

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.*

Works, vol. 5

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.