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ALBANIAN RESOLUTION ON DEVELOPMENT OF AGRICULTURE

Duties of the Party for the Further Development of Agriculture

On 9 and 10 April 1951, the Tenth Plenum of the Central Committee of the Albanian People's Party was held in Tirana. Members of the government and the first secretaries of local party committees also participated. The plenum unanimously approved a resolution, entitled "Duties of the Party for the Development of Agriculture," the text of which follows.

I. THE PRESENT CONDITION OF AGRICULTURE AND THE PROSPECTS FOR ITS DEVELOPMENT

1. The great victory of our people in the War of National Liberation against the Italo-German occupation troops and their local lackeys was achieved through the heroic fight of the noble Soviet peoples against Fascism, through the right leadership of the great masses of our people by the party, and through the shining patriotism of our people.

The decision of the people's government concerning the defeat of the old government, the government of exploiters and bloodsuckers, made it possible to bring about all the conditions favorable to the economic development of the country in the interest of the toiling masses. The nationalization of banks, industry, mines, trade, transportation, and construction, the complete and uncompensated confiscation of the property of landholders and wealthy farmers, and the complete implementation of agrarian reforms have caused a radical change in the old production relationships.

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The people's government has radically changed the conditions for the development of agriculture. For the farmer, it has created completely different production relationships from those which existed under the former regime of oppression and exploitation, forming altogether new relationships between the farm areas and the cities.

2. With the implementation of agrarian reform, the farm workers have made considerable gains in the amount of land under their control and in the agricultural inventory, obtaining 320,000 hectares of land, 500,000 olive trees, thousands of work animals, etc., without having to give the slightest compensation for the estates and property of the beys and agas which were confiscated by the people's government along with the public estates. The land now belongs to the state, which works it and controls planting and reaping so as to prevent concentration in the hands of the rich and the impoverishment of the masses on the farms.

Since 1945, the total cultivation area has been increased over the prewar level, and since 1946, grain production has increased. In 1950, the total cultivation area was increased by 149.5 percent. Even with last year's dry spell, this production is 133.8 percent of what it was in 1938.

3. Along with the increased volume of agricultural production, the living standard of the farmers has also risen. The state industry has been supplied with raw materials, the state bread fund has increased, and exports have grown. Despite all this, however, the point has not yet been reached where we are producing all the bread necessary to meet domestic demand in the republic. The increased output of agricultural produce is not satisfactory, and up to now, our agricultural development has been characterized by a speedy increase in the area under cultivation, on the one hand, and a lack of proper efforts to increase yields, on the other.

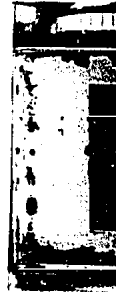
Developments in the sector of agricultural livestock are not satisfactory. Although great advances have been made in the development of our agriculture, the plenum considers this rate of agricultural development to be still too slow. It also feels that agriculture is failing to respond sufficiently to the needs arising from the rapid and indispensable development of our economy in general and our industry in particular.

4. The unsatisfactory rate of agricultural development is explained by the fact of its backwardness and weakness in organization. Our agriculture is characterized by great backwardness in production methods. The cultural and technical level of our farmers is low, and the agricultural economy is split into too many facets (about 93 percent of all land under cultivation is in the hands of private individuals; that is, in the hands of about 150,000 individual families.

Such an extremely divided and primitive economy cannot enjoy the advantages of a united one such as exists on the state farms and agricultural cooperatives. It hampers completely the spontaneous element of production, which cannot easily be directed by a plan, the way it is directed in the state and socialist sector of our economy. It contains within it the seeds of exploitation, born from its own continuation of capitalist and kulak elements, "every day, every hour," as Lenin said.

5. The way out for our agriculture, the way which will make possible the basic transformation of agriculture so that it may develop with a quicker and more progressive pace and produce in abundance, is the way of collectivization. Collectivization has begun in our agriculture; many agricultural cooperatives have been formed, and these have set an example of work, organization, production and profit for the individual farmers. Nevertheless, the rate of expansion of this collectivization is not satisfactory. Henceforth, the expansion of farm collectivization must be our chief duty.

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6. During the War of National Liberation, the alliance of the working class with the farmers was supported by the desire, will, hope, and complete faith of the farmers for a final victory in the battle for freedom and land. During the implementation of agrarian reform, the alliance of the working class with the farmers was based on reaping the fruits of war; i.e., the acquisition of land by the farmers. After the establishment of agrarian reform, the bonds between the working class and the farmers took on new forms. These new forms were expressed in the help and aid which the state gave to the farmers to strengthen their economy. Among the bonds of the alliance are the following:

a. State Agricultural and Livestock Enterprises

The purpose of these enterprises is to serve as stabilization points for socialism in the farm areas, acting as shining examples for collective and individual farms. They constitute a practical example of the type of results yielded by a large-scale mechanized and modernized planned economy in contrast to the small individual economy. At the same time, their duty is to give material and economic aid to the cooperative and individual farmers in general. For the most part, our agricultural and livestock enterprises are fulfilling this duty and are playing their role as bonds of unity between the state (the working classes in power) and the farm areas, albeit with many hindrances, such as the high cost of production, the failure to put agrotechnical measures into effect, etc.

b. Machine Tractor Stations

These were set up by the state so that they might come to the aid of collective and individual farmers, carrying out their work on the basis of common accord and control. It is a known fact that in the past, these Machine Tractor Stations have concentrated their work in the state sector (in the state agricultural enterprises) rather than in the cooperative and private sector. This mistaken orientation has been corrected this year. In 1951, the Machine Tractor Stations will perform about 50 percent of all the main work of the existing cooperatives, and the rest of their capacity will be utilized in helping the poor and middle-class farmers in the cultivation of industrial crops. Never has Albania had so many tractors as it has today, and the mechanized resources of the Machine Tractor Stations will be continually increased. The principal shortcoming of these stations is their high cost of operation.

c. Agricultural Production Cooperatives

These are valuable as a bond of unity between the farmers, since, through their example, and through the aid which they are given by the state, they encourage the poor and middle-class farmers to join in collectives. In general, the existing agricultural cooperatives are running smoothly, although they have many shortcomings. The income of cooperatives has always been higher than that of individual farmers, and the output achieved in production, the realization of the plan in general, the buying power of the cooperatives, and their living standard have been higher than in the private sector of the agricultural economy. In general, the agricultural cooperatives have set an example for the private farmers; they are acting as the best possible propagandists for the extension of collectivization in the villages.

d. Commercial Cooperatives

These serve as a powerful means of reinforcing the bonds between the farms and the cities; in these cooperatives, the farmers are supplied with industrial products in exchange for agricultural produce. They comprise about 60 percent of all individual economies in the villages. However, the commercial cooperatives in the villages are still very weak because of their lack of organization, as well as with respect to their economic power. Their organizational and economic improvement, as well as their expansion, is an important duty which will bring about the strengthening of bonds between the cities and the farm areas.

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## e. Farm Credit

The state is helping the farmers with farm credit for the purchase of agricultural implements, work animals, stock animals, seeds, etc. During 1949 and 1950, the state extended to the farmers 73,292,582 lek in the form of farm credit. This credit will be increased considerably this year and in years to come. During the past 2 years, the state fund has given the poor and middle-class farmers about 30,000 quintals of grain seed, about 17,000 quintals of seed for industrial crops, and also other seeds, thousands of plows, pumps, fertilizer, etc. In this way, farm credit has served as an important means for strengthening the alliance between the working class and the farm workers.

## f. Improvements and Irrigation Canals

Improvements and the construction of irrigation canals undertaken by the state are an important means in strengthening the bond with the farmers. This is evidenced by the practical aid which the state has given them, and by the development of the agricultural economy. Up to the end of 1950, the state had invested about 400 million lek for various improvements and about 120 million lek for the construction of irrigation canals. Through this work, about 3,000 hectares of new land were cultivated, about 21,000 hectares of land improved, about 10,000 hectares irrigated, and other canals improved to irrigate a total surface of more than 6,000 hectares of land. The state is looking forward to broadening its investments considerably for improvements and irrigation in the future.

## g. Agrotechnical Aid

This state aid is very valuable to our backward farmers. It has been given to the farmers, but not in sufficient amounts. Many agronomists have become office workers and have not cared, as they should, to aid the farmers in improving work and production methods. Increasing agrotechnical aid to direct the farmers is an important duty which will be of value in improving agricultural work methods, raising the produce output, and reinforcing the alliance between the working class and the farmers.

## h. Increasing Industrial Production and Expanding the Supply of Low-Cost Industrial Products to Farmers

One of the most powerful means of reinforcing the bonds between urban and rural areas and strengthening the alliance between the working class and the farmers is that of constantly supplying the farmers with an abundance of industrial products at the lowest possible prices. To accomplish this, it is necessary that general attempts to increase the volume in the industrial sector, as well as to lower the cost of production, be made. The fight for increased production and decreased costs of production in the industrial sector is an important factor in reinforcing the alliance between the working class and the farmers.

Along with the voluntary pooling of lands and means of production by the farmers, we must increase collectivization in the farm areas. We must also increase the aid which the state brings to the farmers in order to strengthen the bonds which join the city to the farm and strengthen the agricultural economy in general. In this way, our agriculture will progress, abandoning its condition of slow development and thereby securing the foundation of socialism on the farm.

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7. A differentiation in strata is developing among our farmers. Under capitalist regimes, the middle-class farmer is economically weakened and made poorer every day, thus giving rise to two extremes: the poor-farmer class and the kulaks. Under our people's regime, on the other hand, the differentiation between the various classes of farmers is characterized by the strengthening of the middle-class farmers' position, economically as well as numerically.

The kulak class is economically limited by the masses, since the state sides with the latter against the kulaks. Individual kulaks or separate groups of kulaks (but not all kulaks as a class, who oppose the laws of the state designed to limit them are liquidated. The kulak ranks are continually swelled by new kulaks who have risen from among the middle-class farmers by becoming rich through exploitation and speculation. The middle-class farmer has become the central figure in the village.

The poor-farmer class is moving in two directions: one part, which has been able to improve its economic position, has passed or is passing into the ranks of the middle-class farmers, while another part, which is economically powerless and totally unable to obtain the necessities of life on the farm with the resources at its disposal, has begun to leave the farm for the industrial centers, joining the ranks of the working class. Those among the poor farmers who are unable to earn much wealth, but who do not, however, find it necessary to leave the farm for the industrial centers, are staying on until they obtain the economic means to take one or the other path.

8. Before our people lies a perspective of work and happiness without end. This perspective has been opened for us by the noble Soviet Union, which has helped us without reserve to increase our economic power and raise our social and cultural level. Soon, the Five-Year Plan for our economic reconstruction will be announced. With the realization of the Five-Year Plan, the economic conditions of our people will be much improved in all respects, the cultural and political level of the people will be raised, and the defense forces will be strengthened.

The state Five-Year Plan for the agricultural sector has the objective of raising agricultural production to such a level that we can (1) produce the necessary food for the people without having to import food from the outside, (2) produce sufficient raw materials to meet the demands of our industry, and (3) increase our exports.

During the 5-year period, the area of land under cultivation will be increased 21 percent over the 1950 level, and the agricultural yield will be increased by 25 percent in the state sector, 20 percent in the cooperative sector, and 15 percent in the private sector. The number of heads of live-stock will be greatly increased. The production of cotton will be increased 4 times; sugar beets, 20 times; flax, 10 times; hemp, 20 times; and the mechanized power of the Machine Tractor Stations, 3.5 times. More than 500,000 olive trees will be planted, citrus groves and vineyards will be expanded, the number of market gardens will be increased, and about 28,000 hectares of forest land will be reforested and improved. Much work will also be accomplished in improving and constructing irrigation canals.

#### Duties in Connection With the Further Development of Agriculture

Considering that, on the whole, the rate of our agricultural development is slow, and, more particularly, that, with the expansion of industry, the demand for agricultural products has been progressively increasing; also considering the necessity to increase the agricultural yield and accelerate the

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development of agriculture in general, our chief duty in the agricultural sector is to intensify the pace of agricultural development by broadening the collectivization of farms, increasing state aid to individual farm workers, strengthening the new bonds between the cities and the farms and the alliance between the working class and the farmers, and intensifying the daily class struggle in the farm areas.

1. We must take every measure to eliminate all obstacles in the state agricultural and livestock enterprises. These measures must be taken so that these enterprises may truly become the supporting columns of socialism in the farm areas, setting a good example of work and production for all farmers. Let us help them effectively in accomplishing this task.

These measures must consist in good working organization, the elimination and unrelenting destruction of irresponsible resistance on the part of certain agricultural workers against the state economy, the complete organization of socialist competition to increase production and reduce costs, the implementation of agrotechnical regulations in production, the incorporation, during this year, of all farms into the system of centralized agriculture, the elimination of useless waste in the livestock enterprises, and the improvement of livestock breeds. They should pattern themselves on the Soviet sovkhozes in all their activities.

In August of this year, the Politburo will inspect conditions existing in the state agricultural and livestock enterprises and take the necessary concrete measures to strengthen them.

2. The existing agricultural cooperatives must be strengthened and the party must be mobilized to increase further the collectivization in the farm areas.

3. The Machine Tractor Stations must be reinforced by adopting a series of measures which may be summed up as good work organization, raising of mean progressive norms, lowering of labor costs, lowering of fuel consumption, good maintenance of machinery, and improvement of the quality of work. During this year, the Machine Tractor Stations will do 50 percent of the work of the existing agricultural cooperatives. The field of activity of the Machine Tractor Stations expanded in such a way that, by 1955, they should have a sufficient capacity to do 50 percent of the work of all cooperatives, as well as help individual farmers.

4. Within the 5-year period, all existing seeds which are not of a high quality will be replaced with selected seeds throughout the republic. These seeds will be produced by the state farms and by the best cooperatives. By 1952, all alfalfa seed will be produced locally, principally by the state farms.

5. During 1951, all necessary measures for strengthening and expanding the commercial cooperatives in the farm areas must be taken. These cooperatives must become powerful organizations in joining the farms and the cities economically as well as politically to help in the collectivization of the farms. During August of the current year, the Politburo will inspect conditions in the commercial cooperatives and take concrete steps toward strengthening them generally. The commercial cooperatives should concentrate on selling agricultural implements such as picks, shovels, etc., to the farmers, not only at reciprocal trade prices, but also at commercial trade prices.

6. Industry and the artisans must produce field and hill plows for oxen and horses. By the end of the 5-year period, the steel plow should be in widespread use, completely replacing the wooden plow. These plows should be produced in this country as much as possible, while the rest, which cannot be produced in Albania, must be imported. Industry and the artisans must produce cheaply and in quantity other agricultural implements such as picks, shovels, axes, etc. These are to be sold to the farmers through the stores of the commercial cooperatives in the local areas.

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The commercial cooperatives must use a contract system with all farmers when supplying them with agricultural implements in exchange for agricultural produce or for money. By the end of 1952, there should be in each locality at least two blacksmiths, one saddler, and one carpenter, whether they be members of a cooperative or private workers.

7. The Ministry of Agriculture must have trained enough personnel by 1953 to assign a staff to each 500 hectares of land planted with industrial crops. These staffs will be responsible for the cultivation of industrial crops on the land assigned to them, whether this be in the cooperative or private sector. The help of the Machine Tractor Stations should be directed primarily toward industrial crops. Industrial crops are to have priority in the utilization of water for irrigation.

8. The planting of potatoes, peas, and vegetables on a large scale is to be encouraged.

9. To improve olive cultures, citrus groves, and vineyards, the state plantations will be expanded with respect to these cultures and will furnish the farmers with the necessary shoots. The network of staffs to supervise these cultures should be increased. The improvement and expansion of these cultures should be planned, and all agrotechnical regulations regarding them should be faithfully carried out. The Ministry of Agriculture will take all measures to combat diseases which may appear in these cultures. The expansion of fruit culture should begin at once.

10. To improve the livestock situation, breeding stations should be increased so that at the end of the 5-year period, there will be generally one station in each locality. By the end of 1952, the breeding of sheep belonging to the state with sheep of a woolly stock should be made a general practice. At the same time, measures should be taken so that the woolly sheep stock will be generally raised throughout the republic by the end of the 5-year period, even among private farmers.

State control must be increased over the slaughtering of work oxen, heifers, calves, and rams and lambs of the woolly breed. Meat consumption should be lowered in such a manner as the government may deem reasonable. Fish production should be increased so that fish may replace meat. By the end of the 5-year period, at least one third of the meat consumption should have been replaced by fish consumption. The party committees for the fishing zones, such as those of Sarande, Vlore, Durres, Lesh, Shkoder, and Pogradec, should take care to bring about the realization of the fishing plan.

Measures should be taken on the part of the state to encourage an increase in horses and teams. Industry should take measures so that by the end of this year, it may begin locally to produce concentrates made with sugar molasses and olive stems, sunflowers, or cotton to improve basic animal feeds.

The growing of alfalfa on a large scale is to be encouraged. New veterinary staffs must be set up, so that at the end of the 5-year period, there may be at least one veterinarian for each locality, with the exception of the chief livestock centers. The Five-Year Plan for the development of livestock should be approved as soon as possible. The main orientation in the zootechnical field should be improvement of existing breeds, accompanied by improvement of basic feeds and the practice of cross breeding.

11. During the 5-year period, sufficient investments should be made to bring about important improvements and the construction of important irrigation canals on a large scale, as has been done up to now, especially in Myzeqe. The party committees and local executive committees should take special care in expanding land improvement and the construction of irrigation canals.

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12. In the latter half of 1952, the corrections in the land register must be completed throughout the republic, and henceforth, the verification of these corrections will be made with precise geodetic means.

13. Socialist competition, during this year, must include not less than 75 percent of all workers in the state agricultural sector. It must be extended to all existing cooperatives and must be better organized by area, locality, and village. During this year, an effective system of setting an example in agriculture must be established even in the villages. The decree concerning the awarding of decorations to all outstanding agricultural workers in the state, cooperative, and private sector will be approved by the government and the Presidium of the People's Assembly. They will begin to award the decorations this year. Through the press, conferences, fairs, and agricultural expositions, the experience of Soviet kolkhozes, as well as our own advanced agricultural experience, will be popularized and made known to the people. By decree of the Presidium of the People's Assembly, the prices for agricultural produce will be designated, and this decree will be issued each year.

14. The Five-Year Plan for forest lands will be made known to the people, and the work will be organized as it has been this year; the plan for afforestation and the improvement of forest land will be extensively carried forward.

15. To train the necessary agricultural staffs, the following measures will be taken: the bases for courses for staffs of the agricultural cooperatives and the Machine Tractor Stations will be broadened; the bases of agricultural technique will be broadened, and, as of this year, good foundations will be established for the creation of the Higher Institute of Agriculture on the university level. In the academic year 1951-1952, the first classes in agronomic instruction will begin in this institution with 50 students who have completed secondary school. In the academic year 1952-1953, new schools of the institute will be founded: the School of Animal Husbandry and the School of Industrial Crops. The institute will have a capacity of no less than 300 students.

16. All the activity of our agricultural sector must be guided by the impressive experience of Soviet agriculture. An uncompromising battle must be waged for the elimination of every evidence of bourgeois reactionary influence in our agriculture. Our agricultural technicians must devote all their efforts to the accomplishment of the great duties which are being carried forward.

We have all the necessary conditions for the fulfillment of these important duties. For the accomplishment of these duties we are relying on the invaluable aid of the Soviet Union, on the correct guidance of the party, on the correct guidance of the toiling masses of our working class, headed by the party, on the will and the capacity of our agricultural workers, and on the patriotism of the toiling masses on our farms. With the accomplishment of these duties, our agriculture will be transformed from a backward and divided agriculture into an agriculture which is far from backward and which is definitely progressing on the road to collectivization -- on the road to advanced socialist agriculture.

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## II. THE POLICY OF TAXES AND PRICES AS REGARDS THE FARMERS

1. As far as the economic life of the farm areas is concerned, the period from the liberation to the present is divided into two phases: the first phase is that which lasted up to the end of 1949, wherein the system of taxation of the farmers was based on the compulsory procurement by the state of all surpluses of the principal agricultural products; the second phase is that in which we find ourselves today, wherein we are applying the system of taxation in kind on the part of the state, as well as a progressive financial taxation on the agricultural economy. The procurement of all farmers' surpluses was necessary for the state in the first phase, since we had to recover economically from the war, and since there was no other way of meeting the bread needs of the state and the working centers.

The system of taxation in kind now in force is very just, because it induces the farmers to produce as much as possible, secures a satisfactory fund of agricultural produce for the state, and leaves the farmers with a surplus which they can use, according to their needs and desires, to purchase in either reciprocal or free trade. Also, the system of financial taxation on the agricultural economy is very just, because it is based on a progressive foundation, on the principle that whoever makes the most profit pays the most. However, the legal system now in force contains checks so that it may not bring about the system of individual financial taxation of the kulaks. All poor farmers whose incomes are less than 10,000 leks a year are exempt from financial taxation on the agricultural economy.

2. The many errors in land registration and the obstacles in the old classification of lands were a burden to the farmers. Hence, the government is speeding up reform in the registration of land, has corrected the classification of lands, and has lowered the rate of taxation on grains by about 25 percent on the average. The state has given thousands of quintals of flour to the farmers because of the drouth, and recently, it distributed bread in the form of a loan in sufficient quantities to last until the harvest.

These measures were extended to the poor families of farmers because of the lack of bread due to the great drouth of the past year. All these measures taken by the state on behalf of the farmers are based on the great care of the party and of the government for the ally of the working class, the working farmers; they emanate from the increased economic power of our country and from the unceasing aid of the Soviet Union and the People's Democracies.

The existing relations between the prices of industrial products and those of agricultural products is such that they do not encourage the farmers to purchase more through reciprocal trade than through free trade. Thus, the state is unable to procure the large surpluses of the farmers through reciprocal trade. The tendency of the farmers to purchase more through free trade is causing a rise in the prices of agricultural products on the free market. The best way to eliminate the disproportion between the prices of industrial products and agricultural products is by continually increasing the production volume of industrial crops and attempting to lower their costs, while lowering commercial expenses and increasing the agricultural yield.

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Duties in Relation to the Policy of Taxes and Prices  
With Regard to the Farmers

Beginning with the main principles of party policy concerning taxes and prices as regards the poor farmers -- principles which have as their end, on the one hand, the improvement of the poor farmers' lot above all those who are economically powerless, and, on the other, the economic restraints on the kulak class -- a number of considerations must be made, as enumerated below: (a) the best way to eliminate the disproportion between the prices of agricultural products and the prices of industrial products is by lowering the costs of industrial products, increasing agricultural and livestock yields, and increasing the stores of agricultural products in the hands of the state and of economic organizations; and (b) practical possibilities have been created for the state by the general strengthening of the country's economy.

Considering these above-mentioned facts, we make known the following concrete duties:

1. The trade organs will organize their work in such a manner that they will supply the farmers during this year with a quantity of industrial products through reciprocal trade. With the equivalents which the government will designate, and by exchanging these industrial products for agricultural products, they will be able, during this year, to procure not less than 100,000 quintals of grain for bread from this trade. They will see to it that, in future years, reciprocal trade is offered to the farmers in greater quantities than ever before and that the store of grains for bread acquired through this trade is increased each year.

2. The party committees, the local executive committees, and the storage organizations will take all measures to identify kulaks and to tax them in such a way that, during this year, through the taxation of the kulaks, the state will be assured a bread fund.

3. Party propaganda among the farmers will be intensified for the procurement of grain surpluses. The procurement of surpluses is to be considered an important duty for each Communist and for each functionary of the state who works in the farm areas.

4. The party organizations and the organs of the state will organize the grain-procurement campaign in such a way that it can be completed in the entire republic by 1 September for cereals and by December for late crops. The saying of the party, "The first threshing belongs to the state," must become a reality. It is to be understood by all that the fight for the realization of the grain-procurement plan is the fight for securing bread, for preserving peace, for establishing socialism, and for protecting independence. During the campaigns for grain procurement, the best activists of the party and of the state, from centers and from outlying districts, must engage in intensive work for the realization of the campaign.

To ease the work of the farmers during the second 3 months of this year, the Ministry of Procurement will extend the network of depots for grain storage, thus bringing the lower echelons of procurement nearer to the farms.

5. The government will study and decide on the lowering of taxation rates on meat and will publish the report in April of this year.

6. The measures which the party and the government have taken, and which they will continue to take in strengthening the poor and middle-class farmers, should be like a battle flag economically, like a powerful weapon in the hands of the party organizations, to bind the farm workers more securely to the government, to the working class, and to the party. These measures should act as a powerful means of increasing the love of our farmers for the Soviet Union and Comrade Stalin, who are the chief factors making possible this improvement of the farmers' lot. Agitators and propagandists should work in this direction.

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7. During April of this year, the government will consider and will make a decision on the exemption from financial taxation of the poor farmers' economy in the broadest terms, retroactive as of today.

8. All Communists and those without party affiliation who work in the state sector of our economy, in industry, in the mines, and wherever else they may be, must be completely and earnestly mobilized in the daily fight to lower production costs. The fight to lower production costs is to be understood by all as a fight for the maintenance of peace, strengthening the country's defenses, strengthening the alliance between the working class and the farmers, and establishing socialism in our country.

The lowering of production costs must be planned in all state enterprises. During this year, production costs must be lowered on an average of not less than 10 percent compared with 1950 for all sectors of the state economy. Increasing work norms, reducing administrative expenses, utilizing leftover materials from production processes to the greatest possible extent, maintaining machinery in good condition, and maximizing the exploitation of all the resources of the country for production, all these factors must be used to the utmost to reduce production cost.

### III. THE CLASS STRUGGLE IN THE FARM AREAS

1. The class struggle in the farm areas is characterized by its continued intensity. On the one hand, the kulak class is being economically limited and politically isolated by the party and the masses of working farmers, which are growing each day, and, on the other, the kulaks are intensifying their attempts to sabotage the aims of the government and are resisting economic limitation and political isolation. They have not been able to organize themselves in their struggle against the state, against the vigilance of the party and the masses of the farmers, and against the untiring work of the security organs of the state, but they are carrying on sabotage in a thousand ways, using for the most part the tactics of "pick up the stone but hide the hand." Recently, the kulaks of Zemblaku village reached the point of performing acts of terrorism and burned the village cooperative.

2. The directives of the Central Committee in connection with the class war in the farm areas have not been implemented as they should. Up to now, only a very small part of the kulaks have been identified. And while, on the one hand, there is inexcusable negligence on the part of the party and state organs in failing to identify kulaks, on the other hand, there has appeared a dangerous extremist element in connection with the fight against identified kulaks. The latter consists of the police measures against the kulaks in toto, which turned into a frontal offensive for the liquidation of the kulaks as a class. Such was the case in Korce last October. It must be understood by all that we are not now in the phase of liquidation of the kulak class but rather we are in the phase of economic limitation and political isolation of the kulaks. The struggle against the kulak class has been successful up to now only when the party has mobilized the masses of the poor and middle-class farmers for this struggle.

#### Our Duties in the Class Struggle in the Farming Areas

Considering that in the transitional phase from capitalism to socialism, the class struggle does not abate but becomes more embittered, we must keep in mind what the great Lenin said: "Even after the first serious defeat of the sinking exploiters, since they do not accept their overthrow, since they cannot believe such a thing, since they cannot conceive such a thing, they rise, to the fight

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with greatly increased energy, with a furious passion, with an anger increased hundred-fold, to recover the lost 'market' for their families so that they may again lead the sweet life, the life which is now being ruined by the 'vulgar populace' with destruction, noise, and 'menial labor'." Considering all this, our duty is to intensify the class struggle in the farm areas as much as possible, economically limiting and politically isolating the kulak class, and drawing the masses of the poor and middle-class farmers into this struggle. To this end, we publish the following concrete duties:

1. During the next 3 months, we must identify all the kulaks in our country, according to the directives contained in the Central Committee letter which was addressed to the local committees on 1 October 1950. It should always be kept in mind that the individual farm economy continuously gives birth to the capitalist element, i.e., new kulaks.
2. We must reinforce the work of the party in the farm areas in order to make the general masses of poor and middle-class farmers join the struggle to limit the kulaks. To stir up the poor farmers against the kulaks, especially the many kulaks who resist the laws of the state and who commit hostile acts, the state will confiscate the kulaks' wealth, and 25 percent of this wealth will be distributed free to the poor farmers.
3. The work of the party in the farm areas will be increased to root out and expose all the methods and means employed by the kulaks against the people's government.
4. The local party committees will receive even more help from the Central Committee in such a manner that no divergence from the party line is possible in the class struggle in the farm areas. Not only the Directorate of Agriculture, but also the other directorates of the Central Committee and the secretariat of the Politburo should make sure that this question receives special attention.
5. All aid to kulaks who persist in diverging from the party line should be withdrawn immediately. (The kulak must not receive cotton seed under the same conditions as the rest of the farmers; the kulak must pay more for Machine Tractor Station work than the other farmers, and the Machine Tractor Stations must not work his land unless it is planted with industrial crops.) To this end, the government will issue special instructions for the economic limitation of the kulak class.

#### IV. COLLECTIVIZATION OF AGRICULTURE

1. The existing agricultural cooperatives, through the aid given them by the state, have been economically strengthened. They have achieved a much higher output than the individual farmer and in every way are setting an example and are encouraging the individual farmers to embark on the road to collectivization. Individual farmers by the hundreds are requesting that new cooperatives be established. These requests have not come as a result of any pressure, but only as a result of persuasion of the poor and middle-class farmers. They have been shown that if they enter a cooperative, they will achieve much greater gains.
2. The agitation and propaganda of the party has not been as extensive as it should be for the spread of collectivization on the farms.
3. The necessary conditions are present for the spread of collectivization in the farm areas. Our assets for spreading the collectivization of agriculture are: the very existence of the people's government; the raising of our economic power, which makes it possible for the state to aid the farmers; the example set by the existing state agricultural enterprises; the great aid which the Soviet Union is giving us; the aid given by the People's Democracies, and the desire and will of our poor and middle-class farmers to join in the collectivization program and also in the limitations being imposed on the kulaks.

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4. The way of collectivization is the only way to establish socialism in the farm areas. Without the establishment of socialism in the farm areas, it will not be possible to establish socialism in our country. If we do not collectivize agriculture, it will remain in a primitive and divided condition. The speed of its development will not be satisfactory, it will not fill the needs of the people and industry for agricultural products, and our government will not be strengthened, as is necessary.

Concrete Duties in Connection With  
The Collectivization of Agriculture

Considering that without the collectivization of farms, it will not be possible to establish socialism; considering furthermore that Comrade Stalin has said, "the way out for agriculture is that small and very small farm economies should gradually, without pressure, but rather by example and complete persuasion, be united into large economies on the basis of common and collective work on the lands, the use of agricultural machinery and tractors, and the employment of scientific methods for the intensification of agriculture. There is no other way out"; considering finally that all conditions are ripe in our country for extending the collectivization of farms -- considering all these things, our chief duty is to extend the collectivization of the farms by strengthening the existing agricultural cooperatives and creating new agricultural cooperatives, as well as agricultural collectives, without pressure, but through practical example and persuasion, on the basis of the free will of the poor and middle-class farmers. To this end, we must be mobilized to realize the following concrete duties:

1. We must strengthen the existing agricultural cooperatives with staffs, agrarian credit, Machine Tractor Stations, selected seeds, tools, and technical aid.
2. We must increase party agitation and propaganda in the farm areas for more extensive collectivization to persuade the poor and middle-class farmers to enter agricultural cooperatives and agricultural collectives voluntarily. Our aim must be that, by the end of the 5-year period, we shall have collectivized our plain areas, foothills, and mountain land and instituted collective forms of agriculture everywhere. The agricultural collectives will be set up on the basis of the project-statute approved by the plenum. Agricultural collectives may be formed not only on mountain and foothill land, but also in the flat areas.
3. A plan should be made for importing machines and tractors in quantities sufficient to fill the needs which may arise with the extension of collectivization and, at the same time, to fill the needs of the individual farmers, as well as those of the state agricultural enterprises.
4. The Ministry of Agriculture will train the staffs necessary for the existing cooperatives, as well as for new cooperatives to be created in the future. The local party committees will take measures so that the requests for staffs which the Ministry of Agriculture will make shall be filled. Measures will be taken to see that the staffs for the cooperatives have at least completed primary school.

V. WORK OF THE PARTY IN THE FARM AREAS

1. The present party organization in the farm areas has many shortcomings. The central organizations are too far from the local committees. The local committees are weak in their work, and their communications with the central organizations are also weak. Thus, party directives do not always reach the farms; the local committees are not exercising the necessary control and are not giving the needed aid to the central farm organizations.

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2. The political and ideological work on the farms is not satisfactory. The local committees have not made the necessary efforts to obtain political and ideological education for the Communists in the farm areas, and even less to obtain political and cultural education for the farmers outside the party.

3. Of the chief shortcomings which we have listed above, the most important one is that the party organizations in the farm areas have not been able to institute strong action among the farmers outside the party. "The party grows and is strengthened," said Stalin, "if all classes of activity by men outside the party grow and are strengthened around the party. The party is weakened and loses strength if such activity does not exist." The activity of the farmers among us who are outside the party is very weak. Often, the Communists do work without trying to influence those farmers who are not in the party.

4. The Communists of the farms, in general, and also many functionaries of the state lack the necessary tact to attract the masses. They consider themselves privileged because they are in the party or because they have a government post, and they take a commanding attitude rather than a persuading one. This hinders the work of the party in the farm areas and hurts the bond linking the party to the masses of farmers.

These are the chief shortcomings of the work of the party in the farm areas. On the other hand, the successes of the party in the farm areas have been great. These successes show themselves in the flaming patriotism of our farmers who, as they did during the war, when, with prime devotion to the party, they took arms and fought for liberation, are today linked in an insoluble manner to the party and to the government. The untiring work which the farmers have done in increasing production and in fulfilling their obligations to the state, their active and very satisfactory participation in the voting of 28 May of last year and in February of this year, their participation in the state loan, the vigilance of the farming masses against internal enemies, their unbounded hatred of external and internal enemies, their readiness for the defense of the fatherland against all enemies, their great love for the Soviet Union and for our party, and their love of peace, all these are the successes of the party in the farm areas.

Our Duties in Connection With Strengthening  
the Work of the Party in the Farm Areas

Since the party is the advance guard of the working class, and since, without a strong party, the farmers would not be able to solve any of the serious problems of farming; furthermore, since the strengthening of the party in the farm areas is of primary importance for the successful accomplishment of all the duties which we have before us, and as we have accepted the commands of Comrade Enver for the strengthening of the party in the farm areas, our chief duty is to reinforce the party organizationally, politically, and ideologically in the farm areas.

1. The following organizational measures must be taken: The local party committees should be reinforced with new staffs (in the most important localities, party committees with limited functions should be created, similar to the factory committees, which would serve to strengthen the direction of party work in the farm areas; in the other localities, a party organizer should be designated for each locality). The number of instructors of the local committees should be increased by the necessary ratio. These organizational measures will be accomplished by the end of May of the current year.

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2. Measures should be taken for the improvement of social work of the party organizations in the farm areas, such as the people's councils, the youth, the women, the front, and all other organizations of the masses in the farm areas. The poor farmers should be gladly elevated to positions of responsibility, and hostile elements should be cleaned out.

3. The Politburo will be charged with the duty of studying measures to be carried out to increase political and ideological work in the farm areas.

4. Special care should be taken to further the cultural and educational development of the farming masses.

5. The BGSB (Union of Albanian Women) will increase its educational work to broaden as much as possible the role of women in the political, economic and cultural field in our country. Special care must be devoted to the participation of women in agricultural work.

6. It is recommended that the Presidium of the People's Assembly re-examine the competence of the people's councils of the farm areas so that their capabilities may be broadened, which at present are very limited, and that they may be better activated and may have more authority in directing women workers in the farm areas. Measures should be taken on the part of the government to strengthen with new staffs, local executive committees, as well as the executive committees of the areas which are weak.

7. The primary duty of the party in the farm areas must be to center the activity of the farmers outside the party around the party organizations in the farm villages. This must be done first by increasing the activity of the Communists of the areas, and in this way, the farmers' councils will be activated, as well as the youth, women's, and front organizations. Without such activity, a strong activity, the work of the party will be paralyzed.

8. Special care should be given to strengthening the youth organizations and the base organizations of the BRPSB (Union of the Albanian People's Youth), which must take complete responsibility for the implementation of party directives in villages which have no party organization.

9. In strengthening our bonds with the working masses on the farms, we should be guided by the teaching of Comrade Stalin, according to which, "To give life to the soviets, one condition is necessary above all else. It is necessary that personal tact be fundamentally changed in approaching the farmers. But what can bring about the change? By the Communist learning to consider as equals those outside the party. To do this he should not command, but he should listen with attention to the words of those outside the party. To do this, he should not only teach those outside the party, but he should also learn with them. Indeed, we have much to learn from men who are not party members. The question of reciprocal relationships between men in the party and nonparty members is one of the chief questions in the practice of the party. Lenin defined these relationships with one term, 'mutual faith.' However, faith on the part of a farmer who is not in the party cannot be found by those who do not know how to approach him as an equal. In such a case, instead of faith, mistrust is formed, and at the same time, the work itself adds to the creation of a great barrier between the party and the men outside the party. The party becomes separated from the masses, and the bond between the workers and the farmers is transformed into a barrier." That is how Comrade Stalin teaches us, and that is how we should act.

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These are the main shortcomings and duties in connection with the work of the party in the farm areas. The fulfillment of these duties is the indispensable condition for the further development of agriculture, for the strengthening of the state, and for the establishment of socialism.

The apparatus of the Central Committee and the courts, as well as all the interested institutions, should plan, within the month of April of the current year, the measures which they will take to accomplish the duties with which they are charged by this plenum.

The duties which have been set forth by this plenum are completely capable of being accomplished. Our party, led by its Central Committee headed by Comrade Enver, the invaluable aid of the Soviet Union, and the aid of the People's Democracies, is the greatest guarantee for the realization of these duties. Neither the insults and threats of external enemies nor the attempts of the reactionaries within the country can or will ever be able to stop the impetus of our people in its work for the protection of peace and the fatherland and for the establishment of socialism.

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