF THE PARTY OF
LABOUR OF ALBANIA»**

(Extracts)

February 13, 1961

Dear Comrades,

With a feeling of legitimate pride, the Albanian communists and all the Albanian people have their hearts and attention focussed on the 4th Congress of the Party of Labour of Albania, which is opening its proceedings today.

1 The 4th Congress of the PLA was held in Tirana from February 13 to 20, 1961. The report delivered to this Congress by Comrade Enver Hoxha made a thorough scientific Marxist-Leninist analysis of the activity of the Party from its 3rd Congress. The Congress drew the balance-sheet of the results achieved in the political, economic and cultural fields, and correctly defined the paths of the future development.

Basing itself on the radical socio-economic changes in the country, the Congress reached the conclusion that *in the PR of Albania the economic base of socialism had been built* both in city and countryside, and adopted important decisions which opened up great prospects to our country. It went down in history as the Congress which *initiated a new stage in the development of the country, the stage of the complete construction of the socialist society*, and prepared the Party for an all-out ideological offensive on modern revisionism. The Congress approved the directives of the 3rd Five-year Plan for the economic and cultural development of the country.

This Congress is another very important event in the glorious history of our heroic Party and our marvellous people. The Congress will discuss and approve the directives of the 3rd Five-year Plan for the further development of the economy and culture, will open up new roads and perspectives of even greater prosperity to our people and will make our beloved socialist Homeland stronger.

The 4th Congress is meeting in the twentieth anniversary of the founding of our glorious Party. Twenty years have gone by since those difficult days for our Homeland, when our Marxist-Leninist Party, born from the bosom of our suffering but brave and dauntless people, was founded. Our country was being ravaged, our people had risen against enslavement by fascist invaders, Hitler's nazi hordes were at the gates of glorious Moscow; Leningrad, the cradle of the Great October Revolution, was besieged and in great peril. The infant born from the bosom of the people in Tirana on November 8, 1941 did not delay one single day, but raised its steel fist and struck mercilessly at the fascists and traitors. It took the banner of the fight for freedom in its steel hands, raised the fighting traditions of our people to new heights, revived the glorious epic of the times of Skanderbeg and the National Renaissance with a new splendour, guided and led our heroic people to total victory over the nazi-fascist invaders and local traitors, gave our Homeland genuine freedom and sovereignty, gave it honour and dignity, gave it security and great confidence in its own strength, forged the everlasting friendship between the Albanian people and the fraternal peoples of the Soviet Union, who helped us in the liberation of our country, between the Albanian people and the fraternal peoples of China and of the other countries of people's democracy of the socialist camp. The people's revolution was carried out successfully and it opened the most glorious epoch in the thousands of years of our history,

the epoch of the construction of socialism and communism in Albania.

In fire and flame, in suffering and toil, in joys and victories, people and Party became a single indivisible whole. The history of the Party during these twenty years is the history of the Albanian people themselves; the struggles of the Party are the struggles of the people, just as its victories are the victories of the people. People and Party are bound together in our country like flesh to bone. This is the greatest victory, this is the greatest guarantee of the happy future for our Homeland. The Party, which is guided in its work and struggle by Marxism-Leninism, achieved those victories. These victories were attained at the cost of the bloodshed and sacrifice of tens of thousands of men and women partisans who covered themselves with glory in bloody battles and fell fighting for the liberty of our Homeland, for democracy, for socialism, for communism...

THE RESULTS OF SOCIALIST CONSTRUCTION IN OUR COUNTRY

Dear Comrades,

The construction of socialism in our country, this is the sacred aim to the achievement of which our talented people, the heroic working class, the working peasantry and our people's intelligentsia, who under the leadership of our glorious Party have completely changed the face of our country, in the literal meaning of this expression, have dedicated all their creative activity. Reporting to the Party and the people, we note with satisfaction that as a result of the successful and loyal application of the economic and political general line of our Marxist-Leninist Party for the construction of socialism, *our country is now entering a new stage, the stage of the complete construction of socialist society, the stage of turning our country from an agrarian-industrial into an industrial-agrarian one.*

If we recall the bitter past of our country, the great hardships and obstacles, the valiant struggle full of self-sacrifice which our working people have waged during these post-Liberation years, then the importance of the stage reached in the development of our society, the heroism of our glorious people, the merit of our Party of Labour, which as an experienced captain, guided by our compass,

2 The 1st chapter of the report deals with the international situation and the foreign policy of the PRA.

Marxism-Leninism, set our country on the course of knowledge and progress, will stand out ever more clearly.

A. — THE SUCCESSFUL CONSTRUCTION OF THE ECONOMIC BASE OF SOCIALISM

The decisive conditions for the development of our country on the road to socialism were created in November 1944, when, after the triumph of the people's revolution, its main strategic task was solved: political power passed completely into the hands of the working class and the working masses, led by the Party of Labour of Albania. The profound revolutionary economic and social transformations carried out by the people's power after the country's liberation, such as the nationalization of industry, transport, the banks, foreign trade and internal wholesale trade, led to the establishment of public ownership of the main means of production and circulation, and created the first economic possibilities to begin the construction of the new socialist society.

The transition of our country from a semi-feudal situation and technical-economic backwardness directly to the building of socialism, leaving out the stage of developed industrial capitalism, set before our Party, as one of its most vital and urgent tasks, the creation of industry through the socialist industrialization and electrification of the country.

«... Big industry,» says V. I. Lenin, speaking of its role in the building of socialist society, *«is the base for the transition to socialism and from the viewpoint of the state of productive forces, i.e., from the viewpoint of the fundamental criterion of all social development, constitutes the foundation of the socialist economic*

*organization, by uniting the advanced industrial workers, uniting the class which exercises the dictatorship of the proletariat.**

In formulating and applying the policy of socialist industrialization, the Party proceeded from the concrete conditions of our country, from the internal possibilities, the natural resources, the economic co-operation among the socialist countries. Under the new historical conditions, for our small country with limited possibilities in human forces and material and financial means, the creation of all branches of industry has not been possible. The high rates of growth in industrial production, the creation and development of a number of branches of heavy industry, giving priority to the mining industry, the development, alongside it, of light industry, are some of the salient features of the socialist industrialization of our country.

Under the correct leadership of the Party, with the mobilization, creative work and self-sacrifice of the masses of working people of town and countryside, we have now created a new industry, with modern equipment. Albania has been converted into an agrarian-industrial country. This is a great historic victory of our Party and people on the road to the creation of the material-technical base of socialism, the further expansion and strengthening of the productive forces of our country and socialist relations of production.

Parallel with this, the Party has waged a resolute struggle and has pursued a consistent Leninist policy for the collectivization of agriculture, which was crowned with the creation of the economic base of socialism in the countryside, too. Our peasantry, with unwavering faith in the Party, embraced the road of collectivization and is proceeding

* V. I. Lenin, Collected Works, vol. 32, pp. 270-271 (Alb. ed.).

along this road resolutely and voluntarily, fully convinced of the superiority of the collective economy over the small individual economy. Today, in our country in general, the collectivization of agriculture has been completed. The socialist sector in agriculture predominates in regard to both the area of the arable land and production for the market.

Towards the small producers in the towns, too, our Party followed a correct policy, which aimed at organizing them on the road of the socialist economy by means of their voluntary union in the artisan cooperatives. Now these cooperatives include the overwhelming majority of our craftsmen.

The socialist forms of the economy and the socialist relations of production predominate in all branches of the economy. In 1960, the socialist sector of the economy yielded about 90 per cent of the national income. Last year the socialist sector included: 99 per cent of the total industrial output, 100 per cent of the wholesale trade, 90 per cent of the retail trade, and over 80 per cent of the total agricultural production. *Thus, the multiform economy has generally disappeared in our country and in its place a single system of socialist economy has been created. Thus, the economic base of socialism has been created both in town and in countryside. The capitalist economy, the exploiting classes, and the exploitation of man by man have been abolished. With this great historic victory our country is advancing at a more rapid pace towards the further construction of the material and technical base of socialism.*

On the sound foundation of the new socialist relations of production, the dynamic development of the productive forces of the country has taken place, unemployment has been liquidated for ever, the national income has greatly increased, and the material and cultural level of the masses of working people has been steadily raised.

An integral part of our socialist revolution are the

revolutionary transformations which have been carried out in the ideological, educational, and cultural fields, as well as the great work done by the Party for the education of the workers in the spirit of socialist consciousness, for raising their technical and cultural level and training cadres of the new socialist intelligentsia.

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

Our new working class was born, grew up and has been tempered in the work for the construction of socialism. At present the workers, together with their families, account for about 22.5 per cent of the total population. But what is decisive, is the fact that our working class is no longer a politically oppressed and exploited class, as is the case with the working class under capitalism, but a class which has smashed the feudo-bourgeois state power and bureaucratic apparatus to its foundations and on its ruins has built the new state power, a leading class which holds the political power in its hands, the initiator and organizer of all the economic and social transformations which are carried out in our society, a class which is constantly raising its political, technical and cultural level.

With the re-organization of agriculture on a socialist basis in our countryside, in place of the individual peasantry, a new class — the coöperativist peasantry — has emerged and is being formed. The basis of its economy is no longer the small-scale private property, but the collective property. The source of its income and well-being is no longer individual work with primitive tools, but collective

work with advanced equipment. The further economic and organizational development and strengthening of the socialist system in the countryside will be, at the same time, the process of the development and strengthening of this class and its alliance with the working class.

In the struggle for the construction of socialism the new socialist intelligentsia, born of the people and loyal to them, has been formed. It is marching shoulder to shoulder with the working class and the cooperativist peasantry. Thanks to the educational work and the correct policy pursued by the Party, the best people from that small number of the old intelligentsia which we inherited from the past also came over to the side of the people and socialism.

Our Party has always regarded the alliance of the working class with the working peasantry as the main social force for the construction of socialism. For the consolidation of this alliance, new economic links between town and countryside in the field of circulation of goods and that of production have been established and are being constantly extended.

As can be seen, the period we have traversed during these 16 years of people's power has been a period of profound revolutionary changes carried out under the leadership of the Party. During this period we have had to overcome a series of difficulties, obstacles and contradictions. These difficulties and contradictions were increased and made more complicated because of the various imperialist plots and the brutal interference of the Yugoslav revisionists in our internal affairs, because of their hostile activity carried out in all forms against our Party and state. In overcoming them our Party has waged a stern, principled and consistent struggle against internal and foreign enemies, against the imperialists and their lackeys — the Yugoslav revisionists. At the same time, the Party has dealt resolute

blows at all the opportunists, deviators and traitors, who have attempted to undermine the work of the Party and turn it from the Marxist-Leninist course.

In all its activity for the socialist transformation of the economy the Party of Labour of Albania has applied a correct general line, has always based itself on Marxism-Leninism, and dealt with problems in a scientific way. It has remained faithful to the principles of proletarian internationalism, and has succeeded in mobilizing the broad working masses and has made them conscious builders and defenders of the new socialist society.

During this period our Party has also struggled to solve the non-antagonistic contradictions which have arisen from our progress in socialist construction, such as the contradictions between the advanced political power and the relatively low level of the productive forces, between the rapid development of industry and the lagging behind of agriculture, between the advanced equipment and the need for cadres and their level of training, between the level of production and consumption, etc. In achieving the above-mentioned victories the decisive role has been played by the great efforts, the self-sacrificing and glorious work of our heroic people, the socialist patriotism, the talent and determination of our heroic working class, the working peasantry and the people's intelligentsia, the correct line and wise, courageous, and far-sighted leadership of our Party of Labour and its creative application of the Marxist-Leninist theory in the concrete historical conditions of our country. The aid provided for our country during this period by the Soviet Union and the fraternal countries of the socialist camp has played an important role as an external factor. The Albanian people and their Party of Labour are and will always be grateful to the peoples and the communist and workers' parties of these countries for this internationalist and fraternal aid.

The history of these last 20 years has confirmed the behest of our ancestors that «freedom is not donated, it must be won with bloodshed». In the 20th century, the century of Leninism, through heroic and violent struggle, the Albanian people, unbowed through the ages, under the leadership of their glorious Party, smashed the Italian and Hitlerite fascists, overthrew and completely crushed the feudo-bourgeoisie and its state power, created the new people's state power, created the new Albania, and are successfully building socialism. It is precisely because the struggle against the imperialists, against fascism, against the feudo-bourgeoisie was waged in these forms by the Party and people for the liberation of Albania and the seizure of power, because the people worked with great revolutionary vigour for the reconstruction of our poor, war-devastated country, for the building of socialism, because we all were always on our guard to defend the people's victories that we succeeded in overcoming terrible waves and storms during these twenty years. The revolutionary impetus of the people has never stopped and it never will, the tasks set were achieved and will be achieved successfully, we smashed the enemies' heads and we shall always smash them if they try to lay a finger on our Homeland and our people. Woe to the Albanian people if we had hoped that the American, British, French and the Italian capitalists, or the Shefqet Vërlacis and Mustafa Krujas would make us a gift of freedom. Woe to our people if we had compromised and capitulated to the imperialists, if we had shown fear and vacillation towards them, if we had begged them for freedom, liberation and peace. The Marxist-Leninist line of our Party shines like the sun in spring time. Like the sun it warms our Homeland and makes it flower. The fiery rays of this sun are blinding to the enemies of our people, the enemies of Marxism-Leninism.

The 16 years of people's state power have demonstrated the truth of the universal laws of the socialist revolution, formulated by the triumphant doctrine of Marxism-Leninism. They have also confirmed the practical and real possibility of the transition of the backward countries directly from the old feudal order to socialism, leaving out the stage of developed capitalism.

**B. — THE 2nd FIVE-YEAR PLAN — AN IMPORTANT
STEP IN THE FURTHER DEVELOPMENT OF OUR
ECONOMY AND CULTURE**

In the period since the 3rd Congress of the Party of Labour of Albania, which coincides with the carrying out of the 2nd Five-year Plan, a step of historic importance has been taken in the construction of the economic base of socialism in our country.

The 3rd Congress of the Party put forward as the main task the further development of industry, especially the mining industry, chiefly on the basis of the full use of the existing productive capacities and the mobilization of internal reserves, and the rapid development of agriculture, mainly on the basis of the reorganization of agricultural production on socialist foundations. Relying on these factors, the task was put forward of achieving a further improvement of the material conditions and raising the cultural level of the working people.

Summing up the work done in these five years, our Party, with a feeling of legitimate pride, announces that in general the main tasks of the 2nd Five-year Plan was fulfilled ahead of schedule.

The volume of total industrial output set by the 3rd Congress of the Party for the 1956-1960 period was fulfilled in 4 years and 9 months, in the mining industry in 4 years

and 6 months, while the level of industrial output set for 1960 was achieved one year ahead of schedule. In 1960 the volume of total industrial production increased more than 118 per cent above that of 1955, as against 92 per cent which was the target set by the Congress, with an average annual rate of 16.9 per cent, as against 14 per cent. Production of means of production (group «A») increased at an average annual rate of 18 per cent, as against 14.8 per cent, and of consumer goods (group «B») 16 per cent, as against 13.5 per cent, which was the target. To give you a better grasp of the importance of these figures, the importance of our achievements, suffice it to mention that in 1960 the Peshkopia and Burrel districts alone produced as much as was produced in 1938 in the whole of Albania, while the city of Tirana produced more than five times as much. This is what our glorious Party and the people's power are achieving, this is what our free people are able to do.

The main task of the 3rd Congress of the Party for the collectivization of agriculture was also achieved ahead of schedule. As early as July 1960 the socialist sector included 86.3 per cent of the cultivated land. In this way, the economic base of socialism has been built in our countryside. With the achievement of this victory, which is of a great historic importance, our Party, relying on the immortal teachings of Lenin, successfully resolved one of the most difficult tasks of the transition period.

The targets set in the field of raising the people's material and cultural level were successfully fulfilled, too. The growth of industrial and agricultural production, the complete abolition of the ration card system, the repeated reductions of retail prices, etc., have greatly improved the well-being of the working people.

The mobilization and the readiness of the working masses, the taking of initiatives for the discovery

and exploitation of internal reserves and the increase to ever higher levels of the creative energies of the working people, made it possible to advance the figures of the 2nd Five-year Plan. These additions, which were approved by the plenum of the Central Committee of the Party in February 1958, played an important role in the overfulfilment of the targets of the 2nd Five-year Plan in many important branches of production.

The successful fulfilment of the 2nd Five-year Plan is the result of the great and selfless work of our heroic working class, the working peasantry and the people's intelligentsia, and the correct and wise leadership of our glorious Party of Labour...

2. - THE COLLECTIVIZATION OF AGRICULTURE IS THE GREATEST SUCCESS OF THE PARTY IN THE COUNTRYSIDE

The policy of our Party, based on the Marxist-Leninist teachings, for the socialist transformation of the countryside, was fully implemented during the first four years of the 2nd Five-year Plan. Excluding the areas of a markedly mountainous character, agricultural cooperatives have been formed in all the villages of the other areas. This is one of the most splendid achievements of our Party and our people.

The correct line of the Party on the collectivization, expressed in the well-known slogan, «We must neither be hasty, nor mark time», which was applied in the first stage, made it possible for the broad strata of poor and middle peasants to be convinced in practice of the great benefits to be derived from the organization of collective agricultural economies in comparison with the individual economies. The orientation of the December 1955 Plenum of the

CC, which was also stressed by the 3rd Congress, for speeding up the tempo of collectivization, marks the beginning of a new stage in the mass collectivization of agriculture in all the main areas of the Republic. Thus, whereas at the end of 1955 the cooperatives occupied only 14.5 per cent of the peasants' arable land, a year later they occupied 30.8 per cent. The year 1957 became the year of the great turning-point, because not only the poor peasants, but also the middle peasants began to enter the agricultural cooperatives *en masse*, and the collectivized area reached 58 per cent. In 1960, 83.2 per cent of the arable land owned by the peasantry had been collectivized. Thus, it became possible to complete the task set by the 3rd Congress of the Party one year ahead of schedule. Understanding very well this duty that the Party put before them, the communists of town and countryside, the patriots, the best activists of the Democratic Front and of the other mass organizations, the heroic working class of our country put all its strength and energy into this great work for the socialist transformation of the countryside, together with the entire working peasantry of our country, that has always loyally followed the Party, and assured this great victory of our country.

To achieve the victory of the cooperativist order in the countryside, our Party had to wage a bitter struggle against the external and internal enemies, against the kulaks, who strove to hinder the working peasantry from setting out on the socialist road by exploiting the individualist psychology of the small property-owner in the village. The kulaks tried to create distrust and hesitation among the peasants, to turn them from the right road which the Party pointed out. But all these efforts failed. Our patriotic working peasantry, with unshakeable trust in the Party and its correct line, turned from the capitalist road and followed the road of socialism. *The line of our Party*

triumphed in the countryside and once again on this occasion it was proved how correct was the line, how unbreakable was the strength and unity of the Party with the people, how politically mature was our peasant, who with conviction, resolutely took the road the Party showed him for the collectivization of agriculture, as the only right road to emerge once and for all from backwardness, and built the new life in the village.

The victory of the collectivization of agriculture in our country is another clear demonstration, verifying the correctness of the theses of V.I. Lenin on the policy which the Marxist parties must follow to put the working peasantry on the road to socialism. The Belgrade revisionist clique prattle in vain about «the specific road», through which «socialism» is allegedly being developed in the Yugoslav countryside. Only the enemies of Leninism, such as the modern revisionists, strive to deceive the masses by showing them «new roads» for the building of socialism in the countryside, whereas in fact these «new roads» not only obstruct socialism in the countryside, but contribute to the further impoverishment of the peasant, to his proletarianization, to the enrichment of the kulaks and their buying the land, and the exploitation of agricultural machinery in the interests of the kulaks alone, even though it is state owned. With these «forms», allegedly specific and new, allegedly preliminary and in preparation for future collectivization, the modern revisionists dig the grave for socialism in the countryside, strengthen the rich peasantry, and allow capitalism to grow stronger day by day in the countryside. Life has proved that the only road which assures the future of the peasantry, which rescues it for good and all from capitalist exploitation and poverty, is the road of the collectivization of agriculture...

3. - THE RISE OF THE MATERIAL WELL-BEING OF THE WORKING MASSES

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

During the years of the 2nd Five-year Plan, the rise of the material well-being and cultural level of the working people is characterized by these main indices:

At the end of 1960 the national income is estimated to be 48 per cent greater than in 1955.

Important measures have been taken to lower the retail prices of goods, to raise low wages and pensions, to increase the wholesale purchase prices of agricultural, livestock, and other products. These, together with the rise in the level of qualification of the workers and labour productivity have brought an increase of 29 per cent in the real wages of the workers and employees in 1959.

The trade organs have supplied the people better with mass consumer goods. The volume of the circulation of goods at the end of the 2nd Five-year Plan reached 194 per cent, compared with that of 1955.

The results achieved in the first years of the 2nd Five-year Plan in the increase of industrial and agricultural products, created the conditions for the total abolition of the rationing system in November 1957, before the time limit set by the 3rd Congress of the Party. The

successful implementation of this important measure was a great victory, which confirms the wisdom of the economic policy pursued by our Party and which has given a further impulse to the all-round development of production and distribution.

One of the problems of the living conditions of the people, on which we have concentrated more attention, is housing, the increase in the number of houses and their upkeep. The number of houses built during these last 10 years is sufficient to house the pre-Liberation population of the cities of Shkodra, Durrës, Korça, Vlora and Elbasan, taken together.

The health situation of our people has undergone obvious improvement. The natural increase of the population per 1,000 inhabitants has been about 32 persons. Never before has there been such a rapid growth of population in our country. Our country now ranks among the leading countries of the world in this respect. From 1,122,000 inhabitants which Albania had in 1945, according to the preliminary data, at the 1960 census it reached 1,625,000 inhabitants.

4. - THE CULTURAL REVOLUTION IS BEING SUCCESSFULLY CARRIED OUT IN OUR COUNTRY

The tasks laid down by the 3rd Congress for the development of education, science, and culture in general have been carried out with success.

Our country has become not only a great construction site but also a big school, where one out of every five persons goes to school. Today, more than 300,000 persons are attending day and evening schools. An important step has been the building of widely extended 7-year schools so that classes have been opened even with only 10-15 pupils.

Today we have 557 7-year day schools, with more than 63,300 pupils, as against 2,563 pupils before Liberation.

Secondary schooling, which in the past was the privilege of certain social strata, has now taken wide proportions. Secondary schools have been opened not only in the smallest district centres, but even in the centres of some localities. This school year alone over 16,000 pupils are pupils in the technical and teacher-training secondary 9,500 pupils in the technical and teacher-training secondary schools.

During the 2nd Five-year Plan the University of Tirana, the biggest scientific and teaching centre in the country, the pride of our people's state power, was established. Today 7,800 students are studying in the higher institutes, at home and abroad, that is, 4.6 times more university students than there were pupils in all the secondary schools in 1938, or 3 times more the number of pupils in the 7-year schools of that period.

Today 4,245 higher cadres and about 20,000 middle cadres are working in all branches of the economy and culture. Now there are 870 engineers working in our country, as against the 35 we had in 1938, 570 agronomists, as against 45 in 1938, and 478 doctors and dentists, as against the 122 there were all told in our country. In 1960 alone about 1,000 persons graduated from the universities at home and abroad, that is, over double the number of higher cadres in 1938.

Our country, which 15 years ago was a backward agricultural country, today has a fully formed working class, in the ranks of which 62 per cent are qualified workers. During the 2nd Five-year Plan about 47,000 new workers, as against 39,000 envisaged in the plan, were trained in the lower vocational training schools or labour reserve schools, and more than 83,000 others, as against 70,000 envisaged in the plan, passed through qualification

courses. During the 2nd Five-year Plan about 9,300 middle cadres completed their training in the day and evening schools at home, as well as 2,800 higher cadres in schools at home and abroad.

In our country the organization of scientific work has been put on the right road. Important successes have been achieved, especially in the field of the historical - philological sciences. Under the care of the Party, the treasury inherited in the field of material and spiritual culture, everything positive and progressive which the past generations of our heroic people have created through the ages, is being constantly brought to light, is becoming the property of the people, is becoming a great mobilizing force in the struggle to build the new life and culture in our country. A valuable contribution in this direction is the compilation of the «History of Albania» and the «History of Albanian Literature». Valuable studies have likewise been made by the scientific institutes on some problems of agriculture and animal husbandry.

Important successes have been attained also in the field of literature and art. During this period about 700 original works of different genres have been published. Today we have the Opera and Ballet Theatre, the drama theatres and 11 professional variety theatres. The first Albanian operas and feature films have been created, figurative art exhibitions, theatrical and folklore festivals, have been organized, which together have animated the artistic and cultural life of the country. Always loyal to the great cause of the working class, our writers and artists, with their works, have given the Party great assistance in its ideological struggle for the education of the new man. During this period they have created artistic works and figures, which embody the great ideals of their contemporaries and of our wonderful epoch.

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

Comrades,

The Central Committee of the Party of Labour of Albania has worked out the draft-directives of the 3rd Five-year Plan for the development of the people's economy and culture. Before the examination and final approval of these draft-directives by this highest forum of our Party, as is known, they were submitted for discussion to the working masses. Everywhere, in the work centres, villages, deep in the most remote corners of our Homeland, the masses of working people vigorously discussed the main figures of the splendid perspective being opened to our country with the 3rd Five-year Plan. The draft-directives were also examined in detail at the meetings of the party basic organizations and at the party conferences for rendering account and elections.

The enthusiasm aroused among the working people by the draft-directives demonstrated once more that the figures of the 3rd Five-year Plan are realistic. Although this plan is a solid one, it is completely realizable, and this is confirmed by the numerous pledges which were taken for its fulfilment ahead of schedule.

The Party has always considered the discussion of the main problems with the masses a matter of principle

in its work. In this regard it has always been guided by the well-known Leninist principle of democratic centralism, which implies the harmonious combination of the centralized leadership of the economy by the state with the widest possible development of the creative activity of the working masses, with their direct participation in the management of production. This is the source of the ever greater strength of the bonds between the Party and the people, who see in the Party the true representative of their sentiments and age-old aspirations.

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

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

In determining the main figures of the draft-directives for the 3rd Five-year Plan, the Party, in conformity with its program, aims to ensure the further development of the socialist revolution, to raise the productive forces to a higher level, to increase the economic potential and strengthen our Homeland, to steadily increase the material blessings in order to improve the life of the people.

On the basis of the further development of the productive forces, our working class will grow and its alliance with the working peasantry, and the economic,

political and organizational foundations of our people's state power, will become stronger.

The 3rd Five-year Plan will mark an important step forward in the construction of the material-technical base of socialism. Our country will advance more rapidly on the road of transformation from an agrarian-industrial country into an industrial-agrarian one, agricultural production will increase more rapidly, and consequently, the material and cultural level of the masses of the working people will be further raised. This is the main task of the 3rd Five-year Plan.

Our People's Republic has all the possibilities to make this objective of the 4th Congress of the Party a reality. The generally successful fulfilment of the state economic plans, the construction of the economic base of socialism, the uninterrupted development of the productive forces, the lofty consciousness and the socialist emulation, which has burst out all over our Homeland, have made it possible to set ourselves new tasks and to march at a rapid pace on the road of socialist construction.

The high and uninterrupted rates of development of industrial production are outstanding features of the 3rd Five-year Plan, too. They are further clear evidence of the strength and nature of our socialist economy.

The grandeur of the 3rd Five-year Plan can be appreciated, also, from the large funds which will be invested in the people's economy, and which will further increase the production of material goods during this period. Another feature of the 3rd Five-year Plan, also, is the fact that part of the investments will give their economic effect during the first years of the 4th Five-year Plan, thus ensuring the continuation of extended socialist reproduction.

In the 3rd Five-year Plan correct ratios have been

established such as to ensure the harmonious development of the branches of the economy, in the first place, that of industry and agriculture. With the creation of new branches of material production, the 3rd Five-year Plan improves the structure of the economy and creates better conditions for increasing social production further.

Priority to the increase of production of means of production, as compared with the production of consumer goods, is another distinguishing feature of this five-year plan. This is the result of the economic policy followed by our Party in the industrialization of the country and in the distribution of investments to the different branches of the economy.

During the 3rd Five-year Plan, the process of the socialist industrialization of the country will be raised to an even higher level. New branches, equipped with advanced technology, will be added to our up-to-date industry. The raw materials will be more completely processed, and this characterizes the further rise of the level of the industrial development of our country.

1. - THE CONTINUATION OF THE SOCIALIST INDUSTRIALIZATION OF OUR COUNTRY - DECISIVE FACTOR FOR THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE MATERIAL AND TECHNICAL BASE OF SOCIALISM

During the 3rd Five-year Plan, too, our Party of Labour considers the further development of the socialist industrialization of the country, giving priority to the rapid development of heavy industry, an important task.

It is envisaged that in 1965 the total volume of industrial production (at 1960 prices) will be increased 52 per cent, with an average annual rate of growth of 8.7 per cent. In the same year the specific weight of industrial

production in the total volume of industrial and agricultural output will reach 54 per cent.

Priority to the increase of production of means increased by 54 per cent, while production of consumer goods (group «B») by 50 per cent. Production of means of production will account for more than half the total volume of industrial production.

As can be seen, in its economic policy concerning the socialist industrialization of the country, despite the existence of special features, our Party always has in mind the Leninist thesis that heavy industry is the basis of socialist industrialization, that in this process, production of means of production must be increased at higher rates than the production of consumer goods.

The mining and processing industry will undergo great development, with the aim of achieving better utilization of the wealth of the country — the useful minerals, sources of fuel and hydro-power, the forest wealth, agricultural raw materials, and so on. Large funds will be invested for the establishment of new branches of heavy industry, such as the chemical industry for the production of nitrogenous and phosphatic fertilizers for agriculture, as well as for the ferro-chrome metallurgy, electro-metallurgy of copper, and preparations will be made for the establishment in the future of the ferrous metallurgy base.³

By creating these conditions, our industry will give

3 Part of the new projects of heavy industry, such as the ferro-chrome factory, the copper processing complex, the metallurgical combine, the nitrogenous and phosphatic fertilizers plants, etc., were to have been set up during the 3rd Five-year Plan (1961-1965). But because of the anti-Marxist and anti-Albanian policy of the Khrushchevite revisionists and their followers, who organized a savage all-round blockade on socialist Albania and arbitrarily annulled all agreements concluded with it, taking account of the

a more powerful impetus to the development of the productive forces. A more effective structure of the economy will be created, and the further processing of the raw materials of the country, increasing their value, will be carried out, in order to improve the import-export balance.

The Party has taken and will take important measures for the further development of the oil industry, one of the main branches which has great prospects for our economy. It is envisaged that in 1965, as compared with 1960, the extraction of oil will be increased 51 per cent and its processing 38 per cent. The output of oil to be extracted in 1965 is equal to the total output during the years 1951-1956 taken together. During the 3rd Five-year Plan, the volume of prospect drilling will be increased by 63 per cent above that of the 2nd Five-year Plan.

The oil workers face great tasks in order to put new oil and gas deposits at the disposal of our economy. Special care must be devoted to rapid and high quality well-drilling in order to improve the technico-economic indices and to raise the economic efficiency of fundamental investments. Advanced methods and the achievements of science must be utilized to step up oil extraction.

There is no doubt that oil is a great wealth for our country, and at the same time a product of great export value. Our extraction of oil will guarantee a large income for the economy of our country. All of you recall the systematic sabotage by the Yugoslav revisionists in this important branch of our economy. Their aim was to strangle our economy and make it wholly dependent on the Yugoslav economy, to achieve their

new situation created, the Government of the PR of Albania decided to postpone the construction of these projects to the coming five-year plans.

fiendish plans to bring our Party to its knees, to dictate their will to our Party and people, to eliminate the sound leadership of the Party and replace it with traitors sold out to them. You clearly recall the attempts of the friend and collaborator of the Yugoslav revisionists, Tuk Jakova, who tried many times in the Political Bureau and in the Government, not only to prove that we had no oil and that the little which we extracted was not profitable, but also to defend his thesis, which of course was indignantly rejected, that we should give up oil extraction competely. Life itself proved what criminals the Titoites and their agents, Tuk Jakova and Co. were. The Yugoslav revisionists and their agents were convinced that our country had very good prospects for oil, and that this oil would be extracted, according to their reckoning, after they had eliminated our Party and its leadership. In this way, not only would they have secured our oil for their own interests, but they would also have «proved» the «inability» of our Party and its leadership and the «ability and wisdom» of traitors like Tuk Jakova and Co. However, this plan of the enemies of our Party and people did not work out and it never will. Today we have created a sound base for oil; we have thousands of glorious workers, specialists and engineers, whom the Party has raised with the greatest care. It has trained and educated them in higher schools, has equipped them with the great experience of life, and not only do they successfully fulfil the plans, but nobody can fool them any more...

Refining capacity will be extended on the basis of the increase of oil production. At the Cërrik oil refinery a reforming plant will be added, and this will make it possible to fulfil the requirements of our country for liquid fuel better.

During the years of the 3rd Five-year Plan, the

other branches of the mining industry will also undergo great development. New mines will be opened and exploitation in depth of the existing ones will begin. In 1965 the total output of our mining industry will be 49 per cent higher than in 1960.

At the end of the 3rd Five-year Plan our country will produce 45 per cent more coal. This means that the production of 1965 alone will be equal to 72 per cent of the total quantity of coal produced during the 1st Five-year Plan.

The chromium industry, too, will continue to develop rapidly during this five-year plan.

At the end of the 3rd Five-year Plan the output of the copper industry will be almost three times greater than in 1960.

The iron-nickel industry will undergo vigorous development. At the end of this five-year plan our country will be producing almost half a million tons of iron-nickel ore. This will be a sound starting-point from which to set up our ferrous metallurgy in the not-too-distant future.

The rapid rates of development of the oil and mining industries, the new projects of non-ferrous and ferrous metallurgy and the chemical industry, which will be built during the 3rd and subsequent five-year plans for the processing at home of our underground wealth, make it urgently necessary to ensure and extend the raw materials base.

The Party considers it indispensable that during this five-year plan, too, geological work must be extended and intensified, paying special attention to complex prospecting to find new deposits, first of all, of oil, bitumen, natural gas, coal, chrome, iron-nickel, copper, as well as other useful minerals.

The working people of geology must devote great attention to the enrichment, safeguarding and utilization

of the documents and materials in a scientific manner, so that they serve not only for the present, but also for the coming generations. Special attention must be paid to increasing the effectiveness of geological prospecting in order to discover and raise the reserves in category, with the lowest possible expenditure.

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

The coming into production of the new projects envisaged in the 3rd Five-year Plan, especially those which consume large quantities of electric power, and the prospects of the development of our country during the coming five-year plans, raise before us as a primary task the further extension of the energy base.

The Party has taken timely measures to keep ahead of the needs of our economy for electric power. During the 3rd Five-year Plan our state will invest huge funds for the purpose of strengthening the energy base. With the new hydro-power stations which will come into production in the first years of the 3rd Five-year Plan, such as those of Shkopet⁴ and Bistrica⁴, together with the powerful thermal station which will be built in Fier, the installed capacity of our power stations will be increased about 2.5 times. During the 3rd Five-year Plan studies will be made of the possibility of harnessing the huge energy reserves of the Drin River in the service of our economy. Eighty four per cent more electric power will be produced in 1965 than was produced in 1960.

The main targets of the mechanical engineering industry in the future, too, will be the profitable increase and extension of the range of spare parts for industry and

4 The «F. Engels» and «J. V. Stalin» hydro-power stations respectively.

especially, for the oil industry, road transport, agriculture, and other branches of the people's economy. The work begun for producing simple machines must be continued and the existing engineering base must be exploited in depth. In 1965 the engineering industry must meet not less than 50 per cent of the country's needs for spare parts. The task which the Party puts forward for the production of spare parts has special significance for our country. Its achievement will help in the better utilization and maintenance of the equipment and machinery, and will reduce our imports...

The fulfilment of the ever-increasing needs of the population for consumer goods makes the further extension of light and food industries indispensable. Great importance will be given during the 3rd Five-year Plan to the strengthening and modernization of these branches of industry, by building new plants with modern equipment such as the woollen textile factory for the production of woollen fabrics in Tirana, and the knit-wear combine in Korça; another big cotton textile combine will be built at Berat, the construction of the edible oil extraction and refining factory in Fier will be completed, and the «Ali Kelmendi» food combine in Tirana will be finished; the grape and other fruit processing industries will also be greatly developed.

The construction of these new projects, as well as the more effective exploitation of the existing productive capacities will make possible the local processing on a larger scale of agricultural and livestock raw materials, thus contributing to the development of these branches of agriculture and to the improvement of the material well-being of the people...

The fulfilment of the ever-growing daily needs of the population for different services and repairs is the number one task of our artisan cooperatives. Guided

by this aim, these organizations, together with the local organs of the Party and state, must have a thorough knowledge of the needs of the people for services, and they must establish their activities and the network of such services according to these needs.

The majestic tasks of the 3rd Five-year Plan will be accomplished to an appreciable extent by means of the important funds which will be invested for the development of the economy and culture. The investments of this five-year plan will reach 69 billion 500 million leks, or 51 per cent more than in the 2nd Five-year Plan. As in the past, the great bulk of the investments, or 81.9 per cent, will be made in the sphere of material production.

In the coming five-year plan, capital construction work will have very great weight. For this about 35 billion 700 million leks, at 1961 prices, will be spent, or 60 per cent more than the volume of the construction carried out during the 2nd Five-year Plan, and 400 million leks more than has been spent during the fifteen years of the people's power, calculated at 1958 prices.

Out of the total volume of construction 72.1 per cent will be carried out for the productive branches. This will make possible the construction of more than four hundred industrial, agricultural, and social-cultural projects, etc.

The magnificent plan worked out by the Party for the reclamation of the plains, for the elimination of the ancient swamps, for putting the maximum land under crops, will enter the final stage of its realization.

To speed up the rate of building houses, expenditure of 6 billion 500 million leks, or 75 per cent more than in the 2nd Five-year Plan, is provided for.

Important work will be done for the further development of transport, by increasing the road and railway network, by mechanizing and modernizing our sea ports

and especially the port of Durrës, which will become one of the largest on the Adriatic Sea...

Comrades,

In general, these are the tasks which the Party puts forward for the further development of these important sectors of the economy during the 3rd Five-year Plan. As you see, these are no easy tasks. Fulfilment of them requires the full and all-round mobilization of the party organizations and the working collectives. It requires further improvement of the method of leadership and organization of work, a more determined struggle for savings, for the exploitation of the internal reserves and possibilities which exist in the country. In connection with the tasks which are put forward in these sectors of the economy, we must emphasize some very important questions which the Party and the working masses must keep in mind and which have to do with the further improvement of the quality indices of production.

a) *In the field of the productivity of labour.* The Party has always taught us that the uninterrupted increase of the productivity of labour, as an economic law of socialism, is the decisive factor for the acceleration of rates of production, reduction of costs, the increase of socialist accumulation, and the improvement of the material and cultural level of the working masses. The productivity of labour, as Lenin teaches us,

*«... is, in the final analysis, the most important thing, the main thing, for the victory of the new social order.»**

* V. I. Lenin, Collected Works, vol. 29, p. 474 (Alb. ed.).

Such an evaluation of this very important economic indicator has found its concrete embodiment in our state plans. In the field of increasing the productivity of labour, as in all our economic activity, we have achieved satisfactory results. The target set by the 3rd Congress of the Party has been achieved in general: about 67 per cent of the increase in total industrial production during the 2nd Five-year Plan was achieved thanks to the increase of the productivity of labour.

The 3rd Five-year Plan sets still greater tasks. Under the draft-directives, the productivity of labour in industrial production as a whole is envisaged to increase 27 per cent, of which in mines 25 per cent, in industry 34 per cent, in vehicle transport 15 per cent, in rail transport 44 per cent and sea transport 75 per cent, whereas in construction and assembly work 29 per cent. The increase of the productivity of labour at such high rates in the 3rd Five-year Plan will ensure about 62 per cent of the increase in the total industrial production.

As can be seen, these are big tasks, but they are completely realizable, if effective measures are taken to exploit the great possibilities which exist in the economy of our country.

Continuous technical progress is the material basis for rapid increase of the productivity of labour. V. I. Lenin constantly stressed that the provision of new advanced equipment for all the branches of the people's economy, perfecting the technology of production, and mechanization of the processes of work are the material foundations for the uninterrupted increase of the productivity of labour.

Unlike the capitalist system, which is based on the exploitation of man by man, in our socialist economy unlimited possibilities have been created for the introduction of modern equipment on an extensive scale and in a planned way. The increase in the productivity of

labour in our country is not based on the inhuman intensification of work, as it is in capitalism. The equipment with which our industry is being provided constantly is the source of the uninterrupted growth of production and of the productivity of labour. For this reason the maintenance and rational exploitation of the machinery, mechanisms, and technical equipment, as the chief elements of increasing the productive capacity, have been and continue to be one of the most important tasks for the party organizations and the state and economic organs.

The Party has always made it known that the improvement of the utilization of the machinery must aim at both utilization in breadth through productive operation for the maximum time, and utilization in depth through raising productivity per work time unit. The carrying out of these tasks requires the establishment of a correct regime in the operation of the machinery, improvement of the rhythm of production, and so on.

The training and the qualification of cadres is the decisive factor for mastering the equipment and raising the productivity of labour.

The rapid development of the socialist industrialization, the reconstruction of a great number of enterprises, equipping them with up-to-date machinery, as well as the vigorous development of the other branches of our people's economy set the urgent task of training the cadres needed, not just to bring the enterprises into production but to ensure the most complete utilization of their planned capacities.

Equipment, no matter how good and perfect, remains a dead thing if it lacks people capable of using it. Therefore, in this five-year plan too, the Party will devote particular care to the growth and training of the working class and the leading cadres, as a decisive factor for

mastering the equipment and raising the productivity of labour.

The implementation of the effective measures provided for in the 3rd Five-year Plan in the field of the technical and vocational training of cadres will create the conditions for a more rapid march towards the elimination of the existing discrepancy between the needs for cadres and their availability, on the one hand, and the level of the technology and their professional training, on the other.

The fulfilment of these tasks which are of primary importance for raising the productivity of labour and building socialism, is closely connected with the reorganization of general and vocational education.

The organization and utilization of work time — an important condition for raising the productivity of labour. The problems that have to do with the fixing of output norms and, in general, the socialist organization of work have a profound economic, political and social content, and as such, have constantly drawn the attention of the Party. The number of workers working according to fixed output norms has steadily increased in all the branches and sectors of our economy. Good work is under way for advancing experimental-statistical output norms and replacing them with technical norms.

Technical norms are a great mobilizing force, a sound basis for raising the productivity of labour. They are fixed on the basis of the average indices of productivity already achieved so as to raise the broad masses of the workers to the level of their advanced comrades.

Taking into account the socialist principle of remuneration according to the quantity and quality of work done, during this five-year plan the Party will adopt a series of important measures designed to make the system of wages an even stronger incentive to raising production and the productivity of labour.

Socialist emulation — a great social force in raising the productivity of labour. One of the characteristic features of the socialist organization of labour in our country is the fact that the workers are directly interested in increasing the productivity of labour. The fact that the workers are working for themselves, for the society, and not for the capitalist, develops great conscientiousness and an exemplary attitude towards work. This is the source of the birth and development of such wonderful initiatives as the «1+2» method⁵ for the qualification of the workers, the movement for every worker to fulfil the norms, and, above all, the great social movement of brigades which are struggling to earn the title, «Socialist Labour Brigade», under the slogan «We must work, learn and live in a socialist way».

It is the duty of the party and trade-union organizations to support any workers' initiative, to generalize and publicize it in every way. Thus, they open broader horizons to the development of the productive forces of the country as a powerful factor for the increase of the productivity of social labour at even higher rates.

b) *Special attention must be paid to fulfilling the plan not only in quantity, but also in quality.* The setting up of a series of industrial projects, with modern up-to-date equipment, the reconstruction and modernization of the existing industry, the raising of the level of mechanization of construction work, the work done for the training and qualification of cadres, have created favourable conditions and real possibilities for the radical improvement of quality. The measures taken for the standardization of products, the changing of the methodology of planning,

5 A method of raising the technical-professional abilities of workers, according to which, a skilled worker pledges to raise two more workers to the level of his own qualification.

and the organization of offices, laboratories, etc., to check on quality, have also served this end.

The industrial enterprises and those of construction have all the possibilities to provide the people with high quality goods and work. The time has come for every enterprise or economic organization to concentrate its attention on fulfilling quality indices of production.

It has been noticed that during recent years many working collectives have turned out high quality products and constructions, which the people have eagerly welcomed, such as the products of the «Stalin» textile combine, those of the cement works in Vlora, of the wood-working cooperative at Pogradec, and of many others. But this is only the beginning of the great work ahead of us. Therefore the party organizations, in the first place, must wage a fierce and persistent fight against all alien manifestations, against narrow departmental interests and against the spirit of laxity, which are observed here and there.

The struggle to raise quality is, at the same time, the struggle to increase production and raise the material and cultural level of the working people. Therefore, in the future the party organizations must display greater care for the organization of production, in order to ensure respect for and extension of state standards and technical conditions, for the establishment and application of advanced technological processes. The improvement of the quality is inconceivable without raising the level of all-round and systematic technical control ever higher, without enhancing the feeling of personal responsibility in people.

c) We must further strengthen the regime of savings. The fulfilment of the magnificent program of the Party for the construction of socialism requires the mobilization and systematic technical control ever higher, without establishment of a strict regime of savings in the people's

economy and throughout the state and social activities in our country.

The Party has educated the cadres and the working people that, while exploiting the great objective possibilities of the socialist order, they must discover and use the internal reserves of production for the further growth of financial resources, and must use them in favour of the development of the economy and for the improvement of material and cultural conditions of the working masses.

In this way it was possible to put into practice the instructions of the 3rd Congress of the Party for the increase of production, the reduction of costs, and the reduction of non-productive expenditure, providing the people's economy with savings above the plan. After the December 1959 Plenum of the Central Committee of the Party, the struggle to economize everywhere, to manage the people's assets and money well, to raise socialist consciousness on the job to a higher level, has become especially vigorous. It is estimated that at the end of 1960, in the economic sector the reduction of costs exceeded the targets set by the 3rd Congress of the Party by 700 million leks. The new tasks which are put before our economy in the 3rd Five-year Plan require an even greater mobilization of our internal material and financial resources. Special importance, with regard to savings, must be attached to the rational exploitation of raw materials, other materials, fuel, etc.

The systematic reduction of the norms of consumption of materials and especially of imported materials, saving and replacing materials in short supply, must be a permanent duty of the economic and state organs. In this direction we still have great possibilities. The application of advanced methods and experience, improvement of the quality of raw materials, and the application of technical norms of the consumption of materials are important

factors which ensure economizing on material and monetary values.

In the struggle for the establishment of the regime of savings it must be kept in mind that non-productive expenditure must be reduced, turn-over must be speeded up, enterprises must increasingly meet their expenditure from their income, and unnecessary administrative costs cut.

The struggle for the establishment and further strengthening of the savings regime is closely linked with the work of the Party to inculcate in the workers the socialist consciousness of the need to protect the common property of the people. Damage to and mismanagement of socialist property must be considered a reflection of the class struggle. Therefore, besides the educational work, which must be intensified, we must never slacken our revolutionary vigilance.

The party organizations, the mass organizations, the managers of the economy, and all the workers must clearly understand that the struggle for the achievement of the planned targets is inevitably connected with the struggle for savings. The problem of further strengthening the savings regime must be made a problem of the masses and subjected to their check-up. The workers' initiatives for the reduction of expenditure and the strengthening of the savings regime must be supported and encouraged. The Party should continue to inculcate in the masses of the working people great respect for socialist property and instil in the working people the sense of strict frugality.

2. - THE FURTHER DEVELOPMENT OF AGRICULTURE DURING THE 3rd FIVE-YEAR PLAN

Agriculture is the basic branch of the people's economy, which in 1959 accounted for 42.8 per cent of the national income. Proceeding from the great importance which agriculture has for the socialist construction of the country and from the fact that 62.7 per cent of the population is engaged in agriculture, the Party has always devoted special attention to its development, as it has to every aspect of the socialist construction in the countryside.

The 3rd Five-year Plan envisages a considerable rise in the material and cultural standards of the working people of our country. Industry in general will be extended, and especially the light industry and the food-processing industry. To a considerable extent, the successful achievement of these important tasks is closely linked with the increase in agricultural and livestock products. Therefore the measures taken for the rapid development of agriculture have an important place. During the 3rd Five-year Plan, *the main task in agriculture remains the increase of grain production. Along with this, other agricultural and livestock products must increase, too, on such a scale as to ensure satisfactory supplies for the people, to adequately fulfil the needs of industry for raw materials, and to increase exports.*

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

On what does our Party base itself in putting forward such targets for the rapid upsurge of agriculture and the

increase of the agricultural and livestock products during the 3rd Five-year Plan?

First, on the new conditions created with the completion of collectivization, in general, on the results of the cooperatives up to date, as well as on the measures which will be taken for their economic-organizational strengthening during the 3rd Five-year Plan.

Second, on the level which the mechanization of agriculture has reached and on the measures envisaged for its further extension. We need only say that in 1965, as compared with 1960, the volume of mechanized work will be almost doubled, while the number of tractors available will be more than doubled. For this purpose, 2 billion 600 million leks will be invested, that is, nearly three times more than the 1st Five-year Plan and 8 per cent more than the 2nd Five-year Plan.

Third, on the draining and protection of a great part of the most fertile plains of our country, as well as on the extension of the irrigated area, which were carried out during the 2nd Five-year Plan. The work in this direction will continue on a large scale during the 3rd Five-year Plan, too, investing for this purpose 3 billion 693 million leks, or 18 per cent more than in the 2nd Five-year Plan, and 2,5 times more than in the 1st Five-year Plan.

Fourth, on the breaking in of more than 63,000 hectares of virgin land and on the waging of a more determined struggle by all the working people in agriculture to increase yields.

The drainage of land, thorough working of it, especially periodical deep ploughing 30-40 centimetres deep for field crops, the struggle for accumulation and good use of organic manures, the use of selected seeds, the carrying out of agrotechnical services on time, the fight against agricultural pests and diseases, the raising of the level of agrotechnical knowledge of the workers in agriculture and

the training of a larger number of specialized cadres and leaders for the agricultural cooperatives and for the needs of agriculture in general, all these measures must be supervised and be faithfully carried out by the state organs, by the party organizations and working people of agriculture because they are closely linked with the achievement of the targets put forward for agriculture during the 3rd Five-year Plan.

Under the 1st and 2nd Five-year Plans the breaking-in of virgin land and the extension of the area under crops was the task of first importance, while under the 3rd Five-year Plan along with breaking-in new land the main task is the increase of crop yields. *Therefore, without ceasing the struggle to break in new land, the main road for the development of agriculture and for the increase of agricultural products, under the 3rd Five-year Plan and later, is the unceasing increase of crop yields.* In this direction, if we work properly, there are inexhaustible reserves. With this concept of the importance of the increase in crop yields, during the 3rd Five-year Plan it is envisaged that the area under crops will be extended only 13 per cent, while the total volume of agricultural and livestock production will increase 72 per cent.

The targets for the increase of agricultural and livestock products in the 3rd Five-year Plan are set very high, but it is entirely possible to achieve them. Hence, on the basis of our conditions as a country with very limited arable land, it is necessary to take measures to go over everywhere to intensive agriculture.

The increase of mechanization, extension of the irrigated area and the drainage and protection of the plains create favourable conditions for the intensification of agriculture. With the exception of some mountainous regions, we must fight to get two or three crops per year from the cultivated area. For the irrigated lands this matter is beyond dispute,

but even in the unirrigated areas, if it is not possible to get two crops of grain a year, it is entirely possible, following grain or some other usual crops, to plant forage crops the same year, as the Party has always stressed. The state and agricultural organs, the party organizations and the working people of agriculture, especially the agronomists and specialists, must consider the taking of two and three crops a year from each hectare of land a very important duty for the development of agriculture and the increase of agricultural and livestock products.

The intensification of agriculture over a wide area, the taking of two and three crops a year from the same plots, the raising of more livestock for every 100 hectares of land, the increase of income for every hectare of land under cultivation, etc., are closely related to the exploitation of the great reserves of the land...

Comrades,

I wish to deal especially with the question of the agricultural cooperatives. Today they constitute almost all the agriculture of the country. To a large extent, the fulfilment of the targets of the plan for the rapid development of agricultural and livestock production depends on the successful running of the agricultural cooperatives. During the 2nd Five-year Plan, the Party scored an historic victory with the completion, in general, of the collectivization of agriculture, but we cannot relax and think that from now on the problems of agriculture will be easily solved, without great efforts and brain-racking.

The large economies which have already been created must be managed with the greatest thrift in order to become truly advanced economies, in which all their branches will be developed harmoniously. Our agricultural cooperatives are very far from such a standard. Therefore, while the

struggle of the Party and state organs in the countryside during the 2nd Five-year Plan was concentrated on the completion of the collectivization of agriculture in general, during the 3rd Five-year Plan *the main task is to strengthen the agricultural cooperatives economically and organizationally, so as to make them powerful and highly profitable economies.*

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

All these great problems must be studied in a complex manner. The direction of the cooperative or the development of its branches cannot be decided without taking into consideration the conditions of the soil and climate, the manpower and the working means, and the profitability of the development of one branch or another, etc. The harmonious development of the branches in the agricultural cooperatives should always be considered from the angle of the profitability of the cooperative and the tasks assigned to it under the state plan.

Special care must be shown for the cooperatives of the mountainous and semi-mountainous regions. Up to now they have a one-sided development. Their members get little income even when they put in a great number of work-days, although it often happens that they do not use all their manpower. These cooperatives must be given special on-the-spot assistance. Each economy must be thoroughly studied in order to determine not only the branches to be developed, but also the types of crops which can be best raised and bring greater income both to the cooperative and to the state.

Along with the work which must be done for the organizational and economic strengthening of the agricultural

cooperatives, during the 3rd Five-year Plan the state organs, especially those of agriculture, and the district party organizations must always keep in mind the perspective development of the villages, which must be not only centres of the agricultural economy but important inhabited centres, cultural and educational centres as well, which truly represent the new socialist village.

Seeing the future of our countryside in this light, now that agricultural cooperatives and their members, especially those of the lowlands, have good incomes, which may be used for construction work, building houses, etc., it is necessary that all these investments are well studied so as to serve as a basis for the village of the future.

The work for the combination of the small cooperatives in larger units must be continued carefully during the coming years, too. The Party must work for the combination of the small cooperatives into bigger ones, especially in the plains, but cooperatives larger than 700-1000 hectares of land must not be allowed. This would make their management very difficult and instead of bringing benefits, combination would damage the work. In the mountainous regions the combination of cooperatives must be done very cautiously, and only where it is seen as indispensable, when the cooperatives are very small and close to one another.

The combination of small cooperatives has great importance for the future of agriculture, for in this way the possibilities are created for better exploitation of the reserves which the agricultural economy has, the development of the branches of agriculture can be combined better, investments for the development of the economy are used more correctly and a better distribution of manpower and working means is carried out, many of the costs met by the small agricultural cooperatives of today both for administration as well as for other purposes, are reduced.

In each case we must take good look of the cadres who

will manage the enlarged cooperatives. Capable selected cadres, who have experience of work in the Party or the state, as well as some of those attending the higher economic schools or the Party School, must be placed at the head of the united economies. The raising and perfecting of the capacities for leadership of the existing cadres in the agricultural cooperatives remains an important task in the future, which must be attended to by the organizations of the Party and the state organs.

For the smooth running of the agricultural cooperative, the implementation of the Constitution of the cooperative, the organization of the work and fair payment for it, and the wide participation of all the able-bodied members of the cooperative in the collective economy are indispensable conditions. Now that we have accumulated the necessary experience, the time has come to introduce more widely, but with proper care, some new improved forms for the organization, remuneration, and planning of the work. Thus, for instance, the allocation of different funds, especially that of social aid, as well as the distribution of the income, must be done in such a manner as to encourage the cooperativists to increase agricultural production and their participation in work. In some cooperatives where the possibilities have been created, the provision of pensions for members, who are no longer fit for work, sick leave, assistance to mothers with many children, etc., can be started gradually. A compulsory minimum number of the work days not only per year but also per month must be fixed, too. The establishment of creches and kindergartens and collective bakeries must be organized better, the role of the representative bodies, especially in the enlarged cooperatives, of brigades, management councils and control commissions, must be raised. These and other problems must be thoroughly studied and properly reflected in the model Constitution, and in the Constitution of each cooperative. Along with these,

some other forms of remuneration, which are applicable under the different conditions of each cooperative and understandable to all, must be studied in detail and submitted to the coming congress of the agricultural cooperatives which should be held this year.

In the successful solution of all the problems of the economic and organizational strengthening of agricultural cooperatives, the leading cadres play a decisive role. The training and qualification of the cadres of the agricultural cooperatives remains one of the most important tasks. Therefore the work in the schools of the agricultural cooperatives, in the agricultural technical schools, in the Institute of Agriculture, as well as in the other educational institutions, must be improved.

The further development of agriculture as a whole, and particularly that of some branches which are still lagging behind, for instance, livestock farming and fruit-growing, is closely linked with a complex of important measures, the targets for which have been defined correctly in the 3rd Five-year Draft-Plan. *The proper utilization of the agricultural machines, the completion on time and the maintenance and proper use of the drainage and irrigation works, the successful fulfilment of the afforestation plan, economy in the use of timber, and protection of the land from erosion must always be the focal points of the attention of the working people of agriculture and the Party, and must be made the concern of the masses.*

The Party has always practised a correct Marxist-Leninist policy towards the peasantry. It will carry out this policy resolutely in the future, too. During the 3rd Five-year Plan, besides the huge investments which will be made by the state for the mechanization of agriculture, for irrigation and land improvement works, various kinds of aid for the development of agriculture worth billions of leks will be made available to the peasantry, for instance,

agrarian credits, chemical fertilizers, selected seeds, fruit-tree saplings, etc.

3. - THE TARGETS OF THE 3rd FIVE-YEAR PLAN FOR THE MATERIAL WELL-BEING OF THE WORKING MASSES

Guided by the fundamental economic law of socialism, during this five-year plan we shall take important measures to raise the level of material well-being and culture of the working masses, in order to make the life of the people better, happier and more prosperous.

On the basis of the increase of the volume of industrial and agricultural production, at the end of 1965, as compared with 1960, the national income will increase by 56 per cent. At the same time, the real wages of the workers and employees will increase by 30 per cent and the real income of the peasantry by 35 per cent. The increase of real wages is envisaged mainly through the increase of nominal wages and the reduction of the prices of retail goods. Hence the real income of the working people will increase, and in this way their purchasing power will be raised. Under these conditions *the working people of state and cooperative trade face very important tasks for the uninterrupted distribution of goods from the producer to the consumer. By acquainting themselves more thoroughly with the needs of the people, they must give further encouragement to industrial and agricultural production of ever higher quality.*

The party and economic organs must work harder in order to raise the level of the service, equipment and culture in trade, taking into consideration that in 1965, as compared with 1960, the circulation of goods will be 38 per cent higher. The following increases in goods will be sold to the people through the trade network: sugar 126 per cent, fats 68 per cent, meat 83 per cent, fish 124 per cent, beans 96 per cent, rice 118 per cent, vegetables 40 per cent, among

others, potatoes 122 per cent, sawn timber 73 per cent, cement 117 per cent, nails 73 per cent, glass 183 per cent, cotton textiles 61 per cent, woollen textiles 53 per cent, footwear 113 per cent, and so on. Greater attention will be paid to the extension of the production and selling of building materials, articles for children, and those which lighten the burden on the housewife. During the 3rd Five-year Plan the organs of agriculture, wholesale purchase and trade must ensure fulfilment of the needs of the population for vegetables and potatoes and cope better with the demands for meat and milk.

The victory of socialism in the countryside requires the activation of the consumer cooperatives as economic organizations of the masses so that they serve the members at the proper time and fulfil their requirements better.

The Party instructs the working people of commerce to be ready to put all their abilities at the service of the people. The time has come when the working people of commerce must master the skills of their profession better and improve their work. It must be well understood that our socialist commerce, as J. V. Stalin has said,

*«... is our work, a work which we have created, a bolshevik work, and that when they work honestly, the working people of commerce, including here even the salespeople in the small shops, are performing our revolutionary bolshevik work.»**

During this five-year plan foreign trade matters assume special importance. The working people of this sector face great tasks. The volume of foreign trade will be up about 65-70 per cent compared with that of the 2nd Five-year Plan, of which exports 90-95 per cent and imports about 50-55 per cent. We shall continue to develop economic

* J. V. Stalin, Works, vol. 13, pp. 329-330 (Alb. ed.).

and trade ties with the socialist countries. Respecting the known principles of mutual benefit and non-interference in internal affairs, we shall develop trade with capitalist countries that wish to have such relations with our state.

Export goods must increase continuously in quantity and assortment. There are great prospects open to the export of minerals, cigarettes and tobacco, the products of the food industry, preserves, wine, and fresh fruit and vegetables. Our producers and the foreign trade organs must ensure that these products are of high quality. They must work to protect and raise the reputation of their factory's brand and this should become a matter of honour.

Reduction of imports should be the concern of all the working people of our country. All the economic, state and party organs must do better work in this regard. Those working in foreign trade must ensure the orders, contracts and the arrival of imported goods at the proper time.

During the years of the 3rd Five-year Plan we envisage further extension of the tourist bases, because the beauties of nature and the climate allow us to do this.

Wide prospects open for the construction and extension of the fund of housing during the 3rd Five-year Plan. About 6 billion 500 million leks, or 75 per cent more than during the 2nd Five-year Plan, will be spent for this purpose. About 1,360,000 square metres of dwelling space will be built, which represents approximately the total housing of five new towns like present-day Vlora. A great and ever-increasing socialist asset has been placed in the hands of the working people. Therefore it is the duty of all to look after it like the apple of our eye.

Important measures will be taken for the further extension of communal services. During the 3rd Five-year Plan new water supply systems will be built and the existing network will be extended. The further electrification

of the towns, and especially of the villages, will take a great leap forward. Considerable funds will be spent for the tidying up and beautifying the towns and other inhabited centres. Without doubt our people will make their own contribution to the solution of the numerous communal problems as they have done up to date. The party organs will find the right way to organize the initiative of the masses in town and countryside to make our beloved Homeland flower.

The Party will show even greater care in the future for the protection and improvement of the health of the people, to lengthen the life of man. To carry on the good results which have been achieved, it is necessary to give more attention to improvement of the work in all sectors of health, and especially to hygiene and prophylaxis, for the propagation of health education among the working masses. In 1965 we shall have 6.5 hospital beds for every 1,000 inhabitants. The medical personnel will be greatly increased and at the end of the five-year plan we shall have one doctor for every 1,600 inhabitants.

The carrying out of this program will raise the standard of living of our people to a higher level and will create conditions to make the family life of every worker happier and more pleasant.

4. - THE TRAINING OF CADRES AND THE DEVELOPMENT OF EDUCATION, CULTURE AND SCIENCE DURING THE COMING FIVE-YEAR PLAN

The all-round development of our country on the road of socialist construction, the progress of technique and science bring out the first-rate importance of the need to raise the educational and cultural standards of the masses, the need to ensure cadres for all the sectors of the economy and culture. Therefore the problem of cadres, of training

them at a faster rate and in a proportional way for all the sectors, the development of education, the extension of the network of schools and strengthening them, the work for the educational, cultural, ideological and professional uplift of the working people, are among the most immediate and important problems, which are facing the Party today. To a large extent, the fulfilment of the tasks for the development of our economy and culture, not only for this five-year plan, but for the future also, is dependent on the successful solution of these problems.

The 3rd Five-year Plan will mark an important turn in the training of cadres because now possibilities have increased for coping with the great needs in this direction better and more quickly.

In setting the targets for the training of cadres the Central Committee and the Government have been careful to preserve correct proportions among the sectors of the economy and culture, keeping in mind the sectors most backward and most vital in this period, as well as the prospects of the development of various sectors in the future.

Thus, for example, the number of engineers will be much increased — from 870 existing today to 2,290. Whereas we had one middle or higher cadre for every 31 workers in industry and mining in 1955, today in the mines we have one such specialist for every 13 workers, and in 1965, despite the growth of the working class, we shall have one for every five workers, while for every higher cadre there will be two to three middle cadres.

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

Important measures have been envisaged for the training and qualification of cadres for the health service, education, science, arts, and other sectors of the economy and culture.

The solution of the problem of cadres, the carrying out of the tasks for their training and qualification, require that the whole Party and all the state organs take up the matter concretely.

The 3rd Congress of the Party also pointed out to the party and state organs that in the work for training cadres they should keep well in mind the disproportion between the high level of the equipment and the low level of our workers. Despite the results achieved, the disproportion in this regard continues to exist. The main reason is that the party organizations and the leaders of the enterprises show little care for the promotion of the workers through their practice to middle technicians, and for the qualification, in the first place, of those workers who play the most decisive role in the process of work and production.

The Party has always stressed that evening and correspondence schools for adults are a great reserve for the training of cadres and raising the level of their skills.

For the fulfilment of the needs for qualified workers and specialist cadres, and the raising of the educational and cultural level of the working masses in general, the source is the further development and extension of schooling for the people.

Among the various measures for the extension of education, *the most important link in the 3rd Five-year Plan is the extension of 7-year schooling and later 8-year schooling*, which ensures the necessary contingents for all the other categories of school. At the end of the 3rd Five-year Plan we must include in the 5th class of the 8-year schooling system 80 per cent of the children who complete their elementary schooling and create conditions for the implementation of the compulsory universal 8-year schooling within

the coming decade. The number of pupils in the secondary schools will be almost doubled.

Following the Education Reform of 1946 which profoundly democratized our school system and paved the way for the creation of the new socialist school, the reorganization of our school system, based on the fundamental Marxist-Leninist principle of linking lesson with productive labour, is the greatest and most important step in the field of education.

As the Plenum of the Central Committee⁶ decided, the reorganization of the school will begin to be applied gradually from the 1963-1964 school year. But it is clear that our school should prepare itself and begin to proceed right now on the basis of the important principles of the reorganization laid down by our Party. The fulfilment of these tasks requires that the necessary economic, organizational, and pedagogical measures should be taken in time. The Ministry of Education should take measures right now for the drafting of plans, programs and text-books and for working out the documents and new instructions which will be needed for the reorganized school. At the same time the education organs and the party organizations, in cooperation with the working people in production, should be thinking about ensuring jobs in production for the pupils, and securing the technical and teaching personnel. It is necessary that the education organs, under the supervision of

⁶ This Plenum was convened in October 1960. It discussed the report of the Political Bureau of the CC «On the Reorganization of the School and the Further Development of the Education System», and taking into consideration the conclusions of the popular discussion that had begun in June that year about the theses of the CC of the PLA and the Council of Ministers of the PRA, on this problem, decided on the reorganization of the school and the education system on the principles embodied in these theses: linking the school with life and lesson with productive labour.

the party committees, should carefully study the experience accumulated by the experimental schools and take measures to publicize this experience.

Parallel with the preparation for and putting into effect of the reorganization of the school, a very great immediate problem facing us is the improvement of the quality of teaching, which finds its expression in the increased real progress of the pupils. The poor progress of pupils in their lessons is another major problem. To some extent, this situation is a consequence of the rapid expansion and development of schooling in our country and can be explained by a certain backwardness of the development of schooling in depth and quality as compared with its development in extension and quantity. But the main causes of this situation should be sought in the work of the school, in the work of the teaching staff. The problem of the improvement of the pupils' progress can and must be solved, first and foremost, by the teachers themselves. Our Party and people have surrounded the teachers with special care and honour. They highly esteem the noble work that the teachers have done and are doing for the extension of schooling to the most remote corners of our country, for the communist education of the younger generation, for the dissemination of culture among the masses. But even more work is required from our teachers. The teachers should not forget that every hour of every day they are educating and training our younger generation, that they have in their hands nearly one fifth of the population of our country whom they must equip with culture. This lofty and noble mission is an honour for them, but at the same time it charges them with responsibility to the people and our Homeland. Therefore, from the rostrum of this Congress, we once again appeal to our teachers to rally to their job with all their strength in order to raise the level of their teaching and educational work, to assure a high rate of progress of the pupils in

their lessons, and to further strengthen our school. This task cannot be achieved all at once or automatically. Its achievement requires from the teachers even more persistence in their work and greater efforts to raise their own ideological and professional level.

In the complex of the training of cadres in general, the training of teachers is one of the most serious and urgent problems. This is truly the key problem, the decisive link for the solution of all the main tasks in the field of education. During the 3rd Five-year Plan, the number of the teachers will increase from 11,000 at present to 17,000. During the 3rd Five-year Plan about 21,000 persons will go through the teacher training system, while the two-year teacher training institutes alone will be attended by over 4,000 students. A large number of teachers must be trained especially to teach natural sciences, mathematics, physics, chemistry and to give lessons on practical work and on general technical subjects. The difficulty of securing teaching cadres is connected not only with the number of them, but also with their respective educational level, because, as is known, we are very backward in this direction, and especially in the 7-year schools. Therefore, in 1965 the number of teachers with the necessary education in the elementary schools will reach 90 per cent, compared with 50 per cent at present, in the 7-year schools it will reach 63 per cent, as compared with 24 per cent at present, and in the secondary schools it will increase from 63 per cent at present to 90 per cent. The number of teachers with higher education will increase from 1,000 at present to over 2,000, that is some hundreds more than the total number of teachers in our country during the regimes of the past.

The training of these thousands of new teachers and the raising of their educational level to the necessary height, must be a major action, not only for the Ministry of Education and its organs at the base but also for the state

and the Party, for the youth organization, the trade unions, and the women's union.

The question of education in our socialist society is a general problem of the state and society, a matter for the whole people. Therefore, in the field of education the Party should create an overall united front of efforts and make this a problem of the parents and the entire society.

The socialist construction of our country, the further development of the material and technical base of production, the solution of the problems connected with the further development of the productive forces and the speeding up of the pace of training higher cadres *require greater and more persistent work on the part of our higher cadres and all the working people of science in order to extend the basis for the development of science in our country.*

The establishment of the University of Tirana created more favourable conditions for raising the training of cadres to a higher level and for the development of scientific work in broad fields of knowledge.

But despite the successes achieved in the field of scientific research, especially in recent years, the development of scientific work is not yet up to the level of the needs of the times and is proceeding at a slow pace, in comparison with the demands of the socialist construction.

In order to overcome this backwardness and to further develop scientific work on a sounder basis, the Central Committee of the Party recently approved the 10 to 15-year plan of scientific research in our country. For the further development of scientific studies, it is necessary that, parallel with the development of the humanitarian and agricultural sciences, the natural and technical sciences should be developed more rapidly also so that study of the natural resources of our country and their maximum utilization can be achieved.

In the field of natural sciences, research work should

be directed towards the chemical and the physical study of the useful minerals of our country, as well as towards their practical exploitation, towards the laws of the occurrence and distribution of chromites, copper, etc., towards the cataloguing of the useful plants and flora of Albania, etc.

The research work in the field of technical sciences should be developed in studying the regionalization and standardization of buildings, re-inforced concrete constructions, the hydro-energetic resources of the rivers and the modelling of the hydro-technical projects, as well as in studying the electrification of our country.

The further development of studies in the field of agriculture should be concentrated, in the first place, as it has been up to the present, on the problems of increasing grain production, of raising the yields and the qualities of industrial crops, as well as on the problems of fruit-growing, the fodder base and breed improvement in livestock farming.

In the field of medical sciences, the main task is the clinical study of the diseases that occur in our country and the measures to diminish or eliminate them.

In this phase of the development of the historical and philological sciences, an important task is the thorough study of the key problems of our history, of the Albanian literary language, the history of Albanian literature, etc. As has been stressed in various decisions of the Central Committee of the Party, the work should be extended in the field of the history of the material culture, especially in regard to the Illyrian and early Albanian cultures, the field of the history of arts and the preservation and restoration of monuments.

In the field of economic, juridical and philosophical sciences, research work should be concentrated on the main problems, such as the special features of the transition from capitalism to socialism in the People's Republic of Albania, on studying the birth and the development of our state and

socialist law, and the laws of the construction of socialist society in the People's Republic of Albania.

The organization of scientific work on a sound basis, while carrying out concentrated work and organizing complex studies, as well as the successful realization of the great tasks which lie before us in the field of science for the next 10-15 years require, first of all, the training of a large collective of scientific workers, especially in the field of natural and technical sciences, and work with perspective for the future establishment and organization of scientific institutes for special branches of science, as a main basis of the successful development of scientific research. Efforts should be made to achieve a better combination of all scientific forces with the material means at our disposal. Scientific work, which serves the construction of socialism at rapid rates, should be supported without hesitation by the leaders of the ministries and production centres, considering it as an important state task, which is organically linked with their concrete tasks for the construction of socialism.

The Central Committee of the Party is fully confident that our men of science, like all the working people of our country, will strive with might and main to push ahead with scientific work, to solve important problems of production and the socialist construction of the country. In their noble work, they will enjoy, as always, the unsparing aid and support of our Party and our people's power, so that our young socialist science will advance and flourish.

The great economic tasks of the 3rd Five-year Plan, the rapid pace of the construction of socialism, require the raising of the culture of the masses to a higher level, in order to achieve a greater and more conscious mobilization of the masses in the struggle for the construction of socialism...

IV

ON CERTAIN PROBLEMS OF STRENGTHENING THE PARTY

Comrades,

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

The great heroic struggle, the indefatigable and selfless work, tempered and steeled our Party, made it brave and indomitable, a capable leader that enjoys the complete trust of all the working masses of our country. The strength of our Party lies in its unwavering loyalty to Marxism-Leninism, in its unity, in its indissoluble ties with the people who gave it birth and raised it. Our whole Party is rallied around its Central Committee to a man. The steel-like unity and solidarity of the ranks of the Party have always been one of the distinctive characteristics of our Party of Labour. Always, and especially at the most important moments of the history of our Party and people, the unbreakable unity of the whole Party and the entire people around the Party, the readiness of everyone to carry out the correct Marxist-Leninist line of our Party resolutely and without hesitation, has been displayed with its full vigour.

The whole Party has guarded the unity of its ranks like the apple of its eye, fighting with all its strength and without the slightest hesitation against every enemy that has attempted to violate this unity in the slightest. Towards those communists who have made mistakes but have recognized the error of their ways, our Party has displayed great care and patience. But towards the enemies of Marxism-Leninism, towards the deserters and those who have attempted to split our unity, the Party has shown itself stern and merciless, and it will always do so. In our unity lies our strength, in our unity lies our invincibility, in our unity lies the guarantee of all our successes.

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

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

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

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

* V. I. Lenin, Collected Works, vol. 25, p. 303 (Alb. ed.).

the organizing role of the Party has increased, its composition has been improved, the level of the party basic organizations has been raised, the method of work of all party organs has been improved, and the organizations of the masses have been invigorated and activated better. All these things have assisted the generally successful fulfilment of the important tasks which the 2nd Five-year Plan set before our people.

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

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

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

struggle for the implementation of the line of the Party, have raised the level of the work of the party basic organizations still higher.

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

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

By making the administrations of the enterprises face up to their responsibilities for the weaknesses which are observed, by not allowing them to tolerate these shortcomings and deficiencies, and by mobilizing the masses properly to overcome these difficulties, the successful fulfilment of all the targets of the plan will be ensured. Of course, care

must be taken to avoid the situation in which the party basic organizations displace and take over the functions of the economic organs and state organs. Such a thing would be very harmful both to the work and to the cadres, but they must be made to face up better to their responsibility for the performance of their duties, must be given assistance in carrying them out, and constantly checked up on.

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

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

In the work for the overall raising of the role and

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

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

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

us that any slackening of our vigilance, however slight, is a plus for the enemy...

5. - WE MUST STRENGTHEN THE WORK OF THE PARTY
FOR THE FURTHER ENHANCEMENT OF THE ROLE
OF THE MASS ORGANIZATIONS

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

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

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

The women's organization, under the leadership of the

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

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

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

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

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

* V. I. Lenin, Collected Works, vol. 33, p. 336 (Alb. ed.).

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

Notwithstanding all the great work done hitherto for the education of the working class, we must give greater attention to this in the future. The trade unions are schools of communism, therefore they must intensify their work for the ideological and political uplift of the workers, for raising the level of their consciousness, and for the mastering of technique. In the education of the working class we must concentrate our aim on educating it in the socialist attitude towards work and social property, in the spirit of collectivism, co-operation and mutual aid, in the spirit of innovation and incompatibility with every outworn practice, in the correct concept of personal and social interests, and the communist standards of behaviour in life and society. Among the masses in the countryside, the aim of our work should be the inculcation of socialist discipline at work, against laziness, the inculcation of a correct attitude towards the collective economy as the basis of the livelihood and future of the peasant, the correct scientific world-outlook, against superstitions, empty beliefs, and harmful customs, with the sense of the new against conservatism, for a more cultured life in the countryside. We must educate the youth with the standards of communist morality, with an irreconcilable attitude towards manifestations of bourgeois ideology, must enable them to increase their political and technical-professional knowledge, nurture them continuously with the glorious traditions of our people and with the heroism of our times, educate them with a socialist attitude towards work and social property, with love for the Homeland and unwavering confidence in the triumph of the cause of social-

ism and communism. Among the masses of women a more effective fight must be waged against fanaticism and backward customs, against underestimation of their strength, against a number of unjust attitudes which are sometimes maintained towards them by men, and which lead to violation of their rights and hinder them from taking a more active part in the whole life of the country. On the other hand, the work for raising the level of consciousness and the cultural and professional level of the women must be strengthened, with the aim that they themselves, and especially the girls, should fight more effectively for their rights and for their proper position in society.

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

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

In this direction, the trade unions and the youth organizations must give the Party a great deal of help. We can say that during the period between the two congresses good work has been done as regards the support and relatively wide dissemination of new and very important movements, such as that of brigades of socialist labour,

the «1+2» movement for the education of cadres, the recent movement for every worker to fulfil his norms, the movement to put in at least 300 work days and more in the agricultural cooperatives, etc. The party and trade union organizations of economic enterprises in the cities of Tirana and Shkodra, as well as the village organizations of the Party and the Labour Youth Union of Albania in the towns of Lushnja and Fier, which have done a better job in the direction of the study, support and dissemination of new initiatives, are particularly to be commended. But it must be said that in this direction we are still only beginning to work well.

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

Finally, in our work among the mass organizations the question of invigorating their internal life must concern us, mainly the question of enhancing the feeling of responsibility of every member of these organizations for the smooth running of the work as a whole. In this direction the crea-

tion by every organization of a broad network of activists, energetic people, conscientious and tireless in carrying out social duties, is of first-rate importance. The struggle for the carrying out of social tasks raises people's political consciousness, makes them ardent patriots of their country, indomitable fighters for the cause of the Party. Therefore great concern should be displayed for charging these activists with concrete tasks, as well as for their continuous education.

6. - THE FURTHER STRENGTHENING OF THE PEOPLE'S STATE POWER - AN INDISPENSABLE CONDITION FOR THE SUCCESSFUL PERFORMANCE OF ALL THE TASKS FACING US

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

Along with the all-round growth and development of our country, our state of people's democracy, as a form of the dictatorship of the proletariat, too, has grown up and become perfected. As a result of the construction of the economic base of socialism and of the establishment of socialist relations in town and countryside, as a result of the liquidation of antagonistic classes, the growth of the working class, and in general, the rise in the consciousness of all the working masses of our country, the

socialist base of the dictatorship of the proletariat has been greatly strengthened and extended. Without doubt, these things have also brought about the development of the main internal tasks and functions of our state in keeping with the new conditions.

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

The other, equally important, task of our state is the defence of the victories achieved from any attempt of external or internal enemies against them. Here our state carries out its functions of the suppression of enemy activity and defence of the Homeland. In the future, too, these will remain very important functions of our state, although the field of action of the function of repression will become narrower in the future, because, on the one hand, the exploiting classes have been liquidated, and on the other hand, the development of the economy and culture, the constant rise in the well-being of the working masses and the great political-educational work of the Party steadily reduce the incidence of crime. The function of repression is maintained, also, because our country is surrounded by rabid enemies, the imperialists and their lackeys, who are doing everything in their power to eliminate, or at least to injure, the People's Republic of Albania. Moreover, the facts themselves show that in our country at the present period, the main enemy activity takes the form of espionage and subversion directed mainly by the imperialists and their lackeys. The Party has always taken account of this important func-

tion of our state, as well as of the fact that we are building socialism encircled by rabid enemies. Therefore we have paid special attention to strengthening the organs of the dictatorship, and we can say that, under the leadership of the Party, those organs have carried out the functions assigned to them very well and successfully. All the attempts of the enemies, from the founding of our state of people's democracy to this day, in whatever form they have been made, by all the external or internal enemies, have been discovered in time and have been dealt with and smashed as they deserved.

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

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

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

performed their duties for the protection of the borders of the People's Republic of Albania.

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

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

The tasks ahead of us require that the work of the central state organs and their apparatuses must be further improved. The time has come to increase the demands on the central apparatuses for better quality work, for a more profound and timely study of problems and more effective assistance for the base, both for the enterprises dependent on them and for the executive committees of the people's councils. The central apparatuses must free themselves from petty daily questions, must fight resolutely against the bureaucratic handling of problems, must engage more seriously in correct planning and supply, in check-up on the main indices, and deal with the demands and proposals of the base in connection with production, correctly and quickly.

The foundations of our people's power are the people's councils, beginning from the village and city precinct councils up to the district councils. Both during the National Liberation War and after Liberation, our councils have always honourably carried out the tasks assigned to them. Through the people's councils we have always secured an active and broad participation of the masses in the affairs of the state. Now the people's councils and their executive committees have become more deeply involved in matters of production, as well as in social and cultural questions.

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

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

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

The people's councils in the villages, in particular, must be given great assistance in the directions mentioned. With the collectivization of agriculture, a new situation has been created for the people's councils in the villages, therefore

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

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

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

At the same time, the further strengthening of the people's state power requires the strengthening of the socialist law, too. In this field we have scored great successes. But in the future, too, great attention should be paid by all the organs to the correct and precise application of our laws. They are the laws of the people in power, therefore they are inviolable and obligatory on all. The organs

of justice and control must carefully supervise and demand complete respect for our socialist law, without the slightest laxity, just as they have done up to now.

Comrades,

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

V

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

Comrades,

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

Our Party has always devoted great attention to the education of the communists and the masses with the ideas of Marxism-Leninism, because Marxism-Leninism is the compass which guides the Party in all its activity. It gives

people the possibility to know the laws of development of society, to have a thorough understanding of events and to act correctly in any situation. Therefore the study and the assimilation of Marxism-Leninism is indispensable, not just for a limited circle of cadres of the party apparatus, but for all the communists, all the cadres, whether they are party members or not, in the most varied sectors of the economy, art or culture, the army or education.

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

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

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

In the ideological work of the Party, study of the classics of Marxism-Leninism, and the history of our Party, the struggle to unmask imperialism, knowledge and study of the tactics and the strategy of the international communist movement, the struggle against modern revisionism, and especially, against Yugoslav revisionism, have occupied an important place. In the struggle to unmask the enemies of socialism, as well as in the daily struggle for the construc-

tion of socialism in our country, our people have been tempered ideologically, the political level of the communists and the masses has been raised, and the militant character of the ideological work of the Party has been strengthened. During the whole period since the 3rd Congress, our Party has waged a resolute struggle to safeguard the purity of Marxism-Leninism, and in this struggle its unity for putting into practice the general line of the Party has become indestructible...

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

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

Under these conditions, the struggle on the ideological front to protect the purity of the triumphant doctrine of Marxism-Leninism, for a correct and profound explanation of the problems of present-day world development, to pro-

pagate the fundamental principles of Marxism-Leninism and the correct line which the Party of Labour of Albania has pursued and continues to pursue in regard to these problems, assumes special importance.

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

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

only by their words, by their attire, but chiefly by their deeds, by their work. They judge from the basis of whom these views serve, in the interest of which class are these views. In this matter the Marxist parties and all communists are guided by Lenin's teachings that:

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

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

* V. I. Lenin, Collected Works, vol. 19, p. 9 (Alb. ed.).

Kardelj even produced theoretical «arguments» to prove that the danger of war, in fact, emanates from the socialist countries and especially from China and Albania! That is the depth of absurdity to which the enemies of Marxism have descended, that is where their great zeal to serve their master, the imperialist bourgeoisie, to the maximum, has brought them!

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

ine communist parties and socialist countries cannot follow the revisionist concepts and advice, but follow the immortal, ever-victorious teachings of Marxism-Leninism. Our Party of Labour has struggled and will continue to struggle in the future, too, against the revisionist views on these matters and will always loyally apply the enlightening teachings of Marxism-Leninism.

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

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

matter by the immortal teachings of the great Lenin, who says:

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

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

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

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

* V. I. Lenin, Collected Works, vol. 30, p. 294 (Alb. ed.).

«An oppressed class, which does not try to learn the use of arms, possess arms, this oppressed class deserves nothing better than to be treated as a slave.»*

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

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

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

* V. I. Lenin, Selected Works, vol. 2, p. 400, Tirana 1974 (Alb. ed.).

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

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

The experience of the construction of socialism in a series of socialist countries has confirmed the correctness of the Marxist-Leninist theory about the existence of a number of universal laws essential to every country which takes the road of socialist development. The successes of our country and every socialist country have been achieved precisely thanks to the correct implementation of these universal laws of socialist construction, while bearing in mind the concrete conditions and the special historical features of each country, as well as the interests of socialism as a whole.

Those who revise Marxism distort and deny these laws. The socialist state, according to them, must give up its economic organizational functions, because otherwise «bureaucratic» tendencies develop, the state is transformed into a force that stands «above society», etc. In order to escape all these dangers, they preach the decentralization of the management of the economy, the «self-administration of producers». While preaching the steady diminution of the role of the socialist state in the economy, the revisionists take a stand against the very important principle of socialist construction and the socialist state organization — the principle of democratic centralism — and try to replace it with the independent and unfettered development of economic forces, i.e., with petty-bourgeois spontaneity, which leaves the field free for anarchy in production.

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

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

A serious danger to the unity of the socialist camp and the international communist movement, the cause of peace

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

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

While resolutely fighting revisionism, as the main danger, our Party has also fought and will fight any manifestation of dogmatism or sectarianism, which is likewise dangerous to the cause of socialism. During all its activity, the Party of Labour of Albania always has and will have this

matter in mind, because only in this way can we be guaranteed against any error in our great struggle for socialism and communism.

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

Comrades,

The Party of Labour of Albania has traversed a difficult, but at the same time, heroic road, in the course of which it has grown up and become stronger. On this difficult road, in this stern struggle against numerous enemies, it

has been tempered, the unity of its ranks has been steeled, the links of the Party with the people have become unbreakable. On this difficult road and in this stern struggle, our Party, enlightened by the teachings of Marxism-Leninism and educated with boundless loyalty to it, worked out its correct general line, gained the maturity to find its bearings correctly even in the most difficult situations, to show courage and determination whenever it has been a question of defending the interests of the Homeland and socialism, and safeguarding the purity of Marxism-Leninism. . .

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

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

The people, the broad working masses, our working class in alliance with the peasantry, comprise that decisive force which carried out the great political and social trans-

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

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

Even friends, who have visited Albania or who from afar have followed with interest the achievements of our country, are frequently amazed and ask: How could little Albania stand up to all those tempests, how could it emerge victorious in the unequal fight with the fascist occupiers and traitors, how can it resist the innumerable threats and pressure of the imperialists, chauvinists, and the Belgrade traitor clique, how does it overcome the difficulties and achieve successes one after another in all fields of

socialist construction? We reply that the decisive factor for the attainment of all our country's historic victories is the people themselves, their struggle and work, the correct line of the Party of Labour of Albania which has known how to make the masses conscious and mobilize them in the war for liberation yesterday, in the struggle for the defence of our independence and the construction of socialism today, the unbreakable linking of the people with the Party. We reply that another important factor is the support, assistance, and the friendship of the fraternal peoples of the socialist countries, the support of all the international proletariat...

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

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