WORKERS OF ALL COUNTRIES, UNITE!

ENVER HOXHA

SELECTED WORKS
PUBLISHED ON DECISION OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF THE PARTY OF LABOUR OF ALBANIA

SELECTED WORKS
FOREWORD

Comrade Enver Hoxha's «Selected Works» in English are published in several volumes on decision of the Central Committee of the Party of Labour of Albania.

The first volume includes works of the 1941-1948 period. It is divided into two parts for the reader’s convenience. The first part includes works written during the period of the Anti-fascist National Liberation War (November 1941—November 1944), and the second comprises those of the period of the reconstruction of the country and of the development of socialist revolution (December 1944—October 1948).

In the works of the period of the Anti-fascist National Liberation War are studied the problems of the creation, building and inner life of the Communist Party of Albania (today the Party of Labour of Albania) as a revolutionary Marxist-Leninist party of the working class. Here the reader will see in what circumstances the CPA was created, and how it remained the sole party of the working class and the sole political party of the country, how within a relatively short time it succeeded in becoming the sole leader of the masses of the people in the Anti-fascist National Liberation War and in remaining as such forever.

The works of the war time dwell on the elaboration of the political line of the Communist Party on the basis of the fundamental Marxist-Leninist principles and of the revolutionary experience as it was continually being gained in the country.
The revolutionary experience of the CPA and of the masses of the people in the Anti-fascist National Liberation War shows that in revolutionary situations any Marxist-Leninist party of the working class can raise itself to the level of a genuine leader of the masses, can organize the revolution and carry it through to the end, provided it is in a position to work out a correct political line responding to the objective tendencies of development of the situations, the political aspirations and demands of the masses, and provided it is capable of implementing this line with determination and maturity.

The fundamental questions of the political line of the Party which the reader finds in Enver Hoxha's Works are: the defining of the strategic aim, of the chief enemy, of the leading role of the working class and of its allies in the war, the laying down and implementation of the fundamental tasks to achieve this aim. To attain its strategic aim, the CPA had to solve three fundamental tasks: the unity of the people in a single National Liberation Front; the organization of the general armed uprising, and the creating of the National Liberation Army as a regular army of the people and of the new Albanian state; the destruction of the old political power and the setting up of the new revolutionary power of the national liberation councils. These were three component parts of the same revolutionary process. Each of these tasks was solved in close connection with the others through an uncompromising struggle against the foreign fascist invaders and their local servants.

In the works of the war time, an important part is occupied by the stand of the CPA towards the foreign allies of the insurgent Albanian people, stemming from these revolutionary principles: differentiated stand towards the allies; non-interference in the internal affairs of any ally; self-reliance.
Hence the treatment of the connection between the National Liberation War of the Albanian people and the world anti-fascist war, in the first place, the Great Patriotic War of the Soviet Union and the liberation war of the neighbouring people of Yugoslavia and Greece.

In the post-war works of the period 1945-1948 are elaborated the problems of the uninterrupted development of the people's revolution from the anti-imperialist democratic stage to the socialist stage; problems of the strengthening and improvement of the political basis of the new political order in Albania in struggle against both the external and internal enemy; of the reconstruction of the country; of the destruction of the old economic basis and of the construction of the economic basis of socialism; of the socialist organization and the planned development of the economy; of the development of the revolution in the field of education and culture, and of the defence of the country. They work out also problems of the foreign policy of the Party, of its revolutionary internationalist stand in establishing fraternal relations and strengthening the friendship and cooperation with the Soviet Union and the people's democracies, and of its struggle to safeguard in the international arena all the rights the Albanian people had won with blood and sacrifices.

In these works the reader will see for himself the principled struggle, both national and international, of the CPA and of the government of the PRA against US-led imperialism, and against the anti-Albanian and anti-Marxist activity of the Yugoslav revisionist leadership.

Through this struggle the CPA has defended the national independence of the country and guaranteed its development along the socialist road; it has also defended its independence and correct Marxist-Leninist line from the brutal intervention of the Yugoslav revisionist leadership.
and the Trotskyite and hostile activity of its agents in Albania.

In Enver Hoxha's Works stands out the mastery of the CPA in implementing Marxism-Leninism in a creative way in the concrete internal and international conditions.

These works bear the stamp of the time; therefore in order to achieve a correct grasp of their contents, it is necessary to keep in mind the circumstances in which they have been written.

The works included in the first volume have been selected and translated from the Albanian edition of the 1st, 2nd, 3rd, 4th, and 5th volume of Enver Hoxha's Works.
PART ONE
Comrades,

The cause of a certain degree of organizational fragmentation, and the fact that our Party is not yet consolidated as an organization, should be sought in the group spirit which still exists. Comrades, in the Resolution of the Meeting of all the main communist groups in Albania, the 1st Consultative Meeting of the Activists of the Communist Party of Albania began its proceedings in Tirana on April 8, 1942, and continued for three days with some interruptions. The main report was delivered by comrade Enver Hoxha. The meeting adopted a resolution setting out the tasks to be carried out to strengthen the Party, to establish and consolidate its links with the masses, and to mobilize them in the National Liberation War.

1 The 1st Consultative Meeting of the Activists of the CPA began its proceedings in Tirana on April 8, 1942, and continued for three days with some interruptions. The main report was delivered by comrade Enver Hoxha. The meeting adopted a resolution setting out the tasks to be carried out to strengthen the Party, to establish and consolidate its links with the masses, and to mobilize them in the National Liberation War.

2 The Meeting of all the main communist groups in Albania was held in underground conditions from the 8th to the 14th of November 1941. On the first day of its proceedings it took the historic decision of merging the groups and of founding the Communist Party of Albania (CPA). The meeting heard the reports on the activity of each group, on the successes and shortcomings of the communist movement in Albania, and the vital problems facing the Party.

In the course of the discussions of the ideological, tactical and organizational questions of the Party, pronounced divergencies emerged among the representatives of groups. Comrade Enver
you have seen how things stood in regard to communist work in our country. You have seen what great mistakes these groups have made. Because of these errors, orderly work has still to be established, and we have not yet been able to advance as we should.

Vacillation, liberalism, rivalry, an opportunist understanding of issues, etc., brought about a difficult situation for our movement. Everyone was striving for himself, each thinking that the essential thing was to form groups and to make themselves into a "party", by abusing the others, pointing out all their "mistakes", saying that the others were "to blame" for everything, while they alone were "absolutely right".

As you know, we have had many groups, such as those of Korça, Shkodër, and the "Youth" group, and we have...

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Hoxha and other comrades waged a bitter principled struggle against the anti-Marxist and liquidationist theses of the chiefs of the "Youth" group. The social-democrat viewpoints which had hardly begun to spread in Albania by the renegades of the communist movement, the Trotskyite line and activity of the "Zjarri" group which posed itself as the "Communist Party of Albania", as well as alien views which had struck root in the ranks of the communist groups were condemned. The meeting adopted a Resolution which made a thorough analysis and a Marxist-Leninist assessment of the international situation and the communist movement in Albania, it mapped out the ideological and organizational basis on which the CPA was founded and outlined its revolutionary program and tactics.

3 The communist group of Korça was formed in June 1929. It was the first revolutionary organization of the Albanian working class, but suffered from marked ideological and organizational weaknesses. Anti-Marxist elements had found their way into the group. The communist literature studied by its members was not entirely Marxist and included also Trotskyite and anarchical materials. Due to these shortcomings it remained isolated from the worker movement and confined itself to the town of Korça only. With the arrival of the distinguished communist militant...
also had two people, of the communist group of Korça, who have set up a sort of small group. They have gathered around themselves a few people with whom they have some influence, and have kept them "for their own ends". These comrades are A. and M. There were also two Trot-

Ali Kelmendi from the Soviet Union, where a communist group of Albanians was created as early as 1928, the activity of the communist group of Korça entered a new stage. The members of the group began to combine illegal with legal work, to take active part in legal worker and trade societies and turn them into revolutionary organizations, they began to translate genuinely Marxist literature, extend their activity to other towns, especially in Tirana where a branch was set up which, directed by comrade Enver Hoxha, later became an important centre of the communist and anti-fascist movement in the capital.

The communist group of Shkodra was formed in 1934 and extended also to several other towns. The head of the group was an intellectual of wrong theoretical views and marked political unclarity. When arrested under Zog's regime, he knelt down before the enquiry and told on all the comrades of his group. The activity of the group was limited to student and trade circles, and some working centres. This group had not a clear-cut political line, a definite organizational form and a sound discipline and secrecy. Like other groups, that of Shkodra, apart from Marxist literature circulated also Trotskyite and anarchical literature.

The "Youth" group was formed in 1940 as a result of the division and weakness of the communist movement. It began as a faction of the communist group of Korça and later on emerged as a separate group. Elements of marked Trotskyite and anarchical views placed themselves at its head. The group swelled its ranks with intellectual elements of bourgeois and petty-bourgeois extraction. Its leadership emerged with an anti-Marxist ideological and political platform. It held that Albania lacked proletariat, that the class struggle did not exist in Albania, and therefore there was no basis to form the Communist Party, that peasantry was conservative and reactionary, and could not become the ally of the working class, that the links with the masses and the work among them would endanger the cadres, that the fascist occupation promoted the development of capitalism and the growth of the proletariat!
kyite groups: that of Fundo and of Qendro and, finally, a group of liquidationist opportunists: the “Zjarri” group (we shall have more to say later about all the groups and individuals).

This was the situation in Albania before the Meeting of the main groups. Things could not go on like that. It was necessary to advance to something new, something more organized, to the Party.

We consider that we found the best and most appropriate means necessary in such a situation. We have used the system of unification from below up, under a single leadership chosen from those people who were least infected with the old group spirit, and who have given the surest guarantees that they will carry out the line of the Party. We have set to work. But we should not forget that in the course of such a major job much of the old has managed to smuggle itself into our ranks, and many such harmful elements are still to be found today. Comrades accepted from various groups (who, in the time of the groups, may have been excellent “militants” and first-rate “agitators” for the cause of their own group) have shown themselves to be very weak as members of the Party. This has come about because these comrades were not known earlier, and thus there are many harmful and unstable elements to be found in our ranks. It seems that the spirit of groups is much stronger than we had thought at first. Many of these people have remained in Tirana, in particular where the situation with regard to the liquidation of the groups is least satisfactory, chiefly because

6 Liazar (Zal) Fundo, a deserter, enemy of the Albanian communist movement, of the Communist International and the Albanian people.

7 Aristidh Qendro, a deserter from the communist group of Korça, chief of a small Trotskyite group in Tirana, placed himself at the service of reaction and occupiers.
it is here that all the representatives of the groups are to be found, including the most quarrelsome factionalists, those who find difficulty in reconciling themselves to the new organizational line. Their former situation is shaken, and the new situation has not entered their heads, and thus they carry on in the old spirit, outside the line of the Party, hindering its work and orderly development.

It is no secret to any communist that two trends have formed, one of which has agreed to support the Party and has vigorously set about the task, carrying out the line, while the other has reservations on all questions, criticizing (objectively it has tried to prevent the Party work from developing systematically), putting spokes in the wheel and hindering the activity of the Party. These elements come from various groups, but mostly from the “Youth” group (particularly in Tirana), whose representatives, Anastas and Xhepi⁸, even after promising to end their former activity and to act according to the directives of the Provisional Central Committee, still maintain their old connections.

Up to now we have been of the opinion that we should be patient with these comrades and convince them to submit to discipline and to understand the necessity that they

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⁸ Anastas Lula, ex-chief of the “Youth” group. At the Meeting of the communist groups in November 1941, together with the former vice-chairman of the group, Sadik Premte (Xhepi), he endeavoured to hinder the forming of the Communist Party of Albania. Following the founding of the Party, they fought by every manner of means against the political line of the Party and its Central Committee. At the 1st Consultative Meeting of Activists, the CPA admonished them for the last time to give up their anti-Marxist activity and carry out the directives of the Party. But they did not change their ways. They organized a dangerous faction in the bosom of the Party. In June 1942, the Extraordinary Conference of the Party liquidated this Trotskyite faction and expelled its chiefs from the Party. As they kept up their treacherous activity, the 1st National Conference of the CPA branded them as enemies of the Party and people.
carry out the directives to the letter. Now we should resort to another method, that of purging the Party of harmful elements, of all those who hinder the work and development of the Party. In our opinion, we must resort to this method without fail, if we do not wish to fall into the old bog and if we want the Party to develop in a unity of discipline. An irreconcilable struggle should be waged against all deviations, whatever their origin and whatever group they come from. It is impermissible for us to slip into the position of the old social-democrats, who said: “Better an insecure peace than a good clash”. A struggle must be waged also against all those who attack the work of the Party from outside (Z.) because we should be clear that only through such a struggle can the Party be consolidated. We should unmask harmful elements before the masses of the people. If we don't denounce them before the people they could deceive others who are honest.

1) THE SITUATION WITHIN THE PARTY

A full understanding of the structure of our organization and how the Party is run has not yet been formed. This is due to many causes, and in particular to the fact that the comrades do not have a good understanding of Marxism-Leninism, that they do not appreciate the importance of linking theory with practice, or that they do not have a grasp of the most fundamental questions which must be grasped by a communist organizer, agitator, and propagandist. It is clear that things cannot go on like this. We must do a great deal of work in every field to raise the
level of the comrades’ understanding, so that they can make progress and become leaders. But we cannot possibly do this if we do not link theoretical work with practical work, because "without a revolutionary theory there can be no revolutionary movement"; that is to say, we have to follow the road pointed out by our immortal teacher, Lenin, towards the linking of theory with practice, linking theoretical development with practical work. It is impermissible for us to neglect the one on account of the other, to underestimate the one and give more importance to the other. In the one direction as well as in the other, our work is lagging. It is lagging painfully. Only those who refuse to look at themselves, who close their eyes to the truth, can fail to see this.

Lack of knowledge causes grave elementary errors in our work, and this is to some extent the reason why the spirit of groups still exists.

The best way to understand this question more clearly is to look back at the past, at history. We shall try to avoid going into detail, and will take up only the most important matters, which have an obvious influence on the development of problems in general. We should speak of these matters, even if only in general terms, although some of them belong to the past. In our opinion, we should continue to discuss them for a long time yet, until the spirit of groups is totally eradicated and we have fully mastered the work of the Party. But this must not be taken to mean that we should mark time forever while we dig up the past, or that we should point out only this or that mistake of a group, but we should draw from the experience of the past whatever is of value to us for the present and the future.

The lack of firm contacts and knowledge about organizational matters, the lack of unity, the lack of faith in the cause of the struggle of the working class and the labouring people, the irresponsibility of comrades, distrust of, and failure to implement, the directives of the Comintern which were of historic importance, ambitions and cronyism, the influence of the bourgeoisie, the tendency to lie low in order to conceal that one is a communist and many other such things have caused the old group rivalries to flame up to the point where their struggle has come out into the open.

This has led to individuals and groups working without plans, without check-up, without responsibility to anyone. Serious organizational errors have been committed, which will take a long time and a great effort to correct. The hang-overs from such organizational errors which, along with group factionalism include sectarianism and pettiness, prevent progress in the organizational work, and hinder the work of the Party from being reorganized as it should. Thus, it is necessary to begin a decisive struggle against those remnants (sectarianism, misunderstanding, and unclarity), which are totally alien to the Party and the worker movement, but which, unfortunately, still exist among us. We shall not allow harmful, ambitious and irresponsible elements to destroy the party work, to destroy what we have built with such great effort. We shall not allow the old ills and the old teachings to persist. Astonishing things have occurred and are still occurring among us in matter of organization. Frequently a few people have attached themselves to certain elements, falling under their

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The directives of the Communist International for the communist movement in Albania were drafted on the basis of the decisions of the 7th Congress of the Comintern, which held its proceedings from July 25 to August 25, 1935. They reached Albania in 1937.
influence, serving them and trusting them blindly. These elements have become steeped in group work. Under the old mysterious cloak of conspiracy of the time of the groups, they have made approaches to some comrades and today are still endeavouring to win over others by various cunning methods. Amongst them there are some comrades with a low level of understanding, or with little awareness of the importance of this question, who believe all they are told by the old group leaders or the quarrelsome factionalists, who place the individual above the movement, above the Party.

This is an evil which we must rigorously combat without fail. We cannot allow this state of affairs to continue any longer. The comrades must be absolutely convinced to have faith in the Party, to love it and its work. Long discussions have been needed to explain the necessity of work with the masses. These comrades have been very slow in becoming conscious of the necessity of work with the masses. They have denied the possibility of working under fascism. They alleged that “It is possible to work with this organizational system in Greece and other countries”, or “perhaps this is an old method of work and we should not be exposed”, “we should not go into action, because the police may discover us”, “we do not want to lose men, and if anyone wants to go into such actions, let him go alone”, etc. In other words, they have refused to work and show themselves as communists before the masses, they have refused to undertake actions. How then do they think the revolution will be achieved? This is not clear to us. But one thing is clear; in that way we will never be able to achieve the revolution, and nothing good can be expected from such work.

We have already gone ahead of this, but the organizational situation is difficult and cannot be corrected immediately, because with the passage of time this line has
struck root. It still crops up, though in a new form. Such concepts are hangovers from the old work and are totally alien to the revolutionary worker movements. It is essential that we wage an energetic struggle against them (in the “Youth” and Shkodra groups).

Apart from this, the comrades have held the view that we should discuss problems with all elements. They claimed that we could not fight the enemy, because “we are not strong enough”. This led them to a great mistake, and they lapsed into a position of conciliation. As well as this, liberalism and familiarity have pushed them along this road. Enough about that.

The comrades of the Provisional Central Committee have gone to various places and have reorganized the old work, have set up communist cells (among which duties and tasks have been divided). The Provisional Central Committee has not only done the organization, but has in fact unified the organizations of various regions and established contacts between them and the Central Committee. While visiting various places and organizations, it has given the comrades full assistance. In fact, it has directed the entire organizational work, giving advice and directives. It has defined its position on all questions and, through its proclamations, has laid down the political line of the work, and brought the organization to life. Its task has been important and arduous. It has been charged with creating the Party, and you know well, comrades, that this task was not at all simple, especially in a domain where a contradiction might emerge at every step. It has fought sectarianism and has begun the struggle against deviations, it has fought pettiness and parochialism, and

\[\text{The Meeting of the main communist groups in Albania elected a Provisional Central Committee of 7 persons. Comrade Enver Hoxha was assigned to guide it, though there was no secretary elected.}\]
in the course of this work, other problems have emerged, which have been resolved by the Central Committee. The Party is not built in a day. It takes time. The Central Committee will wage a struggle relying on its organizational experience, so true unity can be created through this struggle. This is why the Central Committee has decided that, parallel with the organization of the Party, the comrades should undertake actions, demonstrations, etc., in which they will learn, become steeled, and link themselves with the masses. We have always had to face numerous difficulties in this work, but they have never stopped us, and up to now we have always overcome them successfully. We want a truly unified party, and we must transform our organizations from small isolated cells into big organizations of the Party, closely linked with the masses, with their roots among them. We want organizations which, through the example of their struggle, encourage others to be self-sacrificing and win the trust of the circles in which they are working. We cannot leave a single trace of the old style of work. The spirit of the Party and of communist work should be felt everywhere. We must build such strong organizations that they are invulnerable to the attacks of the enemy. We should link ourselves with the masses and merge with them so closely that the enemy cannot harm us.

Eight leading committees have been set up in various places, and there is nowhere (among the larger towns) that we have not gone. In certain areas also we have organized regional committees.

This is still a long way from what we must achieve, but nevertheless it can be regarded as a major success, considering the external and internal circumstances in which we are working. Besides this, the comrades of the Central Committee have had to carry out even the smallest tasks. They have had to organize the work in the cells,
which is the responsibility of the local leaders. In addition
to this, they have spoken separately with every comrade,
have had long discussions with them, trying to convince
those people who were discontented for some reason, of
whom there were no small number at the beginning. Their
discontent mainly stemmed from the selection of the region-
al committees. These comrades did not limit themselves
to criticism of the system of selection, but went as far as
to oppose the leading comrades, and to refuse to accept
discipline. Thus, they have brought confusion into the
ranks of the Party, creating tendencies towards anti-party
work. See, comrades, what a high level of consciousness
they have as party members! They are dissatisfied be-
cause they themselves have not been made leaders! How
do they know that their representatives have not been
appointed? It is evident that discipline has been violated
and secrecy betrayed. Old connections have been main-
tained. These comrades have got the idea into their heads
that their group is considered worthless. This, allegedly,
is the reason for their revolt. This pretext has been sug-
gested to them by their old chiefs, because the Party has
left no room for the slightest doubt on this subject. They
have duplicated propaganda material without the permis-
sion of the regional committees. They have undoubt-
dedly notified the old leaders of the group (Anastas Lula and
Xhepi) about this and have distributed this duplicated
material only amongst their former comrades. This has
led to the creation of some petty theories among some
persons according to which “work in the countryside is
impossible. When you talk with a peasant, he agrees,
but once you turn your back, he sticks out his tongue and
makes fun of you”. Others claim that “it is necessary to
move the entire organization into the countryside”, or
that “some comrades who should be freed from all party
work should be assigned to the mission of killing fifth
columnists and spies" (professional assassins!), etc.; that "the comrades of the cells lack initiative"; that "the Soviet Union is playing politics like the bourgeois countries".

If these were merely their own opinions, then the problem would have been much easier to solve, but unfortunately such ideas have begun to circulate and to form themselves as a line, and worse still, a line guiding a group (the "Youth" group).

When asked why they maintained their old contacts, they replied that they were indignant at the intrigues going on in their cells, and this is why they kept those old contacts. But is this really the only reason for their discontent? In the course of our talks with them, they accepted that they had been wrong, and promised to put an end to their old connections, but time has taught us to put our trust in deeds alone. These are not the only dissatisfied comrades. Certain elements coming from the strata of "agas" and "beys"\(^\text{12}\) are dissatisfied too. They persist in old forms of work, which, like the class they come from, are alien to the worker movement. Some workers too have associated themselves with these "agas". Yes, it is true! The old truth has been proved right once again. They are employing empty phraseology, labelling us as Trotskyites. We tell them openly that it is they who have fallen into the bog of Trotskyism. All anti-party elements are bound to join together in struggle against the Party. We must mercilessly expel these types from the Party.

From these people come accusations that they could not tolerate the orders of the regional committee, because the committee was composed of some undeveloped work-

\(^{12}\) Titles of the Turkish feudal military regime. The title "aga" was bestowed on low and middle rung officers, and that of "bey" on high rung officers and officials. After the proclamation of Albanian independence "beys" and "agas" were titles applied to all the rich of the town and countryside.
ers. Admittedly, some regional committees are not at the required level. But why do these discontented comrades not ask for an explanation from the higher organs? It seems to us that they are hiding something else; they do not accept the line of the Party although they say they accept it. The worker comrades, who are very young and not at the required level, but who are most likely to become leaders, cannot answer certain questions or solve certain problems of a purely intellectual nature, but within a very short period these comrades have understood the Party line very well, and carry it out to the letter. They know and apply the political line better than the intellectuals who have studied the booklet: "Certain Economic Developments". It is understandable that sometimes the party organs make mistakes, not knowing how to behave with the comrades and people in general, that there is a tendency to commandism, and this is not correct, it is harmful and should be banned. The higher organs should check up on the work of the lower ones and make every effort to prevent them from acting in this manner any longer.

We also support the greatest possible measure of initiative because today we want the communists to become leaders, and not automatons, we do not want to confine ourselves to the work of the party organs. It often happens that certain comrades, because of their contact with the strata of the bourgeoisie and the petty-bourgeoisie and their ideas, become subject to various influences and implement ideas that are alien to the revolutionary movement. This is caused by the low level of consciousness of our comrades.

Now, let us return to two people we have spoken of above; one of them has accepted the party line on all points, while the other, who at first expressed his desire and was interested in the selection of the Central Com-
mittee, has shown dissatisfaction because he himself is not in the Central Committee, because “only workers, and not intellectuals, can become members of the committee”. In fact, intellectuals can become members — those who are far removed from the group spirit and have the necessary qualities. This man, who formerly had contacts with the Korça group and who now maintains “friendly relations” and contacts with all the groups, is dissatisfied with the selection of these Committees. He raises some astonishing matters, but one thing is clear, he does not have a single correct idea of the Party and is quite unable to distinguish between communists and nationalists. He goes so far as to criticize our statements, which according to him, are not sufficiently nationalist in content. Astonishing! Under the influence of the nationalists, he has formed the opinion that our fight today is a fight just for solidarity and internationalism, and not for the good of the Albanian people! He has other such ideas in his head, but there is no need to comment on them.

He has refused to hand over the names of his contacts. He claims that they have not yet been trained, but they have been trained to have contacts with him! Among them there are both young and mature elements with whom he is unable to do communist work, first, because there are too many of them, and second, because he himself is working underground. For this and other reasons these people are often left a long time without communication or contact. The most important thing is that he does not do regular communist work among them. He maintains contacts with people in Peqin whose names he has still not handed over. He also had connections in

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13 The Meeting of the main communist groups for the creation of the Party had decided that the leaders of the communist groups were to hand over to the Central Committee all their connections with the members of their groups.
Ishëm, but did not hand over their names until the Party itself discovered them. We advise this comrade not to continue in this way, for it is not the way to act, and cannot be tolerated. Within a short time he should hand over all his connections, and the names of all his contacts (the Party will not deprive him of his friends). If he does not observe party discipline, then the Party will have to take the necessary steps.

We have always been of the opinion that we should correct our comrades. But we should blame ourselves for not taking the decision to denounce these wrong actions openly right at the beginning. However, we justify this fault by the desire to correct people. We have scored successes in this and we are continuing to follow this method. We bear in mind the teachings of the great Lenin: "We are marching in a compact group along a precipitous and difficult path, firmly holding each other by the hand. We are surrounded on all sides by enemies, and we have to advance under their almost constant fire. We have combined voluntarily, precisely for the purpose of fighting the enemy, and not to retreat into the adjacent marsh, the inhabitants of which, from the very outset, have reproached us with having separated ourselves into an exclusive group and with having chosen the path of struggle instead of the path of conciliation. And now several among us begin to cry out: let us go into this marsh! And when we begin to shame them, they retort: how conservative you are! Are you not ashamed to deny us the liberty to invite you to take a better road! Oh, yes, gentlemen! You are free not only to invite us, but to go yourselves wherever you will, even into the marsh. In fact, we think that the marsh is your proper place, and we are prepared to render you every assistance to get there. Only let go off our hands, don't clutch at us and
don’t besmirch the grand word ‘freedom’, for we too are ‘free’ to go where we please, free to fight not only against the marsh, but also against those who are turning towards the marsh!'”*

Now, comrades, let us speak of a group which is very far from the Party and which is completely in the marsh — this is the “Zjarri” group, a self-styled “party”. The Zjarrists claim that they are legal communists. As you can see, comrades, this group occupies a special place. It is a completely liquidationist opportunist group and has been in the opportunist liquidationist marsh since 1935, when it styled itself a party.

Its chiefs have created an arsenal of petty, very harmful theories and hypotheses which every reactionary, even Mustafa Kruja14 himself, could subscribe to. Here are some of their theories: “We should not engage in agitational work and propaganda, because the time is not ripe”, “the USSR today is making concessions such as in the realm of religion”, “in the Soviet Union the communists are on the retreat, and so should we be, we should not carry out actions” (according to them they have allegedly received directives from the Comintern about this!), “for this reason, we should not undertake any actions until four days before the expulsion of the Italians” (they say “the Italians” and not “the fascist invaders”), “the communists should not undertake any actions for the time being, because those who undertake them now are not communists” (then, when should actions be undertaken?!). They say the communists should not act at the present time. And this mysterious thought raises a question: then, when should they go into


14 Mustafa Merlika (Kruja), an inveterate agent of Italian fascism, prime minister of the quisling government from December 1941 to January 1943.
action? They say only four days before the revolution! How ridiculous that grown-up men should say such things! They have established contacts with the government of Mustafa Kruja\(^{15}\). They ask: “Who can guarantee that the USSR will win?” They are slipping into the position of the German fascists who claim that “the war of the Albanian communists (our war) serves Russian Pan-Slavism”, because allegedly the USSR is fighting for Pan-Slavism. Then, they declare again that “we should not distribute leaflets, because our people can neither read nor write, and it is not the appropriate time for this”, that “those who hold demonstrations, write the leaflets and undertake actions, are not communists, but terrorists”! They claim that “it is not the time for us to fight, it is not the time for revolution”, “when we have a communist government and army, the revolution will burst out”, etc., etc. There are many such opinions. Here, finally, is a typical example. The Zjarrists declare: “Those who undertake actions today, will be condemned by the people’s tribunal”. The interesting thing is that they show themselves up. If they act in this manner and fall into the position of the fifth column and spies, it is true that the people’s tribunal will pass judgement on them and they can fall into this position very easily.

Comrades, we should be careful, because there are Trotskyites in our country, as the Comintern itself has defined them, such as the infamous Fundo, and Qendo who is connected with the Greek Trotskyites. Both of them oppose the Comintern and its line, and comrade Stalin. We must not underrated the danger they repre-

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\(^{15}\) In December 1941, Zisi Andrea, the head of the “Zjarri” group, together with Mustafa Kruja, the quisling prime minister, signed an agreement in which the former promised that “the Albanian Communist Party” (as he styled his Trotskyite “Zjarri” group) would not fight against fascism.
sent. They are infiltrating among us in various ways, and using every means to try to spread their "ideas". They find various ways to propagate their "ideas", and for this reason we should not underestimate them, but should wage a fiercer struggle against them, and expose them before the people. "We should brand these dregs of society and put them in the pillory of shame and scorn." (History of the CPSU (B)).

The struggle waged against them so far has been almost non-existent, and some have acted in a liberal and conciliatory manner towards them. Yes! There has been conciliation with the Trotskyites, there have been contacts with them, and comrades have sheltered them in their homes. Communists should not have done this (these communists have themselves admitted that this was wrong).

2) EDUCATIONAL, POLITICAL, AND THEORETICAL WORK

Very little importance has been attached to educating, uplifting, and bolshevizing the cadres. And even less importance to other problems.

In order to orientate ourselves in this current complex situation, we should be equipped and armed with the tactics and theory of the proletariat, with the knowledge Marx and Engels have bequeathed to mankind, and which Lenin and Stalin have enriched and developed.

The reason why the cadres are not at the necessary level is not that the comrades have failed to study, or have not wanted to learn, but because the comrades have not translated those works which are indispensable to the working class and the communist cadres. Various booklets and pamphlets have been translated, some of them of
doubtful origin. There have also been good books among them. But the most necessary ones: "The History of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (B)", "Foundations of Leninism" as well as the report delivered to the 7th Congress of the Comintern by Dimitrov, etc., have been neglected. This is the reason that the theoretical and political level of the comrades is very low. Some comrades who have done some study have considered themselves very learned, and have even started writing various articles, deviating from Marxism-Leninism and attempting to create new theories such as "the theory of the class", the "theory of cadres", etc.

We shall not go into the errors of comrades who were in leading posts in the past and who ruined a great number of cadres, because they neglected them and lacked concern for them, or because they educated them in the old group spirit. It is easy to see that they are to blame for this.

But we would be very wrong to lay all the blame on the past; we should look for a large share of this respon-

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16 This refers to the erroneous assessment of the situation of the class struggle in Albania by the heads of the communist group of Shkodra and of the "Youth" group. According to this assessment Albania had not yet entered the stage of capitalist development, the working class did not exist, the most progressive class was made up of craftsmen, and as a result, there was no room to wage the class struggle.

17 The "theory of cadres" was borrowed from the archio-Marxists, members of an anti-Marxist organization in Greece, who in 1930 joined Trotsky's International and during the Second World War acted as overt agents of fascism and nazism. According to their theory, the communists must not engage in any activity to organize and mobilize the masses, but sit in their secluded cells and engage themselves only in theoretical education, in "training cadres", and only after the cadres are trained can they start their revolutionary activity.
sibility in the present weaknesses in our work. We should use our experience, benefit from it, increase our knowledge and proceed further ahead on this road. We should take this work seriously in hand. The question of the development and raising of the political level of the comrades should not be left solely to their own initiative. They should study collectively, while at the same time individual study should not be neglected. On this point, the Party should exercise careful check-up and give assistance.

It is very difficult for the worker comrades to raise their political level much by relying solely on their own initiative. When he comes home tired from his work, the worker comrade finds it difficult to read, because he is not used to doing this, and thus very precious time is wasted. For the intellectuals, on the other hand, this is possible, because of the very nature of their work. The workers should be given the possibility of collective study as well as individual study. We should make this possible by preparing suitable literature. There are objective difficulties in this field, in particular because of the lack of literature for the workers. Thus, for quite a while our work will limp along, but we hope that the "History of the CPSU (B)" and the "Foundations of Leninism" will soon be translated. It is necessary to raise the political and theoretical knowledge of the comrades and train comrades for the leadership. There are also other difficulties, such as the difficult conditions in which the work is being carried on, inadequate equipment, etc. We tell the comrades not to be content with the single copy they receive from the Central Committee, but to duplicate it by hand or with a typewriter. It sometimes happens that comrades do not study even those materials that come into their hands, such as books, leaflets, etc. There are also communists who distribute leaflets without even reading them.
themselves. What could they possibly say to the people? Sometimes, only the distribution of the leaflets is discussed in the cells. This should not happen any more. All party members should read and study our leaflets, for in them they will find the political line of the Party. We should study the literature, for only in this way can we arm ourselves with knowledge. All the materials of the Party should be the subjects of study in the cells. We should not behave with the party materials as we have done up till now; we should study them, not leave them for months in unsuitable places to get wet in the rain, or eaten by mice. The organs of the Party should be very careful about this, and they should organize the distribution of materials properly, because irregularities on this point, as well as other manifestations of laxity on the part of certain comrades, help the factionalists to win over young people by giving them some books which in many cases they cannot understand.

In order to become leaders we should study collectively in courses and study groups, but we should not exclude individual study. The comrades in the higher organs should supervise and check up on this work. Every course or study group should be led by the most advanced comrades who were previously least infected by the group spirit, that is, by those comrades who have completely eliminated the old group spirit. The factionalists and those instilled with this spirit should not be assigned to the leadership of any study circle, or educational group, or any other sort of work among the youth. This is done solely with the aim of preventing the old group spirit from infecting others. The Central Committee has undertaken the task of supplying the organization as soon as possible with the necessary translated materials ("History of the CPSU (B)", "Foundations of Leninism", etc.).
3) ON THE QUESTION OF NUMBERS IN THE PARTY

(ON CADRES)

It appears from comrades’ reports that the number of comrades is low and that the quality of party members is not yet as high as it should be. Today the Party comprises a small number of comrades. Here we observe a narrow and sectarian attitude. Why not bring in all who fulfil the necessary conditions? We should seek the causes of this in our behaviour which is still sectarian, and not only in this, but also in our inactivity; we do not yet know how to select people. We should go further than the desire for increased numbers, and find loyal fighters. It is often said of various people that they are “friends”, “comrades”, “good fellows”, and many other terms which indicate that they are communists, but very little initiative and ability is shown in organizing them. These people are disciplined, devoted and active, but they are communists outside the party ranks. Some comrades claim that they are not yet “sufficiently advanced”, and thus do not fulfil the requirements. But what do the comrades expect of them? This practice should be ended. The dedicated, disciplined comrades, those who would make good party members, especially worker comrades, should be admitted to the Party. This applies to the proletariat and the peasantry. But we should not go too far and admit unprepared sympathizers and similar elements into the Party. On the question of admission to the Party, the party organs should check carefully on the candidates, to see that they fulfil all the necessary requirements, because the present period is dangerous for the Party and the enemy may introduce provocateurs into our ranks. In this period the organizational question is the major one. Our primary task is to consolidate the Party organizationally. Those who are conscious, loyal, convinced, steeled, dis-
disciplined, fearless and have an unblemished record can enter our ranks. Without these qualities no one can become a party member, or win the right to take pride in the name of Lenin and Stalin.

The higher party organs should care for the comrades and maintain constant contact with the lower organizations; they should be continually in touch with the organizations and always be informed of the situation within them, because, otherwise, the former state of affairs will predominate. We shall go into battle with the existing cadres, until the Party is renewed with new cadres who will emerge in the struggle. Therefore, we should check up on and observe everything that is done in the organizations. Among the masses there are loyal fighters and communists, who will emerge in the front ranks of the struggle and lead it to victory.

a) Because we are going into battle, we should ensure our replacements. Of course, we cannot all go into battle and leave the masses to be misled by spies and the fifth column, so we must without fail leave our replacements behind. As soon as possible, and this is possible, we must train our replacements and raise their political level so that the organizations will not be weakened when those who cannot stay here go to join the partisan units. In particular, we must train replacements among women. There must not be a single forum without women. On this point, we should not err again and behave in a sectarian manner, but should have a good understanding of the importance of work with women, who will play an important role in our work.

b) Our youth have been organized according to old forms of work. Because the youth organs have imperfectly understood the line of the Party, the youth are fragmented, and in some places there is still a field for the activity of old factionalists. Through their old methods of work
they attract the youth (they have included many of the communist youth in their cells, etc.). The leaders of the youth have not correctly understood the struggle of the youth. Thus they have not been able to wage an energetic struggle against the old group method amongst the youth and in the educational groups. Here too, the factionalists have exploited the situation, doing their old work behind our backs, setting up sectarian educational groups and reviving the old group spirit. We cannot allow the old forms of work to go on among the youth, because this is the most important sector of the Party, from which it is regenerated. We should make every effort, exerting all our energies, to bring about the unity of the Communist Youth of Albania. We should mobilize the youth of town and countryside on a broad scale; this is one of our principal tasks. The task of the Communist Youth of Albania is to mobilize the entire popular youth of Albania. We now have a new method of work among the youth and I shall not speak at length on this, because the comrade from the youth organization will speak to us about it.

c) The work among the workers is extremely valuable. It is essential for us to penetrate among the workers and the poor of the towns, and work among them, among the proletariat. The majority in our Party should be workers. We should henceforth put an end to our old practice. We should not deceive ourselves. No one else can lead, fight and work wholeheartedly for the cause of communism like the proletarians and workers. We should go to countryside too and mainly among the poor peasants in the villages, the semi-proletarians, of whom there are many in our country. We should send the most disciplined and

18 Besides the main report by comrade Enver Hoxha, the Conference heard reports on military, youth, equipment and other questions.
the best organizers, our best propagandists and agitators there, because today we must mobilize the countryside around our Party, because our Party alone is a fighting party, and today the masses of the people want to fight. We must convince the masses and explain to them what is most essential. We should know how to approach them, to discuss with them openly, and listen carefully to the most immediate and concrete questions. We should not speak to them, for example, as the Vlora comrades are doing, calling the national liberation councils' soviets. This is an error and a left deviation.

d) A few actions have been undertaken, but they have not had an abroad communist character. As for the sabotage actions, there have been far fewer of them than there could have been. We should understand clearly that our actions are closely linked with those of other countries, they have an international character and at the same time prepare the people for the struggle for their own liberation. Various forms of action: demonstrations, acts of sabotage, etc., popularize our Party and our struggle.

All our organizations are obliged to undertake actions, and every organization has had the possibility to undertake some, but a very liberal attitude has been maintained towards them. Certain actions which have been carried out have not been given the necessary publicity. One factor which has impeded the carrying out of actions is the fact that we have not yet organized our army. This question has been the subject of much discussion in our organizations, and the absolute necessity of setting up partisan units and town guerrillas has been raised, but they

19 In February 1942, the CC of the CPA issued the directive for the setting up everywhere of national liberation councils as organs of the National Liberation War, of people's uprising, and simultaneously organs of the revolutionary people's power.
are still not in evidence. The comrade responsible for the military line will discuss this question in his report on the army. The comrades will report on what has been done in this sector. One thing must be stressed, that any hesitancy in this matter must be eliminated and we must get down to the reality, to the formation of our army, to actions.

4) DISCIPLINE IN THE PARTY

In every organization there must be some kind of discipline. But in our Communist Party, which is the vanguard of the working class there should exist that particular discipline which arises from the high consciousness of Communist Party members, the most highly conscious sons of the working class and the working people. The difficult conditions of illegal work demand even greater discipline from us. Without steel-like discipline and without the unity of our Communist Party, which has many powerful enemies, we cannot fight the war successfully.

It is mainly alien elements, introduced into our Party with the intention of destroying it from within, who breach our communist discipline; this discipline is also violated by various people who are not yet free of their petty-bourgeois circle, that is, people who are not yet mature enough to become party members, or by various careerists. But if we have our eyes open, it is not difficult to detect these people.

We stress this because recently there have been breaches of discipline in our Party, often quite flagrant ones, and impermissible carelessness on the part of some comrades, that means to say they are not sufficiently awake; otherwise the persistent group spirit cannot be explained. And then there is a tendency to petty criticism
which first of all appears accidental and later becomes a "line".

But we know within what framework to criticize and how far this should go. Outside this framework it is not sound criticism, and it assumes the form of carping criticism—unhealthy criticism. It is noticeable that certain comrades underestimate others and do not reveal their own mistakes; they criticize others but not themselves. In this way they seek to elevate themselves, posing as "the strongest", or "the most developed", boasting about their knowledge of Marxism-Leninism.

Such work implies a return to the old days, to the quarrels and clashes between groups. This means a turning back of the Party. We should unceasingly criticize this backward tendency, not on the basis of the old group spirit, but through a desire to eliminate backwardness and to advance.

Then we must also speak about security in organizational matters. This is generally weak and has gone from one extreme to the other. Much has been said about security and it will also be dealt with by the comrade who reports on equipment and the need for security.

Works, vol. 1.
CALL TO THE ALBANIAN PEASANTRY

ALBANIAN PEASANTS!

The flames of war have swept the whole world; millions of people have taken up arms and are locked in a gigantic struggle.

On one side the forces of darkness, the predatory and bloody-handed fascist forces, are attempting to enslave the world, to bleed the peoples white, and on the other side, the forces of progress, the forces of freedom, led by the heroic people of the Soviet Union, with the support of the democratic people of Britain and America and all the enslaved people, are checking the drive of the bloody fascist hordes and are day by day preparing to bury them.

At the time of the greatest blood-letting in human history, the greatest burden of this slaughter, brought about by the will of the fascist gangsters, weighs upon the peasants and the villages. The brunt of every war always falls upon the working people. Every year thousands of peasant families suffer for lack of food and the most basic requirements; misery, suffering and starvation reign in their wretched homes.

Have you, Albanian peasant brothers, ever sought the reason for the poverty, misery, hunger, and gloom, which have been your lot for centuries, and which year by year and day by day are becoming even more terrible?
Peasants of Albania, you who toil to exhaustion the year round, tied all your life to the land drenched with your sweat, who in rain and snow, ragged and always hungry, strive and toil with all your strength; on top of your centuries of oppression and enslavement, bloodthirsty fascism and the traitors of our people, sworn enemies of the workers and peasants, are trying to cast you forever into the most dreadful condition, into the blackest obscurity, into perpetual enslavement.

The Italian fascist invaders fell upon our country like a ravenous beast, they fell upon our fields to enslave us, to plunder us, to bleed us white, to exterminate us. They invaded our plains and our mountains, our hills and valleys, and wherever their filthy jackboots trod, the grass no longer grows; the spectre of war has spread over the whole of our beautiful country. The despicable fascists turned our country into a battlefield, destroyed our towns and villages, they sowed terror and misery; they killed our people with their bombs and destroyed our villages, which became targets for their aircraft; they looted our livestock and our property to feed the executioners of the Albanian people.

ALBANIAN PEASANT BROTHERS!

Vile fascism, the invader of our country, and such traitors as Mustafa Kruja and his cronies are endeavour-

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1. On April 7, 1939, fascist Italy attacked Albania and occupied it in a few days. Despite the betrayal of King Zog and his clique, the Albanian people were not subdued. Groups of patriots fought, arms in hand, against the occupiers right from the first day of aggression.
ing to seize our lands and turn them into the property of
the fascist robbers; Mustafa Kruja, the major partner of
the rapacious Italian companies, is doing his utmost to lay
hands on the wealth of our country; the fascist banks are
endeavouring to rob the lands which should rightly be
your property, for it is you who sweat to till them; they
are trying to turn our villagers into hungry slaves; they
are trying to take away everything we have, to suck us
dry and starve us to death, to make it easier to oppress us.
They are plundering the riches of our soil and our mineral
resources to feed their war machine, to feed their blood-
thirsty hordes, the oppressors of our country. They have
plundered the oil of Kucova and Patos, they are plunder-
ing our mines, taking our maize and wheat, robbing us
of our livestock, destroying our forests, and stealing
our wool.

Bloodthirsty fascism and the traitors of our people are
trying to rob us of our national identity, wipe out our
mother tongue, doing their utmost to corrupt our sons,
and trying to eliminate our admirable customs; in the
place of the hospitality and respect for a guest of our
proud people, they are trying to substitute the despicable
vices of fascism, with their immorality they are trying to
debauch us, to dishonour our mothers and sisters.

Bloodthirsty fascism, the occupier of our country, and
his agents, with Mustafa Kruja the traitor at the head, are
inflicting deep wounds on our people. They are conscript-
ing the sons of the peasantry and the people, and sending
them to be killed for the hangmen Hitler and Mussolini;
they are mobilizing the most despised and weak-willed
scum of the Albanian people into their militia and police
force in order to drive us into the most terrible of wars,
a fratricidal war.
The enemy and his despicable tools, with the aid of Mustafa Kruja’s traitorous government, are jailing and murdering the loyal sons of our people. They want us to stain our hands with the blood of the neighbouring peoples who are fighting for their freedom. They are trying to split us into Christians and Muslims.

PEASANT BROTHERS OF ALBANIA!

In this sacred war waged by the Albanian people to win lasting freedom you are the most important factor for our victory. The enemy knows that you are the living forces of the country, it knows that the unity of your forces with the entire Albanian people will mean a speedy and terrible death to fascism. This is precisely why the enemy and the traitors have exerted all their efforts to squeeze you dry, to rob you and leave you to die of starvation. Fascism is endeavouring to seize everything you possess, it has left you without oil, it is trying to take your wheat, maize, oil, wool and livestock. The traitor Mustafa Kruja is busy organizing the plunder of the peasantry, whose fate is closely linked with the soil of our country. He wants your sweat and blood to keep the thieves of Mussolini and Hitler alive, to maintain their military budget, and this year the traitor Mustafa Kruja is trying to squeeze the last little bit from you. The enemy is demanding to buy a second portion of your grain with money for which you can buy nothing in return. He has increased your taxes tenfold, has increased the levy on livestock, and is raising them everyday. Now Mustafa Kruja has dropped all pretence and is wielding the law in order to seize your grain, and is threatening to hang any peasant who tries to keep his grain to feed himself and his children.
Mustafa Kruja the traitor is trying to feed you on lies and demagogy, speaking of a “Great Albania”, of a “liberated Kosova”.

To the devilry of the enemy, and to his oppression we should respond with guns; we should wage our war more and more fiercely, not allowing the enemy a moment’s respite to act with a free hand against our people. Every true Albanian should become conscious of his duty to our people. With pride and self-sacrifice, he should speed the day of the liberation of our homeland.

A terrible famine threatens our peasantry, therefore keep your grain for yourselves and your own families, help your relatives and pay not a single grain in tithes to the greedy government, for them to speculate with and sell back to you later at ten times the price. Unite in every village and one village with another to defend by force of arms your grain and produce which the government is seeking to seize from you. The grain which you have harvested with so much toil belongs to you alone and to no one else. Do not surrender it to anyone, hide it away, hide your produce, because it belongs to you and your families. Hide it away, otherwise next winter famine will stalk your homes.

In order to consolidate their position in the Balkans, the Italian occupiers, leaning on the traitors of the country, aroused the old national feuds and chauvinism of the reactionary classes of the Balkan states towards kindling the hostilities of our people with the Yugoslav and Greek neighbouring people and keeping the former away from the National Liberation War. Italy enlarged its occupied area to set up “Great Albania” which included part of the Albanian land left beyond the state borders by the 1913 London Conference of the Ambassadors of imperialist powers. But our communists and people were not taken in by fascist demagogy. They exposed this policy and pursued the road of war against the fascist occupiers and of collaboration with neighbouring peoples in their liberation struggle against the common enemy, relying on the people’s right of self-determination.
By holding back the grain, by refusing to pay taxes and the livestock levy you are fulfilling part of your duty to your homeland and at the same time saving the grain for your families, who are threatened by famine. In this way we can help the struggle of the Albanian people; in this way we shall hasten the day of liberation, for we have confidence in our victory, in our united forces, because, as a popular saying goes, where there is unity, there is victory.

PEASANTS OF ALBANIA!

In this terrible war, in which the destiny of all mankind is at stake, the Albanian people, with their age-old traditions, with their militant freedom-loving spirit, are following in the footsteps of their forefathers who fought for the freedom of their homeland against invaders and traitors.

The Albanian people have declared merciless war on the sworn enemy of our country.

In town and countryside, the sons of our people are fighting furiously against the hated occupiers and traitors, the pure blood of our sons is flowing in the streets of towns and villages in Albania. They fall as heroes for the freedom of our country, they go to the scaffold with a smile on their lips, for they have fulfilled their duty to their people. They cannot live without freedom, for they cannot see their own people suffer under the foulest yoke our country has ever known. Our people's uprising is gathering momentum day by day, our people are uniting, and building their strength to strike down the enemy and the traitors without mercy. The Albanian people are forming a common front to win their freedom, they are uniting their forces with those of the people of the Soviet Union,
the homeland of the workers and peasants, with those of the democratic British and American people, they are fighting shoulder to shoulder with the other peoples enslaved by fascism; the Albanian people are taking part in the struggle to save mankind from the fascist barbarians. As in the days long ago, when our forefathers, under the banner of Scanderbeg, ceaselessly fought the invaders of our country, so we, their worthy sons, under the banner of Scanderbeg, go into battle against the foul fascist invaders and traitors, for the true liberation of the Albanian people.

PEASANTS, DO NOT PAY THE TITHES, DO NOT GIVE UP A SINGLE GRAIN OF WHEAT, OR STRAND OF WOOL!

DO NOT PAY THE LIVESTOCK LEVY AND TAXES!

AID THE ALBANIAN PEOPLE'S WAR AGAINST THE OCCUPIER, A WAR OF PARTISAN UNITS AND SABOTAGE!

DOWN WITH RAPACIOUS FASCISM, THE MONTENEGRENS MUSTAFKA KRUJA AND THE MILITIA!

DOWN WITH FRATRICIDE AND THE BLIND TOOLS OF FRATRICIDAL WAR!

LONG LIVE THE UNITY OF THE ALBANIAN PEOPLE!

LONG LIVE THE ALBANIAN PEOPLE'S WAR AGAINST THE OCCUPIER!

LONG LIVE FREE ALBANIA!

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3 Gjergj Kastrioti — Scanderbeg (1408-1468), the Albanian National Hero, fought for 25 consecutive years against the Turkish hordes.
LONG LIVE THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF ALBANIA, THE STANDARD-BEARER OF THE FIGHT FOR FREEDOM!

The Central Committee of the Communist Party of Albania

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"ZÉRI I POPULLIT" FIRST ISSUE EDITORIAL

August 25, 1942

"ZÉRI I POPULLIT"

has one mission, and one purpose: to unite the entire Albanian people around this paper, to unite everyone who is honest and anti-fascist, regardless of religious beliefs, political groups, and various trends. "Zëri i Popullit" is determined to make war on the occupiers.

Why has "Zëri i Popullit" appeared?

To provide our people with a road to salvation, to show them who has trampled the Albanian people underfoot, who brought these countless woes upon them, desolated our country with smoke and flames in 1939, reduced half of Albania to ruins during an entire year; who has left our people without food, taking all the products of the country and all the grain, who has taken away the olive oil, the wool, and the petroleum that flows like water from our soil, who has left the peasant without bread and salt. All these evils have been brought about solely by the occupier and Italian fascism, and by the war which is nothing but the off-spring of fascism.

By means of "Tomori" and of well-paid hacks, headed by that jackal Hilmi Leka, the Italian fascists are trying
to convince us that we should be content with our lot, for it is war time, but these well-fed gentlemen forget to say that it is not we who brought the war, but the Duce and the fascist occupier.

The Albanian people sent no special invitation to the hangmen of Rome. Indeed, the occupiers must have very clear memories of how the Albanian people farewelled them in 1920\(^4\), or have the Duce and the hacks of “Tomori” forgotten these things?

Who spilled our people’s blood and drove them into fratricide? The fascist occupiers. Having seized our land and trampled underfoot all the rights which we had won with great bloodshed, they have now armed and mobilized the most degenerate section of our people into their militia, carabinieri, and police force, and set them to track down the sons of this people, the cream of our youth, and the fighters who are shedding their pure blood for one sacred aim: for an independent, free and democratic Albania.

Entire towns and villages are red with the blood of our sons; in Shkodra, Durrës, Tirana, Korça and Kruja dozens of boys have fallen as martyrs under the bullets of the enemy and the bloodhounds of the fifth column.

Today, young Albanians in hundreds are languishing in the dungeons of the traitorous executioners of the Albanian people and the Albanian race. Hundreds of the sons of the eagle are exiled among the harsh rocky islands of fascist Italy.

Since fascist Italy first set foot on Albanian soil, our people have not had one day of peace, but they have known how to fight. They have stood like men, and when some have fallen they have understood why. The

\(^4\) This refers to the war of the Albanian people against the Italian imperialists in Vlora in 1920. The war ended with the victory of the patriotic forces, which drove the occupier into the sea and liberated the Vlora city and its hinterland.
victims, the prisoners in the jails, the internees and the partisans in the mountains testify how the people hate fascist Italy.

This newspaper, this true tribune of the Albanian people, will tell our people about these things.

"Zëri i Popullit" will denounce the number one agent of fascism, Mustafa Merlika. "Zëri i Popullit" will denounce the agents of the fratricidal war.

"Zëri i Popullit" will mercilessly denounce the fascist demagoguy of "Tomori" and its hacks.

"Zëri i Popullit" will rally all the virile energies of the Albanian people, the energies of all those who have understood once and for all that,

"Freedom is won,
It is not donated."

"Zëri i Popullit" will be a tribunal with its columns open to all the fighters for freedom without distinction as to class or religion, to all those Albanians who want to help us with deeds, and not with idle talk, in the true liberation of Albania.

"Zëri i Popullit" will be the genuine tribunal of the Call to Arms for the National Liberation War, in which our war against the bloodthirsty occupiers will be described and read about.

"Zëri i Popullit" will be the tribunal where the people will learn the truth as it really is, the naked truth.

"Zëri i Popullit" will tell our people where our friends are, in Albania and abroad.

We know that in their fight for freedom, our people are not alone, but have many strong and resolute friends throughout the world.

All the freedom-loving people of the world, from heroic China to the heroic people of Yugoslavia and France, are with us.
The three great allies are fighting today for one aim: to crush fascism.

The Soviet Union, with the Red Army of workers and peasants headed by comrade Stalin, leads the way as the vanguard. Then come the two great democracies\(^5\): Britain and America, two great powers with colossal economies, which are preparing for a second front in Europe\(^6\).

Some time ago 28 countries adhered to the “London Pact”\(^7\) which guarantees the people freedom and collective peace, guarantees the people the final wiping out of bloody fascism.

“Zëri i Popullit” will be the tribune of the unity, in which our fight for freedom and the fight of the freedom-loving peoples of Europe will be reflected.

This is the one and only aim we have with “Zëri i Popullit”.

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\(^5\) A denomination for Britain and the USA, which were fighting against the fascist states, to make a distinction between their bourgeois democratic order and the fascist political order in Germany, Japan, Italy and elsewhere.

\(^6\) It had been decided that the second front would be opened by Britain and the USA in 1942. But the US and British governments were not as good as their words. They opened this front only in June 1944.

\(^7\) The "London Pact" was signed in May 1942 between the Soviet Union and Great Britain on an alliance in the war against Hitlerite Germany and its satellites in Europe as well as on post-war cooperation and reciprocal aid.
FACED WITH THE FAILURE OF THEIR PLANS, THE LUOGOTENENZA* AND THE TRAITORS ENDEavour TO FIND A "MODUS VIVENDI"*

November 1942

During these years of the enslavement of our beloved country, the Albanian people have not forgotten the manoeuvres of fascism and its tools, traitors to our country. To every Albanian, from a five-year-old child to the oldest man, the aims of fascism in invading Albania are crystal-clear, but fascism has been trying to fool the people with vile and ridiculous manoeuvres, to throw dust in their eyes in order to achieve its goal more easily. But fascism had to deal with a people who cannot be easily taken in, and the Albanian people smashed these manoeuvres, exposed them one after another, and are showering more and more blows and kicks upon fascism and the traitors.

Here we shall point out to our people the way in which fascism is trying to enslave us, to have us fight one another, to divide us so that it can dominate and rule us.

Let us start from the very beginning. There is no need to comment on how the Albanian people reacted to

* The administrative apparatus of the Italian occupation regime in Albania, which exercised plenipotentiary power on behalf of Victor Emanuel III and Mussolini.

* "Modus vivendi" (Lat.) — mode of living, here implying a way out.
the Italian invasion, but we need to comment on the coming of the Italians here. After tossing into the sea the dead bodies of their soldiers which had littered the docks and harbours of Durrës, Vlora, and Saranda, after washing away the blood which had stained our shores, the fascists entered our towns with their trumpets and bugles, flying their colourful ribbons, the plumes of the bersaglieri gleamed as once in Caporetto and Guadalajara, and later on in Abyssinia (Ethiopia), Eritrea, Somalia and elsewhere. Their painted emblems, Lictor’s fasces, were brought in shiploads, together with ribbons and shiny tin medals, because they imagined they were dealing with the Zulu blacks, who could be deceived with glass beads.

They sent us Count Ciano, dressed up like a cabaret queen; and this dandy, who a year ago was godfather to Zog’s child, with his hand on his heart and hair gleaming with brilliantine, tried to convince us that the Italians had come to liberate us from “the tyrants of our people”. But the Albanian people did not fall for this and the Pepinos had to change their tune. Like all invaders who aim at enslaving the peoples, but who are still far from achieving their dark aims, the Italian fascists needed time and calm to land their soldiers and ammunitions so that they could quietly fleece our people, rob them of everything they had, and in the end, send them to die for fascism. To achieve this aim, fascism got to work together with its hirelings. They pained our ears with their prattle about Roman civilization (read: fascist civil-

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2 In March 1937, in Guadalajara of Spain the revolutionary republican troops routed some Italian fascist divisions, which were attacking in the direction of Madrid.

3 Galeazzo Ciano — minister of foreign affairs of fascist Italy from 1936 to 1943.

4 Italian fascists.
zation). The opening of dopolavoros* began. The Albanian Fascist Party\textsuperscript{5} forcibly enrolled members without asking their consent; they began to organize the schools in the fascist way, and started to organize the GLA\textsuperscript{6}. “Duce”, “Count Ciano”, “fascism” and “Alala!”, bleated the hacks. These rogues started to parade in their black crow uniforms. The building of barracks for the needs of the fascist army, and some buildings for the fascist hierarchy began, as did the organization of systematic robbery. The Italian companies, the banks, the bandits rushed in; the network of leeches was being organized to suck our people dry; Count Ciano paid repeated visits to Jacomoni\textsuperscript{7} to collect the profits, and finally, the ex-emperor of Ethiopia, the dwarf Victor Emmanuel, came too. This was the last manoeuvre which fascism resorted to. The Albanian people did not lose their bearings. They had made up their minds, began their resistance and the exposure of fascism. The Albanian Fascist Party became a center of spies. No one but the crows went to their dopolavoros and GLA-s. The Albanian youth, whom the fascists tried to dress up in the fancy uniforms of the Balilas\textsuperscript{8} and Avanguardisti\textsuperscript{9}, whom they tried to teach

* Dopolavoro (It.) — after-work, fascist club to mislead the working people.

\textsuperscript{5} It was set up by the Italian fascists in April 1939, immediately following the occupation of Albania. It was a branch of the Italian Fascist Party and acted under its directions.

\textsuperscript{6} GLA (Gioventù del Littorio Albanese) — the Albanian Lictor’s Youth, fascist youth organization.

\textsuperscript{7} Francesco Jacomoni — former plenipotentiary minister of fascist Italy to the Zog government, viceroy of the Italian king till March 1943.

\textsuperscript{8} This was the name used by the fascists for the children in their organizations.

\textsuperscript{9} The members of the fascist organization for the youth up to 17 years of age were called Avanguardisti.
to march and think “like fascists”, expressed their opinion, and expressed it so well in strikes and demonstrations that the Italianization of the schools and the fascist culture became a thing of the past. The people saw that the short period of work, building roads and barracks, when the workers' wages were raised slightly, was just a bubble, because the cost of living went sky-high, banknotes dropped like autumn leaves and all the wealth of our land was being systematically plundered.

Our people stood up and fought the occupier and the traitors in streets, and the visits by Count Ciano and other fascist parasites were ended by the bullet an Albanian lad fired at the dwarf Victor Emmanuel.10

Another manoeuvre fascism tried to use to divide our people and to prepare for the war against Greece, was the tool of religion. “Muslims and Christians, Orthodox and Catholics, attack one another!” But, the opposite occurred. “Albanian patriotism is the religion for the Albanian” and “our faith and religion is the Albanian nation”. The fascists thought that these were only words. Yes, they were nothing but words to the hirelings; but for the Albanian people they were implanted deep in their hearts and nurtured with the blood of our martyrs of the Albanian renaissance, with the blood of Papa Kristo Negovan, Petro Nini Luarasi, Koto Hoxhi, Naim Frashëri and others. The war in Greece stripped all the gloss off the fascist emblems and left the plumes of the bersaglieri dropping, but our country footed the bill. Mustafa Merlika, Djevat Kortcha (read: Xhevat Korça, and don't be surprised that His Excellency, the Albanian Minister of

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10 In May 1941, in Tirana, the Albanian worker Vasil Laçi made an attempt at the life of Victor Emmanuel III who had come to visit Albania.
Education, writes his name in a foreign way. The explanation is clear: to him the Albanian people are savages), or the likes of Irfan Ohri, Ndue Paluca, Filip Fishta, Vangjel Koça and Terenc Toçi, etc., are not the Albanian people. The people could not endure scoundrels on their backs; they began their war, organized their resistance, sharpened their weapons, and the Luogotenenza had to change its tactics, because its first manoeuvre did not go smoothly, the fascist thieves had reckoned without their host, they had forgotten the host who was waiting in the street for the settlement of his bill. *So the Albanian people stood up and said: enough!*

The new manoeuvre is radically different from the first because it is based on fascist terror. The host who said "enough" has ruined the sleep of the fascists and traitors; they have begun to tremble before the Albanian people, and measures have to be taken. Fascism has to use terror, but it cannot forget demagogy either. It needs to use terror, but also to maintain the appearance of the Luogotenenza as the "big-hearted friend of the Albanian people".

As the Duce's henchman, Jacomoni must keep a door open for some other manoeuvre which he thinks may work. *In short, the fascist invaders have understood as perfectly as two and two make four that they are openly at war with the Albanian people, that their position here is becoming critical, that their ammunition stores are insecure, that their army is in danger, that their positions in Greece are shaky, and it is becoming impossible to send aid to the fascist troops in Yugoslavia; in short, all the people of the Balkans, oppressed under fascism, are becoming a terrible threat. The fascist generals have openly admitted that fascism has to fight on the Balkan front, too.*
Albania, therefore, is the nerve centre of this Balkan front, and a remedy must be found for the situation that has been created. Fascism believed that it had found the remedy in bringing to power the greatest blackguard, the worst of thieves, the traitor Mustafa Merlika, the Quisling of our country. Fascism had looked after this old spy, had fattened him on Italian lire in order to use him when the going would become difficult. And this "big shot" of fascism assured Jacomoni that "he could twist the Albanian people around his little finger and that he was so able (sic!) that in a short time even the most humble Albanian would live and breathe fascism." But it turned out that this hangman did not know the Albanian people well, whereas the Albanian people knew all about this vile agent.

Mustafa Merlika racked his brains. Both the fascists and he saw that the Communist Party, the party of the people who toil and suffer, was leading the broad masses of our people with a sure hand towards victory, towards liberty and salvation. Fascism and the traitors saw for themselves that the blood of our comrades who had fallen as martyrs for the freedom of the people flowed through towns and villages, and steeled sound Albanian hearts and energies.

They saw that the Communist Party of Albania was in the forefront of the struggle of our people, that at each moment it showed the way with the torch of freedom, and that black crow who bears the name of Mustafa Merlika, set about his traitorous work once more and came out as a nationalist (sic!), as though the people did not recognize this former member of the Durrës govern-

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11 The word "quisling" has been introduced as a synonym of the word traitor and derives from Quisling — prime minister and chief of the Norwegian fascists, who betrayed his own country into the occupation by Hitlerite Germany in 1940.
ment\textsuperscript{12} (sold out to the Italians), as though they did not know the anti-patriot who had fought against the Congress of Lushnja\textsuperscript{13}, as though they did not recognize the resident of the town of Zara\textsuperscript{14}, who was stuffed with lire by Mussolini, as though they did not know the man who congratulated Mussolini on the “Tirana Pact”\textsuperscript{15} concluded between fascist Italy and Zog, the man who prepared the April 7 invasion, the spy who, together with Qazim Koculi\textsuperscript{16}, endeavoured to convince the Albanians that “Italy will come to Albania to liberate us.”

The traitor Merlika imagined that it was easy to make slaves of the Albanians.

“What do the Albanian people want, these people whom my lackey, Djevat Kortcha, calls ‘savage’, and what do we want?” Mustafa the traitor asked himself. And, of course, he found the answer himself, with the aid of his

\textsuperscript{12} This government was set up in December 1918 and was made up of Albanians in the service of Italian imperialism.

\textsuperscript{13} The Congress of Lushnja, convened on January 28, 1920, repudiated the secret Treaty of London of 1915 for the partition of Albania, demanded its complete independence, declared the deposition of the traitorous Durrës government, and elected the new national government.

\textsuperscript{14} Former name of Zadar, town on the Dalmatian coast of the Adriatic, where the fascist group of Albanian exiles, directed and financed by the Italian fascists and headed by Mustafa Kruja, had its quarters.

\textsuperscript{15} “The Tirana Pact” was signed in November 1926 in Tirana between fascist Italy and the government of Ahmet Zog. This pact sanctioned the interference of Italy in the internal affairs of Albania. Mustafa Kruja, on behalf of the Albanian fascist group in Zara, sent a special congratulation to Mussolini on this occasion.

\textsuperscript{16} Extraordinary commissar of Mustafa Kruja in the battle against the Vlora population in 1943. Following the defeat of the Italian and Albanian fascists in this battle, Qazim Koculi was in his turn shot by the fascists.
other lackey, a certain Kotte, who at one time didn't have two leks to buy himself a packet of cigarettes, and now has money and shares to gamb]e with:

"The Albanian people want freedom; they want to wipe us from the face of the earth, and the Albanian people are led by an iron hand, by the Communist Party of Albania, which gives us not a moment's respite, but attacks us and exposes us. The Communist Party is bringing about the genuine unification of all political trends in the country which hate us, and soon a tempest will be stirred up and crash upon our heads. Whereas, the traitor continues, we want to live while the people suffer, rot, and die so that we can satisfy our greed. Fascism, with which we have linked ourselves closely, must triumph and the Italian occupier must strike deep roots in Albania, or we are doomed. To be able to achieve this, we must use terror against the communists, and for the time being demagogy towards all the other political trends which are uniting against us."

So the traitor came out in the mask of nationalism, while the Luogotenenza rubbed its hands, for its tool, the traitor Mustafa Kruja and his cronies, had everything lined up.

The manoeuvre began, but it ended in fiasco.

And the traitors bleated: "We are fighting for a free independent Albania in the framework (read: under the yoke) of the fascist empire (read: ex-empire); take no notice of the communists, for they have sold out, and we have not, because they destroy the family, and we build it, because they destroy the honour of women, and we preserve it (an example is Kolë Bibë Mirakaj, the moralist

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17 Kostandin Kotte, member of the Mustafa Kruja cabinet and director of the paper "Roja Kombëtare" (the "National Guardian").
and minister of that vile place, the fascist headquarters (fascio), a name which our people apply to another place*. . . . Kolë Biba, who knows very well, and has taught the people how much fascism defends the honour of women. We are a nationalist government (sic!) which together with the Duce will make a happy Albania. And here is proof of this. We are giving you back your original flag, over which you are organizing demonstrations and being killed in the streets. Is it worth doing all this for a scrap of flag? Nothing like this has ever happened under fascist regime. Although at one time we raised the fascist emblem with so much pomp close to the eagle, and now throw it into the rubbish bin, this does not matter to us. What matters to us is that the Albanian people stay quiet, content with things as they are, so that fascism can plunder at its leisure, destroy the Albanian youth, and send the people to die for the hangmen Mussolini and Hitler.” However, these tricks did not work. The Albanian people did not swallow the business of the original flag, for they know that they themselves with bloodshed and sacrifice will raise the banner of Scanderbeg high in a free Albania, without fascists and without traitors. The propaganda against the communists did not work because the people are well aware of who the communists are, that they are their own sons, their honest and courageous sons, who are fighting and dying for one thing only, for the salvation of the Albanian people from the clutches of the enemy. The fascist occupiers and the traitors endeavoured to mobilize the people and send them to fight and die in Libya and on the Russian front on Mussolini’s behalf. The people vividly recall the frequent visits and fiery speeches of Mustafa the traitor

* The word “fascio” was used at that time in Albania to refer to the toilet.
in the barracks, at banquets, in the mountains of Albania, speeches in which the "glorious" army of the Duce fought so "valiantly" against the Greeks that the bersaglieri lost their plumes. The people have read the articles by those hirelings of "Tomori", articles which are served up as letters allegedly written by Albanian soldiers who fell on the sands of Libya cheering for the Duce, by Albanian soldiers "who fought with such zeal against the Bolshevists". These speeches and these articles bear the traitors' brand, and though the enemy signed them with names, like Fetah Baruti*, the powder was damp and did not ignite, because our people cannot be deceived with such nonsense. The Albanian will lay down his life for the freedom of Albania, but not for Hitler or Mussolini. When this mobilization for the slaughter failed, the fascists and the traitors produced other slogans, "the Serb and Greek spectre", "Great Albania" and the "Albanian militia".

The question of "Great Albania" is the question of suffering Albania, the suffering of our brothers in Kosova. This fascist "Great Albania" is a bitter trick played at the expense of our people and the people of Kosova (when we speak of "Great Albania", we have to exclude part of Kosova and Çamëria, not because there are no Albanians there, but that is of no account, since Nedich18, who has occupied that part of Kosova, is a fascist, too; similarly, the fascist government of Athens is the servant of fascism). The speeches and visits began, experts began to come stealthily to wretched Kosova in order to plunder and bleed it, as if it had not already been plundered and bled by the

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* Baruti (Alb.) — powder.
18 Premier of the Serbian collaborationist government in 1941-1944.
Belarukos\textsuperscript{10} and Stoiadinoviches\textsuperscript{20}. The jackals of fascism and the hireling hacks, such as Hilmi Lekaxhiu\textsuperscript{*} and Vangjel Koça, trumpeted that this year we should have plenty of bread, that the wheat of Kosova would fill Albania (read: the fascists hierarchy would fill their pockets; and proof of this are the demonstrations for bread in Vlora, Elbasan, Korça, and Gjirokastra; and at what time? At threshing time!). The traitors cried that we would have ample bread, but instead the forcible seizure of the wheat, wool, and livestock of our people began. . . . The Albanian people could not endure this villainy; they took up arms to defend their homeland, to defend the land which others were seeking to seize, to defend the wheat others were trying to steal, to defend the honour of their families, the honour of the Albanian women. The blood of the brave patriots, and fighters for freedom, whom the fascist occupiers and the traitors had labelled “sold out”, flowed in the streets of towns and villages, and our mountains were swarming with the units of partisans\textsuperscript{21} and volunteer fighters for freedom.

\textsuperscript{10}Bands of the “Belaruko”, Yugoslav terrorist committee, created in Yugoslavia during the reign of King Alexander Karageorgevich.

\textsuperscript{20}Milan Stoiadinovich, prime minister of Yugoslavia during 1935 - 1939, a rabid chauvinist. In March 1937 he signed an agreement on “neutrality” with the Italian fascist government which gave Italy a free hand to act against Albania.

\textsuperscript{*}Intentional alteration of Hilmi Leka’s name (the lek is Albania’s monetary unit, whence Lekaxhi, venal).

\textsuperscript{21}Parallel with the union of the people in the National Liberation Front and with the setting up of the councils took place the extension and strengthening of the partisan armed warfare. The guerrilla units constituted the first stage of this war. The partisan movement assumed a wide extension and a higher degree with the setting up of the partisan units (detachments). Communists from towns, communist youth and sympathizers of the movement, tested in guerrilla warfare, were assigned to form the
The enemy felt the force of our people. He saw that his efforts had failed, that measures had to be taken, but at the same time the Luogotenenza had to deceive the people, saying “the Italians have nothing against you. They like you, so manage your own affairs among yourselves, and we will even change the name of the Albanian Fascist Party and call it the National Fascist (sic!) Party of Albania.” “Forget the main enemy,” the Luogotenenza went on, “and seize each other by the throat; Mustafa Kruja and company are precisely for this purpose.” And Mustafa Merlika and company carried out the boss’ plan. He began to mobilize the Albanian fascist militia, he mobilized the most degenerate hooligans, vagabonds and thieves as policemen and spies, and set them to fratricide. The traitor is shedding our people’s blood, killing our sons and dishonouring our families. He has thrown into jail hundreds of patriots whose only crime is that they want a free Albania. But the Albanian people do not tremble and fear neither prison nor internment, neither bullets nor the noose; in the hearts of our people there is nothing but hatred for fascists and traitors; hatred and revenge. The Albanian people are united to a man against the occupier, the National Liberation Front has been created and is being steeled in battle.

partisan units. With them as a nucleus, the units grew in numbers, drawing from the peasantry mainly. The countryside became the basis and the main source for them. The commander and the political commissar were at the head of the partisan unit.

22On September 16, 1942, at Peza, in the vicinity of Tirana, was held a conference with the participation of nationalists of various trends, besides the communists. The CPA, which was the organizer of the conference, was the sole political party to attend it. The conference elected the National Liberation General Council and adopted unanimously the platform of the National Liberation War as elaborated by the CPA. It laid the foundations of the National Liberation Front.
The fascists, with Jacomoni, Merlika, Kolë Biba and their like, are becoming panic-stricken. Conference after conference is being held at the Luogotenenza to find another prescription, a way out, a "modus vivendi".

In order to confuse the simpletons who still have hopes of some sort of compromise with the occupiers, the Luogotenenza has sent its spies, Terenc Toçi, Kolë Biba and others, General Gabrielli and Del Monte, to talk to these elements and sound them out, while encouraging their day dreams.

The spy Terenc Toçi, "broken-hearted" as though he has to bear all the woes of the Albanian people on his shoulders, is wailing, high and low, and spreading what Jacomoni taught him. This agent of the Luogotenenza whispers that "it can't go on like this", that "this Mustafa Merlika is not taking a correct stand", "this and that are not right", that "the Luogotenenza wishes Albania well", that "we should fix something up", that "it is true that the fascist symbol is not for the Albanians", that "we must change this and that". In short, Terenc Toçi means: "Let whoever is fool enough (for the whole world knows that Terenc Toçi is the most villainous spy to come out of Calabria) come and open his heart to me, and tomorrow I'll send him to the cooler (i.e. to prison), while the others, who find my work to their taste, will be introduced to another spy, to Papalilo, who will give them a wage and put them to work." But Jacomoni, Terenc Toçi and Mustafa Merlika

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23 Chief of the military cabinet attached to the fascist vice-regency in Tirana.

24 Italian fascist, an agent of the SIM (Italian military intelligence).

25 A province in South Italy inhabited also by Albanians emigrated from Albania since the 15th and 16th centuries to escape Turkish persecutions and massacres. Terenc Toçi, a Calabrian of Albanian extraction, was an Italian fascist hierarch.
and your like, you are deceiving yourselves. The people know who their enemies are.

The tricks of the Luogotenenza are not succeeding. The fascist occupier is our enemy and you are its foul tools. Your crimes weigh heavy upon you all, on you as well as on Jacomoni. The Albanian people will not compromise with you. Our dealings with you will be settled with guns, and our guns will triumph. Your manoeuvres to split us up have not succeeded. No one can ever destroy our people's National Liberation Front, nobody can ever make the Albanian youth swerve from the glorious road of the fight for freedom. Nor can your threats against the Albanian teachers ever intimidate them, for they are not afraid of you. They know their duty towards the homeland and the people. The martyrs of our people, who have shed their blood for freedom, have taught them their duty, and they do not wait to be taught it by the Italians and agents of the Italians. The Albanian youth scornfully reject all your efforts, such as the leaflet you allegedly issued "clandestinamente", the garbage entitled "The Echo of Truth", "press organ of active groups of Albanian national youth."

The people realized at once that this smelt of treachery and Italian lire, and put it where such paper belongs... in the fascio.

Here is how this abortive work was brought forth from the mind of Jacomoni the diplomat (sic!). The fascists saw with alarm that the Albanian youth, who follow the glorious traditions of our people, are in the forefront of the war against the invader. The youth had to be split. But how? In the chambers of the Luogotenenza

* "Clandestinamente" (It.) - secretly.

26 A fascist magazine, began publication at the end of October 1942 and put out only a few issues.
emerged a certain Del Monte (an Italian spy), who, at a time when his fellow countrymen were "scoring success after success in the war against the Greeks", pilfered the funds assigned for the Albanian refugees suffering from the war, and pocketed them.

Kolë Bibë Mirakaj (the moralist of fascism), Ndue Paluca, Vangjel Koça and Filip Fishta, as well as some three or four degenerate students attending the "universities" of the "Via Veneto" in Rome, had a tête-à-tête and formed a group of nationalist youths (sic!) in order to use the manoeuvre of division, and they named the group BRUFSH\textsuperscript{27}, which in their fascist language means: Banditi Rinnegati dell'Unione Fascista Skipetara, which reads in translation: traitorous thieves of the Albanian fascist union. These youth, with the lire of the Luogotenenza, issued that leaflet. These "pure-bred nationalists" (as you know yourselves) have directed their struggle against: 1) communists, 2) nationalists, who sympathize with the communists, and 3) nationalists who wait and see (dear reader, you must have understood at once who these beauties are, but hold on, there is something else). The paper in question analyses the situation so masterfully and with such telling arguments that it makes you want to vomit, and you can search till you are blue in the face but you will not find a single word about Mussolini, Count Ciano, fascism, the meetings of fascist party cells, as Kolë Biba (the moralist of fascism) calls them; not a single word about Victor, Rome, or Caesar, and finally, not even the least mention of Terenc Toçi, who at a meeting, without anyone asking him, but in order to secure his position somewhat, said, "I have never been a spy". On the contrary, there you will see that "this pure-bred (sic!) nationalist youth", together with the "genuine nationalists",

\textsuperscript{27} Union of Albanian University Fascist Youth (UAUFY).
who have got down to creative activity (read: together with the traitors who have got down to destructive activity in our country), emerge with the flag of Scanderbeg (the axes, as we have already told you, have been removed, in order to deceive us). How smart this “pure-bred nationalist youth” is! And just as valiant as it is smart; it can even question the government, and pose not just one question, but two.

1. “Where are the monuments to the heroes of our nation?!” It is good that they put the exclamation mark, for this relieves the people of the necessity to rack their brains and find an answer. How you surprise us, you rotten scum!

2. “Why do the organs of government not visit the cellars of certain hoarders who have stored up food to last them ten years?” (We need to note here something which the “pure-bred nationalist youth” forgot). The people should not get the idea that the word “hoarders” refers to “genuine nationalists” such as Mustafa Merlika and his brethren, Jacomoni and his clique, Terenc Toçi and Roko, Jonuz Shijaku, Gulielm Luka and others! No, the hoarders are Meti, who owns a small café and has “hoarded” a pound of coffee; Osman, who has “hoarded” ten pounds of beans at home to keep the children alive; Smail, who has a tiny restaurant in the old market, and has “hoarded” a few gallons of olive oil for a rainy day! These are the hoarders whom Merlika’s government is tracking down and condemning for speculation. These are the hoarders who the “pure-bred nationalist youth” so courageously ask the government to hunt down. These are the “speculators” about whom “Tomori” writes article after article. It is they who live off the people, “they are the ones to blame,” these “scoundrels” of shopkeepers, restaurant owners, coffee house proprietors, porters and carters, and not the fascists, not the likes of Merlika and others.
See how low the fascists have fallen! All their manoeuvres are proving ineffective; lacking new ones, they are obliged to start again with the old ones; to use them over again to brainwash the masses, but no one listens to them. Now, it is our turn to give them a piece of advice and assure the fascists and the traitors that, if they take our advice, the entire people will certainly believe them one hundred per cent.

They should tell our people about the sufferings and misery of the Italian people, who for twenty years have been preyed on by fascism; they should tell them about the crimes of the fascist clique, its villainy, the dishonour brought upon the Italian people by those bandits, the Duce, Ciano, etc. They should tell the people about the innumerable crimes they are committing throughout Europe with their boss Hitler, the arch-hangman, at the head.

Let Jacomoni and his friends tell about the intrigues, thefts, and murders they are committing at the expense of our people, let them tell about the crimes they plot in the chambers of the Luogotenenza. Let Mustafa Merlika and his running dogs tell about the treachery, thefts, and cruelty they have inflicted on the Albanian people, let Merlika tell us about the lire he has received from the Duce for his work of betrayal, about the income he receives from his Italian partners in the general plunder of the people. Let the “famous moralist of fascism”, Kolë Biba, who howls like a stray dog that communism “destroys the family”, and about “how well he protects the honour of the family”, give examples to support his argument.

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CIRCULAR TO THE PARTY ORGANIZATIONS OF THE TIRANA REGION ON THE STRENGTHENING OF THE PARTY AND THE REVOLUTIONARY SPIRIT

[November 1942]

Dear comrades,

In these grave moments, when our Party is leading the people in the most savage war ever known to mankind, in a life-or-death fight, at a time when the people throughout the world have stood up to subdue the mad beast, fascism, which is bleeding the people and trying to enslave them, we observe with regret that certain comrades evade the duty with which they have been charged and have forgotten their responsibilities towards our Party and our people. These comrades think that the war can be won by devoting an hour or two a week to the task. They think that they have carried out their mission and have done enough to earn the lofty title of party member by attending a cell meeting once a week or once a fortnight, while the rest of the time they sit by with folded arms to watch events roll rapidly onwards, and thus they lag along at the tail end of the movement.

In our Tirana organization\(^1\) it is evident that not all the comrades have that revolutionary drive that should

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\(^1\) From the creation of the Party up to the beginning of 1943, as well as leading the Provisional Central Committee of the CPA, comrade Enver Hoxha was also Political Secretary of the Tirana Regional Committee of the CPA.
inspire everyone. On the contrary, we notice that some of them are apathetic and have a petty-bourgeois spirit, to such an extent that some are completely indifferent to the tasks assigned to them, *tasks which every communist militant who whole-heartedly loves the Party and is willing to give his life for it should carry out with the conscientiousness, unselfishness and conscious discipline which characterizes a genuine communist.* The reports of the cells clearly verify this laxity in the work. In general, these reports point more to negligence by the comrades than to any lack of knowledge of how to do the work. In the meetings of the cells, which should be meetings where all our country's problems are seriously thrashed out, where methods of work and struggle are laid down, where comrades are assigned tasks that must be carried out with mathematical precision, where methods of work and organization for educational groups and for conferences of sympathizers and with the broad masses of the people are studied, as often as not there is fruitless discussion on trifling matters which have nothing to do with revolution. These meetings are dominated by a spirit of carelessness at work, by the attitude of "let's get the meeting over with" and "send off a report to the committee", with not the slightest thought that the cell is the school of the Party, its life and soul, on which success in the work and victory depend, with no thought that the cell is the pulse of the Party ensuring the triumph of the sacred cause for which millions of comrades have given and will continue to give their lives.

We are living in critical times, when the masses are in perpetual movement, and for the most part, favourable for the development of our activity. But the comrades do not take advantage of this. They neglect the masses of the people, finding futile and ridiculous excuses, unworthy of a member of a communist party of the Lenin-
Stalin type, excuses such as "I haven't the time", or "I have to go to the office", or "I am too busy in my shop", or "my family is waiting for me", and so on.

These comrades are not interested in the sympathizers' groups, nor in developing new cadres, but are content to report to the cell, "There are three people in my group", "I have four in mine". Quite often these groups of sympathizers have never been brought together for a meeting, nor has anything been done to educate them, raise their level or uplift them. These are simply groups of sympathizers eager to work and to fight, but unfortunately neglected, while the comrades find the usual pretext: "We have nowhere to meet".

The military question has been completely neglected, just as though we were in the era of communism, in the time when class society has disappeared, instead of which we are engaged in a most savage war. The creation of guerrilla units has been neglected, while the recruitment of volunteers and partisans is not even mentioned. The youth have been abandoned too; the comrades consider it superfluous for them to involve themselves in this work because, they say, there is a youth organization. "Let the youth organization look after its own affairs", some comrades say, "we have other work to do". As for the educational groups entrusted to the comrades by the youth, in general, the comrades show little interest in them, don't bother to call meetings, and even despise them, opposing the youth's enthusiasm to work by using the title of party member as an excuse to say, "We haven't time, we have other work to do". It has been noticed that although such elements call themselves party members, they are precisely the ones who do not work, but on the contrary, sabotage whatever their comrades undertake, and the party directives.
Work with the women has also been left in a deplorable state. The comrades consider that work with the women should be done only by women comrades, just as they consider that only young members should work with the youth; often the reports sent in by the comrades contain such phrases as: “I have three women sympathizers”, “I have two women”, “I have five girls”, or “let a woman comrade deal with them”. Why do they behave like this? The reason is simple: they want to get them off their backs, they don’t want to put themselves out, for they want to be free to go to their offices or shops, and to go about their lives without a worry in the world; the reason for their behaviour is as simple as the party directives to work among the women are clear.

As concerns the printing equipment and party publications, all the comrades shout, demand, criticize: Where is the newspaper? Why doesn’t the paper come out? Why doesn’t the magazine come out? The communiques are not sufficient, we want books! But they never rack their brains or stop to ask themselves where these newspapers, magazines and books, which they demand so authoritatively and make such a fuss about, come from, whether they fall from the sky, or require work by the comrades. Everyone makes demands, but no one interests himself about the poor printing equipment — one of the principal weapons of our war. No one troubles himself to find a place where this material can be printed, in spite of the unceasing directives of the Central Committee about this very important work. Not only do they fail to concern themselves with helping to produce the materials, but there are even comrades who will not allow communiques to be left at their homes for even half an hour until a comrade can come to get them to distribute in the organization. Obviously, this is only a small sacrifice for anyone who calls himself a party member, but unfortunately, there are some
members within the organization who are not willing to contribute even that much.

As for security, it is almost non-existent. It is precisely as though our organization were legal, if not worse. Everything, every assignment, every action or movement, becomes common knowledge. The lack of security has reached the point of unwitting provocation. If someone is given an assignment, he cannot rest until he has told his friend about it; if someone is told where an illegal comrade lives, he will lose his appetite unless he goes and tells his friend; if something is discussed in a cell meeting, the whole organization will get to know about it; when an action is carried out, the whole world hears who did it. But when disaster strikes, when the comrades are killed or captured, when printing equipment is seized, everyone asks wide-eyed: “How did it happen?” “Where is the provocateur?”

Comrades, we are the unwitting provocateurs. It is our whispering to one another, our failure to maintain security, which cause catastrophe.

In order to avoid any responsibility, to avoid work, there is a general tendency among the comrades to resort to such justifications as: “This is the concern of the regional committee”, “the regional committee will do this”, “the regional committee will find a place to house the printing equipment”, “the regional committee does the work with youth”, “the regional committee does the work with women”, “it is the regional committee’s job to solve the security question”, “the regional committee will duplicate the communique”, “the regional committee will translate the books”, “the manoeuvres of the enemy will be exposed by the regional committee”, and finally, “it is the regional committee’s fault”!

Those in the regional committee are comrades just like you, and they work in conditions of illegality much more difficult than yours; the comrades of the regional com-
committee can make mistakes too, but those comrades who justify themselves in the way I have mentioned are making the great mistake of not doing any work at all. What is the regional committee supposed to do when the cell asks such questions as: “We have found a place that sells alcohol at 16 leks a kilogram; is that cheap or dear?” The comrades who ask such questions can’t find out for themselves whether it is cheap or dear, but run to ask the regional committee! What is the regional committee supposed to do when two weeks’ activity of a six member cell is summed up in the following report, excerpts from which we give as an example of total inactivity: “We propose that, on the occasion of the 7th of November (the report reached us on the 10th of November) parcels of gifts be made up to send to the partisans”. “Captain F.A. (entirely unknown to the committee) is going to such-and-such a place”. “We are giving you the name of someone who reported that ‘three comrades participated in the National Liberation Council.’”

Dear comrades,

We must put an end to these lax methods of work once and for all. We can never tolerate within the ranks of our Party people who think the Party of Lenin and Stalin is like the 2nd International, who consider it a refugium peccatorum*, a place of refuge for loafers and sluggards, intriguers, careerists, cowardly elements with a petty-bourgeois spirit, with no spirit of sacrifice, and elements who regard our Party as a republic of comrades, a place where discipline and security are abandoned.

We have not tolerated them, and we will not tolerate them; the party decisions will strike ruthlessly at them.

* Refugium peccatorum (Lat.) — refuge of sinners.
We turn to you, dear comrades, comrades who love the Party with all their hearts, who are always ready to sacrifice your lives for our sacred cause, who day and night think and fight for the triumph of our arms, and tell you always to keep in your minds and hearts the words of the great comrade Stalin, our consummate leader: "To guard the unity of our Party as the apple of our eye".*

We must safeguard our Party and make it strong and worthy of our Third International, make it worthy to lead our long-suffering people; and it is in our hands to attain this goal. It is up to us to do our work thoroughly, to steel our organizational work, so that our Communist Party will become, as Stalin says, "the advanced detachment of the working class. The Party must absorb all the best elements of the working class, their experience, their revolutionary spirit, their selfless devotion to the cause of the proletariat**.

Resolute party comrades, at these critical moments, any laxity in our work, any evasion of work is a dagger in the heart of Party, any negligence, any breach of discipline is a bullet in the heart of the Party, it is a dagger and a bullet in your own hearts, for you are the Party.

Resolute Party comrades, Stalin teaches us: "The Party is not only the advanced detachment of the working class. If it desires really to direct the struggle of the class it must at the same time be the organized detachment of its class. The Party's tasks under the conditions of capitalism are immense and extremely varied. The Party must direct the struggle of the proletariat under the exceptionally difficult conditions of internal and external development; it must lead the proletariat in the offensive when the situation calls for an offensive; it must lead the pro-

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* J. V. Stalin, Works, vol. 6, p. 48 (Alb. ed.).

** J. V. Stalin, Works, vol. 6, p. 177 (Alb. ed.).
letariat so as to escape the blow of a powerful enemy when the situation calls for retreat; it must imbue the millions of unorganized non-party workers with the spirit of discipline and system in the struggle, with the spirit of organization and endurance. But the Party can fulfill these tasks only if it is itself the embodiment of discipline and organization, if it is itself the organized detachment of the proletariat. Without these conditions there can be no question of the Party really leading the vast masses of the proletariat. The Party is the organized detachment of the working class*.

It is absolutely impermissible for our work to be disorganized, it is impermissible to give up work in the cells, it is impermissible for the groups of sympathizers to be left without regular meetings, without education, without raising their level, it is impermissible to ignore directives and to neglect work in any sector.

Resolute party comrades, it is absolutely impermissible for you to stand aside from the broad masses of the people, to ignore gatherings of people, workers, or peasants, it is impermissible for us to allow a recurrence of what took place the day the enemy hanged our comrade Shyqyri Ishmi, when the peasants were left to listen to the spies and the militia slander him as a "vile communist, a criminal who wants to destroy the family and religion", and other such base accusations.

Resolute party comrades, protect the party material, read it and distribute it! Our newspapers and leaflets, the party bulletins and pamphlets must reach the most remote cottage, the voice of justice and the call to arms must reach all ears and leave no heart untouched.

* J. V. Stalin, Works, vol. 6, p. 180 (Alb. ed.).

2 This was the name given to groups of people who were close to the Party and were likely to become its members. Later on these were called groups of candidates for party membership.
Resolute party comrades, comrades who are ready at any moment to shed your blood as true soldiers of Stalin, close your ranks, protect the Party and your comrades, be vigilant towards the enemies and traitors and show them no mercy, maintain the tightest security, because our work and struggle are not a subject for prattle and bragging but a terrible battle against a savage enemy; show no mercy to provocateurs, loafers, cowards, careerists and other opportunist elements who try in a thousand and one ways to hinder and damage the work within the Party.

Dear comrades, the Party has faith in you, for this is its strength. It has faith and is sure that you will set to work zealously, with discipline and self-sacrifice, and that, in this way, our Party will assuredly lead our people towards certain victory.

Comradely greetings

For the Tirana Regional Committee

Malo

Works, vol. 1.

One of the pseudonyms comrade Enver Hoxha used during the National Liberation War.