

**REPORT AT THE 1st CONGRESS OF THE CPA¹
"ON THE ACTIVITY OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE
AND THE NEW TASKS OF THE PARTY"**

November 8, 1948

(Extracts)

II²

CONSTRUCTION OF NEW ALBANIA

The complete liberation of Albania was the result of the heroic fight of the Albanian people, who spared nothing to win freedom and independence, but on the contrary put all their strength into the liberation war. At the same

1 The 1st Congress of the CPA was held in Tirana from the 8th to the 22nd of November 1948. The report on the activity of the CC was delivered by comrade Enver Hoxha. The report analysed all the activity of the Party, assessed the victories achieved and thoroughly disclosed the circumstances and causes of the mistakes made in the implementation of the line of the Party as a result of the hostile interference of the Yugoslav revisionists. It laid down the main guidelines for the construction of the bases of socialism, in which the fundamental economic task was to lift the country out of its great backwardness through the rapid development of the forces of production, with socialist industrialization of the country as the essence of this task.

Parallel with this, great importance was attached to lifting agriculture from its state of backwardness and its development through the socialist re-organization of the countryside. The development of the country called for the continuation of the

time, the liberation of Albania was the result of the unexampled heroism and the correct and farsighted policy of our Communist Party which placed itself at the head of the people, to lead them and play the historic role of the decisive leader of their destiny. Without the leadership of our Party, our people could not have achieved the great victories which gave them freedom and established genuine democracy in our country.

The liberation of Albania and of our people should be dedicated, also, to the heroic war of the peoples of the Soviet Union, to the glorious Soviet Army, led by the glorious Bolshevik Party of Lenin and Stalin, and by the leader of great genius, Stalin. Our unwavering faith in them enabled us to follow the right path and to avoid making mistakes. It is inconceivable that we and many other much greater and more powerful nations of Europe could have won freedom without the heroic war of the Soviet Union, which was the primary factor of the victory.

Each victory we achieved in the military and political field was closely linked with the military and political victories of the Soviet Union. By struggling for its correct line based on Marxism-Leninism, by viewing matters from the angle of the correct policy of the Soviet Union, by linking its war closely with the heroic war of the Soviet Union, our Party achieved all these victories for our people. Likewise, our people linked their war closely with

struggle for the elimination of the cultural backwardness, the deepening of the cultural and ideological revolution. The Congress crowned the victory of Marxism-Leninism over opportunism and Trotskyism, and armed the Party with great experience of the struggle against modern revisionism.

2 The 1st chapter of the report on "The Struggle of the People and of the Communist Party of Albania for Liberation" has been omitted in this volume because the main problems of that period have been dealt with in Volume I.

the war of all the enslaved peoples who were fighting fascism, and in the first place with the war of the neighbour peoples of Yugoslavia and Greece.

Right after the liberation of the country, the Democratic Government of Albania was faced with important tasks which it had to carry out by means of a total mobilization of our people, with the organization of the people's power and of the central and local apparatuses, and a thorough purge of the remnants of fascism and reaction in our country which, without doubt, would attempt to raise their heads and sabotage the great work of the reconstruction of our terribly war-ravaged country.

In the first place it had to do away with the remnants of fascism and disarm all the beys and the bourgeoisie of the country, who had fattened themselves under fascism on the blood of the people, by gambling with their lives, ready at any moment to sell our people to the foreigner. The National Liberation War defeated the privileged class in our country by eliminating its armed support, Italian fascism and German nazism. Reaction in our country was finished militarily and had lost any hope of attacking our people from within, other than with the aid and support of the Anglo-American reaction. Therefore, in the first months after liberation the people's courts were set up, which tried the war criminals with severity and great justice.

On the other hand, it was also imperative to disarm reaction and the bourgeoisie of the country from the economic aspect, and to this end our people's power has been merciless. All the property of the traitors and quislings³ was promptly confiscated and nationalized; the

3 The confiscation and nationalization of all the property of traitors and quislings was carried out according to the Law On the Confiscation of the Portable and Fixed Assets of Political Fugitives, dated December 15, 1944.

holdings and assets of profiteering merchants were seized, and they were forced to pay the taxes on war profits⁴; all the enterprises and factories of profiteering merchants were confiscated, for they had amassed their wealth by exploiting the blood and sweat of the people. The beys and agas who had sucked the blood of the peasantry for centuries on end were driven from their lands, and in this way the division of land among the peasantry was prepared, that is to say the real application of the Land Reform began. At the same time, the Party and the people's power nationalized all the mines and enterprises that were held as concessions, or owned by foreigners. In this way, the state sector of the economy was formed on which our people's power would rely for the reconstruction of the devastated country. The people's power found the country in a deplorable situation. Entire regions had been razed and the population was without shelter, there was little food, the bridges had been blown up, the roads destroyed, the means of communication were almost non-existent, and any transport of supplies was extremely difficult. The people's power quickly got bridge repairs underway, and in record time 2,031 metres of bridges were usable, which enabled the revival of the traffic. The repair of bridges continued through 1946, 1947, up till 1948; during this period an additional 1,094 metres of bridges were built. Similarly, all the power stations which had been either destroyed or damaged by the war, were repaired and put into operation, the rebuilding of the burned out houses was begun, as well as the reconstruction of all the old factories and workshops which existed, but which had been badly damaged by the war. In the course of these

⁴ This refers to the Law On Extraordinary Taxes on War Profits, dated January 13, 1945.

four years, the Party and the people's power undertook a series of important construction projects such as port repairs, irrigation and drainage canals, industrial buildings, constructions of a general nature, the building of the Durrës-Peqin and Durrës-Tirana railway⁵.

An extraordinary effort has been made by our people, who were fully mobilized for the reconstruction and worked with heroism unprecedented in the history of our country for the building of a better life, for the construction of socialism in our country. Innumerable sacrifices were made and deeds of untold heroism performed by our working class, in the first place, to implement the directives of the Party and state successfully. The morale of our workers, of our heroic youth, of our peasants who poured in to work in various enterprises, on construction sites and land improvement schemes, of the women of Albania who mobilized themselves on a very broad scale, was high. Our entire people, under the leadership of the working class, of the Party and of their people's government, with toil and sweat, but untiring, changed the face of war-ravaged Albania in an extremely short time. Voluntary work put in by the broad masses of the people, with our workers at their head, immeasurably lightened the burden on the people's power, so that all this construction was possible at a time when we were just emerging from that great war which had cost us so many human lives and so much damage to our economy. However, our people, who had fought with such heroic spirit for the liberation of the country and the establishment of their own democratic people's power, had grasped quite clearly that they had to place all their hopes for progress, first of all, in their own inexhaustible and powerful forces, and that this time, although it was true that they would be working for them-

⁵ These were the first railways built in Albania.

selves, and not for others, would be working and aiding their Party and people's power, which would most certainly lead them along the road of wellbeing, the road of socialism. The orientation which the Party and the people's power gave the construction in our country was most correct. It responded, in the first place, to the urgent needs of the moment and to the sure perspective on the road to socialism, on which our Communist Party is leading the country.

The result of such a correct orientation was that there was an obvious and satisfactory improvement in the life of our people from the first years of liberation, that the problem of food supplies was solved in the earliest post-war days, there was no more starvation, and immediate measures were taken for the re-organization of the means of communication which were totally destroyed, which constituted one of the most difficult and most important problems in our country.

Our future orientation in the field of construction will be towards building new factories and suitable houses for our workers, as well as for the needs of the state and the population. The railway and road network will be extended and its state improved. New investments will be made in industry and agriculture to increase the productivity of our mines and our land.

INDUSTRY AND MINES

Our country has natural conditions for the development of light industry. We have olive trees and all the possibilities exist for growing tobacco, cotton, sugar-beet, etc. After the nationalization of small factories and workshops, the people's power re-established them, bringing them together, and locating them in suitable places according to sound regional and technical criteria, and took

measures for their responsible technical and financial management, by rationalizing the distribution of the few technicians existing at that time.

Italian capital impeded the development of our small-scale industry. Even those factories they allowed us to build, such as cigarette factories of quite high productivity, were for their needs. As is known, industrial development is based on electric power. In our country where there are vast water and other power resources, these were entirely neglected. In the time of the regime of Zog and under fascist occupation only a few thermal power stations were built. It is self-evident that, in this way, the power supply for industry was meagre and expensive. We have made the most of this meagre inheritance, while our present factories, in the majority of cases, are equipped with their own motors. In 1938 there were 13 power stations with an installed capacity of 3,200 kW and with an average annual output of 3,000,000 kW/hours. In the 1939-1944 period their capacity was raised to 4,700 kW, with a yearly output of 6,500,000 kW/hours, whereas today, it is 7,400 kW with a yearly output of 9,200,000 kW/hours. In 1945 the total annual output of power was much lower than in 1939. But this was increased with the serious efforts made to put the industry on an efficient basis during 1946-1947, when all industry passed completely into the hands of the state. During 1947 we went from preliminary temporary organization over to the organization of industrial enterprises on a self-supporting basis⁶; 46 enterprises of a general national character were set up, as well as 13 other enterprises of a local character.

⁶ A method of planned management of the economic activity of socialist enterprises, according to which they must cover all expenses for production with, and at the same time secure a certain amount of accumulation from, the income from the sale of their products.

A wide-scale rationalization of industry was carried out. Smaller units were combined into larger ones such as in the case of oil presses, textiles and knitwear factories, engineering workshops, etc. In 1947, more than 45,000,000 leks went into investments, while in 1948 more than 300,000,000 leks have been allocated for investments. Together with the organization and improvement of our light industry, its production has also improved and increased, and though still far from meeting the needs of the people, the production capacity for oil, macaroni, soap, leather, footwear, etc. has been expanded. There was a rise, also, in the number of workers of whom there were no more than 3,000 in 1938.

In industry, our orientation will be towards increasing the number of industrial projects... Under the terms of the agreement of July 25, 1947, during the coming two years we shall receive from the Soviet Union a large textile combine⁷ of 21,000 shuttles and a capacity of over 20,000,000 metres of fabrics per year, a sugar refinery of an annual capacity of 10,000 tons of sugar, and a leather factory of an annual capacity of 500 tons of tanned leather. With the setting up of these factories the needs of the country for such items will be fulfilled in general. Construction work on the textile combine together with the workers' town of 4,600 inhabitants, as well as on the sugar refinery, will start in March 1949, and at the end of 1951 these projects will be commissioned. The textile combine and the leather factory will employ more than 2,500 workers. Besides these factories, during the 1949-1950 period, the Party and the state envisage the setting up of a factory for the production of vegetable oil, a timber treatment plant, a cement factory, a footwear factory, as well as the

⁷ The "J.V. Stalin" textile combine, inaugurated in November 1951.

completion of work in the Selita hydro-power station⁸ and a survey of the possibilities of exploitation of other water-power resources. Besides this, the capacity of the brick works will be expanded, and work will be started on the cotton textile factory, on the spare parts plant, while the equipment and rationalization of some existing industrial units will be completed.

Our country is rich in minerals. So far it is reckoned that 25 to 26 different minerals are found here. During the occupation all our mines were partially destroyed through the actions of the National Liberation Army⁹, and later blown up by the Germans, but today they have all been reconstructed thanks to the work and great sacrifice of our working class and our people. Today our mines employ more than 4,000 workers, and they are all run by our workers, educated by our Communist Party.

Great prospects exist for the development of our mines. In the first place, the output of oil, bitumen, chromium, coal, copper, etc., will be increased. The building of a new oil refinery with a capacity of 500 tons of crude oil treated daily, which will satisfy the needs of our country for fuels and lubricants, is envisaged for 1949-1950. It is also envisaged to considerably raise the output of oil, as well as that of bitumen, chromium, coal, blister copper, etc. Such a correct orientation of our Party for the large-scale development of industry is a sound basis for our advance towards socialism. This orientation will strengthen the working class, which leads the broad masses of the people in the building of a better life. We owe the extension and strengthening of our light and heavy industry to the great

⁸ The "V.I. Lenin" hydro-power station, inaugurated in November 1951.

⁹ This was done deliberately to prevent the enemy from exploiting these riches of the people.

aid of the Bolshevik Party, to comrade Stalin, and to the Soviet state, who help us unsparingly in this respect as in all other respects, so that our people may strengthen and modernize their economy, and see better days. All the working masses of our country, with the working class and with their heroic vanguard, the Communist Party of Albania, at the head, will be eternally grateful to the Bolshevik Party and comrade Stalin for this great and sincere aid, which strengthens both our economic and our political position, which safeguards the sovereignty and independence of our state, and they will mobilize all their forces so that industry, agriculture, and other fields may yield ever more concrete results for the progress of our country.

AGRICULTURE

WHAT HAS THE PEOPLE'S REVOLUTION GIVEN THE WORKING PEASANTRY

The people's revolution marked the end of the impoverishment and degradation of the peasantry. The victory in the war encouraged the peasants, who saw with their own eyes the overthrow of the feudal class as a result of the struggle of the entire working people led by the Party. From the powerful voice of the Party they heard that the beys and agas were done forever and should no longer be recognized as owners of the land, that debts and interests should no longer be paid to them.

The political changes and the changes in the state administration, which are the result of our people's revolution and of the brilliant leadership of our Communist Party, loyal to the teachings of Marxism-Leninism, enabled the peasants to breathe freely. These changes made them realize that their day had come, that they had been born again, and this time, not to suffering and misery, but to

lead a life which, with their own sweat and under the leadership of the Party, would keep improving from day to day.

In bourgeois revolutions, the transformations in the economy bring about the transformations in state power, whereas in the case of people's revolutions¹⁰, changes begin immediately in the state power, and it is the task of the latter, the people's power, to effect the changes in the economy, to construct the economic system in keeping with the interests of the victors in revolution, in keeping with the interests of the working people.

It is true that, as we said, work on this aspect started in the course of the war; during the war the traitors were attacked along with the occupier; it was in the course of the war that the class differentiation took place, but the main work in this direction had to be carried out after liberation.

The building of a new people's economy called for radical reforms of an economic character; it was the duty of the Party towards the working masses to create better economic conditions.

Of these reforms, the Land Reform¹¹ was the most important and urgent. It changed the old relations in land ownership once and for all, liberated the peasantry from centuries-old injustice and oppression, made the poor farmers owners of the produce of the land which they had

10 People's revolutions which are led by the party of the working class and developed as socialist revolutions.

11 Under the Law on Land Reform, land holdings exceeding the size provided for by the Law were expropriated without compensation and distributed to the landless and landpoor peasants free of charge and as private property. Each head of a family was given up to 5 ha of land. The sale, purchase and leasing of land were prohibited. Part of the expropriated land was not distributed but was transformed into state property. The state farms, which marked the birth of the socialist sector in agriculture, were set up on this land.

worked on behalf of the beys and agas, sensibly restricted the exploitation of man by man, crushed and liquidated for ever the economy of the feudal lords who had deceived and robbed the poor peasant strata for centuries.

In the policy of our Party for the countryside and in the application of the Land Reform we have also had some shortcomings. This explains why, despite the slogans urging the peasants not to recognize their former masters, a law on agricultural rent was drafted according to which, until the complete implementation of the Land Reform, the peasant-farmers were compelled to give the owners up to 30 per cent of the produce of the land, a law which was not well received, and aroused discontent among the peasants. Likewise, at the beginning, the Law on the Land Reform did not allow the adoption of radical measures of expropriation¹².

But these shortcomings, which are of secondary importance as opposed to the successes achieved in our work in favour of the peasantry, were quickly corrected.

The implementation of the Land Reform had these results:

Category of landowners	Number of land-owners	Expropriated		
		Arable land in ha	Olive trees	Number of draught animals
Landowners expropriated totally ¹³	8,714	54,499	287,944	5,923
Landowners expropriated partially ¹⁴	10,641	64,997	125,259	
State holdings ¹⁵	—	50,000	—	---
Estates of religious institutions ¹³	—	3,163	61,024	---
	19,355	172,659	474,227	5,923

To profit from expropriated land were:				
Family group	Number of families	Ha of land	Olive trees	Number of draught animals
Poor families	48,667			
Landless families	21,544	155,159	238,727	5,923
State sector	----	17,500	235,500	-----
	70,211	172,659	474,227	5,923

Prior to this, not only the best pieces of land, the most fertile parts, but also the forests, pastures, and water sources were completely in the hands of feudal owners and were exploited for their benefit.

The distribution of the land by the Land Reform was completed on November 17, 1946 to the astonishment and dismay of the enemies. But even after this the process of re-adjusting the relations based on land ownership

12 Both the Law on Agricultural Rent of January 14, 1945, which recognized the right of landowners to take from the peasant-farmers 20-30 per cent of their production for the 1944-45 season, and the Law on Land Reform of August 29, 1945, which allowed the landowners to retain 20-40 ha of land, were influenced in their formulation by the opportunist stand of Sejfulla Malëshova, who, with the interference of the Yugoslav leadership at the 2nd Plenum of the CC of the CPA in November 1944, was coopted as a member of the CC and of the Political Bureau of the CC of the CPA. After the war he engaged in anti-state and anti-party activity.

13 This group includes the big estate owners, merchants, as well as those officials, religious institutions, and peasants who did not till the land themselves.

14 This group includes all those who tilled the land themselves but who owned more land than provided for by the Law on Land Reform.

15 These were big estates worked by the peasants as sharecroppers usually paying one third of the product as rent under the system of feudal relations. With the implementation of the Law on Land Reform this land was distributed among the peasants entitled to it under the Law.

continued and this was necessary, because in the beginning many mistakes were made; even today there are still mistakes, therefore the efforts to put them right should be continued.

The application of the Land Reform ensured:

- a) the liquidation of feudalism;
- b) the creation of conditions for the transition from small individual economies, which engendered capitalism in the countryside, to collective, cooperative, socialist economies;
- c) the creation of the conditions for the improvement and modernization of agriculture, which are indispensable prerequisites for the healthy development of our entire people's economy.

The Land Reform was not a technical-administrative measure of our organs of people's power, nor was it an easy job. The question was to overthrow a class which had been ruling for centuries, a class with all its political and economic traditions.

The distribution of land presented its specific difficulties, it was a struggle in itself. The Party was fully mobilized, and together with it, all the working peasantry. As for the kulaks, in the beginning they sought to arouse doubts among the peasants, saying that, "It takes years, technicians, to carry out the Land Reform". They supported the slogans of the clergy, "The land belongs to God", etc. However, when they found that such slogans were of no avail in coping with the powerful attack of the working masses guided by the Party, some of them managed to join even the poor peasants' committees¹⁶ in order to sabotage their work, to help themselves and their relatives.

¹⁶ These were created by the Party for the rapid and fair implementation of the Land Reform.

According to the Marxist principle that the sharpening of the class struggle makes the enemy more savage and more determined to fight, the kulaks even went to such lengths as to throw bombs at the peasants who took their land. The people's courts showed that the expropriation of the land was the most painful blow to the bourgeoisie in the countryside.

However, despite the shortcomings of the Law at the start, which derived from the influence of the land policy of the Trotskyite leadership of the Communist Party of Yugoslavia, despite the deliberate sabotage of some technicians, despite the resistance of opposition elements, despite the lack of data and cadres for such an undertaking, thanks to the work of the Party and to the full support of the mass of the poor and middle peasants, the Land Reform was carried out, and one year afterwards the first title deeds were distributed, and in general the job was well done.

The peasants discovered from real facts that they were in power, discovered the great concern and interest in them of the Party and the people's power. This gave our peasant a courage he had never had; it made him conscious of his strength, convinced him that, just as he had won the war under the leadership of the Party, so with the Party he could achieve new successes.

The peasants were convinced that only the Party, inspired by the Marxist-Leninist teachings, relying on the great achievements and the invaluable experience of the motherland of socialism, the great Soviet Union, was capable of implementing such a reform in the interest of the working masses.

The triumph of the people's revolution opened a brilliant page in the history of the peasantry, just as it had done for the entire working people. The distribution of land, no doubt, was the first step, but the Party and

the state were not satisfied with just this in their policy concerning the peasantry which had thrown off its two-fold yoke but had suffered heavy damage in the war. Despite their good will, the poor peasants were not in a position to recover without assistance. The Party and the state did not fail to tackle this task. Aid in this respect has been all-sided, and, with the strengthening of the people's power, it has been increased from year to year.

In administering this aid, our policy has been, and will be, that the cooperatives and poor peasants should benefit first of all.

The changes in the ownership and relations in regard to land, the beginnings of the use of advanced means, the great material assistance from the state, and the new political and social conditions in our country brought about a new situation for the peasantry. The sweat and toil of the poor peasants no longer go to the benefit of the land-owners of yesterday; the peasants own the fruits of their labour. Whereas prior to liberation the labouring peasants were serfs, exhausted, ragged, famished, and despised, with the victory of the National Liberation War they were rescued from that plight and are now perceptibly improving their economies, convinced that under the leadership of the Party and with ceaseless work they will see still better days.

We can express ourselves in comrade Stalin's words:

"Now the countryside cannot any longer be termed a stepmother to the peasant".*

As is known, up to the liberation of Albania, land was mainly the property of feudal owners, kulaks and, partially, of poor peasants. As a result of the seizure of the power by the people, following the changes in the

*J.V. Stalin, Works, vol. 13, p. 52 (Alb. ed.).

economic, political and social relations, apart from the private sector in agriculture, conditions were created for setting up two new sectors: the sector of cooperatives of the socialist type, and the entirely socialist state sector.

A. *Agricultural cooperatives.* — Our country did not have cooperatives before. The cooperatives form a new sector of the agricultural economy with a socialist basis. The Party and state will do their utmost to extend this sector through all-round material, organizational, instructional, political and cultural assistance.

In this case we bear in mind what Lenin writes:

*"A social system emerges only if it has the financial backing of a definite class... At present we have to realize that the cooperative system is a social system we must now give more than ordinary assistance, and we must actually give that assistance"**.

The cooperative sector is new in our country, but the party members and all the peasantry should thoroughly understand that the cooperatives are sound organizations which nothing can stop from marching ahead and, as comrade Stalin has said, from becoming

*"... levers of the economic progress, the levers of the socialist development of agriculture"***.

The agricultural cooperatives constitute the highest form of the coordination of personal interests with general interests of the state. We should be clear about the words of Lenin:

*"... for small-scale farming will not bring deliverance from want"****.

*V.I. Lenin, Collected Works, vol. 33, p. 526 (Alb. ed.).

** J.V. Stalin, Works, vol. 12, p. 162 (Alb. ed.).

*** V.I. Lenin, Collected Works, vol. 30, p. 152 (Alb. ed.).

Agriculture must ensure the people's food, raw material for industry, and its share of the national income in a planned way. Planned economy can exist only through the state sector and the cooperative sector, whereas small, individual private property cannot ensure this, and is frequently the cause of anarchy in production. In small economies the farmer is obliged to plant everything he needs, without studying the conditions for production. This can be avoided in the larger, collectivized economies, in which the most suitable land can be reserved for each crop.

Besides this, the small farmers on their own land do not utilize their forces rationally, they are slow to understand the need to apply advanced methods of agrotechnology, and lack the means to buy or use mechanized farming equipment, which has a great influence on the improvement of production. Because of all these main advantages and others which are numerous and significant, because, as Lenin says, cooperation is a fundamental and main link in the construction of socialism in the countryside, because cooperation is in a position to cover all the major fields of the political, economic and cultural life of the peasantry, our Party and state will unreservedly support this cooperative road. . .

In the cooperatives wooden ploughs are no longer used.

The cooperatives occupy first place in the use of chemical fertilizers, in fighting plant and animal diseases, in livestock breeding (some of the cooperatives have built or are in the course of building modern stalls), in land improvement, irrigation and drainage, etc.

The agricultural cooperatives have set the example in fulfilling and overfulfilling the obligations of grain deliveries, and have sold all their surplus products only to the buying and selling and consumer cooperatives.

The participation of women in production has increased enormously and a stern struggle is being waged against illiteracy in the cooperatives. Particular importance has also been attached to meeting the great need for cadres. Today, the ordinary peasants, who up till yesterday were scarcely given a thought, are successfully carrying out their work as accountants, team leaders, agricultural technicians, secretaries, chairmen of cooperatives, and good organizers.

In local or national mass actions, the cooperativists are the first volunteers, and not only that, but they set the example of will-power, discipline, and productivity at work. For instance, from among 14 cooperativist youths of Dobrač who went in the first shift to work on the railway 13 came back home as shock-workers. However, along with these successes, there are many shortcomings in the work in the agricultural cooperatives, and over matters of principle at that.

Above all, the agricultural cooperatives were not set up on an entirely socialist basis; their Constitution and all their organizational forms were based on, or copied point by point from, Yugoslav practice, as a result of the work of the anti-Marxist leadership of the Communist Party of Yugoslavia.

We are thankful to the Bolshevik Communist Party of great Stalin who helped us correct those mistakes and follow the Marxist-Leninist road faithfully in the entire economic policy in the countryside.

The distortions existing in the old Constitution of the agricultural cooperatives were the following:

— forty per cent of the product was distributed according to the land and 60 per cent according to the work contributed to the cooperative, which was in the interest of kulaks even more than in the past. This manner of distributing the product permitted exploitation and the

revival of capitalism within the cooperatives — a thing which has aroused discontent and has greatly hindered the strengthening of the cooperatives and the regular participation in work of all the cooperative members.

— the number of livestock and the amount of land left to the cooperative families for personal use was not limited. Thus, there were cases when cooperative members worked most of their days, not for the cooperative but on their individual plots, around their houses or looking after their livestock outside the property of the cooperative.

These and other shortcomings, such as the failure to fix the minimum number of days every member should work for the cooperative during one year, the provision that, for a cooperative to be set up, at least 25 to 30 peasant families and over 200 hectares of land were necessary, etc. account for the fact that work in the cooperatives has not gone as well as it should have done, and conditions were not created for the setting up of more cooperatives.

But, besides these, as a result also of this Constitution, other mistakes were also made in the cooperatives which, in the first place, are:

1. — Lack of a sound organization resulting also from insufficient leading ability and lack of experience of work.

2. — Lack of a detailed and complete plan and incorrect distribution of forces.

3. — Lack of vigilance, a serious shortcoming, which weighs heavy on some party organizations.

In general, the background of the members has not been carefully studied when setting up agricultural cooperatives. It has not been clearly understood that only the poor and middle peasants may become cooperative members. In some cooperatives, in Shkodra especially, kulaks, elements consciously working to destroy the cooperative, hostile elements who had wormed their way to preserve their privilege over the land, elements who

are now being thrown out, at first managed to join the cooperatives.

And then, there are cases when party work has gone well up to the setting up of the cooperative, but has stopped at that. Such a thing is totally wrong. Lacking experience of the work and organization, a newly set up cooperative stands in great need of the help of the people's power and the Party. It has only one positive thing — the desire to work collectively. And this should be channelled.

Comrade Stalin says:

"It would be all the more a mistake to believe that the members of the collective farms have already become socialist. No, a great deal of work has to be done to remould the peasant collective farmer to set right his individualistic mentality and to transform him into a real working member of a socialist society".*

Then, without letting go the fact that kulaks infiltrate into cooperatives, it is impermissible to leave the cooperatives to their fate. And this is explained by comrade Stalin in this way:

"There are bound to be elements of the class struggle in the collective farms as long as there still remain survivals of individualistic, or even kulak, mentality, as long as there still exists a certain degree of material inequality".*

Up till recently the agricultural cooperatives maintained insufficient contact with, and received insufficient help from, the General Cooperatives' Committee. The question of the centralization of cooperatives as group organizations

*J.V. Stalin, Works, vol. 12, p. 161 (Alb. ed.).

** Ibid., p. 160.

was wrongly understood — it was supposed that the state had no right to involve itself in their affairs. They were left to themselves. In order to help them, the Party and the people's power should lead them, coordinate their work with the state plan, and make them an inseparable part of the economic system of the people's democracy in its development towards socialism.

In order to improve this state of affairs, from the 11th to the 13th of last September, an initiating commission, relying on the principles and the Constitution of the advanced collective farming economies of the great Soviet Union, drafted a new Constitution which, presented to the cooperativist peasants for approval, was adopted enthusiastically.

This draft-Constitution, which was drawn up on correct Marxist-Leninist lines, of course, further sharpened the struggle of the kulaks, and as a result, their opposition became more active.

The new draft-Constitution of the agricultural cooperatives is a success for our Party, because it places the cooperatives on correct Marxist-Leninist foundations, and it is a success for the agricultural cooperatives themselves, for they wanted this Constitution long ago. It is a guarantee for the progress of the existing cooperatives, and for a big increase in the number of cooperatives. Now there are many requests from the peasants for the assistance of the people's power in organizing themselves into cooperatives. Therefore, it is the duty of the party organizations to carefully study the draft-Constitution of the cooperatives.

But this does not mean that with the new draft-Constitution, or with the approval of the Constitution, our work is accomplished. The persuasion of the poor and middle peasants of the advantage and necessity of going from poor, little, isolated economies, to large, united, co-

operative, socialist economies, can be achieved only through great political and organizational work by the party organizations.

Without such work, and an uninterrupted one at that, even if set up, the cooperatives will either be disbanded or always remain weak. Comrade Stalin has said:

"Their economic successes, their stability and life depend totally and completely on the successes of organizational work and the political work of the Party, for without this prerequisite economic successes would be built on sand".*

The setting up of agricultural cooperatives, the growth of the collective peasant economy, the socialist transformation of the countryside strengthen the positions of the Party and its close links with the peasant masses. On this question, Lenin writes:

*"Only if we succeed in proving to the peasants in practice the advantages of common, collective or artel farming, in helping them by means of collective or artel farming, will the working class, which wields state power, be really able to convince the peasants that its policy is correct and thus secure the real and lasting following of the millions of peasants"**.*

Cooperativism is our future, therefore the cooperativists must prove themselves worthy of the socialist work they have undertaken; they must spare nothing to make their work go well, must use the means of work and production carefully, must become a vivid example for the other peasants about them, extend the area under cultivation day by day, and increase the number of new members all the time; and never for a moment should they forget

* J.V. Stalin, Works, vol. 14, p. 107 (Alb. ed.).

** V.I. Lenin, Collected Works, vol. 30, pp. 210-211 (Alb. ed.).

that they, too, only a little time ago, were in individual economies.

B. *The state sector of agriculture.* — This is an entirely socialist new sector, which, as we said, was born after the liberation of the country and included farms, nurseries and olive groves, organized into state agricultural enterprises.

If someone should say that the state had its own land even prior to that, he would be forgetting that the state of that time was fundamentally different from the present state; he would be forgetting that our state sector is different from the feudal and capitalist state sector which always represents the interest of some individuals and is not only not in opposition to the private sector, but assists it, because it is part and parcel of this sector.

Our state is not directed by the economy, but it directs the economy.

The role of the state sector in agriculture is great; it is the sector in which the revolutionary movement for production and science in agriculture will grow and develop. It is the sector in which mechanization and the most advanced agrotechnical methods will find full application, it is the sector which will become the example for, and will aid, the agricultural cooperatives and other peasants with selected seeds, seedlings, breeding stock and with specialized cadres. It will help in the solution of the problem of supplying the towns and industrial centres with vegetables, fruit, milk and other products.

The Party and the state will give special attention to the strengthening and growth of our state farms because, although their role is still small at present, they will become very important.

On the party members and all the workers in these enterprises falls the task of making this very important,

entirely socialist, sector of agriculture play the role it should: the role of pace-setter in the uplift and modernization of agriculture, of following the example of the Soviet state farms.

It is necessary to strengthen and modernize the internal organization of work on a self-supporting basis. Our farms, nurseries, and olive groves should become centres for the dissemination of scientific methods of work. They must carry out regular crop rotation, make tests and experiments in every direction, ensure the selection and improvement of all field crops and livestock, and increase the amount of best quality seeds, saplings, and breeding stock. Our state farms should apply the most up to date and fruitful methods of agrotechnology, and utilize the teachings of revolutionary Soviet science, based on Marxism-Leninism. The mechanized work, crop rotation, the use of chemical fertilizers and agrotechnical methods should not only yield record harvests, but should also cost less than in the agricultural cooperatives and in the private sector.

Our state farms should constantly increase their activity for the cultural and vocational education of their worker personnel, must increase the number of learner-workers and become centres which, through their example, disseminate their experience, not only among the neighbouring agricultural cooperatives and peasants, but also among those more distant, and extend day by day the area of previously unworked land they plant to crops. The Party and state will ensure that the role of this sector becomes greater day by day, because this is the basis for the rapid progress of agriculture, it is the school where all the peasants and agricultural cooperatives may learn in practice about modern technique.

... Consistent in their line of assisting the peasantry, the Party and government set up the machine and tractor

stations (MTS)¹⁷ as enterprises of a socialist character, which had the task of helping the cooperatives and the poor peasants, in the first place, to cultivate the land they had gained.

By assisting the poor and middle peasants the machine and tractor stations created the technical bases for the transition to higher socialist forms of working the land.

Working on the principle of achieving ever higher agricultural yields, the machine and tractor stations are assisting on a very broad scale in the introduction and dissemination everywhere of advanced agrotechnical methods in agricultural process.

The machine and tractor stations play a role of great importance in the development and strengthening of the agricultural cooperatives. An important factor for the progress of agricultural cooperatives and of agriculture in general is, undoubtedly, the wide-scale utilization of farm machinery in various agricultural processes, simply for the fact that the replacement of primitive means with modern ones permits the increase and improvement of production and, as a result, the raising of the living standard of the labouring masses of the countryside.

Taking into account the major role and importance of the mechanization in agriculture, the Party and government have given and will give in the future particular at-

17 In order to become exemplary and modern socialist economies, the agricultural cooperatives needed an advanced material-technical basis. To this end, in 1947, the machine and tractor stations (MTS) were set up as state socialist enterprises in agriculture, and were used as a special form of the great aid which the state provided for the peasantry in an organized way to establish and strengthen the new cooperativist order. The MTS's were the foundation stone of the new material-technical basis of socialist agriculture, the powerful political and organizational means by which the Party propagated amongst the peasants the necessity for, and the benefits of, collectivization.

tention to the further development of the MTS, therefore we shall not spare capital investments for this purpose. . .

In the present situation the extension and strengthening of mechanization of agriculture and, in the first place, the mechanization of the cooperative sector, on the broadest possible scale, emerges as a major task of great importance.

The machine and tractor stations should become the main factors for the application of advanced agrotechnical methods in agriculture, as a new, more advanced form for the development of agriculture on a socialist basis.

C. *The private sector of agriculture.* — The application of the Land Reform — a result of the establishment of our people's power — was a mortal blow to capitalism and feudalism in agriculture, but this does not mean that a homogenous class was created in the countryside. Today in our countryside there are poor and middle peasants and kulaks — the latter, though they have lost part of their land and are deprived of the possibility of having others work for them, are doing their utmost to regain their lost positions.

It is true that the kulaks have been expropriated, either completely or partially, and have lost their privileges, but as individuals, and as a certain mode of thinking, they will exist for many years yet.

The policy of the Party is to effect a correct differentiation, to give maximum support to the poor peasants, to support and educate the middle peasants, and together with the former, help them join the agricultural cooperatives, and to wage a relentless struggle against the kulaks and their mentality. Our main slogan will be: restriction of kulaks in the countryside¹⁸.

¹⁸ This implies the economic restriction and political isolation of the kulaks.

Under the present conditions of the countryside, the role of the private sector is extraordinarily great. We should keep in mind the fact that, of 317,000 ha of arable land, 288,630 ha, or 91.05 per cent are in private hands. Precisely for this reason, for the time being, the agricultural economy will rely on this sector.

The people's revolution created new conditions for our peasants and for the development of agriculture. If large tracts of land suitable for growing grain, but which were utilized only as pastures, had not been taken from the beys by force, there could have been no thought of the improvement of our agriculture.

The peasants supported and took part in the National Liberation War, not only because the Party told them that this was how they could get the occupiers and internal exploiters off their backs, but also because it assured them that in this way the existing relations would be radically changed, and conditions for a new life would be created, a life which would enable the labouring peasants to raise their economic and cultural level and improve their life from day to day, from year to year.

The peasants, who had gained the land and had the aid of the people's power from its earliest days, were charged with the task of increasing production to ensure the bread, which could not be achieved without the extension of the area planted and the use of new agrotechnical methods. With a view to raising the wellbeing of the peasants and of the entire people, the Party called on the peasants to mobilize themselves to till the maximum area and work it better.

The first to respond to this task were the poor peasants, those who gained their land from the Land Reform. And the results in this respect are very good...

.....

OUR TASKS IN THE FIELD OF AGRICULTURE

Comrades,

Even a brief glance at the social, political and economic changes, and in particular at the changes in our agricultural economy in the course of this period, will show that despite all the difficulties, obstacles, and the fierce struggle of capitalist elements in the countryside, the Party and government managed to find a correct solution to the problems of agriculture¹⁹ during this period. However, we should not relax and think that everything has been done, and done faultlessly at that. In the years to come, we are faced with great tasks and majestic projects in agriculture; therefore, if we do not analyse all the shortcomings and errors that have been made in agriculture, if we do not submit them to criticism and do not recognize them as mistakes, as the Party teaches us, then we shall find it difficult to carry out our tasks in the future.

In our agricultural economy, political and economic changes have started to take place; the relations of men to the land are being changed, and men themselves are changing. These changes should place our agriculture in the truly socialist road, and to achieve this the following tasks must be put before the Party and the sector of agriculture:

I. *Extending cropland and increasing yields:*

1. — From year to year we should extend the area of land under cultivation by opening up new land, draining marshes and swamps, by extending the area of vineyards, olive groves and other crops in the hill country. We have

¹⁹ In implementing its policy in the countryside, the Party was guided by the Leninist slogan "Reliance on the poor peasant, alliance with the middle peasant, struggle against the kulak".

the possibility to extend the arable area to more than 4,000,000 ha within the next four or five years.

2. — Along with the extension of the cultivated area, we should raise the average yields of our fields by not less than 25 per cent. This will enable us in the future to ensure our people the agricultural products and bread they need.

3. — With a view to ensuring a stepping-up of the drive for increased yields in agriculture it is necessary to get down immediately to the work of organizing a sound basis of seeds. Likewise, it is necessary to study in detail the question of the use of different seeds in connection with the present situation of agriculture in our country.

4. — It is necessary to solve as soon as possible the problem of technical cadres, of agronomists of middle school training, etc., with the aim of meeting the needs for agronomists, especially in the main agricultural regions.

5. — Agronomical knowledge should be disseminated by every means among our peasantry, and every effort should be made to have our peasantry apply the most advanced methods of working the land and tending the different crops; the use of chemical and organic fertilizers should be increased.

6. — Explanatory work is necessary to raise and strengthen the sense of discipline among the labouring peasants, so that they fulfil the pledges they have taken to improve the quality of work in agriculture, to till the new land which is given them additionally, keeping to timetable for the planting, hoeing and other jobs, so as to harvest crops and make their deliveries to the state on time.

II. *Developing the sector of agricultural cooperatives:*

1.— It should be borne in mind that the setting up and development of this sector is a question of major im-

portance for our Party. We must constantly study, direct, and strengthen the cooperative movement in the countryside.

2. — We should intensify the explanatory work in the countryside concerning the cooperative movement, its importance and the role it plays in raising the wellbeing of the peasantry.

3. — The peasants, who express the desire to set up an agricultural cooperative, should be given all-round help in the organization of the work and, later, in the strengthening of the cooperative. As well as this, they should be assisted to organize the working of the social property according to the agronomical requirements and supported through the necessary agricultural credits. The experience and the practice of the existing agricultural cooperatives should be used as a means of persuasion among the peasants.

4. — Any violation of the principle of voluntary joining in cooperatives is absolutely impermissible, and the democratic principles in the existing agricultural cooperatives must not be infringed.

In the existing cooperatives:

a) It is necessary to eliminate completely all the errors and shortcomings stemming from the application of the former Constitution, which, as it stood, reflected the anti-Marxist-Leninist principles of the Trotskyite Yugoslav leadership, and revived capitalist relations in the agricultural cooperatives.

b) The cooperatives should be strengthened by means of increasing the agricultural inventory, the draught power, and buildings, increasing the number of livestock belonging to the cooperative, extending the cropland and increasing yields.

c) It is important to eliminate the shortcomings stemming from rewarding the members according to the amount of land contributed to the cooperative, to liquidate the personal irresponsibility at work, and egalitarianism which have hindered the raising of yields and norms of work, which in turn have hindered the economic development of the cooperatives.

d) The doors of the existing cooperatives should be more widely opened for the admission of new members from the ranks of the poor and middle peasants, who understand and embrace the cooperativist road. It is necessary to condemn those instances when new members are refused admission to the cooperative simply because they had not joined it from the very beginning.

e) It is indispensable to purge the cooperatives of the kulaks and merchants who have smuggled themselves into them and undermine them from within by spreading harmful, venomous rumours, by doing counter-revolutionary work, and by issuing slogans against the Party and its work for the further development of the cooperatives.

f) We should never for a moment forget that the cooperative member of today was an individual peasant only yesterday, and therefore badly needs education in the spirit of loyalty to our cause of collectivism, in the spirit of working for the common interest of the cooperative economy, so we have the duty to work more systematically and with greater dedication for the political education of the cooperative members. We must increase and educate our activists among the cooperative members and the leading cadres of the cooperatives. This is the key to successes in the cooperatives.

III. *In the state farms:*

1. — The party committees and the basic party organizations in the state farms should fully mobilize them-

selves for the continuous development of these state farms, so that they become examples for our peasants in the scientific work of socialist agriculture. These state farms should become a major source, not only of spreading the experience in socialist agriculture, but also of the distribution of seeds, breeding stock and other agricultural products for our peasantry.

2. — Taking into account our possibilities, we should plan the setting up of a number of new state farms, and take concrete measures for the extension and consolidation of the existing ones, by equipping them with the necessary means and technicians.

3. — A number of state farms should liquidate the backwardness in their economies through better management, increase of yields, the rational utilization of all the land according to the most advanced methods of agronomy, the utilization of all machinery, means, and forces they possess. They should be organized better and more economically, enforcing a regime of frugality in handling their finances and materials, utilizing all possible means of improving the situation by lowering the cost of production.

4. — It is necessary to put an end to the shifting of cadres in the state farms which is caused by an incorrect organization of work, pay scales which are unfair and give no incentive, by failure to provide housing and favourable living conditions, as well as by the poor political work among the masses. It is our duty to establish the cadres in the state farms, to create the necessary living and working conditions for them, to organize the problem of pay correctly, and to work systematically for the general uplift of the political level of the workers. We should not forget that the cadres, the decisive workers in state farms, just like the working class in industrial

enterprises, are the base of our Party from which it draws new forces.

IV. In the work of the machine and tractor stations:

1. — It is necessary to constantly increase the fleet of tractors and, on this basis, to systematically expand the machine and tractor stations and extend the area under their service; to use the capacity of the tractors and other farming machines to reach the norms fixed for them, and take all measures for the fulfilment and overfulfilment of these norms. As a rule, the machine and tractor stations should, in the first place, carry out their work in agricultural cooperatives, then in the fields of the poor peasants and, in due course, in those of the middle peasants.

2. — Timely repair of machines, meeting all requirement as to quality, should be strictly abided by. Measures for the building and equipment of the repair shops with tools and machines should be taken. It is important to do away with personal irresponsibility for the maintenance of tractors, to put in order the organization of work and its just remuneration. In the MTS tractors and machines must be used to the maximum, economizing fuel and waging a systematic struggle to cut down costs.

3. — A determined struggle has to be waged against slipshod work, raising the quality of field work under the agrotechnical rules in force. It is essential to determine accurately, according to contracts, the obligations of the machine and tractor stations towards the cooperatives and the working peasantry for good quality and expedient work and, when the terms of the contracts are not met, to see to it that the damaged party has its right of compensation taken into consideration. The cadres and workers of the machine and tractor stations should also be brought to account for irresponsible work.

4. — The expansion of the fleet of tractors and of other farming machines requires a three-four fold increase in the number of qualified cadres in the machine and tractor stations; uninterrupted work with the existing cadres for a perceptible rise of their qualification is required. If we want our cadres to be educated and raised to a higher level, we should take care of, and create favourable living conditions for, them.

V. *In the private sector:*

1. — The Party and all the basic organizations should never forget that the sector which is most important at the moment, in regard to size, is the private, individual farm sector which is not very productive, but which constantly gives rise to the possibility of the revival of capitalism. Therefore, in view of the present conditions of the party work in the countryside, we should bear in mind the words of great Lenin:

*"The task at the present moment is to come to an agreement with the middle peasant — while not for a moment renouncing at the same time the struggle against the kulak, and firmly relying solely on the poor peasants. . ."**

2. — We should most resolutely restrict the scope of activity of the kulaks by a proper application of the progressive taxation on their holdings. We should help the poor peasants with credits and implements, and explain the road of cooperation to the poor and middle peasants and encourage them to set out on it, as the only road ensuring the progress of the working peasantry. We should bear in mind that the process of transition to cooperation is a difficult and long one. . .

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* V.I. Lenin, Collected Works, vol. 28, p. 207 (Alb. ed.).

PEOPLE'S EDUCATION AND CULTURE

. . .

A. *People's education.* — As is known, the foundation of the development of culture is, first of all, the organization of people's education. The founders of Marxism-Leninism always regarded the school as an important weapon in the struggle for the liberation of the working masses. Marxism-Leninism has long ago exposed the hypocritical legend of the bourgeoisie about the apolitical character of education and the school, which, according to the bourgeoisie, stands above classes and above parties.

*"Education", comrade Stalin says, "is a weapon, the effect of which depends on who has it in his hands and against whom is it used."**

*"Our work in the sphere of education", Lenin said in 1918, "is part of the struggle for overthrowing the bourgeoisie. We publicly declare that education divorced from life and politics is lies and hypocrisy."***

In the instructions and principal documents of Lenin and Stalin we see that the tasks in education are defined as the transformation of the school from a weapon of domination of the bourgeois class into a weapon of the complete elimination of the division of society into classes, into a weapon of the communist transformation of society.

In his brilliant programmatic speech at the 3rd Congress of the Komsomol in 1920, Lenin defined the distinction of principle existing between the Soviet school and the old school of the time prior to the revolution, and pointed out the need to make critical use of the old culture.

* J.V. Stalin, "Questions of Leninism", 10th Rus. ed., p. 610.

** V.I. Lenin, Collected Works, vol. 28, p. 83 (Alb. ed.).

Speaking of the importance of the systematic and persistent mastering of knowledge, Lenin stressed that,

*"You can become a communist only when you enrich your mind with knowledge of all treasures created by mankind"**.

To avoid the separation of science from life, of theory from practice, Lenin insisted on such an arrangement of education as would enable the youth to apply the knowledge acquired in life and to take an active part in the construction of the new life.

The school should be the bearer of the ideas and principles of the policy of the Party, of its tasks and objectives among the working masses; it should implant in them the new socialist principles of education, educate the children of all strata of the population according to these principles, fight against any sort of ideology alien to us as well as against its alien influence on our children. These are the principal instructions of Marxist-Leninist science on questions of education, which we should not forget.

What is the situation in the field of people's education?

The first task was that, in order to make education fully accessible to the people, it had to be acquired beginning from the low elementary school up to the higher institute of learning.

Schooling was made free of charge and available to all the working masses, regardless of their sex, material conditions, religion, free from superstitions and prejudices.

The school network and the number of pupils attending grew at a furious rate.

In 1938 there were 643 elementary schools, which were attended by less than one fourth of the school-age children, that is, about 52,024 pupils, and very few completed the

* V.I. Lenin, Collected Works, vol. 31, p. 320 (Alb. ed.).

course, while in 1945, that is, in the first year after the liberation of Albania we had 928 elementary schools attended by 78,000 pupils; in 1947 the number of elementary schools grew to 1,755 with 140,000 pupils, while in 1948 the number of schools reached 1,893.

Likewise, the number of 7-year and secondary schools increased several times over. In 1948 we have 107 7-year schools and 18 secondary schools. In some mountain districts summer season schools are opened, and in those places where it was impossible to open schools, the practice of travelling teachers has been used.

During these years hundreds of new schools were built. For the children living a long way from school, hostels were opened at some schools where pupils live and attend courses on state bursaries.

The favourable conditions created as a result of the liberation of Albania for the development of the people's education, enabled us to come closer to the realization of one of the most important achievements of the cultural revolution — the implementation of the principle of compulsory universal primary school attendance in town and countryside.

In his speech at the 16th Congress of the CPSU(B), comrade Stalin said:

"The chief thing is now to pass to universal compulsory elementary education. I say 'the chief' thing, because this would be a transition, a decisive step in the cultural revolution".*

In the 1947-1948 school-year, from a total of 2,602 inhabited centres in Albania, compulsory universal primary education was applied in 2,378 of them, comprising

*J.V. Stalin, Works, vol. 12, pp. 291-292 (Alb. ed.).

93.7 per cent of the school-age children. This is a great achievement of our people.

A clear proof of the great concern of the state for the people's education are the funds allocated for the needs of culture and education.

The old school system was not unified. There were state and private gymnasiums, pro-gymnasiums, elementary schools, religious schools, and so on, all of them with differing lengths of their courses, not unified with other schools. The schools were under the influence of one or the other reactionary or imperialist group, British, French, Italian, Catholic, Muslim, etc.

The programs were not compulsory for all schools, and were never carried out. Each teacher used the textbooks he pleased. Therefore, the problem of our people's school was to realize the principle of unified schooling.

Since the reform of 1946-1947, our system of people's education gives every citizen of our country the possibility to go, without any obstacle, through all grades of school, from the lowest to the highest. A single type of school with one length of course has been established: elementary school — four years, 7-year school — seven years (counting in the four years of the elementary school), and secondary school — four years. Admission to school has been fixed at the age of seven.

The unification of the programs has been carried out; the teaching programs are the law of the school life and are the same for all schools, in each particular subject and grade.

The present school programs envisage for the pupils a more profound, more extensive, more all-sided knowledge than that provided by the old school.

The high level of science, and the unity of theory with practice, which contribute to the attainment of a high

ideological level, are the important principles and distinguishing features of the new school we are creating.

While omitting the unnecessary things, like teaching religion, Latin, and ancient Greek, the so-called science "On Life", etc., great attention has been attached to the thorough teaching of the mother tongue and literature, mathematics, physics, chemistry, history, geography, biology, and the Constitution.

During this school-year the subjects of Marxism-Leninism and Russian language were introduced in all our secondary schools. All subjects, bearing in mind their specific features, are intended to form in the pupils and students the dialectical materialist world outlook, to inculcate in them the habits of dialectical reasoning.

Out-of-school activities, which did not exist in the old schools, are becoming an inseparable part of the teaching-educational process of the school. The work outside the classroom and outside the school constitutes an important means for the communist education of children. It complements and develops the knowledge pupils have acquired during their classes, imparts the habits of social work, takes them off the streets and out of mischief.

One of the principal problems in the field of the people's education was the necessity of radically reorganizing the school, of changing the principles of its entire activity, of changing the ideological content of the lessons. The school had to become genuinely revolutionary, different in principle from any school of the bourgeois state.

Lenin has said that,

"... we must replace the old system of instruction, the cramming and the old drill with an ability to acquire the sum total of human knowledge, and to acquire it in such a way that communism shall not be something to be learned by rote, but something

*that you yourself have thought over, something that will embody conclusions inevitable from the standpoint of present day education".**

Our school is faced with historical demands: to educate men and women developed from all aspects, highly trained and cultured, boundlessly loyal to their homeland and the people, who know how to integrate theory with practice and to apply their knowledge in life.

Naturally, the school cannot solve these problems if it does not reconstruct its own work in a radical manner.

*"... with the transformation of the old, capitalist society", said Lenin in his speech at the 3rd Congress of the Komsomol, "the upbringing, training, and education of the new generations that will create the communist society, cannot be conducted on the old lines."***

Our school is called upon to educate the new man liberated from the slave mentality of the capitalist society, the man with unflinching will, honest, who is undaunted by hardships and knows how to cope with them.

Are we able to reconstruct the school in this way?

A great deal has been done in this direction in the course of recent years; new programs, text-books, the teaching methods, have all been worked out and given to the schools; work with the teachers has been organized, and a new method of administration has been established.

However, in essence, this work is hardly begun, and so far very little has been done.

The quality of the lessons and the educational work among students are still at a very low ideological and scientific level. The main causes are the low ideo-political

* V.I. Lenin, Collected Works, vol. 31, p. 321 (Alb. ed.).

** Ibid., p. 315.

and scientific level of the teachers as well as their weak training in teaching methods.

One of the decisive conditions for the improvement of the quality of work in schools is the solution of the problem of teaching cadres.

Lenin has said:

"Our school teacher should be raised to a standard he has never achieved, and cannot achieve, in bourgeois society".*

Comrade Stalin, highly praising and extolling the role of the teacher, has stressed:

*"The phalanx of school teachers is one of the most essential units of the great army of working people in our country who are building a new life on the basis of socialism"**.*

Teachers have been entrusted with a sacred and highly esteemed task, the education of the new generations, which are growing up, and have the good fortune to assist in the great work of the educational uplift of workers. Our main problem is that we must uplift the teacher, make him one of our first assistants; we must liberate the teacher from the old prejudices, in the spirit of which he has been educated, and in the first place we must free him of the hypocritical guise of the apolitical school.

The bulk of teachers have started their duties at school after the liberation of Albania. In the 1938-1939 school-year, we had no more than 1,400 teachers. Of the 3,100 teachers we have at present in the elementary schools, only 800 have graduated from the teacher training secondary school, more than 1,300 teachers have graduated from

* V.I. Lenin, Collected Works, vol. 33, p. 520 (Alb. ed.).

** J.V. Stalin, Works, vol. 7, p. 3 (Alb. ed.).

7-year schools, or have passed through only the second or third grade of the secondary school, and nearly another thousand have only elementary schooling. Of the 143 secondary school teachers, 48 have completed or begun higher education.

Our Party should insist that the local party organizations and the Ministry of Education decisively and rapidly improve the whole work for the education and training of teaching cadres.

The Albanian teacher should clearly and consciously understand the main principles of the new school, by basing himself on the experience of the Soviet school. To this end he should also learn the Russian language. Teachers should be active participants in the great social-political and cultural-educational work among our people and should win their love and respect.

First of all, it should be explained to the teacher that he cannot educate the man politically mature in regard to his ideals and his efforts, in his way of reasoning, without being linked with the reality around him, without being in touch with all the problems facing us. In order to fight those viewpoints which are alien to the socialist ideology and to the people, in order to oppose all unhealthy and reactionary attitudes which might exist in the pupils' minds, in the course of his work the teacher must implant in them sound political convictions and views. In all the educational activity among the pupils, teachers should be clear about the advantages of the political order existing in Albania and the socialist prospects opened since liberation, of the progressive and revolutionary spirit of the ideas of the road along which the Soviet Union and the people's democracies are proceeding, emphasizing the great humanitarian character of these ideas. At the same time, we should expose before the youth all the rottenness of

the capitalist bourgeois order, the fallacy of its ideas, the false glorification of capitalist democracy, and we should struggle to eliminate the reactionary bourgeois culture of Western Europe in our country.

Similarly, of great importance is the organization of vocational-technical education. The lack of qualified cadres is one of the most serious difficulties in the construction and development of our country.

As well as 815 students attending higher studies abroad, in the Soviet Union and in other friendly countries of people's democracy, for the first time in our country the Higher Pedagogical Institute has been set up, with the branches of language and literature, history, geography, mathematics, physics, biology, and chemistry.

After liberation, secondary vocational-technical schools were created and developed.

Of extraordinary importance is the liquidation of illiteracy and the schooling for adults. As is known, in old Albania 83 per cent of the population was illiterate. During recent years, in broad collaboration with the mass organizations, a mighty work has been done for the liquidation of illiteracy. In 1945-1946, the number of illiterates aged 14-40 years was about 317,000. During 1945-1948, 233,342 people enrolled in courses to eliminate illiteracy, of whom 109,189 have learned to read and write.

As is known, although good results have already been achieved, with more highly organized efforts and work, bearing in mind the great desire and enthusiasm of the masses for learning, still greater progress could be and should be achieved.

Besides the courses for the liquidation of illiteracy, a network of evening schools for adults has also been set up. In 1946, 10,010 people graduated from these schools. In 1947-1948 there were 570 evening primary

schools with 21,350 pupils attending, 26 7-year schools with 2,059 students, and 3 secondary schools with 338 students. But in the work of these schools there are many shortcomings, and the proper care has not been devoted to them either by our party organizations or by the organs of people's education and the mass organizations.

The physical training and moral education of children has become the concern of the state, society and the Party. For the first time the organization of pre-school education of children has been given proper importance. The organization of a network of pre-school institutions such as kindergartens, etc., solves the important problem of the participation of women in production and lays sound foundations for the spiritual and physical education of children.

... In the management of affairs in people's education as well as in every other sector, it is important not to forget the teachings of comrade Stalin, who says:

*"To give good leadership means: first, to find the correct solution to the question... second, to organize the implementation of this correct solution... third, to organize the checking on the implementation of this solution . . ."**

Our Party should consider the question of education as a political question, and the whole activity of school as part of our struggle for the construction of socialism.

B. *The cultural uplift of the masses.* — Prior to liberation, cultural and educational work among the masses of the population in Albania was at an extremely low level. During the National Liberation War, in the partisan units and in the liberated regions various arts groups, such as drama troupes, choirs and musical ensembles, were set up;

*J.V. Stalin, Works, vol. 14, p. 133 (Alb. ed.)

a network of propagandists who played an important role in the cultural development of the masses, was organized.

After the liberation of Albania various cultural and educational institutions such as culture homes, libraries, reading halls, drama troupes, etc., were set up. In these cultural centres representations and exhibitions were organized, conferences and reports, which served thousands of people, were held. But it must be stressed that as yet these centres have not developed properly and have not fully played their important role, have not yet succeeded in becoming genuine cultural centres and broadly serve the masses.

The drama activity of amateur troupes is making good progress. Theatre troupes were set up both in cities and villages. Special courses have been organized to train the leaders of these troupes.

The development of the activity of libraries indicates the rise of the cultural level of the people. During the past year, the National Library of Tirana has increased its book fund with the addition of 65,000 new books, and now it possesses 130,858 volumes.

In 1946 there were 6 libraries with 96,219 books; in 1947 there were 1C libraries with 132,634 books, and in 1948 the number of books rose to 186,686. In 1947 the number of books lent for reading was 79,834, while during the first 7 months of 1948 alone 75,682 books were lent to readers. In 1947 the number of libraries set up in the countryside was 72, and in 1948 their number rose to 373²⁰.

But not everything is yet in order in our work on the literary front; many of our writers devote little of

20 Some of the statistical data used in this part of the report are not completely accurate, because at that time the statistics service in Albania was not yet up to the mark and had not provided full and scientifically compiled data.

their efforts to creative work, and the young writers have not been assisted, educated and encouraged properly.

The rise of the political consciousness and of the cultural level of the masses is gauged also by the increase in the circulation of periodicals.

In pre-liberation Albania only a few newspapers and periodicals were published, and their circulation did not exceed 8,000 copies.

In 1948, more than 25 newspapers and periodicals with a total circulation of one million copies were published, and this circulation goes on increasing. Thus, for example, in 1945 the newspaper "Bashkimi" had an average circulation of 4,700 copies daily, in 1946 its circulation rose to 14,000 copies, in 1947 it attained the level of 17,000 copies, and now it comes out in 27,000 copies daily.

The Institute of Scientific Research, set up after the liberation of Albania, has 65 members and is made up of: 1) the Section of Language and Literature; 2) the Section of History, Sociology and Economy; 3) the Section of Natural Sciences; 4) the Library. This Institute is engaged in a wide range of studies, and its activity is being developed in various fields. But it should be stressed that the scientific work of the Institute has only just started. Therefore, it is in great need of help. The Institute has not yet made a sufficiently close approach of the actual problems of the development of the people's economy of Albania and of the use of its wealth. The Party should devote more care to the development of scientific work.

As is known, sports enjoy great popularity in our country. But taking into account the significance of physical culture and sports as an important educational means for the physical tempering of the new generations, for bringing up healthy people of strong will, the Party, the government, the organizations of the masses,

and especially the organizations of physical culture, should give the physical culture a still greater impetus. They should devote greater attention to the organization and development of physical culture and sports among the masses of the people, especially among the youth.

The Communist Party of Albania attaches particular importance to the development of all forms and kinds of cultural and educational, political and scientific work, to the development of the people's education, of the upbringing and teaching of children. The ideas expressed by comrade Stalin on revolutionary and socialist culture, on the use of technology, on the education of communist morals and patriotism, on the communist stand towards work, should serve us as a guide and a program of action, adapted to our national conditions and the requirements of our people²¹.

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*THE STRENGTHENING OF THE PEOPLE'S
POWER OF THE COUNCILS*

... With the complete liberation of Albania, the Anti-fascist National Liberation Council, which was elected at the Congress of Përmet with legislative and executive attributes, was in fact the Provisional People's Assembly. From its election it had governed new Albania through the medium of the Anti-fascist Committee, and was now governing it through the medium of the Democratic

21 The Congress criticized the Yugoslav revisionists and their lackeys in Albania for their endeavours to introduce the spirit of negating the traditions and cultural values of the Albanian people in the field of education, arts, and culture, and laid down the task that education and culture should be based on the national values, given a deeply socialist content, and become the property of, and serve, the people.

Government of Albania which was appointed at the 2nd Meeting of this same Council in Berat. The tasks of the Anti-fascist Council and of the Democratic Government after liberation were to stabilize the situation created by the war, to undertake the rapid reconstruction of the country, to set up national liberation councils everywhere, and to prepare the people's general elections for the purpose of convening the Constituent Assembly, to definitely decide the form of the regime, and give new Albania its Founding Constitution. After the initial recovery, the Party and the state power were faced with the task of calling together the Constituent Assembly, and the drafting and approval of the Founding Constitution of our new state. The victories of the people had to be consecrated in the Founding Constitution. The foundations of the people's democracy and our Republic were laid in the mountains, in the bloody war against occupiers and traitors. The convening of the Constituent Assembly, the proclamation of the People's Republic of Albania, and the approval of the Constitution represented the aspirations of our people. The Party and the government fulfilled these desires. On December 2, 1945, the election day, which has great historic importance for our people, they voted freely to elect their representatives, and with the political maturity gained in the course of the great war of liberation, they knew how to make proper use of the right to vote. In the regimes of the past they had lost this right, because of the anti-popular and anti-democratic character of the election laws; the will of the people was trampled underfoot and there was only the whip of the prefects and sub-prefects. But on December 2, 1945 the people elected their own men and defined their duties. The instruction of the people was carried out and the People's Republic was proclaimed, the regime of the common people, which represented the aspirations of the people, the interests

and ideals of the working masses. The Constituent Assembly approved the Founding Constitution, which was one of the most progressive of the world. It consecrates the principle that our state power stems from the people and belongs to the people, and in our People's Republic this is not a formal principle. In a country where the people and the Party are in power, the sovereignty of the people is a reality. Our Constitution consecrates the principle of free elections, by direct, universal, equal and secret ballot. The elections to the Constituent Assembly and, later on, the elections to the people's councils of the localities and districts, were carried out on the basis of this great democratic principle. The Constitution consecrates the principle of the right of the electors to recall the representatives of the people, and the people have used this right against all the enemies who worked against their interest. The Constitution defined the rights of citizens and guaranteed their observance. The Constitution laid the foundations, and is the source, of our new legislation.

With the approval and proclamation of the Founding Constitution of our People's Republic, the people's councils were clearly defined as the basis and as organs of the people's power. The people's councils are organs of the people's power in the localities and districts, as well as powerful organizations through which the Party and the state organize the state leadership. Through the medium of the people's councils our Party is linked with the broad working masses in the field of state activity. The work for the organization of the people's councils continued to develop and improve. Although it was in line with the decisions of the Conference of Peza and Labinot, of the Congress of Përmet and the 2nd Meeting of the Anti-fascist National Liberation Council held in Berat, this form of organization was not complete. Follow-

ing liberation, the modernization of this state power began and the tasks and competences of the people's councils and their executive committees were broadened, because, as organs of the people's power, they were facing important problems under the new conditions. They had to become a strong weapon in the hands of the Party and of the people's power for the elimination of the remnants of fascism, for the disarming of reaction and the bourgeoisie, for the building of the people's economy, for the all-round running of the country, they had to become a strong weapon for the construction of socialism. The participation of the people could not be limited simply to the election of these councils, but had to be extended to the actual administration of their affairs.

Therefore, the election of new councils in the local administrative units was necessary. The election of the new councils would also bring about a change in their social content. Hostile elements, village kulaks, who became obstacles to the smooth running of the work of the councils and to the implementation of our laws and reforms, had managed to infiltrate into the local organs of our people's power. There are such elements still in the people's councils, but the surge of the work and ruthless struggle should flush them out. Honest persons, loyal to the cause of the people, and from the ranks of the people, who have fought for the people unreservedly, these are the ones who should be in the councils. Workers, poor and middle peasants, and patriots, old and new fighters for the cause of socialism, should be there.

Shortly after the proclamation of the Constitution, the People's Assembly approved the Law on the People's Councils, and later the Law on the Elections to these councils. In the elections of the 15th and 22nd of February this year the participation of the people was overwhelming — 98-99.5 per cent, and 99 per cent of the

participants voted for the Democratic Front. In the 15th of February elections 13,415 representatives of the people and their substitutes, of whom 705 are women, were elected to the people's councils of localities. In the 22nd of February elections, 4,520 members and their substitutes, including 309 women, of worker, peasant, artisan, and office worker, social composition, were elected to the district people's councils. According to the Law on the People's Councils, we had such councils in localities, districts, and prefectures. This law also provided for people's councils in the communes. But experience of the work showed that this administrative division became a great obstacle to the leading role of the central organs and to the development of the initiative of the local councils in the solution of their problems, and the implementation of the orders and instructions issued from above. The central administration was too far removed from the people. The prefectures and the communes were abolished by a special law, and the work is going much better. Other changes for the better are indispensable for the modernization of our people's power. The number of districts should be reduced somewhat more, especially by merging the district and city committees into single committees so that the working masses of the town will be united more closely and strongly with the poor and middle peasantry.

Our people's councils should be set up on the sound principle of democratic centralism, because they guide the life of the localities in the districts and should carry out their tasks in harmony with the political and economic line of our state power and in keeping with the tasks set by the economic plan of the state. The local interests should be brought into line with the general interests. The decisions and instructions issued by the higher organs are obligatory on the lower organs, and the aim of democratic centralism is to ensure the coordination of the work, the

unity of the work throughout all local organs in conformity with the general interest and with the state plan. On the other hand, democratic centralism gives room for the implementation of the measures of the superior organs in compliance with the specific local conditions. The executive committees, which are the administrative organs of the people's councils, should carry out only those tasks which have been placed within their exclusive competency, and call the council members together for ordinary meetings, at the set time, and report on, and render account of, their work. Bolshevik criticism and self-criticism should be developed in the councils, and complete democracy must be established, for it is only in this way that the control of the masses over their state power and over the persons they have sent to this power can exist. The Party should be vigilant that the state laws and regulations are carried out to the letter, in order to defend the rights and work of the people, to strengthen real democracy in the organs of the state, and ruthlessly attack the enemies, who might infiltrate into these organs with the aim of damaging and hindering the activity of the people's power. Our Party, the loyal leader of our people and state, should adopt all necessary measures for the strengthening and modernization of our state power. This task falls, first of all, on the party member, who should take up his responsibility, and honestly and competently play his leading role in this field, becoming an example in work, in organization, in discipline, and honesty. Only then will he enjoy the sympathy and trust of the people, and only then will the people have faith in him as a leader. Bureaucratism, procrastination and arrogance, should be fought with the greatest severity, for they are alien to the modest man of the people. Those who work in the state organs, and in the first place, the party members, should be well aware that they have been

elected to their posts only to serve the people, and to serve them well and with the greatest justice, and on their part, the Party and people should deal mercilessly with all those who do not act accordingly.

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OUR NATIONAL ARMY

After liberation our army had to be transformed from a partisan army into a modern regular army. Our cadres were inexperienced in this direction, but the Party was aware that our army could not be modernized except on the basis of the experience of the Soviet army, and that the road which our army should follow was that of the Soviet army, that only by relying on the Stalinist military art could our army be strengthened and modernized. After the Berat Plenum, the leadership of the Communist Party of Yugoslavia interfered in our army. From the very beginning the General Staff of the Yugoslav army and the CC of the Communist Party of Yugoslavia tried to prevent our army from being orientated towards the Soviet army, and wanted us to look only to the Yugoslav army. Delegation upon delegation of Yugoslav officers came during the years 1945 and 1946 to impose their views on the organization and training of our army. But, seeing clearly the incapability of these Yugoslav military delegations, and making a proper assessment of the Soviet military art, the CC of our Party decided that this was the basis on which our army should be educated. This was a cause for regret and trepidation among the Command of the Yugoslav army, which together with the CC of the CPY wanted our army to be orientated towards the Yugoslav army in every aspect, and in the end, to be merged with the Yugoslav army as one of its armycorps.

During 1946 our army was organized according to the organizational principles of the Soviet military art. By the end of 1946, between the General Staff and the Political Directorate of our army some contradictions over principles appeared. The first severe contradiction emerged over the organizational questions of the army. Our General Staff defended the correct theses based on Soviet experience, while the Political Directorate fought for the erroneous, anti-Marxist views of the Yugoslavs, who insisted that we must mechanically copy the establishment of the Yugoslav army, allegedly as more appropriate to our conditions. This was an open struggle against the Stalin military doctrine, our General Command, and the Commander-in-chief of our army. The General Staff rejected the erroneous theses of the Yugoslav advisers and the Political Directorate, and loyally carried out the line which the Central Committee of the Party and the Commander-in-chief had decided, namely, the modernization of our army should be done on the basis of the experience of the Soviet army, applied in our conditions.

The General Command of the Yugoslav army found strong support among the leading cadres of the Political Directorate, who supported the line of the Political Directorate of the Yugoslav army, and endeavoured to implement its anti-Marxist and anti-Soviet line, whereas the General Staff defended the correct line of our Party²², the Marxist-Leninist line. All the ideological and political programs as well as the organizational work of the Party in the army were wrong, and badly damaged the Party and the army. The Political Directorate strove to impose

²² In the General Staff, the correct Marxist-Leninist line, and the directives of the Commander-in-chief were defended, first of all, by comrade Mehmet Shehu, who was its chief, although even in the General Staff there were people who took incorrect positions.

the erroneous views of the Yugoslavs on the General Staff even in connection with the military training and the method of work in the army. In the end, the Political Directorate, at the instigation of the Yugoslavs and of Pëllumb Dishnica, openly proposed to the General Staff the unification of our army with the Yugoslav army, but the General Staff considered this an incorrect, anti-Marxist proposal. Through this proposal the Yugoslavs sought to liquidate the independence of our army as quickly as possible, by liquidating the role of the Commander-in-chief of our army. The Central Committee and the General Secretary condemned these anti-Marxist, anti-Soviet, and anti-Albanian views of the Political Directorate and the Trotskyite Tito group. The contradictions between the Political Directorate and the General Staff were further aggravated until the Yugoslavs considered our army as a hotbed in which chauvinistic and anti-Yugoslav feelings were fermenting within the general framework of the supposed anti-Yugoslav front in Albania. After the second accusation the CC of the CPY brought against the CC of our Party²³, things precipitated also in the military sector. While mobilizing its men in our Political Directorate, and influencing also some comrades of the General Staff, in November 1947 the Command of the Yugoslav army organized the last blow against the line of the Central Committee of our Party, against the General Staff of our army. The 8th Plenum²⁴, which attacked the general line of our Party, attacked also the line of our Party in the army.

23 The Central Committee of the CPY brought its second accusation in November 1947.

24 It was held in February 1948. At this Plenum the hostile activity of the Yugoslav revisionists and their lackeys reached its culmination.

All these grave mistakes in the military sector have impeded our army from going ahead in the road of its modernization at rapid rates.

The road which our army should follow is the road of modernization on the basis of the Soviet experience and military art. Our army should be educated in the teachings of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin, and be inspired with the feeling of loyalty to our people and homeland, with unshakable faith in our Communist Party, in the glorious leadership of our people and in its Central Committee, with unshakable faith in the Soviet Union, in the Bolshevik Party and in the great Stalin, as well as with the spirit of proletarian internationalism. It must become stronger and stand always vigilant for the defence of the interests of our homeland and people, which are connected with the interests of the camp of socialism.

THE STATE SECURITY FORCE

The State Security Force is the keen and beloved weapon of our Party, because it defends the interests of the people and of our socialist state against internal and external enemies. Such being the case, every party member should love and assist the State Security Force, and our people, too, should love and defend this weapon, for by defending it they are defending their own vital interests. Only the enemies of the Party and of the people can think and act differently. Since the day it was founded, the State Security Force has rendered valuable services to the people and the Party by uncovering the hostile activity of internal and external reaction, by successfully uncovering the traitor groups colluding with the Anglo-American espionage agencies, and by decisively smashing these groups whose purpose was to overthrow the people's power. The State Security Force has con-

stantly tracked down the war criminals, captured them, and handed them over to the people's courts. The State Security Force has constantly pursued and fought the fugitive political criminals, most of whom it crushed, and captured, while making life so unbearable for the rest of them that they were forced to leave our country and flee to hostile foreign countries. In this respect, the State Security Force has carried out important duties entrusted to it by the Party and the government, and the results of its work should be properly valued. Nevertheless, grave errors and alien Trotskyite methods borrowed directly from the Yugoslav Trotskyites and applied by Koçi Xoxe²⁵ have occurred in the line of the State Security. The organizational form in which the same person was simultaneously the Party Secretary for Cadres and the Minister for Internal Affairs, which is an anti-Marxist, anti-Leninist and anti-Bolshevik organizational method, shows that the Party had been placed under the control of the Ministry for Internal Affairs, and in this respect impermissible and condemnable acts involving ill-treatment of the party cadres and of the people have been recognized. With his very unclear political and organizational views and his Trotskyite and Ottoman methods, Koçi Xoxe acted in an unlawful and arbitrary manner in the State Security sector, compromising the State Security Force and many people working there, who, in the majority of cases, were

25 Former Organizational Secretary of the CC of the CPA and Minister for Internal Affairs. He placed himself in the service of the Yugoslav revisionists and acted on their criminal methods in the CPA and in the new Albanian state, endeavouring to achieve the plan of the Yugoslav leadership to unite Albania with the Yugoslav federation. He worked in close collusion with Pandi Kristo, former Member of the Political Bureau of the CC of the CPA. The 11th Plenum of the CC of the CPA unmasked their activity and the 1st Congress of the CPA denounced them as traitors to the country and deviators from Marxism-Leninism.

fully convinced that they were serving the Party correctly. But this was never the correct road of the Party. It was the wrong road of Koçi Xoxe and of the Yugoslav Trotskyites which has been condemned. It cannot be excluded that in this affair, inspired by the Yugoslav Trotskyites and Koçi Xoxe, there could have been individual faults, mistakes committed by individuals working for the State Security Force. Mistakes have been made in other sectors of the work, too, but the Party and the state will re-examine these errors and faults with the greatest justice, bearing in mind the past record in the war and in the Party of the State Security men who have made mistakes. The Party will make every effort to have these State Security men correct their mistakes by consciously acknowledging them and working along the correct line which the Party has laid down. These State Security workers, who have made mistakes, should compensate the Party and the people for their mistakes with good work. The question of the State Security Force should be correctly understood, because there could be dangers in this direction in the grave situations created by the Trotskyite Tito group and its collaborators in our Party. The problems of errors in the line of the State Security work should always be looked at objectively, from the interests of the Party and of the people, and not from personal feelings, for in this situation we must not forget that the enemy is sharpening its knife against the State Security Force, which has been, is, and will always be a merciless weapon for wiping out the enemy. If we jump from one extreme to the other, and do not consider the State Security Force from the standpoint of the Party, then we shall commit a grave mistake. If the party members start to look askance at the State Security, as something alien and harmful, then we will have damaged the Party and the people, will have weakened the State Security Force, will

have removed it from the bosom of the Party and deprived it of help from the Party. This is only to the advantage of the enemy. Such an incorrect stand is fraught with danger, it discourages the State Security workers, who will find themselves scorned, avoided, and as a result they will hesitate to carry out the glorious, important and very dangerous function with which the Party and the state have charged them, and therefore the struggle against the enemy will be weakened. This could be grist to the mill of the enemy. We would be digging the grave of the people's power with our own hands. The State Security workers, who are loyal and resolute men of the Party, should honestly acknowledge their mistakes like communists, and combat them, must guard against repeating them, and march along the correct road indicated by the Party and the state. On the other hand, they should have more confidence in themselves, they should be vigilant in defence of the interests of the Party and the people, they should be among the most beloved of the people. They should have not the slightest mercy on the enemy and no hesitation in attacking it. The Party should know that the State Security Force is a special weapon which has its own rules and secrets that the Central Committee of the Party and the state have laid down and that cannot possibly be disclosed to anyone, even to party members in cells or committees. The leadership of the Party will define the correct road for the State Security Force, it will define this road on the basis of Marxist-Leninist principles, and these will be implemented with the utmost rigour and vigilance, because this is what the interests of the people and Party require, and the Party does not allow any other road. Every party member should know that the secrets of the state must not become common talk, and even more should the forms of work of the State Security Force be guarded with the greatest secrecy, for this is a

very delicate weapon in struggle every hour of every day with the agents of the enemies of our people, our Party, and the socialist camp. Party members should never forget that the enemy will continually try to smuggle into our Party camouflaged agent provocateurs, to infiltrate such people into our state apparatus and all fields of activity of our country. Our Party, our people, and the state must be protected and in a very special and correct way, on the basis of the directives of the Central Committee of the Party and of the government; the State Security Force, one of our most reliable weapons, will protect them. We should combat the harmful exaggerations noticed here and there at conferences and meetings of activists of the Party in connection with the study of the Resolution of the 11th Plenum²⁶ on the question of State Security. The severe and just criticism which absolutely must be made of errors observed in the State Security work and of those who have committed them, should not be confused with impermissible demands for disclosure of the organizational forms of this important weapon. It is also necessary to combat the incorrect method of petty and unjust personal criticism, which leads to the demoralization of the cadres and the creation of a state of uncertainty and confusion. The Party does not allow this. The State Security workers should be loyal to the Party and the people, they should thoroughly understand the important task assigned to them, and carry it out with determination. They should

26 It was held in September 1948 and made an extensive analysis of the political line and activity of the Party. It uncovered the causes of the mistakes and defined the measures for a turn which was dictated by the new historical circumstances. The Plenum labelled as damaging and anti-Marxist the main decisions of the 2nd Plenum and all the decisions of the 8th Plenum of the CC of the CPA, which had been taken as a result of the brutal interference of the Yugoslav leadership and of their lackeys, and strongly condemned them.

be just and kindly with the people, harsh with the enemy. They should thoroughly understand that the State Security defends our state, our Party and our people. This is a sacred duty, therefore the Party and the people must guard this weapon as the apple of their eye, must make it keen and severe on the enemies, must strengthen it from day to day and always keep it in fighting readiness for the defence of the lofty interests of the homeland and of the people.

The Party and the government took the necessary measures and dismissed from the Ministry for Internal Affairs and from the State Security Force all those comrades who had committed grave faults and mistakes in this very important sector, and brought to the leadership of this important department and to other posts of this sector, comrades who will run it along the genuine line of the Party. The difficult tasks entrusted to them they will always carry out under the leadership of the Party, and with the aid of the Party they will purge the State Security Force of the impermissible Trotskyite methods which had infiltrated into it. In the correct party way they will assist all other State Security workers to shake themselves up, and correct themselves so as to become able and competent to carry on with their important task.

THE FOREIGN POLICY OF OUR PARTY

A. *The international relations of the new Albanian state.* — From the day of its creation our Party has always maintained a resolute, correct and consistent political stand towards the Soviet Union and the other allies of the war years. Our Party, inspired by Marxism-Leninism, firmly relying on, and never departing from, the immortal teachings of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin, with the greatest determination linked its struggle and the struggle

of its people closely with that of the peoples of the Soviet Union. The correct policy of the Soviet Union and its glorious role in leading the liberation war against nazism and fascism, was a correct guide for our Party. The consolidation of the great and sincere friendship with the peoples of the Soviet Union, our correct policy, meant that our Party made no mistakes in its road, and as a result, it achieved great successes for its people. Over the war years, fascism, the Albanian quislings, and reaction endeavoured through a thousand ruses to blacken the correct policy of the Party towards the Soviet Union and to impede it from reaching the broad masses of our people and being adopted wholeheartedly by them. But fascism and reaction failed. The mighty deed of Lenin and Stalin, the invincible strength of the Soviet Union, became the main support of our people in their bloody war. From the rank-and-file partisan to the supreme commander, from isolated cottages in the depths of our mountains to the cities, at the time when the war was raging, in the heart of the ordinary Albanians the name of the Soviet Union and of Stalin were symbols of their greatest hope for the realization of their dreams. There they saw the example for their future life and for the life of the new generations of Albania. This great faith in the motherland of socialism, forged by our Party, made our people fight with such heroic spirit and self-sacrifice, not only because they were confident in the victory over fascism, but also because after liberation and forever afterwards, they would build a better life in their liberated country with the aid, support, and powerful protection of the Soviet Union. Our people understood very well that they would never again become a commodity to be bartered, and that any intrigues and threats of imperialism against our country would always be crushed, because little Albania would no longer be isolated and at the mercy of the

storms that American and British imperialism would raise to hurl the world into a third shambles. Our people regarded the anti-fascist alliance of the great powers during the war through the prism of the correct policy of the Soviet Union. Our Party and people remained loyal to the end to this alliance because at the head of this alliance, and the decisive factor in it, was the Soviet Union. Our people proved their loyalty to this alliance by shedding the blood of their best sons, and the Party led the war resolutely and uncompromisingly to the end. Being profoundly aware that the Soviet Union was bearing the brunt of the war, and seeing the manoeuvres of American and British reaction which during the war years, under its pseudo-democratic and anti-popular banner, sought to regroup reaction to weaken the Soviet Union, our Party and people hurled themselves with still greater courage and heroism into the war for the fulfilment of their dreams, regardless of the sacrifices, loyal to the end to the Soviet Union.

After the liberation of Albania, too, our Party continued to follow this correct and consistent policy. The great love for the Soviet Union, for the Bolshevik Party, and for comrade Stalin, was the steel foundation of the entire internal and external policy of our Party and state. It was impossible to carry out the reconstruction of Albania, just as it was impossible for our people to win the war, without further cementing the love for the Soviet Union. Only thus can the indescribable enthusiasm of the broad masses of our people, the mighty work of reconstruction, and the great progress of new Albania and of people's democracy in our country be explained. All the reconstruction projects, whether in the economic, cultural or social field, rely heavily on the love for, confidence in, and the aid of, the Soviet Union. . .

In every step ahead by our working class, our peasantry — which emerged into light — our heroic youth, the Albanian women, and all the other working masses and patriotic people, all of them, had in their minds and hearts the Soviet Union and comrade Stalin, and this made them stronger and more capable of honourably carrying out their duties towards the homeland, just as they did their duty during the war with the name of comrade Stalin on their lips.

As we will see shortly, American and British imperialism attacked new Albania, the people's democracy in our country, with the greatest ferocity. The American and British imperialists many times threatened the independence and sovereignty of our country. They made many attempts at a landing here, organized internal reaction and sabotage, denied our heroic people all their international rights, and by means of slander tried to represent little new Albania as a country disturbing peace and world security. But all these efforts of the American and British imperialists met with complete failure, because new Albania and our people's democracy were defended heroically by the Soviet Union. The salvation of our country and people from these extremely dangerous storms is due to the Soviet Union, to the correct and heroic policy of our Party, and to the heroism of the Albanian people. The postwar policy of the Soviet Union is the policy of defence of peace and security, defence of the rights of nations, big and small, from the threats of a third world war, in which the American and British imperialists together with their satellites are trying to embroil the world anew. With majesty and power, the Soviet Union exposes all the manoeuvres, blackmail, and threats of the American and British imperialists. This heroic stand and this ruthless denunciation have made all the progressive people of the world aware of the inten-

tions of the imperialist and anti-democratic camp, headed by the United States of America. The imperialist and anti-democratic camp, with the USA at the head, which is rallying to its colours the whole of world reaction and neo-fascism, is preparing to hurl the world into a new war, more terrible than the last one. American imperialism is stepping up its efforts to restore German and Japanese fascism, and through the pro-American parties which are now in office in France, Italy, and elsewhere, it seeks to crush the progressive peoples, the working class and their leadership, the communist parties, and to establish its hegemony in these countries. With its enslaving Marshall plan American imperialism wants to turn all the West European countries and the countries of other continents into colonies. American imperialism is building military bases and strongholds everywhere, in preparation for an eventual third world war. It is openly helping the fascists in Greece, Spain, Indonesia, China, etc., to continue the civil wars against the progressive peoples in these countries, and against the establishment of the sovereignty of the peoples and people's democracy. At the same time American imperialism intends to use these hotbeds of war so as to kindle war on a broader, international scale. In countless flagrant provocations, American and British imperialism and their satellites are deliberately trying to create an atmosphere of war. But all their attempts are thoroughly exposed by the correct, firm, and farsighted policy of Stalin. The glorious policy of Stalin arms all the progressive peoples of the world so that they can understand what American imperialism is up to and its aims, and be able to combat these aims effectively. Today the imperialist and anti-democratic front, headed by American imperialism, is confronted by the staunch and powerful democratic and anti-imperialist camp, with the glorious Soviet Union at its head. In the

democratic and anti-imperialist camp the new people's democracies and all the progress-loving peoples of the world have arrayed themselves, determined to defend peace and freedom with all their might. In face of this great strength, all the efforts of imperialism to disrupt this camp with threats of economic and political war have failed. The imperialists thought that the Second World War would weaken the Soviet Union and the people's democracies, and thus they would be able to interfere in the internal affairs of these countries, and rob them of the victories they had achieved. But the Soviet Union emerged stronger than ever from this war. It stood and remains an unconquerable bastion in defence of peace and of all progressive, freedom-loving peoples.

Just as the liberation of our country is connected with the Soviet Union, so our postwar achievements in the political and economic field are linked with it, too. The representatives of the Soviet Union, with comrade Molotov, the right hand of comrade Stalin, at the head, have everywhere and always defended the rights of our people in the international arena. The policy of Stalin has supported new Albania and our people's democracy with might and main; thanks to this policy all the attempts of reaction, their threats and intervention in the internal affairs of our country, have been exposed. The Soviet Union has been and will always be the powerful and glorious supporter of our people on the correct and peaceful road they have taken. Parallel with this powerful defence in the international arena, right from the first days after liberation, the Soviet Union has aided Albania to build up its own economy. The trade and economic agreements with our state and the all-round aid of the Soviet government to our people have enabled our country to forge ahead, to make progress in every sector, and the life of the people has improved. The aid accorded by the So-

viet government has been the only real aid on a Stalinist basis, from which our people have benefited immeasurably, and they recognize this gratefully. Both directly and through the organization of reaction within the country, through the organization of sabotage, Anglo-American imperialism and the Trotskyite Tito group have striven with all their might to divide Albania from the Soviet Union, to dim the great love of our people for the Soviet Union, to undermine our Party and our people's power, so as to enslave our people. But all these sinister plans have been foiled, because our Party and people fought and exposed them, and the policy of our Party remained firm in the face of the manoeuvres of the enemy. Our Party and our people are linked in an unbreakable alliance with the Soviet Union and the countries of people's democracy. Because of its heroic struggle and the great support of the Soviet Union and the people's democracies, our country enjoys great sympathy in the international arena and among the progressive people of the world. Despite the innumerable slanders by American and British imperialism and its satellites, the sympathy our people have justly earned, far from being weakened, will increase from day to day. Our country is linked in close alliance with the fraternal Bulgarian people and this alliance is growing stronger. Our state is bound by close ties of friendship with Rumania, Poland, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, and fraternal relations are maintained between us and their peoples. Our people have linked their fate with that of the peoples of the Soviet Union and the people's democracies, and will remain loyal to the end to this correct, vital policy. Our Communist Party and our people are the guarantee of this. Our people's democracy and our state stand strongly aligned on the side of the democratic camp and will defend with might and main the correct and peaceful policy of the democratic and anti-imperialist

camp, the correct, far-sighted and peaceful policy of the great Stalin.

Our Party and people have a great love and admiration for the fraternal democratic Greek people, who have carried on with such heroism their struggle for liberation for many years on end. It is not possible that our people could fail to feel in their hearts the great suffering of the Greek people from the tragedy caused by the Anglo-Americans, who have interfered militarily in that country in the most brutal manner. Violating every international law, the Americans are drowning an entire people in blood, and the responsibility of this tragedy falls on them, and only on them and their lackeys, the blood-thirsty fascists of Athens. We wholeheartedly love the fraternal Greek people, outstanding fighters for freedom and democracy, and our people are with them in their gigantic efforts, because we recall our common struggle waged against the Italian and German occupiers, the countless sacrifices and sufferings we endured together for the liberation of our countries from the heavy bondage of fascism and capitalists. But the heroic Greek people did not succeed in winning victory, as the Albanian people did. The base and brutal intervention by Anglo-American imperialism caused the continuation of the war on Greek soil. But the Greek people have not been subdued, and under the leadership of the Greek Communist Party they are fighting with heroism and achieving successes. The heroic Greek democratic army has defeated the successive efforts of the enemy. Under the leadership of the Greek Communist Party, the Greek people and their army exposed and repelled the offensive of the British, they are defeating the joint offensives by the monarcho-fascists and the Americans one after another. The fraternal Greek people are invincible, and they are bound to triumph, for old and young are fighting there with

heroism and self-sacrifice against the Americans and the Greek fascists for their freedom and independence. Through a thousand plots, slanders, blackmail, the American and British imperialists and all their lackeys are trying to lay the blame on us for the great defeats they are suffering at the hands of the Greek democratic army, accusing us of interference, of supplying arms, and of many other non-existent things. But all their manoeuvres have been thoroughly exposed, because they are nothing but monstrous slanders whose only aim is to make us responsible for what is happening in Greece. Our state has never interfered and will never interfere in the internal affairs of Greece, and our alleged supply of the Greek democratic army with arms is nothing but a base slander, invented by the Anglo-American governments and their agencies such as UNSCOB²⁷. The Albanian people have not supplied and will not supply the Greek democratic army with weapons, because they will never allow themselves to interfere in the internal affairs of Greece. If international reaction considers the great love of our people for the Greek people, and the great admiration and joy felt by our people at the victories of the heroic Greek democratic army as weapons, then we have already said and will say again, that love for the fraternal Greek people is growing day by day in the hearts of our people. The Americans and the British know very well that we have not interfered and will not interfere in the internal affairs of Greece. But they put out this slander with the express purpose of covering up and justifying their brutal interference, of oppressing the Greek people and giving military aid to the fascists of Athens. At the same time they are doing these things also in order to extend the

27 UNSCOB — United Nations Special Commission On the Balkans.

international conflict, and this is the purpose of all their base accusations against Albania, Yugoslavia, and Bulgaria, and of the innumerable provocations they have committed and are committing along our Southern borders. But none of their threats can intimidate us, because the correct policy of our Party and state, the vigilance and powerful defence of our people and army, as well as the glorious policy of the Soviet Union and of the anti-imperialist democratic camp, will defeat all the manoeuvres and intrigues of Anglo-American imperialism.

Our people have provided and will provide asylum to the Greek refugees, to innocent men, women and children, who have come to us pursued, maimed, and terrorized by the monarcho-fascist beasts, solely because they are democrats and sons of democrats. The Constitution of our People's Republic and the just, democratic policy of our government provide for refuge for those persecuted for patriotic and democratic activity. But the Albanian government has always maintained a correct stand towards Greek militarymen, whether democrats or monarcho-fascists, who have crossed our borders. They have always been taken prisoner, disarmed, and interned in concentration camps.

The government of the People's Republic of Albania has always followed a peaceful policy of good neighbourliness towards Greece, and has always expressed its goodwill towards the ending, as soon as possible, of the tense situation created on our Southern borders because of the aggressive policy of the monarcho-fascist government of Athens, which is instigated and supported by the Anglo-American imperialists.

The Albanian government has always been ready to collaborate within the United Nations for the correct solution of the Greek problem. Even now it reiterates its readiness to reconsider the question of establishing diplo-

matic relations with the government of Athens, if it shows signs of renouncing its provocative and war-mongering policy, and of abandoning its insane territorial claims at the expense of our country. The proposals of our delegation to the present session of the General Assembly of the United Nations are inspired by this peaceful policy of goodwill. In this respect, the Albanian government unreservedly supports the draft-resolution presented by the Soviet delegation on October 29, 1948, which, after stigmatizing those who are truly to blame for the civil war in Greece, among other things, recommends the establishment of diplomatic relations between Greece, on the one hand, and Albania and Bulgaria, on the other, the signing of border conventions between Greece, Yugoslavia, Bulgaria, and Albania, as well as the settlement of the question of refugees in a spirit of mutual understanding, in order that good neighbourly relations may be re-established.

The government of the People's Republic of Albania is also considering with great attention the proposal put forward on November 5, 1948, in the Political Committee of the General Assembly of the United Nations, which recommends the immediate meeting in Paris of the representatives of the Albanian, Bulgarian, Greek and Yugoslav governments, who will probe the possibility of achieving an accord on the methods and procedure to be adopted for the settlement of disagreements existing among them.

In this case too, inspired, as always, by its peaceful democratic policy, it is again ready to hold properly constituted talks for the solution of the Greek problem and for the establishment of normal relations with Greece.

Thus, the foreign policy of our Party and state will be the strengthening and steeling of the love for, and loyalty towards, the Soviet Union. Our Party and people will pursue with the greatest loyalty and will fight with

all their strength in defence of the Stalinist policy... United with the Soviet Union on its correct road, united with the democratic anti-imperialist camp, our people will march with great determination towards socialism, for the defence of peace and security in the world. This is the line of our Party in its foreign policy.

B. *The struggle against the Anglo-American interference.* — The Anglo-American imperialists have always endeavoured to use Albania as an object of barter in their international transactions, to turn it into a base of capitalist exploitation and observation, intrigue, and war in the Balkans.

In their aggressive expansionist policy against the socialist camp, with the Soviet Union at its head, they have centred their attacks on the People's Republic of Albania, because they take it for a weak spot, and think that our country, owing to its position, is a dagger in the heart of the imperialist plans.

They have never ceased their disgraceful efforts to harm our people and fight our democracy.

The British and American missions, which came to Albania during the war years, gave us very little aid in arms and ammunition, which is what they were supposed to have come for, but they had other aims. During the war period we were in constant conflict with them. These missions had come to weaken the war of our people, and not to assist it; they tried to, and did make contact with the "Balli Kombëtar" and its chiefs, who were openly collaborating with the Italian and German occupiers; they tried to organize and to strengthen the position of reaction; they strove to and succeeded in creating the "Legaliteti" so as to play the card of Zog; they tried to hinder our war against the quislings and traitors; they threatened us; they made an attempt at landing in our country dur-

ing the war. But all these actions were exposed, and the plans of the British and American missions miscarried. After the liberation of Albania they stayed on in Albania, allegedly to prepare for the recognition of Albania and its government. But their aim was something else. Following the defeat internal reaction suffered in Albania, the American and British reaction tried to pull it together, to encourage and organize it, so as to launch it into struggle against the people's power. In this way it tried to make a second Greece of Albania. In all the actions of traitors in Albania the direct inspirers and organizers have been British or American officials of the missions in Tirana. This has been proved and documented. But all these efforts failed, too. The Albanian people were vigilant in defence of their homeland, freedom, independence, democracy, and the victories of the war. Our people had strong nerves, and neither the threats nor the blackmail of the Anglo-Americans could shake them, even for a moment. Although they saw that their plans in our country had failed, and their aggressive intentions were exposed before the world, the Anglo-Americans did not lay down their arms. They began a fierce international campaign against our country. With utter shamelessness, the Anglo-Americans have denied us our rights which we have earned with bloodshed; they have created incidents, such as that at Saranda, entirely concocted by the British; they incite the Greek monarcho-fascists to carry out provocations on our borders day by day, to kill our soldiers, claim Korça and Gjirokastra, and other such base acts. American and British reaction accused our country of being an aggressor country, which endangers peace, of being the cause of the war in Greece, and of allegedly supplying the Greek fighters with arms and ammunition. Such are the endeavours of Anglo-American reaction against our

country, but all these base, slanderous attempts will fail, just as their first attempts did.

During the war, the American and British missions which had attached themselves to the General Staff of the National Liberation Army, which was an allied army, acted as enemies. They sabotaged our war, attempted to impede the victories of the National Liberation Front of our people, and after liberation, to maintain in power a feudal-bourgeois government which would do their bidding. There are ample facts:

1. — In their propaganda, the American and British governments presented our war against the occupiers and traitors in a distorted light. On October 20, 1943 the British officer, Peter Kemp, wrote the following: "... When the BBC commended the 'Balli Kombëtar', it meant to commend the national liberation movement".

2. — The British and American missions collaborated with the quisling groups and governments and were in contact with the German occupiers. They gave aid in arms, ammunition, and food, to the "Balli Kombëtar", "Legalityteti" and to Abaz Kupi, as well as to the groups of Muharrem Bajraktari, and Fiqri Dine, all of whom were flagrantly compromised and in close collaboration with the Germans. A British mission headed by Colonel McLean, stayed with the war criminal Abaz Kupi up to the last day before liberation; Major Neil, who on the eve of the liberation of Albania strolled with the German officers of the Gestapo in the streets of Shkodra, stayed with the criminals Gjon Marka Gjon and Kolë Bib Mirakaj. The British mission, headed by Major Peter Kemp, Major Riddle and Captain Hands stayed at the headquarters of the quislings Fiqri Dine, Xhem Gostivari and Hysni Dema. An American mission stayed with the quisling Skënder Muço in Dukat of Vlora.

On November 3, 1943, Major Riddle wrote to Colonel Haxhi Lleshi²⁸, requesting him to cease fighting against the quislings Fiqri Dine, Xhem Gostivari, Hysni Dema, and others.

On July 14, 1944, R.A.F. Rear Admiral William Elliot, on behalf of the Allied Mediterranean High Command threatened General Hoxha²⁹ that if he attacked the bands of the criminal Abaz Kupa, he "would be forced to cut off all supplies to the ANLA".

This letter of Rear Admiral Elliot was accompanied by a verbal ultimatum by Colonel Palmer, who at the most critical moment, when our 1st Division was completely engaged in action against the Germans, threatened to cut off arms supplies to our division. Our General Staff did not accept this view of Rear Admiral Elliot and rejected the ultimatum of Colonel Palmer, thus making all the British officers staying in Albania responsible for any loss that our division might suffer as a result of such an arbitrary and unjust act, because Abaz Kupa, protected by the Allied Mediterranean High Command, was a traitor who collaborated openly with the Germans, and because his mercenary forces had aligned themselves on the one front with the Germans against our National Liberation Army. Complete evidence of all the treacherous activity of Abaz Kupa in collaboration with the Germans is contained in the German documents in the hands of the government of the People's Republic of Albania.

3. — It has been proved and borne out by documents that the American and British missions, on the eve of the complete liberation of Albania, evacuated the principal Albanian quislings Mehdi Frashëri, Abaz Kupa, Mithat Frashëri, Ali Këlcyra and others and sent them by sea

²⁸ Member of the General Staff of the ANLA and of the National Liberation General Council.

²⁹ Colonel-General Enver Hoxha.

to Italy to save them from the vengeance of the people and to keep them in reserve for their hostile plans against the People's Republic of Albania and against the Albanian people.

4. — In order to impede the victory of the National Liberation Front and the establishment of the people's power in Albania, the American and British governments entered into an agreement with the German nazis and made an attempt at landing in Albania:

a) It has been proved that three German majors, who directed the operations against the partisans, were attached to the staff of Xhem Gostivari and Fiqri Dine. The agents of the Gestapo, Helmut Mauth and Victor Pen, captured by our officers with all their documents, have admitted the following before the people's court:

"Per medium of Major Neil, the 11th German army-corps acting in the Shkodra zone received the proposal to collaborate with the British forces that would land in Albania".

b) In September 1944, when the National Liberation Army was in a position not only to carry out isolated actions, but also to wage a frontal war against the Germans, Colonel Palmer, head of the British military mission in Albania, in his letter dated September 16, 1944, demanded from the General Staff of the National Liberation Army authorization to land a number of special troops. Because these troops were unnecessary Colonel Palmer was not authorized to land them.

All these criminal plans and manoeuvres of the Anglo-American imperialists were destroyed by the revolutionary drive of the war of our people, who were led by the glorious Communist Party and had the decisive aid of the Soviet Union. Albania was liberated, the people triumphed, the people's power was established, and an immo-

vable barrier was raised once and for all against the intervention of the imperialist wolves.

After liberation, the Albanian people had every right to expect the establishment of normal friendly relations with their former wartime allies. But in this period the American and British governments pursued a policy even more brutal than before towards new democratic Albania, a policy which can fairly be described as war; war on the internal plane, war on the international plane, to overthrow our people's power by any means and to do away with our independence and territorial integrity. This war is an inseparable part of the main war between the imperialist camp and the socialist camp, to which our People's Republic adheres with all its might.

On the internal plane, this war is carried out in these forms:

- a) refusal to recognize the government;
- b) attempt at armed intervention;
- c) espionage, sabotage, and plots to overthrow the people's power by force.

From the time of the Berat Meeting the Democratic Government of Albania sought recognition by the allied governments³⁰. They did not recognize our government, and after liberation enlarged their missions in Albania, allegedly to gather information on the situation of the country prior to recognizing the government. In the period February-March 1945 the British mission was enlarged and General D.E.P. Hodgson became its head; in May 1945 an American civil mission arrived with J.E. Jacobs as its chief, and the veteran agent of American imperialism in Albania, Harry M. Fultz, as its deputy chief.

30 This request was made on October 23, 1944 by the Democratic Government of Albania at the 2nd Meeting of the Antifascist National Liberation Council, held in the liberated town of Berat from the 20th to the 23rd of October 1944.

At the same time, there were also American officers such as Thoma Stefani and others who had been in Albania for a long time.

These missions engaged in widespread criminal activity, and from the beginning had the active aid of the Military Liaison (M.L.) Mission. But they could not fail to see the strength of the people's power, the firm stand of our government against their manoeuvres, the links of the people with the government, the successes achieved by the people's power. Their pretexts, "We are still unclear about the situation", could no longer hold water, therefore they had to make another move to avoid complete exposure. Thus, on November 10 and 12, 1945, at a time when the election campaign for the Constituent Assembly was in full swing, in order to influence these elections, the British and American governments informed the Albanian government that they were ready to recognize it, "but on certain conditions". This semi-recognition was a political manoeuvre intended to arouse uncertainty among the people on the eve of the elections, in order to prevent the Front from winning a big percentage of the votes in the elections, so that they would have a way open for their new pressures and interference against the people's power. But the landslide victory of the Democratic Front ruined their sinister plans. The British conditions providing for "free" elections and free access for foreign correspondents to Albania for them to report the elections were nonsensical, because our government and the Election Law had ensured all these conditions. And so the British government was forced to complete the formalities of recognition and to appoint its minister to Albania, Thomas Cecil Rapp, who never came to Tirana, as we will see later. The American conditions were more tricky, more hostile: in addition to "free" elections, the American government demanded that we re-

cognize the old treaties signed by satrap Ahmet Zog with the United States of America. For a whole year, the American government, through Jacobs and its agents inside and outside Albania, through its representatives at international conferences, especially at that of Paris, and at the Security Council, left no stone unturned and resorted to all sorts of pressure to force the Albanian government to recognize these treaties. But our Party and government held out to the bitter end, because to have recognized these treaties would have meant that the doors of Albania would be opened to American imperialism, which would realize its intentions in this way and transform our country into a second Greece.

Then, the British government decided to use the non-arrival of its minister as a means to exert pressure and extort concessions, which our government could not agree to.

When this manoeuvre failed too, the British government resorted to another intrigue:

On May 18, 1946, the British minister in Belgrade handed our minister there a Note of his government through which it declared that it would send its minister to Tirana immediately. Twenty minutes later, the British minister in Belgrade withdrew the said Note from our legation on the pretext that he had been informed that two British warships, the *Superb* and the *Orion*, had been shelled by our coastal batteries in the Corfu Channel on the 15th of May, 1946. This clumsy comedy of the British government is typical of the manoeuvres and diabolic intrigues and dirty provocations concocted by the British imperialists to break off its diplomatic relations with us, which in fact had never been established.

In the light of numerous facts it comes out clear that the American and British reactionaries had intended to use the question of the recognition of our government as

a weapon, both to exercise pressure and to blackmail our government, and to encourage the enemies of our people's power inside Albania as well as the war criminals abroad.

Since the time of the war the Anglo-Americans wanted to land their troops in Albania. It is the great merit of the Party that it did not permit the imperialist troops to land, thus saving the country from another dreadful occupation. Besides their demands of the 16th and 19th of September, 1944, the imperialists made later attempts at direct armed intervention in Albania, such as the demand of Field-Marshal Alexander on January 22, 1945, that an allied military mission should be replaced with a very large British military personnel headed by a general. Our government and Party rejected this request, and agreed only that until the recognition of the government, the former mission alone, which in fact was made up exclusively of British officers, should stay in Albania. Of course, the ultimatum of Field-Marshal Alexander did not fail to arrive, and to demand that "it be made particularly clear to General Hoxha that, in case he did not wish to accept the proposal for a mission, such an act would necessarily delay the recognition even further". He wanted a reply within "three or four days at most".

In appearance, this new mission of the British government was to gather information about the situation in Albania prior to recognizing the government. In fact, this new mission was to serve as the vanguard of a large-scale armed intervention. This was proved later on with the arrival of the Military Liaison (M.L.) Mission, which was allegedly to bring in aid, till UNRRA³¹ began to function.

31 UNRRA (United Nations Relief Rehabilitation Administration) was created under the Constitutional Agreement signed in June 1943 by 44 allied nations. The American and British impe-

The head of the Military Mission (M.L.) presented our government with a condition sine qua non, that is, if his terms were refused, it would be impossible for UNRRA aid to reach Albania. What were the conditions presented by the M.L. to our government? The first condition was the landing of 1,500 to 1,700 British officers and technicians in Albania to see to the distribution of the aid to be brought by this organization. This personnel would be stationed in the ports of Durrës and Vlora and elsewhere, in allocated areas of these ports, that is all the ports of Albania would be in their hands and occupied by them. This all-too-clear move was turned down categorically. Neither the number of persons nor the other proposals of the M.L. were accepted. In face of the stand of the Albanian government the M.L. was forced to reduce its figure of personnel to 80 persons.

The objectives of the M.L. were clear: to occupy Albania by means of armed forces, and at the same time, to organize an uprising from within and thus overthrow the democratic government, the people's power. These bandit-like manoeuvres against a small heroic people who had sacrificed themselves for their freedom and independence were disguised under allegedly philanthropic desires. However, they were unmasked and foiled by our Party which understood very well what the imperialists were up to.

rialists who dominated this organization used it as a cloak to organize espionage and diversionist activities against the regimes in the countries of the people's democracy and against the revolutionary, democratic, and liberation movements in the other countries of Europe. UNRRA representatives came to Albania in 1945. They engaged in a blatantly hostile, intelligence and diversionist activity attempting to organize internal reaction against the people's democratic regime.

The Anglo-Americans tried to co-ordinate their landing in Albania with internal movements and plots, as was the case with the events at Shkodra in September 1946³², which cannot be separated from the so-called Corfu Channel incident. At the same time, by using monarcho-fascist Greece, they endeavoured to create a favourable situation for their armed intervention in Albania. But again their plans were foiled.

Although the Albanian government had good reason to maintain quite a different stand towards them, it always treated the American and British missions with generosity. Both General Hodgson and Mr. Jacobs, and Mr. Fultz as well as all other members of the missions, could circulate freely throughout Albania and meet whomever they wished. Facts bear out that their allegations about the Albanian government impeding "their work", not allowing them "to circulate freely", and about the missions "being confined in Tirana within their office buildings" are simply slanders. The very documents signed by General Hodgson and Jacobs in many cases prove this. Every facility they requested from the Albanian authorities was granted immediately. They themselves were present at, and expressed their congratulations on, the elections to the Constituent Assembly on December 2, 1945.

But they responded in a very different way to these acts of good will on the part of the Albanian government.

In July 1945, when he went to South Albania, General Hodgson expressed himself precisely in the following

32 On September 9, 1946, a band of about 450 counterrevolutionaries, directly instigated by the Anglo-Americans and by a group of traitorous deputies, attacked the city of Shkodra from three directions. This attack was meant to serve as the starting point for the Anglo-American military intervention in Albania to overthrow the people's power. This "uprising" was crushed by the military forces and the people in a matter of a few hours.

manner: "The form of the Albanian government is a dictatorship". Speaking of the border provocations by the Greeks, General Hodgson said precisely this to the commander of our 3rd Division: "The provocations carried out by the Greeks are nothing but greetings". In connection with the elections General Hodgson said: "The elections in Albania are held in the 'Kosova' cinema at the point of partisan bayonets".

When the British military mission left Durrës, the British officer Neil declared publicly: "We shall return in another way". It would take a whole book to recount all the interference by the British mission in the internal affairs of Albania. But here we shall confine ourselves to quoting only one document signed by a high British official in Albania, a document which contains the secret and confidential report P.L. — SEC-L-54-5, dated April 6, 1946 addressed to his office: "It should be recalled that Brigadier-General Hodgson, who was in command of the British military mission, adopted an uncompromising attitude towards the Albanian government. He always expressed himself as opposed to Albania in the most brutal manner. He would often boast about having said: 'Out with Hoxha'. In the beginning General Hodgson was given all facilities to travel freely everywhere in Albania, and the fact that these facilities were later restricted is entirely the result of his own attitude, but despite this up till the last day of his stay in Albania, General Hodgson always adopted a truculent position."

The Americans Jacobs, Fultz, and Henderson behaved in the same way.

But parallel with this, you might say almost legal, but openly hostile activity, the British and American missions in Albania also engaged in all-round illegal activity aimed at smashing our people's power and the very existence of our independent and sovereign state.

The British and American missions in Tirana were downright agencies of espionage, sabotage and armed plots. They became centres for rallying, making contact with, organizing and directing all the enemies of our people, the war criminals and beys, agas and merchants hit by our reforms, the clique of reactionary intellectuals, old-time officers, spies, immoral women, and all the garbage of our country, all the enemies of the state power and the Albanian people. They became workshops where plots, sabotage, and assassinations were prepared, along with plans for armed attacks on our towns, and the landing of foreign troops.

In trials of the people versus Sami Qeribashi,³³ versus the Maliq saboteurs³⁴ and the group of deputies, the long-continued, consistently hostile activity of the Anglo-American imperialists against our people was thoroughly exposed, their plans, tactics and methods, their sworn enmity to our people, to our people's power, to all people's democracies and the Soviet Union, were all laid bare.

After the liberation of Albania, 95 British officers, as members of the British military mission, more than 50 Americans of the military and civil mission, 101 members of the M.L. Mission and of UNRRA came to Albania via Bari, all of them agents and spies of imperialism.

33 Reactionary element, head of the counter-revolutionary group of "Democrats", who, in the service of the Anglo-American imperialists, attempted to organize the struggle against the people's power in Albania. In January 1946 he was arrested and handed over to the people's court.

34 The American mission, in particular, had undertaken to disorganize the economy through sabotage in the chief projects of construction and production. Groups of saboteurs, made up of sold-out bourgeois specialists, acted under its directions to sabotage the draining of the Maliq marsh, to set fire to the oil installations in Kuçova (today Stalin City), and elsewhere.

The trial of Sami Qeribashi, Gjergj Kokoshi, and others, revealed the hostile role of Colonel Palmer and Major Smith, while the case of the Maliq saboteurs exposed Harry Fultz. But the trial of the traitorous deputies brought to light the entire hostile policy of the Anglo-American imperialists in Albania.

The British mission, together with the Italian fascists left in Albania, organized the burning of Kuçova in 1944. The American mission organized the sabotage at Maliq. They organized the group of deputies, whose "central committee" had established links with Hodgson, Fultz, Jacobs, and the functionaries of UNRRA; they organized sabotage at Kuçova, Patos, Rubik; through correspondence they maintained contact with war criminals such as Jup Kazazi and Muharrem Bajraktari, and the other war criminals who had found refuge in Italy and Greece. They had trained their agents for information and sabotage in Albania years ago. The people's courts brought into the open the long-standing, rabidly hostile activity of the American agent and bandit, Harry Fultz.

The British and American missions in Albania endeavoured to rally and organize all the enemies of the people's power, the fugitive war criminals, to put them in touch with the war criminals fled to Italy and Greece, to co-ordinate the activities of these persons and groups opposed to the state power with the monarcho-fascist provocations and claims, with the incidents in the Corfu Channel, with the international conferences and with the frenzied campaigns of the reactionary press in the service of imperialism, against the people's power, against the territorial integrity, against the independence and the very existence of our people, as well as against the entire democratic, anti-imperialist camp, to carry out an Anglo-American landing in Albania. But this landing never took place nor will it ever do so. The reckoning of the enemies

of our country and people turned out wrong and had unpleasant results for them.

The Anglo-American imperialists have systematically opposed the recognition of our rights in the international arena. True, Albania is a small country, but in the international arena it, too, has its own place and importance, it has its interests and rights to defend and which it must make others respect. The People's Republic of Albania is a positive factor in the defence of peace and security in the world, and occupies a place of honour in the powerful camp of democracy, in the camp of the struggle against the imperialist schemes. The character and achievements of the people's power in Albania, the correct, peaceful, and democratic policy of our democratic government, its consistent struggle for the defence of our national interests abroad, our loyal friendship with the Soviet Union, and our bonds with all the other countries of people's democracy as well as with all progressive peoples of the world, have strengthened the international position of our country. The fact that the Anglo-Americans and their lackeys are waging an unjust and dishonest campaign against the Albanian people and their people's democracy justifies the role of our democracy in defence of peace and world security, and likewise justifies the correct and prudent policy of the government of our Republic.

The representatives of the British and American governments have taken a clear-cut stand in opposition to the rights of Albania at all the international conferences and organizations:

a) At the Conference on Reparations from Germany, held in Paris in 1945, the American and British representatives tried to prevent Albania from taking part in it, but they failed, and all they were able to do was to see that the conference allocated us a very small sum, which

bears no comparison with the damage we suffered and the sacrifices we made during the war.

b) From the time of the San Francisco Conference up until today the admission of Albania to the UNO has been persistently opposed by the USA and Britain for no reason whatsoever.

On February 13, 1946, when the Security Council in London took up for the first time the question of Albania's admission to the UNO, Cadogan³⁵ supported the Greek slanders against Albania and declared that "Greece has interests in Albania"; that same day Bevin, opposing the admission of Albania, among other things declared: "If I were pressed for my opinion tonight, I would have to vote against the admission of Albania".

And this is what Cadogan did twice on end, vetoing the admission of Albania both in August 1946, and in August 1947.

In August 1946, Johnson (United States) expressed doubt about Albania's admission and demanded that the Security Council should not adopt any decision on Albania and Mongolia, but should admit other states such as Ireland, Portugal, etc. The clear-cut and correct stand of the Soviet delegation, which resolutely defended the right of Albania to be admitted as a member of the UNO, forced the American and British delegates to lay their cards on the table and reveal that they would vote against the admission of Albania. This is what they did again in 1947. They argued that Albania had no diplomatic relations with Britain and the United States, that it had not recognized the old treaties, that Greece was opposed because it considered itself in a state of war with Albania and also had territorial claims against it. Later, they added new

33 At that time, representative of Britain in the Security Council.

arguments to their charges to the effect that allegedly Albania is disturbing the peace (this in connection with the incidents in the Corfu Channel) and that it is meddling in the internal affairs of Greece.

"Albania is no longer a country to be trampled underfoot or to be treated as an object of barter of that diplomacy which bears the responsibility for the Second World War. Nobody gave Albania the position it occupies among the anti-fascist nations, it was earned with bloodshed and superhuman sacrifices. Our people, who threw themselves unreservedly into the anti-fascist war, for their rights, for the right of mankind, for the strengthening and triumph of democracy, for the freedom of the peoples, insistently and proudly demand that their rights be respected. The Albanian people, loyal to the end to the great anti-fascist alliance, are indignant and angry to see their legitimate request for membership of the United Nations Organization"* postponed by their former allies, Britain and the United States of America.

c) "When the Albanian people fought heroically against fascism, the others threw them bouquets, but when the time came for them to demand the place they so richly deserved in the UNO or at the Peace Conference, they were thrown stones"**. No one could oppose the right of participation by Albania, the first victim of the aggression of fascist Italy, in the Paris Peace Conference. But this is just what Britain and America did.

They were against Albania's being listed by the Council of Foreign Ministers among the victor states, members of the Conference of Paris, against Albania's being invited to that Conference, either with equal rights or only with a consultative vote.

* Enver Hoxha, Works, vol. 3, p. 312 (Alb. ed.).

** Ibid., p. 447.

When the proposal to invite Albania was being discussed at the plenary session, the American representative, James Byrnes, declared himself against Albania in these words: "I think we agree on the fact that, proceeding from the accord reached in Moscow, it is impossible to invite Albania".

The next day, Lord Alexander, the British delegate, took the floor to declare: "I will say without the least hesitation that I fully support the proposal put forward yesterday by Mr. Byrnes on this question, a proposal intended to advise the conference to put off this demand. I do not associate myself at all with the move made yesterday by Messrs. Vyshinsky and Manuilsky, who advise that the question of the admission of Albania as a member with consultative rights, should be considered now, considering and deciding separately on this question before the elements that have been put forward or might be put forward later by other countries are likewise considered. In connection with this, I wish to point out that Albania is not an allied nation or a member of the United Nations Organizations...".

As for the Peace Treaty with Italy, we had expressed our opinion and presented our requests, which were not only fair and undeniable, but also modest. In article 21 of the draft-Treaty with Italy, in the paragraph stressing that "Italy recognizes and is bound to respect the sovereignty and independence of the Albanian state", we requested the insertion of the word 'integrity'. We demanded the return of the gold seized by fascist Italy and, later, taken away to Germany; we asked to be considered as a "puissance associée"*; we sought reparations from Italy. All these just demands of ours were supported heart and

* French in the original.

soul by the Soviet representatives and by the delegates of the people's democracies, but in the long run, under the pressure of the British and American delegations, these requests were turned down. The British delegate, Hood, declared and insisted that, "Albania should receive no dollars". This was also the stand of the American delegate concerning our rights throughout the conference.

In New York, at the Council of Foreign Ministers, the American representative, Byrnes, shouted that he would never agree that Albania should receive reparations from Italy. It was clearly apparent at that conference, at which aggressor Italy should have been tried and measures adopted against it, that many countries of the West defended Italy and trampled on the rights of those peoples who had shed so much blood for freedom and democracy.

d) At the Moscow session (March-April 1947) of the Council of Foreign Ministers on the drafting of the peace treaty with Germany, while opposing the rights of Albania to take part in the preparations, the British and Americans had the audacity to even negate the war our people had waged:

"We are of the opinion", the American delegate Murphy said, "that, first, Albania is not a neighbour of Germany, and second, it did not take part in the war against Germany. Only some individual Albanians, perhaps, took part in this war, but apart from this there were also Albanians who fought side by side with the Germans".

In connection with this, Vyshinsky made the following remark:

"Murphy's statement that 'only some individual Albanians' took part in the war against Germany causes astonishment, not only among those present at this meeting but throughout the entire world. What does the expression 'some individual persons', mean? How can one

speak of 'individual persons' or better 'individuals' who have taken part, arms in hand, in the war against Germany, when it is known that Albania raised 70,000 fighters in the war against the Germans? Thus, small Albania, counting only one million inhabitants, threw against the Germans an army of 70,000 men, and even though you know this, you still pretend that only some 'individual Albanians' fought against the Germans."

e) Another aspect of the hostile policy followed by Britain and America against Albania is the problem of the war criminals. The fugitive Albanian war criminals are mainly in Italy and Greece, and there they are under the direct protection and support of the British and Americans. They are even incited, aided and organized by them for activities against the People's Republic of Albania. The Italian and German war criminals, too, who committed crimes in Albania are also under the jurisdiction of the British and Americans in Italy and in the British and American zones of Austria and Germany. On June 20, 1947 the Albanian government sent an official request to the British and American governments for the surrender of all the Italian, German, and Albanian war criminals under their jurisdiction. The Albanian government also presented individual lists of the charges against each criminal separately. Violating all joint declarations and agreements of the allies in the war years, as well as all the later decisions, in its letter dated October 4, 1947 the British government arrogantly denies Albania the right to demand the surrender of the war criminals, refusing to consider it as an allied country and being surprised that the Albanian government is raising the question at this late stage: "... His Majesty's Government must stress that Albania, in fact, has never enjoyed allied status, and therefore cannot demand the rights of an allied state...".

"... In conclusion, His Majesty's Government must emphasize that two years have passed since the ending of hostilities with Germany, and it is not impressed at all by the importance of cases which the Albanian government has not seen fit to raise previously".

f) After the failure of the first attempts at armed intervention and after the disclosure and ruthless blow dealt at the plots hatched up here with the internal reaction, and seeing that neither pressure, threats, nor false accusations against our People's Republic in the international field could achieve anything at all, but exposed them badly, the British and American imperialists attempted to organize acts of open aggression using monarcho-fascist Greece to this end as a pretext and a base for the attack.

The first proof on this respect were the incidents on May 15, 1946, on October 22, and especially on November 12 to 13, 1946, when a large number of British warships (on November 12 to 13, there were 23 warships, including cruisers, torpedo-boats, submarines and one aircraft-carrier) invaded our territorial waters allegedly on a mine-sweeping operation, but in fact they had obvious aggressive aims.

This was the Saranda incident, deliberately provoked by the British. You "... have seen the facts and the evidence of how the British concocted this affair, how they inflated it and built it up, and took it to the Security Council and even to the International Court at the Hague, to prove to the world through carefully refined, though false and quite unconvincing, evidence, that Albania was endangering peace. Albania has never laid mines along its coast, because it has had neither mines nor means to lay them. The official British documents themselves show that the British knew about the existence of mines

left over in those waters since the time of the war, and they recognize that the mine-sweeping, which they carried out themselves, was by no means reliable and that the navigation route was dangerous. The British, or their lackeys in Athens, could very easily have laid these mines with their ships. Here the question arises: What were the British warships looking for time after time, why did they violate the integrity of our territorial waters many times on end? Of course, they had a purpose. The British claim that they have the right of passage through the Corfu Channel for their 'peaceful' ships, but the navigation route through the Corfu Channel is not five hundred metres off the port of Saranda, or the Himara coast, and peaceful navigation does not mean to have all the guns ready and aimed at our seaports. Likewise the warships of their lackeys in Athens, which for eight times in succession — not to mention what is happening every day — what were they after in our waters, close to our ports? Were their intentions 'peaceful' when they seized our boats, plus their crews, and took them to Corfu, or when they machine-gunned the coastline and our villages, or when they shelled the villages of Konispol? It takes no great mind to understand why such things were done. Despite the votes the British and Americans always manage to drum up at the Security Council to approve such deliberately hatched-up acts of aggression, right is on our side, and in order to gain our rights we are not going to kneel even before blackmail or threats. And justice always is with the just. The conclusive, last minute argument brought up by the British and Americans for the Saranda incident was this: 'Either the Albanian government has laid the mines itself, or it knows who did lay them, because it defends its borders and its coastline with the greatest jealousy and determination'. But this argument proves

nothing, or better still proves one thing, which we readily admit because it is quite true, that we defend our seacoast and our Southern border with the greatest jealousy and determination, because they are sacred to us and because fascist wolves are prowling round them”*.

The Anglo-American imperialists tried to use the provocations in the Corfu Channel as a pretext for their landing, but they could not attain their objective and were exposed by our government and by the Soviet representatives in the Security Council. The British government has now taken this question before the International Court at the Hague and is inventing new charges and playing new tricks to cover up its brigand-like provocation which was exposed.

C. *The Greek question.* — The groups of bankers and militarists who make the foreign policy of America and Britain, regard the position of Albania as important for the realization of their war-mongering and expansionist plans against the Soviet Union and the countries of people's democracy. That's why they have resorted to all sorts of intrigues, manoeuvres, pressures and provocations, all sorts of plots, acts of sabotage and diversion against our valiant and dauntless people, who are linked heart and soul with the invincible camp of socialism, and the triumphant Soviet Union.

They have tried to turn our beloved, peaceful, and democratic Albania into a second Greece where King Zog and the beys and the war criminals would reign with terror and the people would suffer in the greatest misery unprecedented in their history. They have not achieved this, but they have tried to use monarcho-fascist Greece to this end, pursuing two different ways simultaneously: first, by encouraging and supporting the crazy Greek

* Enver Hoxha, Works, vol. 4, pp. 112-113 (Alb. ed.).

claims over Korça and Gjirokastra, the absurd pretention of the Athens' fascists that allegedly Greece is in a state of war with Albania, and their uninterrupted criminal armed provocations against the territorial integrity and sovereignty of the People's Republic of Albania; second, by taking part directly in these monarcho-fascist armed provocations, by accusing Albania, Bulgaria, and Yugoslavia of causing the savage civil war going on in Greece, for which they, themselves, and their tools of Athens, are responsible, by exerting direct pressure on the Albanian government in a demonstrative way, such as the recent Anglo-French-American move, and by raising the Greek problem as an international issue so as to create trouble in the Balkans and to use it in their criminal campaign for a third world war.

It is now known that in summer 1945, all preparations had been made in Greece for aggression against Albania, and this was to be combined with a British landing from the sea. But faced with the resolute stand of the Albanian people and the correct and unwavering policy of their government, these plans failed.

British officers, such as general Scobie, have made inflammatory and provocative statements against Albania. Senior British and American officers have continually inspected the Greek-Albanian border, they have checked on and photographed our border positions. An important move in favour of the Greek claims against Albania was the British and American attempt to discuss the Greek claims at the Peace Conference in Paris. Under pressure of the British and American delegations, the Greek claim was accepted as an item of the agenda. But the stand of the Albanian government was clear-cut. On September 16, 1946, one day before leaving Paris, the Albanian Prime Minister made a press statement in which, among other things, he said:

"The Conference of Paris, by 11 votes for, and 7 against, and with 2 abstentions, voted in favour of the Greek demand, which is aimed at discussing the question of the Southern border of Albania.

I solemnly declare that neither the Paris Conference nor the Four Power Conference, or any other conference, can take up for consideration the question of the borders of our country, within which there is not an inch of foreign land. Our borders are indisputable and no one will dare to touch them. To be able to take even an inch of our land the Greeks will have to put into motion other mechanisms besides the votes of the Paris Conference. Let the entire world know that the Albanian people... have not sent their delegation to Paris to render account, but to demand an accounting from those who have inflicted so much damage on them and against whom they have fought fiercely to the end. We have done our duty, just as the great powers. Our martyrs and our sacrifices are as sacred to us as their martyrs and sacrifices are to the great powers; likewise our rights are just as sacred as theirs"*.

It was the glorious merit of the Soviet delegation, headed by comrade Molotov, that the despicable Greek demand was removed from the agenda of the conference, and the Anglo-Saxon diplomacy suffered a serious defeat.

On October 23, 1947, Hector McNeil, the British delegate to the General Assembly of the UNO, encouraged Tsaldaris³⁶ in these words: "I have some fear lest, owing to the form taken by my remarks about the acts, your position in connection with the claims over Northern Epirus may have been damaged. What I wanted to say,

* Enver Hoxha, Works, vol. 3, pp. 448-449 (Alb. ed.).

36 Political leader and reactionary Prime Minister of monarcho-fascist Greece. After the Second World War, he drowned Greece in a bloody civil war.

and I am sure that this is quite obvious throughout my speech, is that your representative in Paris democratically accepted the stand of the Paris Conference, a thing which in no way affects your right to defend your case again before the Council of Foreign Ministers, as you said then and repeated later that you would do".

In its hostile policy towards Albania, the monarcho-fascist government of Athens has received special aid and encouragement from the Anglo-Americans through the Investigating Commission, created by the Security Council on December 19, 1946, and in particular, through the so-called special Commission on the Balkans (UNSCOB), set up on October 21, 1947 by the General Assembly of the United Nations.

Having failed in their direct attempts, the Anglo-Americans brought other charges against Albania, Bulgaria, and Yugoslavia, in the UNO alleging that these countries are providing shelter and supplies for the Greek partisans, that the Greek partisans enter Greek territory from our countries, that we are interfering in the internal affairs of Greece, and therefore, are responsible for the civil war in Greece and for endangering peace. The true culprits, the Anglo-American interventionists, used their stale old method of covering themselves by accusing others, in the Security Council. When the report of the Investigating Commission was being discussed on July 25, 1947, the American delegate brutally attacked our countries saying: "We are of the opinion that Greece does not constitute any threat to peace at this moment, and that, on the contrary, we are of the opinion that the three Balkan governments, with their past conduct, do constitute such a threat. We regard it as our duty to issue a warning".

Again, on October 20, 1947, in the General Assembly, Johnson, the delegate of Wall Street, without presenting

the slightest evidence, on the contrary, turning a blind eye to the innumerable facts incriminating the USA, repeated the same accusations and demanded the creation of the UNSCOB, which was set up and acted as an agency of espionage and provocation for the State Department and for the monarcho-fascists against the freedom-loving Greek people and the northern neighbours of Greece. The UNSCOB put its seal on all the accusations, slanders, provocations, and crimes committed by the Americans in Greece. It directed its activity against Albania in particular. From the day it set foot in Greece and up till October 15, 1948, the Greek monarcho-fascists have committed 683 armed provocations on land, sea, and air. Under the flag of the UNO, the American and British agents are playing the role of provocateurs and disturbers of the peace. The members of the UNSCOB take part in person in the provocations and fighting against the Greek democratic army.

Under the flag of the UNO the Americans and the British are trying to justify and to cover up their intervention and responsibility by accusing the others. But their ardent advocate Spaak, himself, declared to the General Assembly of the UNO: "I do not believe that anyone can even imagine, or accept, that the northern neighbours of Greece are the instigators of, and have caused, the civil war going on in this country. Personally, I do not believe that they have done this, and if someone claims something different, I think that this is an exaggeration".

There is foreign intervention in Greece, and this is the cause of the civil war. At first this intervention was by the British, later by the Americans with their Truman Doctrine. "Within just one year," the former head of the American mission in Greece, Griswald, recently declared, "the American government has sent 20,000 tons of war material of all kinds, has built six military airfields which

can take heavy bombers, and repaired all the major ports of the country for military purposes."

There you have the essence of American aid, the Truman Doctrine and the Marshall plan. And the best explanation to the Truman Doctrine is given by the notorious mouthpiece of American imperialism, the journalist Walter Lippmann, who on April 1947, in the "New York Herald Tribune", wrote the following: "We chose Turkey and Greece, not because they truly stand in need of aid, but because they constitute for us the strategic doors leading to the Black Sea and into the very heart of the Soviet Union".

All the dirty manoeuvres that international reaction is trying to perform at the expense of our people are unmasked one after the other, and the progressive peoples all over the world are seeing clearly how unjust is the attitude taken by the British and American governments towards the heroic and peace-loving Albanian people. All the accusations that these governments bring against us rebound against them, and their game and intentions are thoroughly unmasked. Is it possible for our small people to threaten the peace, threaten America and Britain, as the British and American governments claim? This is ridiculous. The Albanian people want to live free to go quietly about their peaceful constructive work; they want to live in complete harmony with all the progressive peoples of the world.

*THE STRUGGLE AGAINST INTERNAL REACTION
AFTER LIBERATION*

After the liberation of Albania, in order to complete the victories achieved during the war and to eliminate the remnants of fascism, the nests of reaction, espionage, and

diversionists, the Party and the people's power had to make the necessary purges. The struggle had to be a harsh one, and so it was. Numerous criminals defeated by our partisan war, and now without the support of German arms, were scattered throughout Albania, hiding in the mountains or in their homes, smuggled into our army, or living under cover in towns and villages. The armed forces of our people, the State Security Force, the police and People's Defence units, and the people themselves, who took an active part in it, went to work to clear the country of these bandits. The only hope for the reactionaries and war criminals, isolated or organized in bands, who had not managed to get across the sea, were the Anglo-Americans with their missions in Albania. The heavy blows of our people's power against the war criminals, beginning in December 1944 and lasting till the end of February 1946, put an end to this problem. Quisling ministers, war criminals, spies, diversionists, functionaries of past fascist regimes, were killed in the fighting, or were captured, put on trial, and, depending on the crimes they had committed against the people, were imprisoned or shot. During the entire four-year period of their activity, the State Security organs have been constantly in stern struggle against the remnants of the espionage agencies, the SIM, Gestapo, Intelligence Service, and against the American secret service, which organized and incited reaction against our People's Republic and against the people's power. On January 23, 1945, the remnants of the enemy in the region of Shkodra, the fugitive Ballists, and the men of "Legaliteti", those of the "Besëlidhja"³⁷

37 In May 1944, the reactionary chiefs of the Northern regions of Albania, with the former fascist minister of the Italian occupation period, Kolë Bib Mirakaj, under the direction of the head of the British Liaison Mission attached to these chiefs and of the German secret service, organized a meeting in Shkodra which was called "The

and other inveterate criminals, relying on the enemy propaganda and the British intervention, attempted to organize an uprising. On January 23, 1945, they attacked Koplik, which fell into their hands for a few hours. At the same time they organized several attacks against the command posts of the region. But this movement was snuffed out immediately by the forces of our army.

In January 1946, elements from the rich bourgeoisie of our country, men linked with the occupier and direct agents of the Anglo-Americans, organized various opposition groups, such as the "Monarchist Party" in which reactionary elements of Zogite tendencies, ex-officers of Zog, took part, the "Social-democratic Party", including the remnants of the so-called "Social-democratic group of the "Balli Kombëtar" during the war, and the "Democratic" group, headed by Sami Qeribashi. All these groups, hostile to the people, and opposed to the regime, created the "Bashkimi" organization, contacted the fugitives, and organized themselves for the overthrow of the people's power by means of violence. The British mission in Tirana was the base and directing force at these groups. But the groups were discovered, their members arrested, and before the court received the punishment they deserved.

Shkodra League". At this meeting they adopted the decision to prevent the spreading of the partisan movement to these zones. The chief of the British mission and that of the German secret service promised to supply them with armaments and food, and to organize the landing of the allied troops in Shëngjin, a seaport in the vicinity of Shkodra, very soon. In August 1944, this organization assumed the name "Besëlidhja", and later, "Lidhja e Maleve" (Mountain League), and "Komiteti i Maleve" (Mountain Committee). Besides the chieftains of the North, reactionary chiefs of Kosova, of the "Balli Kombëtar", criminals, and others, took part in it.

With the movement of the 1st Division of the National Liberation Army to the North, in Summer 1944, all their plans were foiled.

In February 1946 the trial of the "Bashkimi Shqiptar" of Shkodra took place. This organization was directed by the Catholic clergy of Shkodra, and its roots were old, dating back to the time of the war. It was directed by the Catholic clergy, with the most important Catholic priests at its head, under direct instructions from the Vatican. The activity of this group was concentrated on distributing leaflets and the aid it gave to the movement that would be launched on September 9, 1946 in Shkodra, and so on.

The September 9, 1946 movement in Shkodra, directly instigated by the British and Americans, with the active participation of the group of traitorous deputies through the intermediary of the traitor Riza Dani, connected with such fugitives as Jup Kazazi, and others. On September 9, about 450 armed and unarmed men attacked the city of Shkodra from three directions. The objective of this attack had been publicized as the starting point of the Anglo-American military intervention in Albania for the overthrow of the people's power. The movement was smashed that same day: 33 of its participants were killed in action by our forces, 8 other leading elements were tried by the military court and shot, 200 others were arrested, tried, and some of them, released.

Another group of spies and saboteurs was that organized directly and headed by the American mission in Albania and personally by Mr. Fultz, a savage enemy of the Albanian people and chief of the American secret service in Albania. This group consisted mostly of former pupils of the vocational school run at one time by the Americans. These elements were corrupt technicians from the bourgeoisie, men linked with fascism and reaction during the war. They carried out sabotage in Maliq, Kuçova, Rubik, etc. The chiefs of this group of saboteurs such as Beqir Çela, Avdyl Sharra, Kujtim Beqiri, Sulo

Klosi, Selaudin Toto, and others, were arrested, tried, and received the sentence they deserved.

Before the end of the war, some camouflaged traitors within the National Liberation Front, attempted to organize and rally themselves so as to emerge as an opposition party within the Front. A number of these elements were elected as deputies in the December 2, 1945 elections. Under the guise of membership in the Front, and with the deputy card in their pockets, inspired and directed by the British and Americans, they attempted to play the "Trojan Horse" and, together with the war criminals, organized themselves to overthrow the people's power through violence. This organization hostile to our people was discovered; its chiefs, such as Shefqet Beja, Sheh Ibrahim Karbunara, Riza Dani, etc., were arrested and sent to the court, where they received the punishment they deserved.

In the strictest secrecy, disguised remnants of the "Balli Kombëtar" were organizing themselves against the people's power. These elements, since the beginning of the year 1945, with Uan Filipi at their head, organized a "provisional committee" of the "Balli" in line with the instructions they received via UNRRA from the "central committee" of the "Balli" in Italy. This group consisted of remnants of the "Balli", merchants hit by our taxes, expropriated kulaks, spies, beys, etc. They maintained contact with fugitive war criminals. Their program envisaged the organization of assassinations and the overthrow of the people's power through violence. This organization was discovered, and its heads, such as Uan Filipi and Avdyl Kokoshi, and others, were handed over to the court and received the sentence they deserved.

These were the obvious attempts at the organization of internal reaction which, with the support of the British and Americans who were in Albania, made several

successive attempts to organize the war against our people's power, hoping for an Anglo-American landing in our country. The connections of these Anglo-American agents, these remnants of reaction, with the masses of the people were absolutely weak, and therefore they could not achieve the slightest success in their criminal efforts against our people. The people's power, by means of its organs of People's Defence, easily liquidated all their efforts. By striking these just and severe blows our people's power became stronger day by day, and armed with sufficient experience to discover and mercilessly combat all the enemies of the people who might dare to raise their heads and threaten the life of our people.

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III THE PARTY

DESTRUCTION OF HOSTILE WORK IN THE MIDST OF OUR PARTY

The Trotskyite nationalist Tito group interfered brutally in the internal affairs of our Party to impose their anti-Marxist, anti-Albanian, and anti-Soviet views on our Party and people. Their interference began with the unfounded and vile accusations of Vukmanovich Tempo, representative of the Central Committee of the CPY posted to Albania during the period of the war. This Trotskyite accused the Central Committee of our Party of opportunism towards the "Balli". This was a slander, but the intention of the Central Committee of the CPY was to sow the first seeds of disruption in the Central Committee of our Party and to arouse differences in the ranks of the Party allegedly over questions of principle. Later, through letters, Tito accused Miladin Popovich³⁸ and the Central Committee of our Party of allegedly taking chauvinistic positions and of distortions of line concerning Kosova and Metohia. This was another slander and was intended to back up the first accusation by Vukmanovich Tempo. In his attack

38 Internationalist Yugoslav communist. In Autumn 1941, the Albanian communists freed him from a concentration camp. He remained in Albania to maintain the links between the CPA and CPY. He supported the internationalist stand of the CC of the CPA. In September 1944, on orders from the leadership of the CPY he left Albania, and in March 1945 was assassinated on order of the Yugoslav secret service.

against our Central Committee and, especially, comrades Enver Hoxha and Miladin Popovich, Tempo had the full and conscious support of Koçi Xoxe and Sejfulla Malëshova. Since that time, Koçi Xoxe, in accord with the views of Vukmanovich Tempo, was in opposition to the line of our Central Committee defended by comrades Enver Hoxha and Miladin Popovich. The personal dissatisfaction and mistakes that might have been observed during the time of the war were nothing but pretexts to cover up the struggle against, and the opposition to, the principles of the correct line of the Central Committee. In the meetings of the party activists which discussed the Resolution of the 11th Plenum of the Central Committee it was testified that, afterwards, Koçi Xoxe used to report to Vukmanovich Tempo on the situation of our Party, emphasizing that it was allegedly dominated by intellectuals, etc. This was being done without the knowledge of the General Secretary of the Party, and explains the brutal recall of comrade Miladin Popovich from Albania and the arrival of the delegate of the CC of the CPY, Velimir Stoinich, who, with the full backing of Koçi Xoxe, his chief supporter, organized the behind the scenes dealings at the Berat Plenum³⁹.

39 The 2nd Plenum of the CC of the CPA was held in Berat in November 1944. It was necessary for the Plenum to meet to make an analysis of the activity of the Party during the National Liberation War and to define the tasks for the new stage which began with the liberation of the country. But, the correct intentions of the Party were distorted by the hostile interference of the Yugoslav leadership via Velimir Stoinich, who had come to Albania as head of the Yugoslav Military Mission and in charge of liaison between the CPY and the CPA. In Berat he organized a behind the scenes plot against the CPA with the participation of Sejfulla Malëshova, Koçi Xoxe, Pandi Kristo, and

Why did the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Yugoslavia attack the Central Committee of our Party, the General Secretary, and Miladin Popovich during the war? The reason is that the Central Committee of our Party educated our Party in the correct Marxist and internationalist spirit, that it educated our Party and led our people in the war, always seeing it closely linked with the Soviet Union and with its just war, that it educated our Party and people to see in the Soviet Union, in the Bolshevik Party and in comrade Stalin its own defenders and the defenders of its people. This orientation was not to the liking of the Central Committee of the CP of Yugoslavia, which wanted our Party and people to regard everything as linked with the Communist Party of Yugoslavia. Our Party educated the people to love the peoples of Yugoslavia and the Communist Party of Yugoslavia but the Central Committee of the latter did not want the independence of our Party and of our people. Later, with the liberation of Albania, such a correct development of our Party would become a great obstacle to the anti-Marxist and anti-Albanian aims of the nationalist group of Belgrade. To change this situation, Velimir Stoinich was sent with definite directives: to liquidate the Central Committee, which had conducted the National Liberation War, to liquidate the General Secretary of the Party, comrade Enver Hoxha, and at the same time to make Koçi Xoxe all-

others, and in this way, the Plenum was held in the spirit of the Yugoslav anti-Marxist line.

The main objective of the plan of the Yugoslav leadership, to overthrow the leadership of our Party with comrade Enver Hoxha at the head and to replace it with a new, pro-Yugoslav leadership, was not achieved thanks to the opposition encountered from the majority of the members of the Plenum. Nevertheless, the Plenum of Berat opened the road for a deeper and more extensive interference of the revisionist Yugoslav leadership in the internal affairs of our Party and country.

powerful in the Central Committee, and to establish the anti-Marxist forms and methods of work in the leadership and the organization of the Party, to create the opinion in the Central Committee that the war of our people was due to the aid of the Central Committee of the CP of Yugoslavia, and therefore, new Albania should look towards Yugoslavia, and towards Yugoslavia only. Velimir Stoinich had Koçi Xoxe as his principal aide in the implementation of these directives. Nako Spiru⁴⁰, dissatisfied without reason, with a marked dose of ambition, fell into the trap set by Velimir Stoinich and Koçi Xoxe, and became a standard-bearer of a cause alien to our Party. Led by Velimir Stoinich, Koçi Xoxe, Nako Spiru, Pandi Kristo, and Sejfulla Malëshova organized behind the scenes the attack on the correct line of the Central Committee of the Party, the attack on the unity of the Central Committee and the General Secretary of the Party. This plan was mapped out in great secrecy and kept entirely from the Central Committee and comrade Enver Hoxha. This was factionalism. For this anti-party deed, Velimir Stoinich secretly summoned Koçi Xoxe, Pandi Kristo, Nako Spiru, Sejfulla Malëshova and some other comrades of the Central Committee, whom they were convinced of would associate themselves with their anti-party work. This was how the attack against the Central Committee in Berat was organized. The roles were divided, and the opinion of all these factionalists and groupist elements was that the General Secretary of the Party should no longer stay in his post, because he was not worthy of it. However, they reached the conclusion that it

40 Member of the Political Bureau of the CC of the CPA and Political Secretary of the CC of the Communist Youth of Albania. In 1947 he fell victim to the activity of the Yugoslav revisionists and Koçi Xoxe's intrigues.

was not the right moment, and they were afraid of some eventual move on the part of the army and of the officers. The attack at Berat had its definite political platform dictated by the Yugoslav representatives and approved in full by the groupist elements with Koçi Xoxe, Pandi Kristo, Nako Spiru and Sejfulla Malëshova at the head. Their political platform was this: during the period of the war grave errors of principle had occurred in the line of the Party; in the line there had been opportunist and sectarian deviations; there had been individual work; the Party was not a Marxist-Leninist party; it was degenerating into a party of bandits and terrorists; the leader of the Party had committed grave mistakes in the line, he was the main one responsible, and it was indirectly implied that he was not worthy of this post.

All these accusations against the correct line of the Party were groundless, they were slanders. During the war there were mistakes, but not at all of this nature, there were manifestations of discontent, there was laxity, but these did not affect the line of the Party and the war, and these things could be corrected through a regular meeting and on the basis of sound criticism and self-criticism. Both Ymer Dishnica and Liri Gega had committed mistakes in the line, but not the Central Committee and the General Secretary of the Party. True, there were failures to treat cadres properly, which was quite understandable in war time and in a newly-formed Party. Koçi Xoxe and Pandi Kristo, in particular, took these shortcomings and manifestations of laxity as personal attacks against them, without reflecting at all about their work during the war, which, far from being brilliant, was full of weaknesses. The behind the scenes dealings at Berat, with its anti-party platform, hatched up in the Trotskyite spirit and with Trotskyite methods, was a putsch against our Party and a violation of the rules on

which a communist party is based. All the rules of the Party were violated at the Berat Plenum. The personal dissatisfaction and slanders to attack the correct line of the Party and the persons who had led the people to victory were added to the erroneous political platform. At the Berat Plenum the hostile thesis of the Central Committee of the CP of Yugoslavia triumphed: the unity of the Central Committee was attacked, the correct line of the Party was attacked, the General Secretary of the Party was attacked and discredited, democratic centralism was violated, criticism and self-criticism were misused and employed to discredit certain persons, unhealthy ambition and megalomania were encouraged, "the cult of heroes who save the Party" from imaginary great dangers was created, careerism was encouraged, and military, anarchial, and putschist methods, together with arbitrariness, were introduced into the Party. The way was paved for the introduction into the Party of anti-Marxist-Leninist organizational forms, the main one being that of the Organizational Secretary being at the same time Minister for Internal Affairs. The Yugoslav Trotskyite leadership prepared its henchman, Koçi Xoxe, for his future anti-party activity. At the same time the opportunist, nationalist viewpoint of the Yugoslav leadership and of Sejfulla Malëshova was introduced into the Party, a viewpoint that ran parallel with Koçi Xoxe's sectarianism, which later was to develop into catastrophic forms. At Berat, Koçi Xoxe and Pandi Kristo were armed to prepare the subjection of the Party to the orders of the Trotskyite Tito group. The Berat Plenum, with the brutal interference of the delegate of the Central Committee of the CP of Yugoslavia, and with the complete approval of its anti-Marxist and anti-Albanian theses, dealt a blow at the independence of the Party. The Berat Plenum granted the Central Committee of the CP of Yugoslavia the right to have the decisive final say

in our Party, and to be publicized in our Party as the saviour of the grave situation in our Party, and as the principal helper and leader of our National Liberation War.

Following the Berat Plenum, the Party faced difficult tasks, but it did not have a monolithic leadership; it had a wrecked Central Committee lacking unity and sincerity, where distrust and underestimation predominated, in the first place towards the General Secretary, who was the only one who could have established a correct co-ordination of affairs in the Bureau and in the Central Committee. In his privileged position, Koçi Xoxe, blown up with megalomania, supported by the Yugoslavs, was working in anti-Marxist ways, in the discharge of both the tasks pertaining to him because of his function and those which were beyond his function, namely those of the General Secretary of the Party. For the Yugoslavs, Koçi Xoxe and Pandi Kristo, as well as Nako Spiru and Sejfulla Malëshova, in the first months after liberation, comrade Enver Hoxha was only formally the leader of the Party.

This situation at the head of the Party caused the Party and the people great harm. The lack of unity in the Political Bureau caused vacillations in the line; the opportunism of Sejfulla Malëshova had taken root and was becoming dangerous, organizational errors were increasing; Koçi Xoxe, who did not have the remotest idea of what self-criticism meant, persisted in his mistakes, and not only did he hide his mistakes, but with his anti-communist, authoritarian stand and bluffs he tried to hide his incapacity in the management of affairs. Comrade Nako Spiru abandoned the anti-Marxist road of Koçi Xoxe and Pandi Kristo, with whom he had made common cause at the Berat Plenum. Koçi Xoxe and Pandi Kristo fell out with Nako Spiru, not on personal matters, but on matters of principle. Nako Spiru united with the General

Secretary to defend the correct line of the Party and to strengthen the position of the General Secretary. Nako Spiru would have corrected his mistakes in this way. Such a change could not possibly be to the liking of the Yugoslav Trotskyites and their collaborators, Koçi Xoxe and Pandi Kristo. The situation in the Bureau was unbearable; the opportunist views of Sejfulla Malëshova were attacked, but Koçi Xoxe and Pandi Kristo persisted stubbornly in their mistakes.

In order to lead the Central Committee in the correct Marxist-Leninist road, and knowing nothing of what had happened behind the scenes at Berat, in June 1946, Comrade Enver Hoxha put before the Political Bureau his theses on the revision of the Berat Plenum. Comrade Enver Hoxha had decided that the Berat Plenum was the main illness; it was the source of all the mistakes and misfortunes which occurred in our Party after liberation; it was the source of disagreements and quarrels in the Bureau, of the opportunist and hostile work of Sejfulla Malëshova. In his theses, comrade Enver Hoxha stressed that the interference and the activity of the delegate of the CC of the CPY was inimical to our Party; that at the 2nd Plenum of Berat the correct line of our Party was attacked, its leadership and the General Secretary of the Party were unjustly assailed; that unity, criticism and self-criticism were lacking in our Bureau; that as a result of the Berat Plenum, the problem of displacing the leadership of the Party had emerged, a sort of Party-state power dualism had appeared, and that, finally, organizational mistakes had been observed, which had to be corrected as soon as possible.

These theses, which time proved to be quite correct, were rejected and were not accepted, either by Koçi Xoxe or by Pandi Kristo; Nako Spiru accepted them in part. But these three comrades, who had carried out the anti-

party activity behind the scenes at Berat, kept their secret and concealed their factional group dealing at Berat. Only two days before Nako Spiru's suicide, with the sinister aim of influencing the General Secretary to maintain an intransigent stand towards Nako Spiru, Koçi Xoxe told comrade Enver Hoxha that Nako Spiru had allegedly said that, "If Enver Hoxha does not comply with our orders, then we shall convince him at gun-point". This was a typical Trotskyite scheme on the part of Koçi Xoxe. And even after the suicide of Nako Spiru, it was difficult up to the last moment to get Koçi Xoxe and Pandi Kristo to admit what went on behind the scenes at Berat.

Koçi Xoxe and Pandi Kristo could not possibly agree with the theses of the General Secretary, because all their activity up to that time would come out, and this work was hostile towards the Party. They could not disclose the backstage dealings at Berat because they were the main factors in them and big culprits. What is more, they persisted in defending the Trotskyite platform worked out at Berat. They could not condemn the hostile work of Velimir Stoinich, because they had supported him, because he had been the anti-party factor who had supported and defended Koçi Xoxe in his efforts to achieve the positions he so greatly desired, from which he would impose his anti-Marxist views on the Party. Koçi Xoxe and Pandi Kristo could not accept the strengthening of the unity in the leadership, because they were the main cause of this split, and because, in their view, the unity of the Party would be achieved only when the leadership and the Party was purged of comrades Enver Hoxha, Nako Spiru, and all the other comrades who did not agree with the anti-party views of Koçi Xoxe and Pandi Kristo. In the theses on the revision of the Berat Plenum every problem put forward was raised on a principled Marxist basis, but Koçi Xoxe and Pandi Kristo, to avoid the danger threatening

them, reduced these problems to personal matters, claiming that those correct theses had been prepared under the influence of personalities and were aimed only at Koçi Xoxe from a personal point of view. This was a typically Trotskyite tactic which did not permit the exposure and rectification of mistakes on the sound basis of Bolshevik criticism and self-criticism. Koçi Xoxe and Pandi Kristo concealed their grave mistakes from the Party, and while strongly defending them, went on deepening them further so as to wreck the Party. Together with Koçi Xoxe and Pandi Kristo, the Yugoslav Trotskyites saw the danger threatening them from the imminent exposure of their filthy game, and in the middle of the meetings of the Bureau, when the theses on the revision of the Berat Plenum were being studied, to interrupt these discussions, the Yugoslav government invited the Albanian government to send a delegation to Belgrade to conclude the treaty of friendship and mutual aid. In order to aggravate the alleged crimes of Nako Spiru, shortly after his suicide, Koçi Xoxe, of course on the advice of the Yugoslavs, told the General Secretary that "Nako Spiru had given the Yugoslavs the text of comrade Enver Hoxha's theses on the revision of the Berat Plenum, at the same time expressing his thought: See how Enver Hoxha attacks Yugoslavia and the Central Committee of the CP of Yugoslavia". In the light of analyses, it is clear that these were slanders, and that the invitation of a government delegation to go to Belgrade for the signing of the treaty at that moment was only a means to escape the difficult situation that the re-examination of the proceedings of the Berat Plenum would create.

The theses on the revision of the Berat Plenum were not accepted by Koçi Xoxe and Pandi Kristo. These two and Nako Spiru did not have the Bolshevik courage to disclose their activity at Berat; but, despite his weak position, comrade Nako Spiru, thinking that time would cover

his mistake at Berat, linked himself as closely as possible with the General Secretary.

Following these theses, because he saw that the situation in the Bureau was very serious, the General Secretary proposed the enlargement of the Political Bureau with new cadres tested in the war, with the aim of establishing unity in the Bureau, so that the problems could be raised anew and the mistakes corrected. Koçi Xoxe and Pandi Kristo fought this correct measure of the General Secretary because they were against unity, because the coming of new elements into the Political Bureau would weaken their positions and strengthen those of the comrades who defended the Marxist-Leninist line of the Party. The Bureau was enlarged, but not in the way the General Secretary had proposed. When a decision had to be reached on this question, Koçi Xoxe and Pandi Kristo voted against, but afterwards pretended to submit to the decision of the majority; in fact, these two never at any time submitted to the decision of the majority. The General Secretary of the Party requested that Koçi Xoxe report to the Bureau on his organizational work. This he accepted reluctantly, but in reality he raised a thousand pretexts to evade this task, and never did make this report, because the raising of organizational questions in the Political Bureau would disclose the grave mistakes of Koçi Xoxe, one after the other, his anti-party activity, his close collaboration with the men in the Central Committee of the CP of Yugoslavia, his lack of ability; his privileged and false position would be shaken, and Marxist-Leninist unity would be established on the basis of criticism and self-criticism, which was undesirable for Koçi Xoxe, Pandi Kristo, and the Yugoslav Trotskyites. In order to avoid giving account, the Yugoslav Trotskyites, with Koçi Xoxe and Pandi Kristo, undertook a series of Trotskyite acts to defeat this sound regrouping of comrades that was taking place round the

General Secretary of the Party. Koçi Xoxe and Pandi Kristo, backed up by the Yugoslavs, further extended the hostilities in the Bureau, stepping up their struggle on an anti-party and anti-Marxist basis, through Trotskyite methods, through slanders, threats, blackmail, against the sound elements in the Bureau. Their tactics were to discredit all comrades who defended the correct line of the General Secretary of the Party, to slander Nako Spiru and Mehmet Shehu, to neutralize Gogo Nushi, and others, and thus isolate the General Secretary. This would have meant to liquidate the Central Committee, and later they would coopt to it persons obedient to Koçi Xoxe and Pandi Kristo for the implementation of their anti-party line. Pandi Kristo has admitted that the situation in the Political Bureau was so tense that he and Koçi Xoxe were expecting "a heavy blow to come from outside to bring us to our senses". This admission revealed all this activity of the Yugoslav Trotskyites, of Koçi Xoxe and Pandi Kristo. These two, fully aware of what they were doing, and with anti-party methods, had opposed the solution of existing contradictions through the lawful means of the Party. They had worked along the lines and under the direction of the Trotskyite Tito group and had quite deliberately created this turbulent situation in the Bureau. Now they were waiting for the "heavy blow", that was expected to come from the Trotskyite Tito group, to fall on the General Secretary and all the other comrades defending the correct line of the Party, to fall on the correct line of the Party so as to overwhelm the Central Committee and the Party, to set it on the road of Trotskyism and subject it completely to the orders of the Trotskyite Tito group. The heavy blow, wished for and prepared by Koçi Xoxe, Pandi Kristo, and the Yugoslav Trotskyites, came with the second accusation made in November 1947. This accusation against our Central Committee had a broad

platform. At the one time it attacked our Central Committee and our Party, the Albanian people, their independence and sovereignty and likewise the Soviet Union, its great prestige in our country; it attacked the democratic and anti-imperialist camp in the sector of Albania. It is self-evident that Koçi Xoxe and Pandi Kristo became the ardent defenders of this vile Trotskyite, anti-Albanian, anti-Marxist, anti-Soviet accusation. In the course of three years Koçi Xoxe had thoroughly learned and perfected the Trotskyite methods of the Yugoslav leadership, and brought them into play immediately after the arrival of the Yugoslav accusation. Allegedly on the basis of the organizational rules, he arranged that the Yugoslav accusation was put forward in the Bureau for consideration, while eliminating some members and candidate members of the Political Bureau, such as Mehmet Shehu and others, from participation in discussion, because he was afraid that all this hostile work, hatched up by the Yugoslavs and him, might blow up in his hands. This was the first preparatory step towards cutting off comrade Enver Hoxha, Nako Spiru, and others from any reliable support. Second, in the grave situation before the analysis, in order to add strength to the Yugoslav theses and to undermine the faith the General Secretary had in Nako Spiru, in a dishonest and anti-communist manner, Koçi Xoxe brought up a series of "facts" allegedly collected by Nako Spiru against the General Secretary of the Party. All these were slanders concocted by the Yugoslav Trotskyites, Koçi Xoxe, and Pandi Kristo. Third, prior to the Yugoslav accusation being put before the Bureau, Koçi Xoxe shifted the discussion from this major problem, in which the views of the Yugoslav Trotskyites were confronted by the correct views of our Central Committee, putting the greatest importance on the problem of Nako Spiru. This problem, towards which the Trotskyite Tito group, Koçi Xoxe, and

Pandi Kristo sought to channel the debates in the Central Committee, was not so simple and personal as it looked, but was a tactic through which, by allegedly thrashing up the problem of Nako Spiru, they sought to cover up their main purpose, the heavy blow they meant to deal at our Party. Fourth, all these moves brought about the suicide of Nako Spiru, thus eliminating one of the staunch fighters for the correct line of the Party. Immediately after the suicide of Nako Spiru, the Yugoslav Trotskyites, Koçi Xoxe, and Pandi Kristo, sowed doubts among the other members of the Bureau and the Central Committee for the purpose of creating distrust towards the General Secretary of the Party.

Koçi Xoxe, Pandi Kristo, and the Trotskyite delegate of the Tito group behind them, posing as the saviours of the Party, prepared the 8th Plenum, which is the darkest blot in the history of our Party. Koçi Xoxe and Pandi Kristo, together with the Trotskyite delegate of the Central Committee of the CP of Yugoslavia, took all necessary measures. While Koçi Xoxe, Pandi Kristo, and Kristo Themelko in the Political Bureau were ardently defending the Trotskyite views of the Yugoslavs, their anti-Albanian, anti-Marxist and anti-Soviet line, while they were savagely attacking the General Secretary of the Party, accusing him of having allegedly distorted the line, of having allegedly allowed the destruction of the Party, of having allegedly permitted the organization of a faction at the head of the Party, of having brought to the head of the General Staff and the Bureau such "anti-communists" as comrade Mehmet Shehu and others, against whom they slandered vilely, in his speech at the Party School Koçi Xoxe, spurred by the Yugoslav Trotskyites, prepared party opinion in the anti-party, Trotskyite and anti-Soviet spirit. On the other hand, Koçi Xoxe drew up and proposed a list for the new cooptions to the Central Com-

mittee, selecting persons as he thought would defend the Yugoslav Trotskyite line, the line of Koçi Xoxe and Pandi Kristo.

In these circumstances, the 8th Plenum was convened. Intrigue, falsehood, megalomania, and the Ottoman spirit of Koçi Xoxe and Pandi Kristo were predominant there. At this Plenum, the Central Committee and the General Secretary were defeated, the correct line of the Party was trampled underfoot, and an anti-Soviet spirit was aroused. The 8th Plenum was the triumph of the Trotskyite Tito group and its collaborators. The 8th Plenum laid the foundations for the subjection of our Party to the Trotskyite Tito group. Only one thing escaped those raging waves: the orientation of our Party towards the Soviet Union and the great faith and love of our Party for the Soviet Union, the Bolshevik Party, and comrade Stalin. The Yugoslav Trotskyites and their collaborators, Koçi Xoxe and Pandi Kristo, understood that this was a highly dangerous question, if it were raised openly at those moments. By doing all this anti-Albanian, anti-Marxist and, at the same time, anti-Soviet work, by directly attacking the Soviet experience, repudiating it before our cadres, by using demagoguery and hypocritical phrases about the Soviet Union, while extolling the great role of Yugoslavia in the Balkans and in Central Europe, they were preparing their attack on the correct orientation of our Party towards the Soviet Union, which was at the base of the entire policy of our Party and our people. On this point, the Yugoslav Trotskyites and their Albanian collaborators had no success. The love for, and trust in, the Bolshevik Party nurtured by our Party and people helped to save our Party and exposed the plans of the Yugoslav Trotskyites and Koçi Xoxe.

After the 8th Plenum, a resolution was issued, which is the most regrettable document in the his-

tory of our Party. It reflects the entire hostile activity of the Trotskyite Tito group and their collaborators, Koçi Xoxe and Pandi Kristo; it reflects clearly how the correct line of the Party, its sound leadership were attacked and distorted, it reflects the subjection of our Party and our country to the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Yugoslavia, the attack on the independence and sovereignty of our country, the violation of democratic centralism, of criticism and self-criticism; it reflects the putschist terrorist methods, the Ottoman and militaristic methods; it reflects the triumph of megalomania and ambition, the triumph of injustice and arbitrariness, of the hostile Trotskyite spirit, and so on.

Following the 8th Plenum, in order to strengthen their position, Koçi Xoxe and Pandi Kristo began the purge of, and attack on, our cadres and their replacement with people whom they thought would fully support the activity of these two and the Trotskyite Tito group for the final conquest of the Party and people.

Earlier, when I spoke about the relations with Yugoslavia, I mentioned what the Trotskyite Tito group hoped to achieve following the 8th Plenum of our Central Committee, and how the Letters of the Bolshevik Party saved our Party and our people from a great catastrophe. But after the arrival of the Letters of the Bolshevik Party, what was the stand of Koçi Xoxe, Pandi Kristo, and Kristo Themelko?

Kristo Themelko realized his mistakes, admitted them and made self-criticism, while Koçi Xoxe and Pandi Kristo appeared to adopt the correct Bolshevik views expressed in the Letters of the CC of the CPSU (B) in principle, but this was purely formal, because, for a long time afterwards, Koçi Xoxe and Pandi Kristo strove to hide their grave errors, resisted admitting them, and in order to save what could be saved, resorted to their usual Trotsky-

ite methods. It took the Political Bureau a very long time, months on end of daily struggle, to uncover the errors of Koçi Xoxe and Pandi Kristo who defended themselves with the greatest care and strove to cover up many things.

The 11th Plenum of the Central Committee put an end to this grave and difficult situation for the Party. The 11th Plenum proceeded on the basis of a sound Marxist-Leninist analysis and in the redeeming light of the Letters of the Bolshevik Party to the CC of the CPY, and of the Resolution of the Information Bureau "On the situation in the Communist Party of Yugoslavia". The 11th Plenum uncovered all the grave mistakes which had been observed in our Party, the main source of which was directly the influence of the Trotskyite Tito group, and the grave faults and Trotskyite work of Koçi Xoxe and Pandi Kristo. The 11th Plenum re-established the correct line of the Party, exposed the aims of the Trotskyites against our country, against the Soviet Union, and against the democratic and anti-imperialist camp in the sector of Albania. This Plenum exposed the major organizational mistakes, the grave mistakes in the policy of cadres, it established proper democratic centralism and steel-like conscious discipline in the Party. It put Bolshevik criticism and self-criticism on the order of the day, strengthened unity in the leadership, and put the Party on a sound Marxist-Leninist basis which will enable it to advance . . .

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ON THE IDEOLOGICAL UPLIFT OF THE PARTY

Throughout the period of the war the conditions were difficult, and concern for the ideological uplift of the party members was very limited. In March 1944, a one-month course for 30-40 cadres of the regional committees and the political sections of the brigades was opened by

the Central Committee in the mountains. The subjects covered were very limited. After the liberation of Albania six courses were opened at the Central Committee with an over-all participation of 741 cadres from the regional committees, district committees, and political sections of divisions and regiments. Later, in 1947, three other courses were set up. The courses of the year 1947-1948 have been organized better, with better selected Marxist-Leninist theoretical subjects. However, they are still at a low level. All told, 1,831 comrades have passed through the regional and district courses but here, too, the organization of these courses, the method of teaching and the programs have often been bureaucratic and not well studied; they have not been at the necessary level, and some Yugoslav study material has been used. It should be pointed out that the Central Committee of our Party has not yet taken up the question of the Marxist-Leninist education of the party cadres for serious and deep study, and has not come out with decisions which would place this so important a problem on a sound base. There has been endless talk of the need for study, for the ideological raising of the Party, but the truth is that this very important question has been gone into very little by the Central Committee. We must put an end to such a practice. The party cadres should be armed with the Marxist-Leninist theory, they should be given the greatest possible help, and if they are to be able to find their bearings correctly in any situation and to solve more easily the urgent and important questions that demand solution, they must master it more quickly. Stalin teaches us:

"The strength of the Marxist-Leninist theory rests in the fact that it enables the Party to orientate itself in any sort of situation, to understand the internal connection of events going on around it, to foresee

the course of events and to distinguish not only how, and in what direction, the events are developing today, but also how, and in what direction they should develop in the future".*

Because they do not give enough importance to raising their cultural level in general, and especially because they do not do enough study to raise their ideological level, whereas the tasks they are charged with are major ones, the members of our Party have become practicers. The lack of theory has meant we have not been able to solve the problems properly, and sometimes we have fallen into mistakes. Stalin says:

*"Theory is the experience of the working-class movement in all countries taken in its general aspect. Of course, theory becomes purposeless if it is not connected with revolutionary practice, just as practice gropes in the dark if its path is not illuminated by revolutionary theory. But theory can become a tremendous force in the working-class movement if it is built up in indissoluble connection with revolutionary practice, for theory alone can give the movement confidence, the power of orientation, and an understanding of the inner relation of surrounding events; it, and it alone, can help practice to realize not only how, and in what direction, the classes move at the present time, but also how, and in what direction, they will move in the near future"**.*

The text-book of the short course of the "History of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (B)" says:

"The Bolshevik Party would not have been able to triumph in October 1917 if its vanguard cadres had

* History of the CPSU(B), Tirana 1953, p. 367 (Alb. ed.).

** J.V. Stalin. Works, vol. 6, p. 92 (Alb. ed.).

*not mastered the theory of Marxism, if they had not learned to regard this theory as a guide to action**.

Taking into account, therefore, the low ideological level of our Party, we should immediately adopt all the necessary measures to do organized and systematic work to raise the ideological level of the cadres of the Party and to fill this large gap. The main task of our Party is to master the foundations of the Marxist-Leninist theory, because without such a preparation, the activity of the Party is interrupted, the road of the Party is obscured, and grave errors are committed which cost the Party and the people dear. Therefore, not only should we study the Marxist-Leninist theory, but we should disseminate it as widely as possible in all possible forms, among the entire membership of the Party.

Urgent measures are necessary to strengthen the Party School and to improve the other courses in the centre; on the other hand, the party members must be helped, and should be encouraged in this direction. Through individual study they should learn the Marxist-Leninist science, and first of all the history of the Bolshevik Communist Party. A decision of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (B), of November 14, 1938, says: "The principal method by which the cadres learn Marxism-Leninism should be the method of individual study of the history and theory of the Bolshevik Party, a method proven by the experience of the older generations of the Bolsheviks".

The party members should master the foundations of Marxism-Leninism and the questions of Leninism, etc. The party members armed in this way with the Marxist-Leninist theory are better able to fight bourgeois ideology. Lenin teaches us that,

* History of the CPSU(B), Tirana 1953, p. 370 (Alb. ed.).

"... to belittle the socialist ideology, in any way, to turn outside from it in the slightest degree means to strengthen bourgeois ideology".*.

*"... the only choice is either bourgeois or socialist ideology, there is no middle course,"*** says Lenin.

Therefore, the vanguard of the working class, the Communist Party, should wage an incessant struggle against bourgeois ideology and its remnants which exist in our country imported from the West by the people who have studied there. We shall find bourgeois ideology in our schools especially, therefore the Party should devote the greatest attention to this aspect, not only by placing in the hands of pupils text-books based on Marxist-Leninist theory and on the great experience of the Soviet school, but also by educating and orientating the teaching staff in the road of Marxist-Leninist ideology. Our Party absolutely must overcome this obstacle, because this is connected with the question of the education of the new generations in Albania.

It is the duty of all party members to study for the broadest possible extension of their general knowledge, for the development of their intellectual faculties, and, in the place they work, to attend and graduate school. Besides this, the Party should take measures to put in the hands of the party members as many theoretical books of Marxism-Leninism and Soviet literature as possible. The Party should attach great importance to the question of party publications and its press, which should play a primary role in nurturing the masses of the Party with the necessary theoretical materials and in extending the scope of the propaganda among the masses of the party members.

* V.I. Lenin, Collected Works, vol. 5, p. 453 (Alb. ed.).

** Ibid, pp. 452-453.

It is true that in the years since liberation, the concrete tasks and the great practical work have impeded the carrying out of systematic and continuous work for the ideological uplift of cadres. Failure to carry out such work has grave repercussions in our Party. Comrade Stalin, emphasizing the danger of such a failure, has said:

*"If, for one reason or another, our party propaganda starts to limp, if the Marxist-Leninist education of our cadres starts to weaken, if our work to raise the political and theoretical level of these cadres starts to weaken and if these cadres, as a consequence, are no longer interested in the prospects of our movement, no longer understand the justice of our cause and become vulgar practicers, men without perspective, who carry out the directives blindly and mechanically — then, the entire work of our state and our Party will be weakened without fail. We should accept as an axiom that the higher the political level and Marxist-Leninist consciousness of the functionaries in every branch of the work of the state and the party, the better and more fruitful is the work itself, the better are the results of the work, and on the contrary, the lower the political level and Marxist-Leninist consciousness of the functionaries, the greater the probability of shortcomings and lack of success in work..."**

Our Party is acutely aware of this lack, and there is a great and urgent need to improve and raise the work for the ideological uplift of the cadres to a higher level.

Our Party and the new Central Committee will make every effort to fulfil this great task. We should always

* J.V. Stalin, "Questions of Leninism" pp. 625-626, Tirana 1949 (Alb. ed.).

bear in mind that a communist party armed with its Marxist-Leninist ideology, which means that its cadres should make greater efforts to raise their level and to master Marxism-Leninism, this party and its cadres cannot be caught unawares by events, however unexpected these may be, but will understand them and know to orientate themselves correctly. The Party and its members should not be dragged along behind events, but must always be masters of the situation and act correctly under any circumstances, because theory is the guide to action, it is the masses' main strength. Hence, our Party, which is at the head of the working masses, must educate and guide these masses.

While bearing in mind that the Party teaches the masses, we should not forget that the Party also learns from the masses, profits from their wide experience, and hence the urgent need that through party agitation and propaganda, we should continually nurture the broad masses of the people in the spirit of our ideology; similarly, from this stems the necessity of close and continuous contact of the Party with the people. All the anti-party tendencies, which aim at turning the leaders of the Party into bureaucrats, shut away on the own and doing narrow and sectarian work, lead to the separation of the Party from the people. Elements with such tendencies should be fought ruthlessly, because if we allow their fear of the masses of the Party and the people to become a method, this road leads to nothing but betrayal. Therefore, we must be very vigilant towards these influences which have their source in bourgeois ideology. The opposition influences of the bourgeoisie always exert pressure on and attack the Marxist-Leninist ideology which is the foundation of our Party, and this is done with the aim of transforming our revolutionary Party into a Party of the 2nd International type. The harmful and imper-

missible manifestations of interpretation of the freedom of speech in the Party in extremist colours and forms can also come within this category. In our Party there is full freedom of speech and expression of opinion, but this in no way means that you can bring alien views into the Party, for instance, the erroneous views which aim at destroying the forms of work already established in the basic party organizations, and the breaking of discipline, which was manifested in the recent times, when the problems of one party basic organization would become objects of discussion for other party basic organizations. Such a way of acting is harmful, and should be put right in the way laid down by the Constitution of the Party and the rules established on the basis of this Constitution.

The agitation and propaganda work of our Party has not been up to the mark. On the contrary there have been mistakes, shortcomings, and laxity in it. It is true to say that our Central Committee has not attached due importance to this sector. The work here has gone in fits and starts, and has been left at the mercy of erroneous views which have existed in our Party. As a result of this, both the organization of this important sector and its program had always been lame, and there has been a constant state of confusion among the cadres working in it, and consequently, disorientation in all questions of propaganda and agitation. The influence of the Yugoslav Trotskyites has penetrated here, too. In our literature, there are a lot of things borrowed from the Yugoslavs, and it is up to the Party and the Central Committee to review all our publications and purge them of everything alien to the Marxist-Leninist ideology. This should be taken very seriously, and not regarded as a question concerning only a commission, but as the concern of every party member, who, according to the instructions of the

Directorate for Agitation and Propaganda⁴¹, should work vigorously to recall from circulation all the anti-Marxist and Trotskyite text-books, pamphlets, and books which have been introduced by the Yugoslav Trotskyites. Important tasks are placed before the Party and the Central Committee for the printing and reprinting of new Marxist-Leninist books, which should be carefully checked and written in plain, popular language, and put in the hands of party members. It is necessary to translate as many works of Lenin and Stalin as possible, to translate widely from Soviet literature and, in the first place, to make it the duty of party members, teachers, and all pupils and students of Albanian schools, to learn Russian as quickly and thoroughly as possible, so that our people may make direct contact with the theoretical works, with the Soviet literature and with the great experience of the Bolsheviks.

It is true, as we have already said, that individual study is one means which our cadres must use to master the Marxist-Leninist ideology. But from the great experience of the Bolshevik Party, we know that they find it difficult to use this means, and the results will not be so productive as the cadres of our Party would wish them to be, if they are at a low ideological and cultural level. In these moments, this correct method of individual study should be of most value to those party members who have a good training in this direction, but, in order to eliminate this shortcoming, the Party should improve the organization of study circles in which the party members can study in groups. These circles should not remain a pious wish, but should be well and strongly organized by the Party, through the Party School and various courses, and special cadres should be trained to run them.

⁴¹ Attached to the CC of the Party.

The Central Committee should improve and increase the publications of the Party. In the first place, "Zëri i popullit" should become a powerful weapon, which should thrash out the important problems facing our country. These should serve the Party and the people as valuable materials for their education, and should not be merely of an informative character. For "Zëri i popullit" to carry out this task, the members of the Central Committee in the first place, and the entire Party should make a strong contribution to this paper. The Central Committee should turn the magazine "Agjitorit" into a magazine in which problems are thrashed out theoretically, and which will serve the party members as a sound guide for the correct solution of questions and make them capable of solving the important problems they have to deal with. Another important task facing the Central Committee is that of solving the question of learning the history of our Party. So far this question has not been solved, and in most instances our party members, not only do not know the history of their Party, but have been misled in this matter, have distorted ideas. This state of things should be ended. All possibilities exist for the writing of the history of our Party, and the Central Committee should fulfil this great need without fail.

FURTHER STRENGTHENING OF THE PARTY

As we know, the Party, the vanguard of the working class and of the working masses of our country, successfully led the great liberation war of our people. Our people could not have fought and achieved the successes they did achieve without the existence of our Party, a strong and disciplined Party, loyal to the end to the cause of the people and socialism. Our Party has fought and

will fight under the banner of Marxism-Leninism, and it is the Party which is decisive for the successes of our correct general policy.

At the 17th Congress of the Bolshevik Party, Stalin said:

"Victory never comes of itself — it is usually won by effort".*

The history of our people once again bears out this brilliant saying of comrade Stalin. Through their entire existence, our people have fought to win freedom and their rights. But they were always deceived, because there was no revolutionary party, born from among the suffering people, to lead them faithfully on the road of the people's revolution. The feudal landowners, the political crooks in the service of foreign imperialism, the representatives of the bourgeoisie and the anti-popular intellectuals always took advantage of every situation in the past history of our country to emerge at the head of the movements and struggles of the people, and to always seize victory from the hands of the people who had shed their blood for it, and to use it in the interests of the privileged classes, to the detriment of the working masses.

But the opposite occurred after the invasion of April 7, 1939. Our Communist Party, born in war and emerging from the bosom of our valiant working people, fought and won, because it was the vanguard of these classes, which had as its objective the complete realization of the aspirations of the masses of our people. To achieve this victory, our Party had to be strong. And it became strong not through decrees, but through its outstanding heroism, its innumerable sacrifices, its indescribable self-denial, and through its steel-like discipline.

*J.V. Stalin, Works, vol. 13, p. 352 (Alb. ed.).

Therefore, the burden the Party is charged with and the tasks it faces for the future are in no way smaller than those it had to cope with in the period of the war. These tasks our Party must carry out, and it will carry them out, when it grows stronger day by day.

Hence, the main task facing us is the strengthening of our Party. The hostile activity of the Yugoslav Trotskyites and their collaborators, headed by Koçi Xoxe, aimed at weakening and wrecking the Party, but the treatment and cleaning up of this grave malady in our Party, the exposure of, and the struggle against, the anti-Marxist, anti-Albanian, and anti-Soviet views in its ranks, made our Party much stronger. The Party emerged into light and broke out of the situation seething with dangerous and alien diseases. A new clean breeze is blowing in our Party. Great new forces have arisen and are increasing in its ranks, determined to serve it better on the road of Marxism-Leninism. The discussions at meetings of party activists, at which the Resolution of the 11th Plenum of the Central Committee of the Party was studied, demonstrated the great strength of our heroic Party which was able to rise and deal merciless blows at the Yugoslav Trotskyites and their collaborators who sought to dig the grave for our Party and people. At their meetings, our party activists, in a most energetic and revolutionary manner, expressed their complete confidence in their Party and in its Central Committee. In those grave moments through which the Party was passing, a fierce struggle had to be waged, and the Party fought it out and won. This shows that our Party is a revolutionary Party which has in its ranks thousands upon thousands of members who, inspired by the teachings of Lenin and Stalin, heroically defend the Party and its correct line. The Party has never allowed any trifling with its sacred interests and those of the people, and it never will allow

those interests to be harmed; it will be ruthless against all those who will not implement, or who distort its line, its laws, and its rules. Our Party, vigorous and militant, rose to its feet to a man in the struggle for the re-establishment of all the party principles and rules that had been breached and trampled underfoot. Our Party regained all it had lost, and there is no one who can lay hands on these things, or trample or distort them. We will defend them to the end, and will triumph over anyone who dares to attack our Party, its unity and its correct line again. . .

Therefore, our Party must increase and strengthen its revolutionary vigilance, it must close its ranks more tightly and purge them, it must ruthlessly fight deviators from Marxism-Leninism, putschists, Trotskyism and anarchism. The Party must guard its solidarity and fight with all its strength for the steeling of its unity, which the enemies of our Party have attacked in the past and will try to attack again in the future. Our Party has scored successes and has made great progress, but this does not exclude the possibility of errors, and we should not forget that our enemies, imperialism and fascism, have not laid down their weapons.

Never forget that we have to build, preserve, and fight for the purity of the line of the Party and for its implementation. We should never depart in the slightest from the advice of comrade Stalin:

"Some people think that it is sufficient to draw up a correct party line, proclaim it for all to hear, state it in the form of general theses and resolutions, and have it voted for unanimously, for victory to come of itself, automatically, as it were spontaneously. That of course is wrong. It is a gross delusion. Only incorrigible bureaucrats and red-tapists can think so. As a matter

*of fact these successes and victories didn't come automatically, but as a result of a fierce struggle for the application of the party line. Victory never comes of itself — it is usually won by effort. Good resolutions and declarations in favour of the general line of the Party are only a beginning; they merely express the desire for victory, but not the victory itself. After the correct line has been laid down, after a correct solution of the problem has been found, success depends on how the work is organized; on the organization of the struggle for carrying out the party line; on the proper selection of persons; on the checking up of the fulfilment of the decisions of the leading bodies. Otherwise, the correct line of the Party and the correct solutions are in danger of being seriously prejudiced. More than that, after the correct political line has been laid down, organizational work decides everything, including the fate of the political line itself, its successes or failure”**

Basing itself firmly on the teachings of comrade Stalin, our Party should understand well that the question of cadres is a question of decisive importance. With cadres we shall solve everything, but precisely on this important question there have been gross errors which will be pointed out in the next report. Here I only want to remind the comrades at this Congress and all the party members that the question of cadres is not a question for the Central Committee alone, but for all the regional and district committees, a question of the party as a whole. First of all, if the cadres of the Party, who are leading cadres, neglect their ties with the masses, they have lost their ability as leaders, they cannot be Bolshevik leaders. Party leaders, from the lowest to the highest ranking, should

* J.V. Stalin, Works, vol. 13, pp. 351-352 (Alb. ed.).

know their cadres thoroughly, in the struggle and in life for the carrying out of the line of the Party. But this is not all. They must also help the cadre, teach the cadre, and at the same time learn from him; i.e. we must learn from the experience of the Party. The cadre must never be left to his fate, alone in struggle with great difficulties, but he must be assisted; and this is the task of a leader. But all this has not been appreciated and has not been practiced correctly in our Party.

The Party should guard against career-seekers and windbags who get into the Party and push their way ahead with their elbows and their tongues, and never fail to damage the Party and its sound cadres. The Party must be very careful not to lose its sharpness and vigilance towards these people; it should not trust them with leading positions from which they could harm our Party more readily.

People should be sorted out and promoted according to their ability. This should be done always bearing in mind their devotion to the Party, their loyalty to Marxism-Leninism and to the Party, their loyalty to the people and the Soviet Union, demonstrated in struggle and deeds. When it comes to appointing cadres, to their promotion and distribution to various places, it is necessary to take into account not only the situation of these cadres within the Party, but also the links they have with the masses of the people. This is of great importance, because it has been underrated in our Party, and able mass workers have often been removed from their posts where the people had great confidence in them, to be shut away in offices to do routine technical work. In this way the Party loses invaluable assets.

We must not judge cadres simply according to their merits in the past, but must also take into account their more recent achievements. In the case of our Party, the

old cadres of the war years form the backbone of the Party; they are dear and valuable to the Party, they are the surest guarantee of our Party. But our young Party is marching constantly forward, and its members must do so, too, otherwise they run the risk of being left behind. We should never be afraid to push our sound young cadres forward, because if we do not do so the Party will be in danger of dying.

The spirit of initiative should be increased in our Party. Sound initiative should never be discouraged, and every party comrade, with a good grasp of the line of the Party, must have the courage to take decisions and bear full responsibility for the task and post the Party has assigned him to.

The conscious discipline in our Party, which stems from democratic centralism, inner party democracy, and Bolshevik criticism and self-criticism, must be strengthened; Bolshevik determination and implementation to the letter of decisions issued by the higher organs should exist in our Party.

The percentage of women members in our Party is very low, and this state of affairs should concern the Party, for women constitute a great revolutionary force and should become a sound source of party cadres. The harmful sectarianism of some comrades on the question of the admission of women to the Party should be eliminated, because not only do they fail to give attention to this important matter, but they even hinder it. The orientation of our Party cannot possibly be correct when we start from the principle that the wives of our comrades should not be admitted to the Party as this would create the danger that party matters might be discussed in the family. The Party should strive with might and main to draw around it as many as possible of the workers' wives, party members' wives, the resolute and revolutionary

women of our people. It is impermissible that the doors of the Party should be closed to a woman just because she is married to a party member, or she is a mother with children, etc.

In regard to admissions to the Party in general, the present situation of the candidates for party membership is abnormal and irregular. This is expressed in the incorrect proportion between the number of party members and the number of candidate members. In our Party there are 29,137 members and 16,245 candidate members. As we can see, the number of candidates is very large. It is absolutely impermissible to maintain such a proportion. This shows sectarianism, shows that comrades are being kept on probation as candidates when they undoubtedly fulfil all the conditions for admission to the Party. The Party should study this question, and do away with this abnormal situation as soon as possible.

After a detailed Marxist-Leninist study, the Central Committee finds it necessary and indispensable to propose to the 1st Congress of the Party that the name of our Communist Party should be changed to the "Party of Labour". This change in the name of the Party is correct, and it is made on account of the social composition of our country and of our Party, which faithfully represents the social composition of the people. From the analysis of the work and activity of the Party, which we have just made, it is clear that this change in the name of our Party is imposed by the conditions of our country. We know that in our country there is not an extensive working class, as is the case with the other advanced countries. Our working class is still small, but, of course, it will gain in size and strength along with the development of heavy and light industry in our country. We know that in our country the peasantry constitutes the majority of the population, almost 90 per cent of it, in fact. If we con-

sider the present situation and the composition of the Party over these years, we shall see that in 1948 the percentage of workers in the Party did not exceed 22.6 per cent, which, of course, is an increase of 10 per cent on the 1946 figure. Meanwhile, in 1948 the poor peasantry made up 54.3 per cent, and the middle peasantry 13 per cent of the party members, while the remaining 10 per cent was represented by intellectuals, artisans, and others. So we cannot put aside this reality, and this change in the name of the Party is based on the social composition of the country and Marxist-Leninist science. Sentimental considerations cannot stand against the reality and Marxist-Leninist science. Our Party of Labour will be the successor of our heroic Communist Party, inspired by, and firmly based on, Marxism-Leninism; its program will be determined by the social conditions of the country, guided by the teachings of Marxism-Leninism for the triumph of socialism in Albania. Our Party of Labour will have the structure of a Marxist-Leninist party of the new type, and will faithfully lead the working class, the peasantry and all the working masses of our country towards the building of a better life, towards the triumph of socialism.

Now, comrades, I am winding up my report.

I tried to give a general outline of the activity of our Party and its Central Committee, from the founding of the Party up till today. Over this long period, laxity and mistakes have been observed in our work, which the Party does not dissemble. Our Party and its Central Committee have corrected and will continue to correct them, and they will serve as lessons so that we don't repeat them.

At the most grave and complicated moments of their history, our Party led the people with success through bloody battles. At the head of the Albanian people it triumphed over the occupiers, the quislings and the trai-

tors, and ensured freedom, independence and sovereignty for the country and the people, established the Republic and people's democracy in our country. Under the leadership of the Party, the laws of the people and the new people's power were established, and the war-ravaged country reconstructed, and now under the leadership of the Party socialism is being built in our country. Conscious of its role as the leading and vanguard body, our Communist Party will continue to play its historic role with multiplied strength and lead our people towards new victories. Our Communist Party, the worthy offspring of our working people, born and tempered in war and battle, will carry out with the greatest wisdom and heroism the mighty tasks the people and history have entrusted to it. Our Party, guided by the lessons of the great teachers of the world proletariat Marx, Engels, Lenin, Stalin, will defend Marxism-Leninism and fight for its triumph, will stick faithfully to the Marxist-Leninist road, the glorious road of the Bolshevik Party and our great comrade Stalin. Our Party and our people will loyally follow the course of peace and security in the world, will fight with all their might in unbreakable alliance and brotherhood with all the fraternal allied peoples and states of people's democracy, and with the other progressive nations that have aligned themselves in the anti-imperialist democratic camp, at the head of which stands the invincible Soviet Union confronting the imperialist war-mongering and aggressor camp, the enemy of peace and mankind, loyal successor to the bloody deed of German fascism, at the head of which stands American imperialism.

Today the historic Congress of our Party will define the line to be followed by our Party and its new Central Committee in the future. The line laid down by the Congress of the Party will be put into life and carried out with the greatest precision and determination by the

Party, because on the rigorous implementation of this line depends the happiness of our people, the construction of socialism in Albania, the assurance of a happier life for the new generations in our country. Our Party is conscious of the importance of this sacred task, and will carry it out honourably.

The 1st historic Congress of our Party will give the Party its new Central Committee, and the delegates of our heroic and revolutionary Party will elect the most revolutionary and loyal elements of the Party to the new Central Committee. Those who come into the new Central Committee should be people tested in war and at work for their boundless loyalty to the Party and the people, to the Soviet Union, the Bolshevik Party and comrade Stalin, to the camp of socialism in the world. Into our new Central Committee must come our most resolute, most beloved, and internationalist-minded comrades, unyielding fighters for the defence of Marxism-Leninism against Trotskyism, against the Trotskyite Tito group and all the internal enemies of the Party and the people, under whatever mask they might disguise themselves; into the new Central Committee must come the most determined fighters for the cause of Lenin and Stalin, which is also the cause of our Party and people, comrades who are unyielding enemies of US and British imperialism and their satellites that are trying to dig the grave for our country and people. Into the new Central Committee must come capable comrades with a broad perspective, who will take in their strong hands the direction of our Party and people, comrades of tested abilities and, in the first place, comrades from the ranks of the working class — the powerful pillar of our Party, from the ranks of the poor and middle peasantry and from those communist intellectuals tested in war and at work, loyal to the Party and to the working class. The Party charged us with these historic tasks

when it gave us the mandate to represent it at this Congress, and we must honourably fulfil them, for we bear a great responsibility to our Party and people. The members of our heroic Party have never, be it for a single moment, avoided their very grave responsibilities, and they will never do so, they will assume all these responsibilities, and emerge triumphant in the struggle for the great cause of the Party and of the people, for the cause of socialism⁴² . . .

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newspaper "Zëri i popullit",
Nos 5(26), 6(27), 7(28),
January 9, 10, 11, 1948.*

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42 The materials of the Congress were discussed with all the working masses, who fully endorsed the line of the Party, courageously criticized the mistakes made earlier as a result of the Yugoslav revisionist interference and Koçi Xoxe's hostile activity, and expressed their loyalty to the Party and their determination to implement its program. The Party recovered itself, and the country embarked on a new stage of development.