HOW THE ALBANIAN PEOPLE FOUGHT

(From Path to Path with the Partisan and Volunteer Units Fighting Furiously Against the Fascist Occupier)

January 1943

The mountains and villages of Albania are seeing history repeat itself, are witnessing the repetition of the efforts of our patriots of the Renaissance, they are seeing boys and old men shouldering their rifles, seeing the soldiers of the people, joined together in units and inspired by the ideal of freedom, striking at the hated enemy of our country, bloodthirsty fascism. The doors of the cottages are opened, and the Albanian villages welcome the soldiers of the people, their own sons, with open arms. The Albanian peasants are joining the partisan and volunteer units, taking up their hidden weapons to defend their homeland, their bread, their honour, and to win freedom. The partisan and volunteer units, which make up the army of our people, have set foot in every village, and wherever they go the enemy is defeated and disarmed, and the grain which the fascists and traitors have seized, is distributed to the peasants; the people's army is growing daily, its ranks filling with workers, peasants, teachers, students, and other Albanian patriots. Whenever they go the partisan units carry the word of freedom, and there is great enthusiasm to fight.
This is how the people welcome their own army, which penetrates every region and every path, with rifles on their shoulders, and the banner of freedom leading. So much happens to the soldiers of the people wherever they go that there is no room here to record it all, but we have chosen some incidents which show our people's great enthusiasm for the fight against the hated enemy, who has enslaved our country.

The partisan unit of Martanesh was preparing to go into action. The partisans were singing as they got ready, cleaning their rifles, checking their ammunition and the bread in their knapsacks. Smiling faces everywhere, except for little Mustafa, a fifteen year old partisan, the youngest soldier of the people's army. Sad and red-eyed, he wept in a corner of the cottage, because the unit commander, feeling that the march would be too arduous for the boy, had ordered him to stay behind. Mustafa was burning to fight; he pleaded with the commander and with his comrades, but they told him that this was what discipline meant. When the unit left, he came to the door of the cottage and, with tear-filled eyes, watched his comrades-in-arms march off, cursing himself for being only fifteen.

To reach the spot where the action was to take place, the partisan unit passed through several villages. At S. village, one of the comrades from the unit spoke to the assembled peasants, telling them why they had come out to fight, about this sacred war for the liberation of the homeland. "The day has come", he said, "to take up arms and fight the fascist occupiers". A cheer went up from the circle of peasants and a young man of twenty five stepped forward, turned to the unit commander and said: "I want to join the people's army, too, I'll fight and die.

1 Region in Central Albania.
for the freedom of the country." As he ran to get his rifle, the other peasants brought bread, which they distributed among the partisans. Beside one poor hut, an old woman stopped a partisan and said: "Wait, son, till I bring you some bread, and may God grant you a long life, for if it were not for you, the enemy would have seized our maize". She went into the hut, then came out again with some bread and olives. The partisan took the bread, embraced the old lady and left, but as he turned the corner he heard someone call. It was the old peasant woman. She had brought a spoonful of butter for the partisan's bread. What wonderful people! Such generosity fills the heart of our people's army with joy, and it goes into battle singing to the liberation of the homeland and the Albanian people.

The partisan units in Gjirokastra also sing as they go to war. They cross over to Sopot where the shepherds welcome the anti-fascist heroes, open their arms to the partisans, because they are the true fighters for the ideal of freedom, which the mountain shepherds enjoy among the gorges and peaks, where the enemy dare not set foot. The partisan unit of Kurvelesh passed through a village in Labëria, where delegates had gathered from many villages of the region, which has a tradition of bravery, to attend a conference at which the political commissar of the unit was to speak. Among the peasants gathered there, listening in silent approval to the words of the fighters from the unit, was an old man, grey-haired, but eagle-eyed, surely a comrade of those brave men of the people who are sung about in the songs of Labëria. On his cap the commissar, who was speaking, wore the partisan badge, the red flag with the double-headed eagle and the red

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2 Region in South Albania.
After the conference, the old man left the crowd and embraced the fighters, saying: "Sons, I don't want to know your names, but I just want to say one thing, that Albania is a land of people like Çerçiz and Selam, and with such sons, she knows how to liberate herself from the dogs who have trampled us underfoot. Let me embrace you and ask you for that emblem you have on your hat."

Gladly the commissar removed the partisan badge and presented it to the eighty-year-old man, who kissed it and put it in his pocket.

Before entering his village, the old man squatted down by a fence, took out the badge the young fighter had given him, sewed it on his white felt cap, and marched proudly into the village to tell the villagers what he had heard from the young man.

The partisan units of Gjirokastra have opened grain stores one after another and distributed the grain paid as tithes among the peasants; meanwhile, all the men from the militia posts, which the agent of Merlika, Tahir Kolgjinić, had set up to oppress the people, ran back to their centre with their tails between their legs, because there was the smell of gunpowder in the mountains.

The villages of that region had seen no movement in the mountains except by the partisans. One morning the peasants of Libohova saw a group of armed civilians approaching. They said, "These are sure to be the partisans coming to kick out the government men and distribute the grain", and wasting no time, the peasants came out to meet the partisans with their sacks ready. When they

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Çerçiz— for Çerçiz Topulli, and Selam— for Selam Musai, the former— commander of a patriotic band fighting against the Turks, and the latter— commander of a volunteer unit in the 1920 Vlora War, where he fell heroically.

Fascist prefect of Gjirokastra.
drew closer, the peasants gave the clenched fist salute and shouted: “Death to fascism!” But, instead of the usual smile and the “Freedom to the People!”, which is the reply of the people’s soldiers, a foul curse was the answer of the armed civilians. These were not partisans, but Merqes Ali, a degenerated scoundrel, with the mercenaries and militiamen of Mustafa the traitor, they were the thieves recruited by the enemy to put down our people’s movement. The people of the Gjirokastra region say with conviction: “We were saved from the thieves because now the prefect has dressed them in militia uniforms and keeps them in the city.”

The Vlora partisan unit was going into action. On the way the partisans met a goatherd with his flock. “Hey, partisans”, he called out. “Where are you off to? Wait a second, I’ve got something to say.” The unit stopped and the goatherd said to the commander: “I know you are going to set fire to the enemy stores, so please take me along too, as soon as I drive the goats home.” The commander replied that they would gladly take him, but they had no time to wait for him to drive the goats into the hut, for they had to reach their destination at a particular time. “Death to Fascism, Freedom to the People!” they said as the unit moved on.

Scarcely half an hour along the way, to the amazement of the unit, the goatherd appeared before them with his rifle on his shoulder. He had rushed the goats into the hut and ran like the wind to catch up with the partisan unit to join them in the fight against the occupier.

The heroic Skrapar unit, before beginning a successful operation in which it defeated 1,500 of Merlika’s militiamen, was stationed in the region. The political commissar of the unit saw a peasant approaching out of breath and in a lather of sweat. Welcoming him with open arms, the commissar asked what was the matter.
"Comrades, you are surrounded by the enemy", said the peasant, and went on to describe the position of the militiamen. The commissar embraced the peasant and asked him what he had decided to do, whether he would return to his village or wished to go with the unit. The answer was simple: "I'm coming with you." After the partisan unit had broken through the encirclement and routed the militia, the peasant, who had fought like a lion, approached the political commissar and embraced him, saying: "Please, comrade, let me join the Communist Party of Albania."

The Korça partisan units have wiped out all the carabinieri and militia posts in the mountains of Opar, Devoll, Kolonja, Mokra, and other places. The liberating tread of the partisans echoes through those regions.

At Çezma in Mokra, a partisan unit fought a battle, smashed the enemy and liberated the village, but an old man from the village was wounded. The unit commander went up and embraced the old man, who said: "I'm happy, son, and I wish that the few days left of my life could be added to that of the partisans". When they departed, the old man farewelled the commander with the words: "May the Duce die in a bramble bush!".

The Devoll partisan unit, after routing the carabinieri, set fire to one of their posts. There was an Italian soldier at the post, whose life was spared, and who, before he left, said to the commander in Italian: "Comrade, let me take a photograph of the burning post, for I am overjoyed to see the burning offices and papers of the fascist power, which has enslaved both you and us."

At a village in Devoll, the partisans were drying their wet clothes around a poor peasant's fireplace. Suddenly, the door was flung open and an old man entered, raising his fist as he shouted, "Death to the sick!". He was one of those old men who had seen the heroic guerrilla units
of the Renaissance period, who had fought "the Sick Man of the Bosphorus". Now he is seeing history repeat itself, and the occupier of our country breathing its last, and thus the old man makes the connection between the past and the present. The partisans made room for him as he was tired from the journey from Kërçâ. They asked for the news from the town. The old man, drawing on his cigarette, said with satisfaction: "They burned it down!" "What did they burn down?" the partisans asked in surprise. "They burned it down, what's it called, that rotten, evil place . . . that . . . the devil take it, the place which does not give us salt." The partisans laughed, for the evil place was the fascist office in Kërçâ, which was burned down by the partisans. The people were overjoyed when the partisan guerrilla unit set fire to the fascist headquarters in the city. Everywhere there was talk of nothing but the courage and determination of the partisans.

In a house, guests were chatting. The hostess brought in some burning coals for the brazier. But one coal fell on the carpet. The host did not allow the opportunity to pass, but picked up the coal and said: "Wife, what are you doing? Do you take our house for the fascist office?"

The partisan unit triumphantly entered Kreshova in the Mokra region; the peasants all came out into the village square to meet the people's army. Among them was an elderly man, holding an old flag in his trembling hands.

The commander addressed the peasants, and explained the suffering brought upon the Albanian people by the fascist occupiers. At the end of the speech, the old peasant with the banner approached and said to the commander: "Take this flag, for you well deserve it. This flag is thirty years old, and it is the flag of the old Al-

5 The name given to the Ottoman Empire at the end of the 19th century.
banian fighters units. I have kept it in my chest, but today the time has come to bring it out and to hand it over to our heroic sons.” The commander took the flag, embraced the old man and told him: “We will treasure your gift and always keep it flying. The flag of the heroic units of Spiro Bellkameni and Mihal Grameno is in sure hands. On that red background where the victories of our forefathers have been written, we, their sons, will inscribe with our blood the everlasting desire of the people for the genuine liberation of Albania.”

Malo

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6 Chiefs of the Albanian insurgents at the beginning of the 20th century, who fought against the Turkish rule and the Greek chauvinists.
LETTER TO THE KORÇA REGIONAL COMMITTEE OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF ALBANIA ON THE STAND TO BE TAKEN TOWARDS THE "BALLI KOMBËTAR"¹

[January 1943]

Dear comrades,

We have received your letter and well understand the chaotic situation in your region, a situation identical to that in all the other regions, which is caused by the "Balli Kombëtar". In order to solve this problem, we must understand what the "Balli Kombëtar" is, have a meeting with its leaders, watch our step and separate the wheat from the chaff, for nobody there really knows where he belongs, despite all the efforts of the big shots of the "Balli Kombëtar" to present it as a united single-minded body.

The "Balli Kombëtar" is a "ramassis"* of elements of various trends, without any foundation, who always

¹ Traitorous organization set up by the reactionary bourgeoisie and landowners with the support of fascist occupiers, which rallied reactionary bourgeois intellectuals, landowners and big merchants, the reactionary clergy, rich peasants, etc. It was aimed at undermining the union of the people around the CPA and at opposing directly the National Liberation Front by entering the overt service of the German occupiers.

* Ramassis (Fr. in the original) — hotchpotch.
have the catchword 'nationalism' on their lips. Fazlli\(^2\) is not at all wrong when he says that in the "Balli Kombëtar" there are elements ranging "from dictatorship (what dictatorship is the point in question) to socialism", but what Fazlli has forgotten to say is that these elements have no clear principle in their heads, and thus cannot have any "fixe" stand based on sound principles. These elements, "from dictatorship to socialism", have elected some men, or, rather, have elected themselves, to a central committee, and have chosen Lumo Skëndo\(^3\) as their head, and this central committee is the unqualified general of a "great" army (any Albanian who is not a communist, they say, belongs to the "Balli Kombëtar", if not organizationally, at least spiritually), a great, but disobedient army, because the people do not go along with this. But let us see what is the make-up the "Balli Kombëtar", which they refer to as an organization. Inside, the "Balli Kombëtar" is like a basket of crabs; some of them consider themselves the left wing: "We are the true 'Balli Kombëtar'," they say. They want to fight, they say this, and write it in the organ of the "Balli Kombëtar"\(^4\) which they publish in opposition to the opinions of the central committee. (Of course, they are not communists, and they are all pulling in different directions.) Some support the war, but not the way we fight it; others do not want to fight and exhaust themselves, but want an organization to defend the "ethnic boundaries" of Albania; some are partisans of "ninety-nine tricks and one heroic deed".

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\(^2\) Representative of the "Balli Kombëtar" in the Korça region.

\(^3\) Fixe (Fr. in the original)—clear-cut.

\(^4\) "Lufta e Çllirimt Kombëtar" ("The Struggle for National Liberation"), monthly organ of the "Balli Kombëtar" (November 1942 - August 1943).
others sound the alarm, while still others make fine speeches but do nothing in practice. In words, the “wind of the sacred unity” blows over them all, all of them admire our struggle, all respect Lumo Skëndo, all of them recognize him as their chief, but not all agree with his opinion; all would like to send him an ultimatum, but they will all hurl themselves at your throat if you dare to make a pertinent and reasonable criticism of Lumo Skëndo, even if they make the same criticism themselves. This, without exaggeration, is what the centre of the “Balli Kombëtar” is like; this centre has contacts with the regions, of which the Korça region headed by Fazli is a reflection.

We must settle accounts here, because that organization is really a great obstacle. We must not forget the individual influence of its adherents in Albania, or the fact that they have succeeded in creating among the people the idea that there is a nationalist organization with which the communists should reach an understanding and agreement. So our Party has sent some comrades who have been empowered to conduct talks with the “Balli Kombëtar” and take the appropriate decisions. These comrades have contacted either their envoys or individual members. We should not forget that in their ranks there are many good and resolute elements who genuinely want fighting unity. These are the left-wing elements who tell us that they have presented an ultimatum to the central committee\(^5\), demanding “unity in the struggle, or we will leave the “Balli Kombëtar”. The comrades have already made contact with the other nationalist elements (of course, we mean the “pezzo grosso\(^*\)”*, although we concern ourselves personally with the rank-and-file). They received our comrades so warmly that they almost kissed

\(^5\) The “Balli Kombëtar” too had created its own “central committee”.

* Pezzo grosso (It. in the original)—big shots.
them, praising the communists and the Party, and saying that they sincerely want to unite, etc., etc., but that we should first talk things over with the “Balli Kombëtar”. Now there are official contacts, and within 15 to 20 days they should assume a definitive form, for these friends postpone every meeting for 10 or 15 days for the simple reason that the leaders of their central committee want to drag the matter out as long as they can, waiting for the defeat of fascism. But together with the results of the talks, let us hope that there are factions within the “Balli Kombëtar”, for a card castle cannot stand for long. The “great politicians” sent to conduct talks with our comrades make the same criticism as Fazli, but their arguments are easily refuted, for their allegations are baseless. For example, when we tell them that the Peza Conference was the first step towards unity and the organization of the war, that the Peza Conference was attended by resolute nationalists with rifles on their shoulders, rifles which they had fired at the enemy, that it was also attended by nationalists who today belong to the “Balli Kombëtar”, and that the “Balli Kombëtar” was not invited to that conference for the simple reason that it did not exist (and if they claim that it did exist, we reply that not even a magician could prove the existence of a political party that does not come out with at least one leaflet), these gentlemen have nothing to say, but express agreement and have not the courage to deny the importance of the conference. Their arguments against the conference

6 Nationalists — this term was usually applied to patriots who loved their country and strove for its liberation from the foreign occupiers, but did not harbour far-reaching revolutionary aspirations. Pseudo-patriots too styled themselves as nationalists. Therefore, the genuine patriots, in order not to be confounded with the traitor and reactionary elements, were also called honest nationalists or patriotic nationalists.
can easily be refuted, for, if they do not like this solution, we will tell them that we are ready to seek another for the sake of the liberty of our people, and then we shall see how resolute they are.

As for the units of Bazi, Myslim, and Mestan, there are rumours that they have joined the Ballists, and you should not be astonished if one fine morning you hear that all partisan units have joined them. Only Pasho Kolanci will have to wait a long time for the arms to arrive from Peza and, in the meantime, the next best thing for him to do would be to take care of the white caps they have already sent him. In their press organ you will find many gems, but you should not worry, as we did not when they wrote in their organ that “Safet Butka’s unit of 1,000 men is going to the aid of Vlora”. If they had

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7 Abaz Kupi (Bazi i Canës), commander of a Zogite band, agent of the British Intelligence Service, chief representative of the traitorous “Legaliteti” organization (the Zogite Party). He was sent to Albania by the British in 1941 to sabotage the National Liberation War. At the Peza Conference he formally adopted the program of the National Liberation Front and was elected as a member of the National Liberation General Council, and subsequently of the General Staff of the National Liberation Army. With the invasion of Albania by the German Nazis (in September 1943) he collaborated with the latter.

8 Myslim Peza, commander of the Peza partisan unit and member of the National Liberation General Council, People’s Hero.

9 Ex-commander of a partisan unit. During the war he proved extremely unreliable, showing the tendency to join the “Balli Kombëtar” and immediately after the war joined the counter-revolutionary groups organized by the British-US imperialists.

10 Ballist band commander.

11 White caps and an eagle were the distinctive signs of the “Balli” bands.

12 Representative and commander of a band of the “Balli Kombëtar”.

waited in Vlora for the help Safet Butka’s unit was supposed to give the city, by this time they would have been pushing up the daisies.

Comrades, excuse me for writing this letter in such a tone on such an important matter, but the pretensions of these “politicians” can really be described only in this way, for they are mere empty talk.

There is one thing we must keep in mind: we cannot wage the war alone, but only with the entire people, and for this reason we must take matters seriously with regard to these nationalists. The Party has begun talks with the “Balli Kombëtar”. A decision will be taken and their stand, good or bad, will be defined, but we have hopes that the final result will be a positive one. On the other hand, if our views are not the same on all points, we will continue to try and convince some of those people, while the others who do not agree to join the struggle, we will try to neutralize and prevent from going over to the enemy. So it is a very difficult and delicate task, calling for political tact, cool-headedness and dignity, for we must keep in mind that it is our duty to go and convince those who do not understand us. However, if they keep making difficulties, we won’t lick their boots, but will attack them; we will never smear the name of the Party. So for the moment avoid all clashes and pointless discussions with Fazlli and other nationalists, and of course, make no concessions but always follow the directives which you and

13 A correct stand towards the nationalists who at that time were influential among various strata of the population, especially in the countryside, was of special importance for the links of the CPA with the people. The CPA effected a differentiation between the sold-out reactionary nationalists and patriotic nationalists. The former were being gradually neutralized and unmasked in the eyes of the people, the latter were being won over to the side of the Party, always taking into account their irresolution and vacillations.
all the comrades will certainly have studied. The talks
you have with them should in no way hinder our actions
and work; answer their criticism about actions or the par-
tisan emblem as you have done up to now, always keeping
your temper. As for Pasho Koloneci who may go over to
their side, it would be good if he were with us, and if
there were comrades with him. You should keep one
thing in mind: our unity will be achieved in struggle.
Therefore, if they have succeeded in misleading Pasho,
the fault can only be yours, at least in principle, for he
does not know the situation in Gora, but if our comrades
had known it, perhaps Pasho would not have been con-
fused. Nevertheless, you must win the affection and con-
fidence of the men in the volunteer units, and then Pasho
Kolaneci will realize from his own experience that caps
remain caps and never turn into rifles.

As for Gani we do not know what he has done to
be deprived of his command. Certainly you must have
had good reasons and acted well, but our opinion is that
you should not go too far with Fazlli, until the matter is
settled. Gani is not a party member, and certainly he must
be an ambitious and worthless person; do not be aston-
hished if they collect the rubbish we throw into the waste-
paper basket, and create heroes out of it; they will make
a hero of Gani. They will make heroes of Fallo and
Fundo, but we will be able to put them in their place,
despite the threats of General Fazlli, as you call him. But,
comrades, we will not have to put up with as much as we
have put up with so far, so do everything to defend our

16 Ex-commander of a partisan unit, discharged from his post
owing to incompetence and irresolution. He deserted and defected
over to the “Balli Kombetar”.

15 Dhimitër Fallo, renegade from the communist movement,
representative of the “Balli Kombetar” and collaborator of the
German occupiers.
Party and our struggle, but act with caution on the question of the nationalists.

As far as Fetaht is concerned, this is a more delicate matter. Here you should do your utmost to convince him of his wrong path, and that his position (for he has formed a unit(?) and is fighting) is the exact opposite of that of “Zjarri”. On the other hand, come down hard on the “Zjarri” group, and expose it mercilessly. The latest copy of “Zëri i Popullit” contains an article on this garbage. Read it and take a determined stand towards the “Zjarri”.

For the moment, those comrades will not come, but you should be ready as soon as you are notified, although this may not happen. In any case, we will inform you.

Greetings to all of you

Taras

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16 Representative of the “Zjarri” group who, despite all attempts of the CPA to bring him into the National Liberation Front, defected together with his band to the “Balli Kombëtar”.

17 As a result of the struggle against, and denunciation of this group by the CPA, in March 1943 it was disintegrated. The final blow came from comrade Enver Hoxha in the article, “A Few Words On Some Servants Of Fascism: The “Zjarri’ Group”, published in the “Zëri i Popullit”, January 1943.

18 One of the pseudonyms comrade Enver Hoxha used during the National Liberation War.
On the eve of World War I the Albanian people were not united to face the new situation being created in Europe. The big imperialist powers, which were embroiled with one another and were preparing the slaughter of the great war, intervened in our country, and thus, there could be no solution to the Albanian question. During this war, part of Albania was invaded by the allies, and part by the central powers and their satellites. The territory of Albania was turned into a battlefield and the Albanian people had to endure great hardships. The imperialists wanted to use them as cannon fodder. After the war, the foreign imperialists again tried to turn the Albanian people into a commodity to bargain over. In particular, Italy, which in 1915 had signed the secret Treaty of London.\(^1\)

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1. In December 1942, the CPA received the directives of the Executive Committee of the Communist International on the National Liberation War.
2. The "Treaty of London" was signed in secret on April 26, 1915 between the governments of the Entente (Britain-France-Russia) and Italy. This treaty recognized Italy's full sovereignty over Vlora, its hinterland and the island of Sazan. Another section of the Albanian territory was assigned to the border states.
which sanctioned its expansion in Albania (a treaty which was made public by the Soviet government), became a threat to the future of the Albanian people, and did not withdraw its armed forces from part of the territory of Albania. Faced with this danger, the Albanian people, with their small forces, began the struggle against the invaders and the traitors. A congress was convened at Lushnja with the genuine representatives of the people, honest patriots, who laid the foundations of Albanian independence and the Albanian state. The Lushnja Congress was the culmination of the efforts and sacrifices of the people, headed by sincere nationalists, and of their national liberation struggle, to gain their political rights. With their revolutionary spirit, the people overthrew the traitorous Durrës government, an instrument of the Italians. The people of the town of Vlora and the peasants of the region took up arms and, together with thousands of volunteers from all over Albania, united by a common ideal—the expulsion of the invader, fought an heroic war and drove the invader into the sea. This battle left its mark on the Albanian people, instilling in them a profound hatred of the invader.

The popular government in Tirana at that time proved unable to cope with the internal economic, social, and political problems or the international situation. The Albanian youth began to organize. The "Bashkimi" association was set up with the aim of fighting the treacherous reactionaries within the country and the imperialist

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3 Reference here is to the war against Italy in 1920.
4 The "Bashkimi" association was created by revolutionary patriots and democrats in October 1922. It carried out an all-sided political activity to mobilize the masses of the people in the struggle for the democratization of the country and played an outstanding role in organizing the June 1924 Democratic Revolution which toppled the government of Ahmet Zog, the feudal landowner.
threat from abroad. Formed by the most conscious elements devoted to the national cause, it strove to guide the people in a popular and democratic spirit, to educate them politically to defend their economic, social and political interests. The reaction, assisted by foreign imperialism, violently overthrew the government and seized power, establishing the personal bashibazouk dictatorship of Ahmet Zog and his clique. The reactionary system of Zog's regime and its subsequent links with Italy aroused discontent among the Albanian patriots who, together with those who had emigrated abroad, attempted through uprisings to overthrow Zog and avert the danger from Italy, but, unfortunately, all their attempts failed, for they did not have the support of the masses of the people. The leaders of these movements often lacked the necessary determination, did not organize the movements on a large scale, or prepare the people, who hated Zog's regime and fascist Italy. The threat of Italian fascism was becoming greater and greater, and the Albanian people had no desire to suffer the same misfortune as Abyssinia and Spain. Fascist Italy, using treachery and force, and profiting from the erroneous policy of the then Albanian government, which had linked its fate with that of Italy, enslaved our country. The Albanian people met Italian fascism with bullets. On April 7th 1939, at Durrës, Vlora, Saranda and Shengjin, Albanian blood was shed in defence of our country. The youth, the people, fought an unequal battle

In December 1924, Zog's counter-revolutionary forces, coming mainly from Yugoslavia, backed up directly by the imperialists, and reactionary Serbian and White Russian troops, toppled Fan Noli's government, which had emerged from the June Democratic Revolution. Zog's dictatorship was re-established to oppress and exploit the masses of the people. In April 1939 Zog sabotaged the organization of the resistance of the Albanian people against the Italian fascist occupiers, grabbed all the gold and fled abroad.
against the invader. The Albanian people understood very well why fascism had come to Albania; they were well aware of its imperialist arms; they remembered the atrocities, sufferings, crimes and internments of 1920. They knew that it was the fault of the fascists that, during Zog's regime, through economic and political treaties which were imposed on them, the country's economy, commerce, agriculture and animal husbandry were ruined. With the coming of fascist Italy to Albania, looting, corruption, moral suffering, internment, jailing and killing recommenced on a larger scale. Italian fascism took control of the Albanian state apparatus and Italianized it. Everywhere, especially in leading posts, Italian functionaries replaced Albanian officials who were reduced to puppets with no responsibility. They began to Italianize the schools, the basis of the education of the Albanian youth. Albanian justice was replaced by extraordinary military tribunals. The Albanian police force and army were suppressed. The administration was turned into an instrument in the hands of the carabinieri and the Luogotenenza to oppress the Albanian people. Italian companies poured their capital into Albania; trade and means of transport were mobilized. Banks and agricultural societies speculated on the sweat and toil of the working people and took over the land of the Albanian peasant. In short, fascism took complete control of the Albanian state and the wealth of the country. That is the balance-sheet of the fascist activity in our country. That is why the Albanian people hate the invader. That is why the Albanian people have begun their resistance to defend their vital rights, a resistance expressed in different forms: propaganda, agitation, strikes, demonstrations, sabotage and fighting by partisan units. The youth were the first to begin the struggle, placing themselves in the front ranks of the National Liberation War of the Albanian people.
against the invaders. The Albanian people have understood that only through struggle can they avert the danger of the Albanian nation being wiped off the face of the earth by Italian fascism; they have understood that only through the National Liberation War can they achieve their freedom. This has been understood by both young and old. When given the opportunity, our people have never failed to demonstrate their hatred for the invaders openly and to strike blows at them: moral blows, in sabotaging their lying propaganda spread by the Albanian Fascist Party and the Luogotenenza, and death blows against their apparatus of oppression and their military machine, through sabotage actions. The Albanian people have always been ready to make any sacrifice. All they need is resolute leadership. There are concrete examples of this: the demonstrations of November 28, 1939, those of November 28, 1941 and 1942, the sabotaging of the war against Greece, the April 7 demonstrations, the Tirana and Korça demonstrations against fascism and its attempt to divide the people, the demonstrations for bread, and, especially, the recent demonstrations against the Vlora reprisals, which were held in Tirana, Durrës, Kavaja, and Elbasan, the protest demonstrations over the death of the martyr Shenasi Dishnica in Tirana and Fier (shops were closed, clerks left their offices, students deserted their schools, workers walked off their jobs, and all

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6 In October 1940 the Italian troops, setting out from Albania, attacked Greece. Far from sympathizing with the fascist aggression against Greece, the Albanian people did their best to aid the fraternal Greek people in their liberation war. The work of the Albanian communists and patriots brought about the complete failure of the fascist plan to mobilize the Albanians for this war. The Albanian soldiers who were sent to the Greek Front by the Italian fascists at the point of bayonet, refused to fight and deserted in groups. The Albanian people carried out sabotage activities in the rear of the Italian army.
joined together in anti-fascist demonstrations). In Skrapar and Vlora, the peasants, together with the partisan units, fought the fascist forces.

Fascist terror has not succeeded in intimidating the Albanian people, on the contrary their hatred for the invaders and traitors is increasing still more. The National Liberation War is gradually assuming a general character. The fascists are taking a thrashing in both town and countryside.

In the struggle the Albanian people are waging today, the principal guiding role is played by the Communist Party which has taken an active part in this struggle and has not remained a spectator watching the movement of the popular masses. The communists have always stood in the front ranks, and the blood they have shed is proof of their determination in this struggle of the Albanian people. The Communist Party has become the driving force of the popular movement against the invaders and traitors. Since its founding, the Party has explained to the people the activities and aims of fascism in Albania. The people, who up to then had not had a party giving correct leadership, embraced the Communist Party slogans and directives, adopted them, and on this basis, began their struggle. Prior to the founding of the Communist Party, neither the communists nor the honest nationalists were in a position to set the people in motion and lead them in the struggle against fascism. The movement lacked the organizational work which is indispensable in order to fight Italian fascism properly.

The Communist International had long been interested in communist activities in our country. After 1924, some young political emigrées went to the Soviet Union to be educated and to become communist militants, so that, when they returned to their country, they could become pioneers in the revolutionary movement of the Albanian
people against foreign imperialism and local feudalism. But most of those who came back to Albania neglected those tasks, forgot the lofty mission the international proletariat had charged them with. Some of them became opportunists and social-democrats, and through their preaching, behaviour and activity, discredited communist work in the eyes of the people. The people expected sound advice and genuine communist activity from them. Others created cliques and instilled the group spirit into the minds of young communists eager for action. Only one comrade, Ali Kelmendi, who laid down his life for the communist cause and whose name all of us communists must hold in high regard, propagated the correct line of the Communist International. He, and only he, carried out his task as a communist pioneer should do. Everywhere he went, he knew how to make contact with the masses and set up circles of sympathizers. In Korça he laid the basis for the organization of genuine communist activity, setting the workers in motion.

On another occasion, too, the Communist International sent directives, but unfortunately they were not implemented, for at that time there were groups with divergent opinions, and the communists were politically unprepared, so that some did not accept the directives at all while others accepted them but failed to implement them. So we see that, at that time, the directives were sabotaged because they did not find favourable soil. Today the Communist International is sending us its directives for the second time, but this time they find us united, with sound leading cadres and a correct and definite political line; in a word, they find us prepared and strong. But to attain this situation the Communist Party had to travel

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7 This refers to the directives of the Communist International to the Albanian communist movement in 1937.
a difficult road. The Communist Party of Albania had to unite the different groups, eliminate the weak elements, those infected by the group spirit, the factionalists, the opportunists and the laggards, it had to educate the comrades with a sound political line in the spirit of Lenin and Stalin, link them with the masses of the people and carry out concrete actions (strikes, demonstrations, sabotage, actions by partisan units, agitation and propaganda, etc.) against the occupier. The Communist Party has become the main pillar of the National Liberation War of the Albanian people against Italian fascism. The Communists are shedding their blood in this war. The Communist Party has succeeded in dispelling all doubts about final victory, doubts sown by the occupiers, the traitors and the fifth column through their lying propaganda and their terror. The Communist Party is a party born in struggle: in the struggle of the groups and in that against the occupier. In this struggle on two fronts the communist comrades acquired experience in ideological and practical struggle, and thus were able to find the true communist road. This struggle has purified, consolidated, and extended the ranks of the Party, making it monolithic and capable of guiding our people's movement against the occupiers.

Seeing the good work done by our Party, the Communist International has recognized it as one of its members. The efforts of our comrades have not been in vain. We have been recognized precisely because we acted on the basis of the directives of the Communist International which today, through its official recognition of our Communist Party, validates our communist activity. This recognition is of particular importance today, for it is granted in time of war, in a very difficult period, and the Communist Party has succeeded in winning this right through its reliable, sound and correct activity, and the
blood shed by its members. We should be proud of this, because it shows that we have won a right we have earned. But there are also duties which stem from this right, our most important duty being to strengthen the party ranks with sound cadres and to act on the basis of the directives of the Communist International. We must be resolute in our activity, for war is waged with deeds, not with words. Our enemies are strong, and we must know how to combat them and be ready for this struggle. We must eliminate all opportunist elements, be they social-democrats, factionalists, Trotskyites, or saboteurs of the directives coming from higher organs and from the Communist International. We must keep an eye on the “Zjarri” elements and those like Z.F. and A.Q. These elements who parrot communist slogans are much more dangerous than the overt enemy. They cause disruption among the communist comrades and mistrust in the directives of the Party. Their anti-Leninist and anti-Stalinist slogans run counter to the present line of the Communist International, cause splits in the united National Liberation Front, and divide the communists from the nationalists. They are against the National Liberation War of the Albanian nation, and with their extremist and anti-Marxist slogans introduce into nationalist circles the suspicion that the communists are not fighting for the liberation of Albania, but only for communism. They do not recognize the common struggle that the Soviet Union is now waging, together with the great democracies and the other oppressed nations; they do not acknowledge the coalition of the whole world against fascism, against the most dangerous and barbarous imperialism the world has ever seen. Following this political line they become instruments of the invader. No agreement can be reached with them, but they must be unmasked and condemned by the people as the traitors that they are.
We can no longer allow shelter to be given within our Party to elements who want to harm the activity of the Party, who want to hinder the Party’s advance in the National Liberation War of the Albanian people. We must be vigilant and ruthless towards those elements which try to hinder the activity of the Party. Such elements deserve our most severe condemnation.

Now we can no longer make mistakes and fail to apply the directives coming from the higher organs, in which, today more than ever, we must have the utmost confidence. Today we are responsible for our actions not only to the Albanian people, but also to the international proletariat, to the Communist International. Only a party politically organized and educated in this way can be worthy to bear the title of member of the Communist International. This depends on us, on our communist activity.

The directives the Communist International has sent us are as follows:
1) Organize and develop the National Liberation War of the Albanian people against the Italians and Germans.
2) Create and consolidate the National Liberation Front, bringing in all patriots, and avoiding, for the moment, all slogans that go beyond the framework of the National Liberation War of Albania.
3) Bring into the leadership of the partisan war, besides communists, as many sincere Albanian patriots and nationalists as possible.

Analysing these directives, we see that they show us the path we must now follow and our immediate tasks; they open wide prospects for us to penetrate among the masses and to mobilize all the Albanian people against the invader. We must organize and wage this war together with the people, for our Party is a party of the people, which has in its program the defence of their in-
terests. We must mobilize the people, set them in motion and direct all their energies against a definite common aim, against the occupier. The National Liberation War is not a war of cadres, but a war of the masses of the people inspired and led by the Party. Here we see that the Communist Party, as the vanguard of this war, as the most conscious section of the Albanian people, together with the conscious and resolute nationalists, has a delicate task, that of leading the entire people. The Party has placed the National Liberation War at the top of its program, and exerts all its energies to develop, organize and lead all the anti-fascist forces of our people against the Italian and German occupiers. The people hate the occupiers, and we must mobilize them, together with all the nationalists of different political trends, and neutralize all those forces that we cannot mobilize. No reserve of forces should remain in the hands of the occupiers. They must be isolated and fought with the greatest fury, and for this purpose we should turn the people's hatred into an open fight against fascism. The Albanian people love freedom, and throughout their history have never spared themselves, as we said before, in the fight against foreign imperialism which tried to enslave our country. They hate Italian fascism as their direct enemy, and also German nazism as an enemy that collaborates with the former. Both must be exposed. From the beginning the Communist Party of Albania understood the importance of the National Liberation War for the people's political education and liberation from fascism. But, in order to achieve this objective, we must first break the chains imposed on our people by fascism, and these chains can be broken only through the National Liberation War which unites all the fighting forces of the people. The Bolshevik Revolution, Stalin teaches us, would never have triumphed if the Russian proletariat had not enjoyed the sympathy and
aid of the peoples oppressed by the Czarist regime. But in order to win this sympathy and aid they had first to break their chains and escape from under the heel of Czarist imperialism, their common enemy. This made possible the establishment of the Soviet regime and the creation of that marvellous organization of cooperation of all peoples, which is called the USSR. Today, too, if the oppressed peoples do not combat fascism, their common enemy, their most dangerous foe, they will never gain their liberty, and the international proletariat will never carry out its revolution. Likewise, the Albanian people will never be able to gain their liberty if they do not first eliminate fascism, the common enemy that oppresses the peasant, the worker, the intellectual, the merchant, and the small capitalist, in a word, the people. The Communist Party of Albania will never be able to carry out its maximum program if it does not first destroy fascism which oppresses the people, hampers their economic and political development, and denies them freedom.

That is the significance of the National Liberation War to the Albanian people and the Communist Party of Albania.

The National Liberation War is organized and waged through mobilizing the people on concrete current issues, issues which directly concern them and come up in their everyday life, issues for which they are ready to make any sacrifice. All their attention, all their will-power, and all their energies should be concentrated on one clear objective, and reflected with all their characteristics in the fight against barbarous and enslaving fascism, against its lackeys, the traitors, against fascism which robs the people of their harvest, their land, their goods, their homes and their trade, and leaves them starving.

The mobilization of all the patriotic forces should be carried out from below and from above.
In the mobilization from below the peasantry should occupy the first place. It is the most numerous class of our people, and the class that knows the greatest suffering, in daily danger of being impoverished by fascism which seizes the harvest and the land. Many times fascism has exploited the peasants, taking advantage of their ignorance, as a reserve force against the National Liberation War (e.g. for the militia, the bashibazouk forces, etc.). The peasantry should become the backbone of the war. Its forces are enormous; but in order to set them in motion, the war must be explained to the peasants so that they understand. We have not worked as much as we should with the peasants, have not made a great effort to go to the countryside and ask the peasants about their problems, as we should do. We have worked in the centers, but not in the districts and villages, which in many areas have been neglected altogether. Whenever we have gone and worked correctly, we have gained their sympathy and the greatest help. Our peasant is good, honest, and revolutionary, so long as we know where to touch his feelings to awaken his interest in the National Liberation War. We must explain that fascism is the cause of all his sufferings today, and only when it is wiped out, will the peasant be able to improve his economic position.

We have not known how to gather in and organize the masses of workers. The Communist Party of Albania should be a party of workers and peasants who are the most resolute elements supporting our cause. In order to mobilize the workers, we must come close to them, live among them, lead their life, and together with them advance against fascism. The worker suffers under fascism which leaves him without work, throws him into the street and today, more than ever, leaves him starving. There are great possibilities for work with the working class, for it is the class which, more than any other, feels
the necessity of the National Liberation War. It must play an active and leading role.

The intellectuals regard our movement sympathetically but some of them are opportunists, and often they have become tools of the occupiers, attracted by “the good life”, but we must not forget that some of them are at the head of the movement and are resolute in the fight against fascism. Fascism has suppressed genuine intellectualism. The intellectual who demands freedom of thought and freedom of action should be the first to break the chains of fascism, which poisons the mind and corrupts the spirit. As yet the intellectuals have no clear idea of our movement, and our task is to get close to them, to explain what they are hazy about, to show them the true road which an honest Albanian intellectual should follow today. We should channel the energies of our intellectuals, which are often dissipated and lacking definite direction, and turn them against a specific target, against fascism, which is the greatest enemy of the development of the mind.

The youth have become the standard-bearers of the war today. They were the first to shake off the yoke of the invader. Their youthful spirit could not endure the stifling and corrupting atmosphere which fascism wanted to impose on them. They did not want to become tools of the invader. They have never flinched, and everywhere they have thrown themselves into struggle with zeal and unmatched selflessness. They have made the greatest sacrifices and provided the heroes of a new Albanian epic. The fight for the liberation of the Fatherland is deeply implanted in their hearts and has become their faith, their ideal.

The youth of the urban centers and, above all, the school youth are almost totally mobilized. Instead of corrupting them and causing them to degenerate, the fascist
education had the opposite effect: they revolted and exposed the lying fascist propaganda which was trying to destroy their national feelings.

The working youth, today ruthlessly exploited by the fascist system, have not been adequately rallied and organized, although they are always ready to take part in any action, displaying determination and proletarian discipline.

In general the peasant youth have lagged behind, and this is the fault of party members who have not been interested in them and have underestimated their importance. The peasant youth must play a major role in the partisan war; together with the peasant women, they will be the freedom-fighters' most reliable auxiliary.

The Albanian women are oppressed by fascism, by bourgeois and feudal traditions and laws; they, more than anyone else, sympathize with our struggle, in which they also see their own liberation; they are ready to make any sacrifice for their husbands, their brothers and their sons who are fighting. With their aid, in their role as nurses, as well as fighting with guns, as they are doing in the Soviet Union, they will play a major role in the National Liberation War. We must form an anti-fascist united front of the Albanian women. Just as our women comrades are working, so the women of the people should also work, for they, too, feel strongly about this war.

*Mobilization from above* can be achieved by uniting with all anti-fascist political trends. After the Italians came to Albania, some nationalists remained more or less passive towards the spread of fascist influence, but others took an active stand against fascism, supporting the movement of national liberation initiated by the youth, who showed the first signs of active resistance with their demonstrations. The war between Italy and Greece ruined the reputation of the fascist power in the eyes of the peo-
ple and the nationalists, who began to understand the anti-fascist movement more clearly. With the entry of the Soviet Union into the war, the imperialist war unleashed by fascism took on a different character, that of a liberation war. The Soviet Union was waging a war in defense of its territories, and its resistance to the Germans aroused great hopes of victory among the oppressed nations. The Communist Party of Albania began an open struggle against the occupier, and the honest nationalists resolutely aided this struggle. The nationalists saw that the only way to save Albania was for the Albanian people to unite and fight the invader, as other oppressed nations were doing, and that this war would run parallel to that waged by the Soviet Union and the great democracies. The former slogan: "The time has not come", which had become the motto of some self-styled nationalists, was done away with. The Communist Party began the fight and made great advances. Its slogans won the sympathy of the people because they expressed their aspirations. Certain nationalists accused us of extremism, alleging that we were going too far to the left, and some of them used this point to justify their failure to take an active part in the National Liberation War together with the Communist Party. The sincere nationalists had sympathies with our Party, our movement and our determination to fight fascism. As for the slogans over which they accused us of extremism, the Communist Party launched them for the following reasons:

1) — to strengthen the cadres who had just emerged from the struggle of groups, so that they would form a more genuinely communist consciousness;

2) — to explain to the people what communism is, what is the Soviet Union, the Red Army, and comrade Stalin, because the communists of the different groups had worked in disguise and communist work had not been po-
pularized. This popularization was necessary to eradicate from people's minds all the anti-communist prejudices that the bourgeois class and fascism had indoctrinated them with, so that the people would gain confidence in the victory of the peoples of the Soviet Union and take the example of the Soviet Union as the basis of their National Liberation War.

Gradually the international situation changed in favour of the allies. Within Albania sabotage and combat actions by partisan units (the first action being at Skrapar) were started. The national liberation struggle gained momentum. The situation was ripe for the creation of a united National Liberation Front, which found the support of the more resolute section of nationalists. On the initiative of the Party, delegates came from all parts of Albania, representing all trends of Albanian nationalism, the Communist Party of Albania, the Communist Youth and the Young Albanian Women, guided by the lofty aim of the liberation of Albania from the yoke of fascist Italy and the local traitors who had sold out to the foreigners. After careful examination of the situation internationally and in Albania, and in particular, being aware of the common desire and the need for the organization of all the energies of the people and for their total unity in the National Liberation War, they elected the (Provisional) National Liberation General Council which undertook to set up councils in all regions. This conference had great significance, for it united the people in struggle against the occupiers. We must continue the example of Peza. This was the first step, and now we must take the second, if we are to advance. That was our first contact with the nationalists, and it was of great benefit. The popular masses were

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8 This refers to the Peza Conference convened on September 16, 1942.
set in motion, the nationalists, previously inactive, began
to come closer to us and to sympathize with our movement.
Our circle of sympathizers and friends widened, and the
movement became broader and assumed a general charac-
ter. Many disagreements and misunderstandings between
the nationalists and the Communist Party had been
clarified, and the people no longer regard communism
as a bogey or consider communists as "men without a
country", as the fascists like to make out. This was the
first step in the creation of a united front in an organized
form. This was a great political success for the Communist
Party, although it was not as firm as it should have been,
because not all the nationalists agreed among themselves,
and some of them had doubts about the victory of the
Anti-fascist Front (over the German summer offensive).

The councils are of great importance to the war. They
are the most democratic organs, and mobilize all the peo-
ple, of whatever category or trend, in the struggle against
fascism.

This is how the resolution of the Peza Conference
defines them:

"In the unliberated areas, the councils are organs of
struggle. They unite all the people's liberation forces, carry
out agitation and propaganda, direct the political struggle
against the occupiers, mobilize the masses of the
people for the liberation war and, at the same time, mo-
bilize all the material provisions needed for the war; the
councils will be councils of the broad masses, which will
rally the great bulk of the people. The councils secure
arms and food supplies for the partisans and the freedom-
fighters. They popularize the National Liberation War,
pass on information on enemy movements, enemy strength,
etc. The councils set up the press, organize propaganda and
agitation, organize sabotage actions (refusing to hand over
grain, tithes, wool, etc., opposing any interference by the
occupiers through their banks, companies, monopolies, and agricultural companies). Organized struggle against the Agricultural Bank, against companies which try to rob the peasant of his land, struggle against those who grant land and various concessions to the Italians, struggle against all the agents profiting at the people's expense through the intermediary of the invader. The councils denounce all the profiteers and intermediaries of the invader, popularize the general insurrection as a final stage, as an outcome of the partisan struggle, and organize and prepare the public, men, women and young people.

In the liberated territories, the national liberation councils carry out the functions of government (excluding military affairs), maintain law and order, make war on traitors, control the movement of people, fight crime, theft, etc. In cooperation with the military organs, the councils combat the fifth column, look after the economy and food supplies for the population, organize trade and finance, provide food and other necessities for the partisan and volunteer\(^9\) units, see to the development of education and carry out educational work among the people, reproduce propaganda and agitational materials, and acquire the necessary technical equipment, such as printing presses, radios, etc. People are mobilized politically for the National Liberation War, the councils are consolidating their strength, and combatting every enemy and every danger. These councils deal with some minor legal matters and, in particular, should try to settle blood feuds, the more so at a time when we are fighting against the

\(^9\) Following the Peza Conference, besides the partisan units, territorial volunteer units were also set up in the liberated areas. They were irregular units of self-defence which took up arms at every call by the partisan units to attack enemy forces or to resist enemy operations. They served also as the source to fill the ranks of the regular partisan units.
occupation of our country. The national liberation councils are very important. Through them the country is governed, and the people are mobilized for the struggle and the armed uprising. That is why they are important."

Thus we see that the Communist Party of Albania has precisely implemented the directives of the Communist International on the setting up and consolidation of the National Liberation Front with the participation of all Albanian patriots, although complete success has not been attained. Only when we succeed in organizing all the masses of the people can we say that we have fulfilled the directive of the Comintern. Today there is a group of nationalists called "Balli Kombëtar". They are people of all political trends, but they do not yet have a sound organization. Among them there are men of the people who really want to fight fascism, who have understood the importance of the National Liberation War, but there are also others who have no real determination, and more or less side with opportunists and the occupiers. Our task is to have discussions with them, to persuade them to collaborate in direct struggle against the invader.

There are nationalists who are isolated and have not yet understood the National Liberation War. We must approach them, explain our struggle to them and persuade them to join the fight.

There are also the Zogites; with them, too, we must carry out a policy of rapprochement and cooperation.

There is the Catholic clergy; they are organized and constitute a political force more or less under the influence of the occupiers. Our task is to approach those elements who have understood the infamous role of the occupiers and are determined to fight them, extending our hand to them and convincing them to cooperate.

And we have the "Zjarri" group which has already been discussed.
There are the pro-Germans who play the role of fifth columnists and splitters of the National Liberation Front. We must expose them as fascists, as traitors who have sold out to the enemy.

So we see that the range is broad and that intelligent, determined, and resolute work is called for. The communists should take an active part in this struggle and explain to everyone why they are fighting. They speak a sincere and truthful language which is understood by all: they are fighting for national liberation against a common enemy, fascism, for the self-determination of the people, for a democratic people's Albania. We must not come out with extremist slogans, slogans of the communist revolution, but with slogans about national liberation, for otherwise we will cause splits in the united front. Today the communists are fighting for the freedom of Albania, and not for communism. At present we put forward national liberation slogans, without losing the individuality of the Party. We must popularize our activities, our heroes, and the Soviet Union, as the vanguard of the liberation struggle of the oppressed nations. Our slogans should be broad, meaningful and clear, but always within the framework of the national liberation struggle. Here are some examples:

Long live the unity of the Albanian people in the struggle against the occupiers and local traitors!

Death to the fascist occupier and the traitors to our country!

Out with the fascist invader!

Long live the fraternal union of the Albanian people against the invader!

Long live the fraternity of the oppressed peoples and their struggle against the invader!

Long live the Volunteer Partisan Army of National Liberation!
Long live the great anti-fascist alliance!
Long live the Anti-fascist National Liberation Front!
Long live free democratic Albania!
Long live the National Liberation General Council!
Long live the CPA, the true fighter for the liberation of Albania!
Long live the Soviet Union, the standard-bearer of the fight against fascism for the liberation of the oppressed nations!

These are the slogans of national liberation, broad slogans which, nevertheless, differ from those of the national chauvinists, and the Party does not lose its individuality. We must arouse the liveliest interest in our slogans and our struggle among the broad strata of the population (peasants, workers, etc). When people ask us what the Communist Party is, what communism is and how will it be established here in Albania, we must give our communist answer, explaining their ills and how they can be remedied. We are not opportunists and have by no means forgotten our long term tasks, but before we reach that stage, we must carry out our most immediate task, the National Liberation War.

The Party's role in this war should be to inspire and lead it, not with words and decrees, but through practical work, penetrating deep among the masses, concerning itself with their everyday problems, and making an approach to the nationalists. In the first place the communists should be courageous, resolute, and equipped with a clear-cut political line on the problems that are concerning our people now. The Party is the main pillar of the National Liberation War, but the honest and resolute nationalists should take an active part in the leadership of this movement. The Communist Party, together with the nationalists, in a single anti-fascist bloc, with a definite line and objectives, will lead the people in the struggle against the
invader. The present political situation, both external and internal, is very favourable to close cooperation with the nationalists. On the Soviet front the Red Army is emerging stronger than ever. Its offensive is assuming great and catastrophic proportions for German nazism and its running dogs. Everywhere in Europe the oppressed nations are gaining their breath and beginning to rise. The puppet governments and the traitors are trembling at the knees. In the Mediterranean the fascist empire has crumbled, the allied forces are on the point of liquidating the Italian and German forces in Tunisia, and the threat to Italy is becoming closer and more grave. There have been great changes in the internal situation. Unable to cope with the situation created by the National Liberation War of the Albanian people, Mustafa Kruja's government, a government of fascist terror, has resigned. Fascism is losing control of the situation and killing its own people. It is resorting to reprisals, hoping that through terror it may stop the struggle against it. But here too it is bankrupt, for the people are not intimidated (witnesses the recent demonstrations). The new government, urged on by the Luogotenenza, is trying to split the united front by means of compromises. These are symptoms of the weakness of Italian fascism and the traitors. Our people have understood what their game is, and are more determined than ever to fight the enemy. The recent demonstrations prove that the people are united and ready to fight. This impulse towards collaboration, which comes from below, will certainly influence those nationalists who are hanging back and dragging matters out unendingly. If we work correctly, unity from below will automatically bring unity from above, too, and thus the liberation struggle will assume a general character.

This war is being waged by guerrilla units, and partisan and volunteer units. The role of the partisan units is
colossal. One of the sources they draw on is the members of the Party. The communists are in the front rank, but a unit should include as many men and women of the people and nationalists as possible; it is not an army of the Party, but of the people. There is a cell and a political commissar in a unit, but this does not mean that the partisan unit should remain a unit of cadres. In the unit communists fight not only with the rifles but also with the pen, through agitation, propaganda and conferences. The unit mobilizes the population, mobilizes the peasants and defends their interests. The communists should play a leadership role at the grass-roots of the National Liberation War, but through conviction, firmness, discipline and political clarity, and not through adventurism, so as to gain the sympathy of all the members of the unit and of the people of the district where they are operating. The unit should have a popular character, and to achieve this, the directive says, we must bring into the leadership of the partisan struggle as many honest Albanian patriots and nationalists as possible. At the Peza Conference it was agreed that the General Staff would emerge in the course of the war from the communist and nationalist elements determined to fight. The Party has organized some units, but these do not include sufficient nationalists. These units should be of the people, and all those who want to fight, without distinction of political trends, should be brought into them. From these units we will pass on later to the stage of a people's army when the war will be waged with army corps. Honest nationalists should be included in the supreme command in order to give the movement a general character. The communists should not maintain reservations about this. The people know who the communists are, and that they declare themselves openly; they should have no hesitation towards the resolute nationalists,
but, on the contrary, among fighters for a common cause the greatest sincerity should exist. The common struggle and the blood we shed together will strengthen our trust in one another, and take us forward to the people's victory against the occupiers. So we see that the tasks of the communists are great, and what is required of them is deeds, not words. In order to carry out all these directives which the Communist International sends us, we must be well-organized, have clear views, and expel from the Party all those who do not understand the line of the National Liberation War and who sabotage these directives. Without establishing a united front victory is impossible, and without this front fascism would isolate us and then find the opportunity to annihilate us. These directives, which aim to bring the nationalists closer to us, and not to alienate them from us, should be implemented to the letter. We should expose and fight only those who play the game of the occupiers. Our stand and our political line towards the nationalists should be such that our slogans are never offensive to their ideas and principles. We must realize that our present and future depend on the National Liberation War, and that without it we could not continue our advance, but would be destroyed. These directives should be implemented to the letter, for there is danger of fratricide, of the people being split into two camps, one communist and the other nationalist; this is the greatest harm we could cause our people, our Party, and the cause we are fighting for. The fascists want to divide us, and this they are striving to achieve; they know very well that not even the most barbarous measures, reprisals, and so on, can intimidate and defeat a united people determined to fight. Therefore, we must show the greatest determination in implementing these very clear and correct directives sent by the Communist International, in the certainty that, if we
carry them out, we will always advance, the Party will
grow stronger, we will annihilate fascism, the people will
win their freedom, and tomorrow we will be in a position
to carry out our maximum program.
March 7, 1943

Dear comrades,

This deals with the matter of the "Zjarri" group. We inform you of the following, and ask you to act as indicated.

The "Zjarri" group has surrendered to the Party unconditionally. This has come about because of the pressure exerted by group members on their leaders, and because the latter saw that the work they were doing was of a factional nature. Their existence as a group led them to catastrophe. This constitutes a success for the Party because it is liquidating the group and incorporating into its ranks communists who had been led on a wrong line and who should be educated to become good communists.

We have often spoken about the "Zjarri" group which was indeed a group with a line that was wrong from both the political and organizational points of view. There were various reasons for this, but the main one was that it had no knowledge of the way to work.

"Zjarri" (Andrea Zisi) introduced alien ideas into his group and committed grave political errors, among others in regard to the National Liberation War. He tried to hide behind a mask of rotten nationalism, tried to establish relations with M. Kruja, and made other mistakes similar to
these, which caused his organizational errors. By hiding himself and by not leaving himself independent, and by reaching a compromise with M. Kruja, from this wrong view of the National Liberation War, he left the group tagging along behind the "Balli Kombëtar" movement, and it was "Zjarri" members, as they¹ have admitted themselves, who initiated the formation of the "Balli Kombëtar".

"Zjarri" deceived his comrades about certain connections (with the Greek Communist Party) which, if they existed, he distorted and misdirected in order to achieve his sinister aims, such as, for example, his agreement with M. Kruja. But it is probable that the connections "Zjarri" claimed to have with the Greek Communist Party were only a hoax to mislead people.

The comrades who believed in these connections of "Zjarri" and in the line he had laid down, have made mistakes.

a — On the unity of the communists in Albania. From both the Party and the "Zjarri" group there had been a demand for an approach to unity, but this was sabotaged by "Zjarri" (Andrea Zisi). When he made contact with three of our comrades², errors were committed by both parties in appointing one person to maintain liaisons between the Party and the group³.

This way of acting and maintaining contacts was quite wrong and the Central Committee repudiated it, but the comrades did not inform the "Zjarri" group of that decision. So no links were maintained with them.

¹The members of the "Zjarri" group.
²The 1st meeting of the representatives of the CPA and the "Zjarri" group to discuss the merger took place in January 1943.
³The "Zjarri" group.
b — On the line of work with the nationalists. They have acted objectively in such a way as to prevent collaboration with the sincere nationalists who wanted unity in the National Liberation War. They have contributed to the formation of the "Balli Kombëtar", and this prevented the achievement of cooperation between the honest nationalists and the Party, making it seem as though there were two types of communists: savage fighting communists and peace-loving communists, and allowing the communist principles to be drowned by right-wing nationalism; they have formed their separate armed units at a time when there are partisan units in Albania which constitute a genuine army of the people; they have adopted various nationalist slogans and have published materials full of errors. They have created their own central committee and regional committees, as well as three-member cells; all these steps were wrong because the Party, based on the principles of Lenin and Stalin, was in existence.

The comrades should always keep all this in mind, whatever may be our stand towards these young comrades who will enter the Party and will be incorporated in its ranks.

First of all, our old experience should help us greatly in this matter. The comrades who will join our ranks are at the stage we were at in the time of the groups. Our Party has been cured of that disease, and comrades are in a position to cure and to raise to their own level these new comrades who come from a group we were fighting, who are at a very low political and organizational level; they have been misled and still do not really know anything about the Party and love for it, but the majority of them want communism, are communists and love the Party.

What were the weapons the Party used to cure the comrades infected by the spirit of groups? Initially they
were persuasion and explanation, arousing in the hearts of the comrades love for the Party, love for their comrades, for discipline and secrecy, ending personal connections in organizational matters, maintaining the highest vigilance to prevent dangerous elements from establishing themselves, and finally, purging our ranks of wavering, anti-party, and factionalist elements, and others infected by the group spirit.

This is how we will act with these new comrades who need every possible explanation, advice and support. We must explain over and over again to the comrades who will come, what the Party is, what is discipline, and secrecy, what are cells, what are the organizational links and line of the Party, the line of the National Liberation War, the directives of the Communist International. And this should be done with the greatest clarity, with the greatest patience, and with full conviction, for in these things, as well as in their organizational line, they were quite wrong. They should be given every opportunity to raise their theoretical and political understanding, putting all the materials of the Party at their disposal for their education. They should be convinced, convinced and again convinced. And in addition, the comrades should keep their eyes wide open. They should be vigilant to defend the Party as the apple of their eye, to safeguard its unity and the integrity of its ranks and to cut off all possible threats.

The new comrades should be put to work, should be taught how to work, and we should demand results. In a word, we must be sure guides and true communists, who are concerned to raise the level of good comrades, to correct those who are mistaken, and to eliminate anti-party elements.

As we have noted, this group initiated the setting up of the "Balli Kombëtar", and some of its members have worked under the guise of nationalists.
How should they act now? Those group members who are in the “Balli Kombëtar” will continue to work as a faction within the “Balli Kombëtar”, and this faction will try, together with the revolutionary nationalists in the organization, to get the “Balli Kombëtar” to accept close cooperation with the Party and to agree to participate in the national liberation councils; they will try to organize a big conference, with the participation of the Party, the “Balli Kombëtar” and the sincere non-party nationalists, and above all, our faction should shake up the “Balli Kombëtar” to make it participate directly in the war against the occupiers. Within the ranks of the “Balli Kombëtar”, they should combat all the advocates of compromise, neutralize the lazy and the cowardly, and encourage the armed detachments of the “Balli Kombëtar” to fraternize with ours in all matters. Within the “Balli”, they should insist on the creation of a single command for the National Liberation War. They should combat the opinion of the “Balli Kombëtar” reactionaries regarding the formation of the army and gendarmerie, because the people’s army and gendarmerie are formed in the mountains, and not in the barracks of fascism. This is how our Party should work there; as for the other questions, there is no need to discuss them; the work should carry on in a well organized way.

How will you take over the group? Their so-called central committee is discussing the question with their comrades, and after they have informed the regions through those in charge of their work, they will give us lists of all their connections in every locality, and then we will send you a password so that you may contact the person in charge of the group of your region.

This person in charge will hand over his “army”, with its arms and “bagagli”*. It would be a good thing for one

* Bagagli (It. in the original) — equipment.
of our comrades to go to these cells and wind up their activities; you should convince the person you come into contact with of the need for this. Otherwise you should closely examine the list of the comrades which is handed over to you, and if you have any doubts, discuss them with him or them, convincing them that, if the work is to go well, it is always necessary to aim at quality rather than quantity, and explaining to them that those whose minds are not made up can remain in educational groups at present and join the Party later if they are good people. Tell whoever is in charge of them that it is better to keep a comrade in an educational group for a while than to expel him from the Party, and at the same time, stress that responsibility rests with the person in charge, for he knows his comrades. With the comrades who come to us, form cells of 6 or 7 people, including among them 2 or 3 of our comrades, who should be good comrades determined to work in the way we have outlined.

The new comrades who come should not be allocated to the existing cells.

As from now, suspend all polemics and criticism against them, and fraternize with them until they are incorporated into our ranks.

Read this letter carefully, to avoid making mistakes.

Comradely greetings

Selami®

Works, vol. 1.

® One of the pseudonyms comrade Enver Hoxha used during the National Liberation War.
CIRCULAR ON THE ORGANIZATION OF THE NATIONAL LIBERATION ARMY

April 10, 1943

TO THE REGIONAL COMMITTEE... 1 
TO COMRADE...

This is the time for the organization of the National Liberation Army; therefore, in order to be able to direct the national liberation movement, which is developing into an uprising, it is necessary to form larger units as well as higher level staffs. As we have discussed and decided, the formation of the central headquarters staff and other staffs is essential. From the technical and practical viewpoint it has become evident that the units and their activity cannot be directed by fighting unit leaders alone, headquarters staff of the operational zone should be set up.... 2 This has been judged reasonable and the zone... will be the military objective of your activity. A small explanation, before we go on to explain how the headquarters staff is made up. Great prospects are opening before us concerning the organization of larger units of the Albanian Partisan Volunteer National Liberation Army

1 Punctuation as in the document.
2 A zone staff was set up only for the Vlora and Gjirokastra regions, under the name “Staff of the 1st Operational Zone of Vlora and Gjirokastra”. In the other regions regional or group staffs were set up.
(APVNLA); now we are faced not only with small-scale actions, but with the question of the liberation of Albania, and this cannot be carried out by one, two or even more independent units, but calls for a regular army. This necessitates large-scale mobilization and the formation of larger military units, battalions and still larger units. Now we will pass to the technical side of setting up the zone headquarters staff.

1) To achieve this, the ground should be prepared politically with the honest nationalists of each zone, explaining the necessity of the formation of the headquarters staff. You should do this together with the organization of the...

2) The essential members of the staff are: the commander (preferably an honest nationalist), the political commissar, their deputies (if you have enough cadres to appoint a deputy political commissar, then do so, if not, do without one), the operations sector, one person and possibly his deputy, who must have some knowledge about battle plans (if the former is a nationalist, then the deputy must certainly be a party member). These are the essential members of the zone headquarters staff. In addition, the staff can include other influential people from the base. The headquarters staff has the task of directing all activity in the respective zone. This staff will direct all the lower staffs and units. Its essential members are to stay together in one place from which they can direct operations in the zone, but don’t be too rigid about this. When there are important activities, a part of the staff or all of it may go there to conduct operations. The zone can be divided into two or three sectors. The brigade should have its own staff, made up in the same way as the zone headquarters staff; it should ensure direct contact through two couriers, resolute party members, who will carry the dispatches of the zone headquarters staff, from which ins-
tructions and battle plans will be received. Until the bri-
gades are formed, this will be done by the units and bat-
talions. Two couriers, chosen from among the most res-
solute party members, are to maintain contact with the
APVNLA central headquarters. Likewise, we must main-
tain contact with the staffs of the border zones. The
supply sector of the zone headquarters should be stationed
near the zone staff and see to feeding and clothing the
army of the respective zone; goods captured from the
enemy by the various units are to be handed over to the
zone headquarters which will distribute them according to
needs.

We are not writing about the duties of the commander
and the political commissar, for you know them already.
We are writing only about the people responsible for ope-
ations. It is they who draw up the battle plans (attack
and retreat, and so on) proceeding from their information
and knowledge, and present them to the headquarters
staff for discussion; following the decision of the staff,
directives or orders are sent to various units of the res-
pective zone. The political commissar, or his deputy,
maintains contact with the Party through the political
secretary of the region where the staff is stationed. The
party organization in the army should carry out maximum
activity; this activity is led, supervised, and assisted by
the political commissar or his deputy.

The organization of the zone headquarters staff in
your region is a matter of urgency. Once again I stress
that it is necessary to ensure the participation in the zone
headquarters staff of influential honest nationalists who
have wholeheartedly joined the struggle against the in-
vaders and local traitors.

As previously discussed, as soon as possible, send us
the names of people suitable to take part in the central
headquarters staff of the APVNLA.
Meanwhile, while organizing your headquarters staff, don't interrupt your activities, but go ahead with your plans.

Comradely greetings
For the Central Committee

Shpati

PS — Detailed instructions will be sent to you very soon; this letter will assist you until we send the necessary directives.

First published in “Principal Documents of the PLA”, vol. 1, Tirana 1960.
CIRCULAR ON THE CREATION OF THE
ALBANIAN ANTI-FASCIST WOMEN'S UNION

April 14, 1943

Dear comrades,

In our war against the fascist occupiers, in this war so decisive for our people, the women play an important role. Faced with this important factor of the National Liberation War, the party organization is confronted with certain tasks, the most important of which being the formation of the anti-fascist front of the Albanian women.

In order to form this front, it is necessary to bring together the broad masses of women of every category and every social stratum. Conferences are the best way of bringing the women together, but these must not be academic meetings to talk about problems divorced from practical life; their getting together must arise from their actual needs — the demand for bread, protests against internments, protests against threats, executions, etc. These meetings and conferences should not deal only with high-level politics, but should talk about the oppression of women, their needs, the hated enemy, fascism, and the need to fight it, and the tasks of the women in this libera-

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1 About 6,000 women and girls took part, arms in hand, in the National Liberation War.
tion war. The war itself will provide us with the material for this work. The communiques, proclamations, and various appeals should be explained over and over again in simple and comprehensible terms. By these means and through the organs of the Party and of the Youth hatred for the enemy will be aroused, the barbarities, the burnings, killing of women and children, and so on, will be emphasized. These meetings should also talk about hygiene, bringing up children, the way a good housewife should work, and her various duties. Perhaps these things may seem unnecessary and distasteful to them, but our women party members or the women most suited to do this work should patiently explain these matters in order to convince the women of the necessity for the directives. Various courses to wipe out illiteracy, especially in the countryside, will be of great value and assistance in the formation of this front; sewing and nursing courses are essential, and should be set up as soon as possible, especially now that the war is becoming fiercer every day. It should be emphasized that these various meetings, courses and conferences should be attended by all those who, in one way or another, want to help the war against fascism. All the women from town and countryside who believe in the war against the enemy, women of every political tendency and trend—anti-fascist, Zogite, Ballist, and religious women should take part in them—there must be no sectarianism in this matter. In those cities where there are women under the influence of the “Balli Kombëtar”, cooperation with them should be complete and sincere.

Anti-fascist women’s councils should emerge from these conferences. The councils are formed in this manner: the suburban council emerges from the suburban conference and is elected by the women themselves. The councils
of the various suburbs each appoint a woman to take part in the city council. This council should comprise as many members as is considered necessary. Councils according to skills and occupations can also be set up. The village council emerges from the meetings and conferences in the villages, and is linked with the city council. This is the democratic method, the best and preferred method of setting up the councils. But it is by no means the only way. If, because of the reaction, this method is not possible, first the city council is selected from above, from among the most suitable and active women. This council then takes on the task of organizing the suburban councils, whose members are appointed by the city council, and not elected by the women of the suburb. In every suburban council there should be one party member, if there is one available, and in the city council this is indispensable. These councils should be the genuine expression of the will of the women. They have the task of rallying as many as possible from the masses of women of the city and countryside to the anti-fascist women’s front. They must concern themselves with agitation and propaganda, with all sorts of supplies for the fighting units, with various courses, as well as with increasing the ranks of partisan and volunteer fighters with women and girls. The party members among them should be the best fighters and an example for all the other women.

Wherever possible, a member of the city council should also take part in the national liberation council of that region.

We should seize the opportunity to build our organization. From the various meetings educational groups of the best and most determined women and girls should be set up, from which new party members
should be recruited to increase the ranks of the organization.

Comradely greetings
For the Central Committee

Valbona²

First published in "Principal Documents of the PLA", vol. 1, Tirana 1960

²One of the pseudonyms comrade Enver Hoxha used during the National Liberation War.
INSTRUCTION TO THE VLORA REGIONAL COMMITTEE OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF ALBANIA ON THE MEASURES TO LIQUIDATE SADIK PREMTE'S Faction

May 3, 1943

TO THE REGIONAL COMMITTEE

Vlora

Various reports we have received from the grassroots in your region have confronted us with a bitter reality, with the critical situation this organization is going through. It is faced with a faction hatched up by the corrupt anti-party element, Sadik Premte, who had been thrown out of the Party. The organization there had been advised repeatedly to be extremely watchful and to take the most radical measures to crush without mercy any attempt that this traitorous element might make.

On every occasion, with all organizations and all comrades, and with you in particular, the great danger posed to the Party by elements infected with the old group spirit has been ceaselessly stressed. Various circulars have made clear to you the systematic work of destruction and the incessant sabotage activity of the factionalists led by the

1 The faction against the Party and the National Liberation War in the region of Vlora was organized by the traitor Sadik Premte in April 1943.
two chief traitors, Anastas Lula and Sadik Premte. In particular, the totally negative stand of Xhepi (Sadik Premte) has been explained to you, and we have insistent-
ly stressed that he was the most dangerous and perfi-
dious intriguer among the anti-party elements. Precisely
for this reason, one of the main concerns of the organiza-
tion, and especially of the leading comrades, should have
been to watch him carefully and, finally, to kick him out
of the Party. Facts indicate that things were not done in
this way at all.

In the most crucial moments of our history, at this
time of bloodshed, when the armies of the occupiers are
burning our villages and towns, when they are mercilessly
slaughtering our people en masse, when we should be
exerting every effort to make our organization strong and
worthy to lead this sacred movement, facts prove that
today the organization in your region is in a deplorable
situation; indifference and carelessness in organizational
matters have weakened the organization and allowed the
formation of the faction with Xhepi, the traitor, at the
head.

In the Vlora region, where the people have taken up
arms and are furiously fighting shoulder to shoulder with
our comrades, instead of having a strong, disciplined or-
ganization, with elements tested in the heat of struggle,
we have an organization in which Xhepi has managed to
establish himself and, under the very noses of the leaders
and communist comrades, is organizing to torpedo the
Party. This situation would not have come about had it
not been for the carelessness for which you must take full
responsibility.

Judging from the reports we have received, no one has
gone for months on end to check on the comrades in the
cells and raise their political consciousness, but they have
been left to their own devices. These elements, who are
certainly resolute, and recruited according to sound principles, but neglected and left without proper education in the spirit and discipline of the Party, and in the directives issued by the CC, have been allowed to become a field of activity for the factionalist elements to carry out their anti-party work. It is useless to excuse ourselves, saying, “We haven’t enough comrades”, or “they promised us some comrades but haven’t sent them”. Our people have a saying: “You must cut your coat according to your cloth.” This is applicable to us. You have been told over and over again that the comrades should be trained locally, they should be given responsible work, and the young comrades should be helped and their consciousness raised without waiting for the CC to send comrades, whom it does not have and can find only in other organizations, all of which are young and in need of cadres too. But you have not worked in accordance with this criterion. Far from raising their consciousness and giving responsible tasks to the sound elements who wholeheartedly love the Party, you have sometimes worked according to wrong criteria, allowing dubious elements with an unsavoury past to come to the fore. They have been placed in important posts in the Party and the fighting forces. Elements expelled from the Party have been wrongly re-admitted, without obtaining the consent of the regional committee, a thing which is impermissible. All these elements, which the regional committee carelessly placed in important posts in the Party, inevitably became the basis of the faction organized by Xhepi.

A remedy must be found immediately for the situation which has developed there. Ruthless, radical measures must be taken at once.

According to your reports, Xhepi, who organized the faction, is being aided in this disgraceful and destructive
activity by Vangjo, Difi, Pali, and others of lesser importance. Xhepi and the other three started their destructive and anti-party activity by contacting all their old friends, persuading them that it was necessary to organize a conference to overthrow the regional committee, to take the reins into their hands, to take command of the partisan units and impose themselves by force. Xhepi has also been in contact with H. L. and convinced him of his personal innocence. Xhepi has spread panic and defeatism among the comrades. Under these conditions, the stand of the Party should be exemplary and the nest of vipers must be crushed immediately. The Party should be up to its tasks. Its name should bring terror to the hearts of the external and internal enemies, just as it raises the spirits of the people and arouses their faith in and love for the Party. This is what should be done: Xhepi and Pali should be shot at once as traitors and factionalists, sworn enemies of the Party and people. At the same time, Vangjo and Difi as well as all those elements who have taken part in this affair should be arrested, and their trial should be held without loss of time. Some resolute comrades of the Party and of the regional committee should take part in the trial, at which the stand of Vangjo and Difi, and others should be clarified, as well as the extent of their participation and responsibility. As for Vangjo and Difi, their minimal punishment should be expulsion from the Party, and dismissal from any function, while being retained in the unit under close surveillance. If they remain in solidarity with Xhepi, express no repentance for what they have done, and continue to

2 The closest collaborators of Sadik Premtë in organizing the revolt against the Party.

3 Hysni Lepenica, representative of the "Balli Kombëtar" in the region of Vlora.
maintain an anti-party stand, then they should be shot too. The others involved should be tried in a very cool-headed atmosphere, and be sentenced as they deserve. Those condemned to death should be denounced to the people for their treachery. This should be done with the greatest possible speed, and swift measures should be taken to remedy the situation, to reinforce the positions both within the organization and in the regions where trouble is expected, and any move should be dealt with mercilessly. All dubious and wavering elements should be purged from commanding posts and be replaced by loyal party people. Discipline should be tightened up; two people should go to talk with H. L., explain to him the reasons for the measures adopted against these traitors, and convince him of their correctness.

The comrades of the regional committee and comrade Besnik⁴ are charged with implementing these directives; and all comrades of the organization should categorically obey their decisions. There are special instructions for comrade Besnik on how to organize the regional committee and the activity in the organization.

For the carrying out of these measures, putting a speedy end to this situation, and rooting the faction right out, all of you are responsible to the Party.

Comradely greetings
For the Central Committee

Shpati

Works, vol. 1.

⁴ Pseudonym of Hysni Kapo, Member of the CC of the CPA and Political Secretary of the Vlora Regional Party Committee.
CIRCULAR ON THE LIQUIDATION
OF SADIK PREMTE'S FACTION IN THE VLORA ORGANIZATION

June 17, 1943

TO THE REGIONAL COMMITTEE AND THE COMRADES
OF THE VLORA ORGANIZATION

On the basis of various reports presented by the regional committee of the organization there, and from the report of the delegate of the Central Committee especially sent to the Vlora region to carry out an investigation into the situation created by the traitor and enemy of the Party, Sadik Premte (Xhepi), we have written this letter, which should be read in the entire organization, and acted upon as follows.

From the time of the founding of the Party, the unhealthy groupist elements, led by Sadik Premte and Anastas Lula, using all their cunning, endeavoured to destroy the foundations of our young Party. They used every move to sow among the comrades lack of faith in the Party, distrust in the leading bodies and lack of faith in the organization of the movement and the war, and

1 The faction was liquidated in May 1943 with the direct intervention of the Central Committee of the Party, after comrade Enver Hoxha in person went to the spot, and with the active participation of the communists of the region of Vlora led by comrades Hysni Kapo and Mehmet Shehu.
advised comrades not to implement the directives issued by the Central Committee.

The Party used the method of persuasion with these groupist elements. For a long time, it warned them that such work, which they were carrying out deliberately, was anti-party work, and that this road was bound to lead to their being criticised, and that stern measures would be taken against them if they carried on in this way.

At the 1st Consultative Meeting of the Party Activists—you have read and studied its resolution—it was decided that all the wavering elements and those infected by the group spirit should be persuaded to give up their old activity and to carry out the directives of the Party, because, in order to cope with the tasks facing us, and the events which are unfolding at great speed, it is essential for us to have complete unity of thought and action in our Party, to have a common outlook, both in political work and in the organization itself. Although the Party made every effort to reform these unsound comrades, time and facts showed that these comrades persisted in their old methods of group work. These comrades have always opposed the directives of the Party: the directive on proletarian morality against theft, on work with the peasantry, on the line of the youth, on security, on actions. All along they have been disgruntled, criticising the party comrades, and especially its higher organs. Their discontent and their criticism had a collective and organized character.

At our Party’s most critical moments when the reaction was attacking us mercilessly and our finest comrades were falling martyrs on the field of honour for the glory of our Party and to liberate the Albanian people from the foreign yoke, Sadik Premte and Anastas Lula tried once again to realize the sinister aims of their anti-party work,
trying to take over the leading posts, and thus to re-establish their old gangster method of work.

Taking all this into account and seeing that these elements did not want to change their course and follow the true communist road, after a conference at which Sadik Premte, Anastas Lula and other comrades were present, the Central Committee of the Party decided to adopt a definite stand, to purge the party ranks and deal ruthlessly with anti-party elements of every kind and however they might disguise themselves. Following this conference Anastas Lula, Sadik Premte and some other comrades were thrown out of the Party; but even then it was stressed to these groupist elements that we hoped they would see the serious errors of their ways and correct them outside the Party, because they were unable to correct them while in the Party.

To all the party organizations the great danger that group spirit constitutes for the Party has been pointed out, and it has been stressed to all comrades that the struggle against the groupist elements should be severe, that the groupist elements are trying their hardest to systematically destroy what has been achieved, through sabotage, often going as far as provocation in favour of

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2 This refers to the Extraordinary Conference of the Party, held in Tirana in June 1942. It took up for consideration the question of doing away with the factionalist and liquidatory trend of the former chiefs of the “Youth” group, Anastas Lula and Sadik Premte. The conference decided on the expulsion of both of them, together with their collaborators, from the Party. The struggle against the factionalists brought on the surface other details impeding the work of the Party and its strengthening. The CC condemned the disruptive activity of Mustafa Gjinishi and Koço Tashko, etc., who were disgruntled for not having been elected to the CC and to the regional committees of the Party, as well as the centrifugal tendencies of the Gjirokastra regional committee, for which the main instigator was Bedri Spahiu—at that time political secretary of the regional party committee.
the enemy. The groupist elements are the most pernicious internal disease of the Party, for they try to take the castle from within, using and putting into action everything which is not communist. It has been emphasized to all the party comrades that they should be wide awake, keep their eyes wide open, and watch every move and word of these people. These infectious elements should never be forgotten, even though they are outside the Party, for, as comrade Stalin said, "The chief danger is the deviation against which we have ceased to fight".* The most effective way to struggle against the groupist elements is to strengthen our organizations, to raise the party comrades to the level of genuine communists, to implement the directives of the Central Committee to the letter, to work tirelessly and systematically to care for and educate the new party cadres, to make them capable in work and struggle. Strengthening the party organizations with staunch elements, with a high political, theoretical and organizational level, means inevitable death to the groupist elements, because germs always develop and multiply in feeble body, and are exterminated in a strong one. Our Communist Party should be a party of the Lenin-Stalin type, a party with unbreakable unity and conscious iron discipline.

The Vlora organization in particular, both the leading comrades, as well as the rank-and-file, have been warned repeatedly of the danger posed by the group elements. The utterly negative and anti-party stand of Sadik Premte has been explained to them, and they have been persistently warned that Xhepi is the most dangerous, perfidious, and cunning of the anti-party elements, and that therefore one of the tasks of the leading comrades and the

* J. V. Stalin, Works, vol. 13, p. 369 (Alb. ed.).
comrades of the organization is to watch attentively what he is doing.

Unfortunately, far from being attentive, the comrades have shown almost a complete lack of watchfulness, and have been lax and negligent in their work, which has favoured the treachery of Xhepi and Co. Therefore, we must thoroughly diagnose this disease, for only then can we truly find the cure for it and, thus, get rid of the germ and strengthen the Party.

The danger of factional elements seems to have been almost forgotten in your organization, although Sadik Premte, one of the most dangerous and sinister elements, was active in your region. A clear-cut stand was not taken towards him from the very beginning; the comrades (and not all of them) were informed in undertones of his expulsion from the Party and the harm he had done to our work, and the party members and all sympathizers of the Party were not even warned of the danger such a person might represent. On the other hand, Xhepi's persistent negative stand did not make you think that this element who, despite all the time that had been spent in trying to bring him round, could not be put on the correct road, but was heading towards the foulest betrayal, had to be exposed before the people. Instead you continued to maintain a careless attitude towards him. Quietly, like a filthy germ, Xhepi worked systematically against the Party, profiting from the laxity of the leading comrades and the comrades of the organization. And the mistakes and laxity on your part have been very serious.

First, the organizational work, which is our most important and principal problem, has been neglected. In a communist party of the Lenin-Stalin type all problems are closely interlinked with one another, and the solution of these problems on the basis of the directives constitutes the inevitable success of the party and its triumph in every
field of activity. But, without giving correct consideration and attaching the greatest importance to the organizational question, which is the basis and starting point of all activity, the work will certainly suffer, and in the majority of cases will end in disaster. The Vlora comrades did not have a proper appreciation of this work of such vital importance for our Party, and the laxity they have shown led to the situation created by the traitor Sadik Premte and his followers. It is hard to understand, and it sounds strange that such a thing could happen in the Vlora region, where the people have taken up arms and are fighting fiercely beside our comrades; that in your region, far from having a strong, disciplined organization, the members of which have been tested under fire, we are confronted with an organization in which the traitor Xhepi can try to strike root and torpedo the Party. The cause of this abnormal situation can only be found in the irresponsible carelessness of all the comrades of the Vlora organization. For months on end no one has gone to check up on or assist the comrades of the cells, but they have been left to their own devices. These elements, who are certainly staunch and were recruited on sound principles, have been neglected and left without education in the spirit and discipline of the Party, without being nurtured on the directives issued by the Central Committee, have become a target of the activity of the groupist elements and of their efforts to carry on their anti-party activity.

The cell, which should be a real communist school for every party member, where he is equipped with the daily experience of struggle of all the comrades, and with Marxist-Leninist theory, where lofty bolshevik feelings are implanted in his being, for the Vlora comrades has been something unimportant, where the comrades meet once in a blue moon, and even then not to debate ques-
tions with the seriousness of a communist who is shoulder-dering the heavy burden of being the vanguard of the people, but only for the sake of appearances. It emerges that these comrades, who have our cause at heart, cherish it, and are prepared to shed their blood for the Party without question, have formed in their minds their own way of acting and thinking, imagining that everything they do is always to the advantage of the Party. These comrades have not lived the life of the Party through all its struggle and efforts, and they have an idealistic conception of the Party, a conception which rests on unstable and unsound foundations, so that on the occasions (which in the Vlora region are by no means unusual) when a leading comrade or some other of the organization makes a mistake or goes wrong, great disillusionment is created in the minds and hearts of these immature communists; they are disorientated, and unconsciously slip into the pit where the groupist elements lie in wait for them, seeking to use them for their sinister anti-party ends. Naturally, when these immature comrades, in their disillusionment and confusion, find no support and see no strong arm to lift them from the troubled situation they have fallen into, or to give them the courage, will-power and enlightenment of the genuine communist, they become tools in the hands of the groupist element and victims of the enemies of the Party.

The failure to do the work in the cells, and, as a result, neglect in the work to raise the political level of the comrades, has caused these comrades to be strangers to the directives of the Party; they do not know about the conscious iron discipline of the Party, or sound communist criticism and self-criticism. They do not know the value of organization and centralism, or how to distinguish the lofty interests of the Party from personal interests and ambition. They do not know how to love their comrades
with sound, sincere, unsullied communist feelings, or how to hate and fight without mercy against the vile anti-party element. The Vlora comrades, strangers to these bolshevik principles, their ideological improvement neglected by the leading comrades, consciously or unconsciously have assisted the traitorous activity of Sadik Premte.

On the other hand, the leading comrades of the Vlora region have often worked according to erroneous criteria, promoting and bringing into prominence certain dubious elements with murky backgrounds, ambitious individuals who have been entrusted with important posts in the Party and in the fighting forces. There is no doubt that the leading comrades of Vlora, in promoting these comrades, wanted to help our work, but they have forgotten that, while there is always trust within our Party, there is also check-up. It is check-up that has been lacking there. Sound check-up on the activity of the comrades ensures the smooth running of the Party and the strengthening of its cadres. The genuine communist is recognized by the fact that he is pleased and satisfied to see that the work assigned to him is being checked up on in detail, not in order to find fault with it, not to humiliate or disparage him, but to correct, teach and improve him. This sort of check-up has been neglected by the leading comrades of Vlora and by the comrades of the organization, and this has led to unsound elements and people with a low ideological level, lacking education in the spirit of the Party, frequently making mistakes, mistakes which in turn sow disgruntlement. This turned into hatred towards one or two comrades, and later, stirred up by anti-party elements, was transformed into discontent with the leading bodies of the Party.

Security on organizational and military questions has been almost completely non-existent. The way the party apparatus in the Vlora region functioned was common
knowledge, and the rumours even named the comrades supposedly leaders of the work.

As well as this, the vanguard role of our Party has not been properly understood. The Vlora comrades have not correctly appreciated the fact that the party members are the most conscious section of the people, the true leaders of the broad masses, but have confused the roles and have often fallen into the position of the masses. Mistakes have been made in implementing the directives of the National Liberation War, and often the national liberation councils have been confused with the party cells; the importance and the special role of the councils in this war have not been recognized, and very often the ordinary people have become mixed up in the Party's internal affairs.

All this looseness on the part of the leading comrades and the rank-and-file of the Vlora organization has been a weapon in the hands of the groupist elements headed by Sadik Premte and Pali, enabling them to carry on their vicious activity.

Sadik Premte and Pali started their anti-party activity systematically and with full consciousness, to serve their own ends. Their aim was to gather around themselves a large part of the membership, and together with them, to topple the regional committee, to take the organizational work and the commands of the partisan units into their hands. Hoping to draw other traitors and comrades outside the Vlora region into their activity, they wrote to the Gjirokastra Regional Committee, and in this way they tried to impose their will on the Party. The traitors, the Trotskyites Sadik Premte and Pali, had reached agreement with elements outside the Party too, who supplied them with weapons, gave them advice, and made it easier for them to act.
This act of rebellion against the Party, inspired and guided by Xhepi and Pali, had as its main participants: Vangjo (unit commander and in charge of a cell), Qazim Çakërrri (Difi, political commissar and in charge of a cell), Xhemil Çakërrri (political commissar), and Zeqo. The Party had quite rightly promoted these elements from the rank-and-file and had entrusted important posts to them, but their unbridled ambition, the lack of discipline, and lack of obedience to the higher organs and commands enabled Xhepi and Pali to incorporate them into their ranks. These elements maintained close contact with Sadik Premte and Pali, who had studied their weak points and had gauged the importance and influence that these comrades could have within the Party and on public opinion. So these elements were used by Sadik Premte and Pali as a cover for the execution of their plan. Xhepi and Pali, who remained watchful, were informed about everything that happened in the organization, and waited for the favourable moment to stab the Party in the back. They flattered the ambitions of these elements and cunningly incited them against the comrades supposed to be in charge of the work in that region, against the decisions adopted, against the directives of the Party, against actions, and against the line of the National Liberation War. They were able to instil their hatred for the Party into the minds of these unhealthy comrades, arming them for the struggle against the leadership of the Party, which they described as a “clique of traitors” and “band of criminals”. These unsound and ambitious elements, headed by Xhepi and Pali, set about the struggle against the Party. With complete conviction, they systematically visited many comrades in whom they aroused and nurtured hostility towards the leadership and, breaking every rule of organization and discipline, prepared them to participate in a conference to be held without the knowledge
of the Party, to pass judgement on the regional committee and make their own laws. In order to mislead innocent comrades, these gentlemen issued the slogan of this conference, which is always the slogan characterizing Trotskyite dirty work: "We are doing this for the good of the Party" (for the good of the Party they break every law and norm of discipline established by the Party), "We have nothing against the Party, but the leaders and the leading organs are a clique of traitors and criminals".

Treason is always exposed, sooner or later, and this is especially so in our Party, in which the resolute comrades love the Party dearly and vigilantly, safeguard it and the ranks of the comrades. Thus, this dagger in the back of the Party, which was being prepared by the traitors Sadik Premte and Pali, in collaboration with Vangjo, Difi, Xhemil and Zeqo, was uncovered, and the Party lost no time in taking measures to end this situation. It mercilessly pursued the traitors Sadik Premte and Pali and summoned the others, who, after they made self-criticism, would be punished according to the gravity of their misdemeanours. The exposure of the treachery brought panic into the ranks of the rebels, some of whom, seeing the abyss towards which they had been led by Xhepi and Pali, gave themselves up to the Party; others were arrested, including Xhemil Çakërri, who accidentally fell victim of the plot they had concocted to attack the Party and met his death together with Dyshek.

The traitors Sadik Premte and Pali, seeing their work had come to nothing, and anticipating the merciless punishment which their treachery well deserved, retreated in haste to the Mesaplik and Dukat regions, where they alarmed the people, attacking the Party and the comrades with the basest calumnies and slanders. The goal of the traitors was to find some support among the people to save their own skins, the support they had once ima-
gined they had among the comrades they deceived. But that support collapsed like a pack of cards. Sadik Premte and Pali tried to place the people between them and the Party as a final barricade to save themselves. From them the people learned all the details of the organizational work, with the names of the comrades supposed to be leaders as well as the organizational links. They uttered vile slanders with the aim of discrediting the Party and the comrades; at the same time Xhepi and Pali tried to prepare the people of that region for an armed attack against the Party comrades and the partisan units. Utilising the accidental deaths of Xhemal Çakërri and Dyshek, they tried to arouse their relatives to vengeance and blood feud.

But each passing day spelled defeat for the traitors, and victory for the Party and its great justice. People became awake to the situation and the traitorous work of Xhepi and Pali. They saw clearly that they were enemies of the Party and of the people, and abandoned these vermins of our country, who hid themselves, like the true criminals they are, in a corner of the village of Gjorm, waiting day by day for the sword of Damocles which would descend upon them and eliminate them forever. The Trotskyite bandits, Xhepi and Pali, with two or three of their collaborators, are trying to find their last support among the peasants of Gjorm, but, undoubtedly, the patriotic peasants of Gjorm, those who fought together with the party comrades against the savage occupiers, far from giving them support, will kick out these traitors, who have raised their heads against the Party and are seeking the defeat of our people. The justice of the Party is unrelenting to the traitors, to the Trotskyites Xhepi and Pali, and to all those who link their fate and their existence with these bandits.
On the other hand, the Party, always abiding by the principle of helping comrades who have fallen victims of factionalists, regardless of their very serious mistakes, uses the method of persuasion and tries in every way to give them a hand to get them out of the marsh they have plunged into. The Party shows them the correct road to follow, enables them to correct themselves and prove that they are convinced about the mistakes they have made, and the damage they have done to the work, so that through effort and struggle they may prove their love for the Party and the cause.

Therefore, Vangjo and Zeqo, who gave themselves up to the Party and made a self-criticism, admitting their culpability and the great treachery they had been plotting against the Party, were expelled from the Party by decision of the Central Committee, and given the opportunity of demonstrating, by their actions in the ranks of the partisan units, their repentance, their obedience and love for the Party and the people.

Qazim Çakërrri (Difi) is expelled from the Party, and because he refused to join the partisan unit as ordered by the Party so as to show by his actions that he recognized his errors, and to give proof of his change of heart, he should be kept under the closest surveillance. If his activity is seen to be directed against the Party, then the harshest measures should be taken against him. But again, the method of persuasion should still be used with him.

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This setback should serve as a sound lesson for all the party organizations and for the Vlora organization in particular.

All comrades can see for themselves to what extremes the criminal activity of the groupist elements can go. This is what comrade Stalin says of these Trotskyite and trai-
torous groupist elements: "A long time ago these people ceased to be a political trend in the workers' movement; they have become an unprincipled band without any ideology, saboteurs, diversionist agents, professional spies and hangmen". These elements sell out their homeland and their honour. They trade all the secrets of the Party so as to achieve power. They foul their own nests, join the enemies of the Party and the country, and open the gates to the enemy with the sole aim of achieving their shameful goals, the goals of the lowest type of criminals. These Trotskyite elements hide their true face as the sworn enemies of the people behind a clever disguise. Rotten Trotskyites, like Xhepi and Pali, are part of that band of capitulationists who hide behind a mask of hysterical and provocative "revolutionary" phraseology and who, on the other hand, crown their actions by making common cause with the enemies of the Party.

The traitors Xhepi and Pali lost no opportunity to revile the political line of the Party, combatting it with leftist phrases and accusing it of being too "moderate" towards other political trends. Xhepi did his utmost to sabotage the efforts of the comrades and the fruit of their work, by destroying all the national liberation councils of one province, and with his provocative stand threw the people into the lap of reaction. Xhepi and Pali reviled and abused various elements with non-communist political tendencies, so as to weaken the national liberation movement; and their action revealed the objective they were pursuing: the weakening and destruction of the Party, and close collaboration with elements outside the Party. Facts

*J.V. Stalin, "On the shortcomings in the Party and measures for the liquidation of the Trotskyites and other two-faced elements", speech delivered at the March 1937 Plenum of the CC of the CPSU(B), Russian ed., 1954.
show that they were closely linked with these elements who supplied them with arms.

But now their mask is torn off, their true bandit face is seen by everyone, and their shameful aims are clearly revealed. Through deception they were able to drag some isolated individuals into their base criminal activity. They tried to deceive the people, but have not and will never have the support of the masses, for, as comrade Stalin says, "they are afraid to show their true face to the working class and afraid to tell it their real designs. They carefully hide their political character from the working class, fearing that it will guess their real intentions, condemn them as hostile elements, and drive them away".*

Our struggle against these base enemies should be conducted with the greatest severity, and in order to be able to fight against this filthy disease we should hate these persons and attack them mercilessly wherever we find them and whenever they appear. But the struggle against these elements cannot be waged simply by sitting with folded arms, observing events, but by working and acting with the greatest wariness, and exercising minute control over everything through ceaseless effort. We must realize that factionalist elements lose ground and throw down their arms only when our organization is sound, when our comrades are resolute, and at a high level from every point of view, when they are courageous fighters and wide awake in every field. The achievement of this goal is in our hands. It is up to us to preserve the purity of our organization from every anti-party element. It is up to us to put all our strength and efforts into making the organization a body of extraordinary vitality, to help the comrades, to raise them to the level of genuine commu-

* J.V. Stalin, op. cit.
nists, to endow them with the lofty Marxist-Leninist virtues, to educate them according to the directives of the Central Committee of the Party, and to instil in them the words of our great comrade Stalin: "To guard the unity of our Party as the apple of our eye". This is what the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Albania demands from you, and it is convinced that the comrades of the Vlora organization will understand their mistakes and laxity, will find the cure and soon, as befits communists, will make improvements and progress in their organizational views. The Central Committee of the Party is convinced that the internal struggle against the factionalists, together with the external war, will temper the Albanian communists, who will raise high the banner of Lenin and Stalin and make the name of the Party strike terror into the hearts of its local and foreign enemies, just as it raises the spirits of the people and increases their confidence and love for it.

DEATH TO FASCISM — FREEDOM TO THE PEOPLE

For the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Albania

Shpati

First published in "Principal Works, vol. 1. Documents of the PLA", vol. 1, Tirana 1960
CIRCULAR ON THE CREATION OF 
LARGER PARTISAN FORMATIONS AND ESPECIALLY 
OF THE 1ST SHOCK BRIGADE

June 20, 1943

Dear comrades,

Now that the National Liberation War is assuming a broader character with the formation of the zones and their headquarters, it is necessary to create battalions of 2 to 4 units as soon as possible.

At the same time, we must select a certain number of the best partisans of the regional units who have participated in one or more actions, and send them to a selected place where the 1st Brigade of the Partisan and Volunteer National Liberation Army is to be formed.

For such an important matter it is necessary to ask the commissars and commanders for their best fighters, in accordance with the figures set by the regional committee. But this directive is not to be understood narrowly; the formation of the 1st Brigade and the recruiting of its members should serve as an impetus to the formation of zone battalions, and not a hindrance. The formation of the 1st Brigade and the formation of battalions arouses and strengthens confidence in the development of our struggle towards the general uprising.

The people will see the 1st Brigade and the zone battalions as the sound and reliable nucleus of the Albanian Partisan and Volunteer National Liberation Army. It is
therefore necessary to popularize the 1st Brigade among the fighters.

The importance of this directive calls for speed in recruitment and the formation of battalions. Therefore, speed up the broadest possible mobilization of the people who want to fight, especially young people.

We are sending you 10 copies of a circular. This circular is of major importance and should be seriously studied in all the cells of the organizations and in the regional committees.

Do not duplicate the copies, but no comrade should be left in the dark; it should be studied as well as possible, because it is very important.

Comradely greetings

Shpati

NB — A battalion is made up of 2 to 4 units and comprises 50 or more people. The battalion has a commander and a commissar, as well as a deputy commander and a deputy commissar. The battalion staffs are subordinate to the zone staff.

The brigade will have fighters from all parts of Albania, and will have the character of a regular army. Your region should send 120 people for the brigade and these, under the command of comrade Mehmet Shehu, should set out for Vithkuq (Korça) and be there on July 25, 1943. These picked fighters should have the best weapons.

Send to the Zvarisht barracks by the 30th of June a good comrade with a "musical" ear, whom we want to take part in a special course. Together with this comrade

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1 This refers to the June 17, 1943 circular of the CC of the CPA. (See in this volume p. 130)
you must, without fail, also send to the Zvarisht (Korça) barracks the telegraph operator, whom you had once sent concerning the question of the radio. These comrades will be away for about one month.

Comrade Vjosa² will stay here, so before he leaves you should arrange your affairs over there, and in particular, see about his replacement in Mallakastra.

First published in “Principal Documents of the PLA”, vol. 1, Tirana 1960.

²Pseudonym of Mehmet Shehu, Deputy Member of the CC of the CPA and Organizational Secretary of the Vlora Regional Party Committee, who was appointed Commander of the 1st Shock Brigade of the APVNLA.
GREETING TO THE 1ST CONFERENCE OF THE ALBANIAN COMMUNIST YOUTH ORGANIZATION

June 1943

DEATH TO FASCISM - FREEDOM TO THE PEOPLE TO THE 1ST NATIONAL CONFERENCE OF THE ACTIVISTS OF THE ALBANIAN COMMUNIST YOUTH

Comrades,

The glorious Red Army and the heroic people of the Soviet Union, under the brilliant leadership of great comrade Stalin, have brought the hordes of Hitler to their knees. Under the blows of the Red Army, the armies of the Anglo-American allies, and the partisans and volunteers of enslaved Europe, the downfall of fascism and the liberation of the peoples is under way.

Our people, who have endured countless suffering and hardships, see their road to survival in the National Liberation War. We, the communists, the sons of this people, have poured all our energies into this war. We want to save our country from fascist slavery, and to liberate our people. The one and only road to salvation is that which our people themselves have chosen, and which we are following, that of unceasing and unconditional war against the fascist occupier.

1 The 1st National Conference of the Albanian Communist Youth was held from the 9th to the 13th of June 1943 in the vicinity of Skrapar.
The Albanian youth have enthusiastically joined this sacred war; they have despised and fought the fratricidal and disastrous compromising of our independence, and have emerged in the front ranks of the National Liberation War. In the most difficult moments of its struggle against the occupiers and rabid internal reaction, the Communist Party of Albania has found its most valuable support in the youth of our country, with regard to its own existence and consolidation, and the extension and strengthening of the National Liberation War. The Albanian Communist Youth have known how to mobilize, organize and lead the mass of youth towards their liberation, towards winning a new world, without slavery or fascism, which can be realized only through the National Liberation War. The Communist Youth have set an example of sacrifice and self-denial, an example of courage, an unyielding spirit in battle and hatred for the occupiers and the traitors; unsparingly they have shed their blood and given their martyrs for our beloved and enslaved homeland.

The CC of the CPA honours the memory of the young martyrs, honours the memory of the Communist Youth members who have fallen in the forefront of the struggle, honours the memory of Qemal Stafa, Political Secretary of the CC of the Albanian Communist Youth, and Misto Mame, Member of the CC of the Albanian Communist Youth.

Comrades of the Youth Organization,

The National Liberation War faces us with new and heavy tasks. We must step up the struggle, and fight even more fiercely against the occupier. We must multiply and strengthen the ranks of the partisan and volunteer units so as to form a strong army, the National Liberation Army of the Albanian people, the guarantee of the liberation of our homeland. We must fill the ranks of our army with
young people, with young people who are impatiently demanding to hurl themselves upon the hated occupiers.

Comrades of the conference,

Our beloved homeland is enslaved. It is calling the youth to battle. Therefore, it is our task, and in the first place, yours, comrades of the conference, to mobilize and organize the youth in this sacred war. You must lead the youth, prepare and strengthen them through work and struggle, and thus make them the greatest and most vigorous source of strength for our young Communist Party; you must arouse and educate the youth, so that their ranks serve as an inexhaustible source of staunch elements to increase and strengthen the ranks of our Party. You must show the greatest care in leading the Communist Youth; you must defend it from every enemy.

Comrades,

We must get firmly behind our young Party and mercilessly crush its internal and external enemies. We must smash the heads of the Trotskyite and factionalist trends and elements, the scoundrels, intriguers, and cowards, who try to weaken the ranks of our Party.

Comrades of the conference,

Keep before your eyes the example of the heroic youth of the Soviet Union, the youth of Lenin and Stalin. Make the Albanian youth well acquainted with the heroic struggle of the Soviet youth, with their sacrifices, work, and achievements.

The CC of the CPA greets you and wishes you success.

LONG LIVE GREAT COMRADE STALIN!

LONG LIVE THE GLORIOUS INVINCIBLE RED ARMY!
LONG LIVE THE SOVIET UNION, THE BASTION OF FREEDOM!

LONG LIVE THE POWERFUL ANGLO-SOVIET-AMERICAN ALLIANCE!

LONG LIVE THE NATIONAL LIBERATION WAR OF THE ENSLAVED PEOPLES!

LONG LIVE THE UNITY OF THE ALBANIAN PEOPLE!

LONG LIVE THE NATIONAL LIBERATION WAR OF THE ALBANIAN PEOPLE!

LONG LIVE THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF ALBANIA!

LONG LIVE THE ALBANIAN ANTI-FASCIST YOUTH UNION!

LONG LIVE THE ALBANIAN COMMUNIST YOUTH!

LONG LIVE THE 1ST NATIONAL CONFERENCE OF THE ACTIVISTS OF THE ALBANIAN COMMUNIST YOUTH!

For the CC of the CPA

Shpati

First published in "Principal Documents of the PLA", vol. 1, Tirana 1960
LETTER TO THE TIRANA REGIONAL COMMITTEE OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF ALBANIA ON ENLIVENING THE ORGANIZATION AND STRENGTHENING POLITICAL AND ORGANIZATIONAL WORK

August 1, 1943

TO THE TIRANA REGIONAL COMMITTEE
(comrade Hysen)¹

We have heard nothing about what is going on there! What has been done with regard to the “Balli Kombëtar”, that is the main question, and what attitude do they take following the fall of Mussolini? What are the repercussions of these events in Tirana circles, in fascist and government circles, among the people; what possibilities for work present themselves in the new situation, etc. You do not bring us up to date on any of these matters. We heard that J. Ç. has gone to the mountains with many others, and with carabinieri (!). But what is the significance of this? We have not the least information, and thus cannot utilize such a fact in the interest of our struggle, although so much work has been done to achieve this. We don't even know where the man is! And even if he has really gone, who knows where he is, at a time when his place is elsewhere. You do not even send us information,

¹ Pseudonym of Gogo Nushi, Member of the CC of the CPA and Political Secretary of the Tirana Regional Party Committee.
let alone bring him to where we are. The war is not fought simply by observing and recording events, but we should profit from them immediately and to the greatest possible extent.

Get moving, comrades, get moving, and let us shake off bureaucracy, or we are lost.

I. Don’t look at the work narrowly, don’t see only the Tirana region, take a broader view of things. Whatever happens in Tirana has repercussions in the other regions as well, so break out of your narrow circle, from trifling matters and unnecessary work, and entrust tasks to the youth; don’t be afraid, they will certainly accomplish the job better than the old comrades.

II. Consolidate the organization and make it more lively and militant, don’t pass on the indolence which might have affected some of you. This is not the time for the cells to slumber, or for groups of sympathizers, or friends of the Party to fall asleep. The organization should work like a bee-hive, with definite tasks, clear instructions, and a clear goal. In this way, you will show that you are real leaders. Your organization there has a most important role, for it is at the centre, where events will develop and the major decisions will be taken. Therefore, all organizations, from that of the youth to that of the women, should be permeated by a profound spirit of work and struggle. They should be ready for events of major importance to our country and our Party.

a — Political conferences should be organized everywhere by comrades and sympathizers (many comrades make excuses saying: I’m busy, I have to go to the office, I’ve got my family to look after. Those who make such excuses at this time should be sent packing, for they are not communists).

b — The cells should meet regularly and should be given instruction at every meeting concerning the week’s
work; concrete instructions, and not mere dreams and high flown words but practical, concrete work, which benefits our movement and the Party. There should never be pointless meetings of the cells, but lively meetings which thrash out the most serious questions that crop up and require solution. Today more than ever, the comrades should be armed and become revolutionaries.

The greatest importance should be attached to the groups of sympathizers. They should be the reserve of the cells, their main auxiliary, in which new cadres are developed and instructed.

c — The greatest help must be given to the youth, don't neglect their education, or you will be committing the greatest crime. You should strengthen the youth, make them fighters, make them the strongest weapon of the Party. Spare nothing to channel such sound and pure energies, which will exert great weight on the balance of future events. Bear in mind the future, think of the youth and their role, strengthen the educational groups, enliven and enlarge the meetings of activists.

d — The city guerrilla units must be organized and strengthened. They must become a truly strong army trained to fight in the city. They are to be armed with rifles and grenades. We plan to equip them with automatic weapons, too. Have five or six people from the units who are not underground, ready to be called for training in urban warfare and the use of various explosives, with which we shall supply you. These people will be the instructors of specialized teams which you will form from the units. These units should be trained as well as possible, they should study the map of the city in detail, the strategic points, both in the city and outside it, and at the same time these maps should be sent to the General Staff.
e—Organize the information service. How should this service be organized and how should it operate? It should be attached to the regional committee. One member of the regional committee should direct it, or at least, all information gathered should of necessity pass via him. Thus, there will be a person responsible for this work. He should select good, intelligent and determined comrades (none of whom should know the others who are entrusted with this special work), and they should be in contact with him. These comrades should organize and extend the network, bringing in sympathizers, friends and the people. All the persons of the latter group should work individually, maintaining contact with the appointed comrade. All the information furnished by the people, friends, sympathizers, and comrades will be concentrated in the hands of the person in charge of the information service.

The network of informers should be interested in everything, and in particular in the following:

1—Enemy movements (for example: today 30 enemy convoys have passed, coming from Durrës, heading for Elbasan; they consisted of soldiers, or material, etc.).

2—The number of soldiers stationed in various places; barracks, ammunition depots or food stores; command offices, offices of SIM (find a map of Tirana, mark their location in red and send it to us); the airfield (the number of planes, their movements, fuel depots), bridges, strategic points, etc.

3—The movements of German soldiers: where from, where to? Are there any in Tirana? How many? How many leave? Note the number of every soldier on his lapel, his collar or epaulettes, the colour of his uniform, and other distinguishing markings on his cap or chest. Sketch these markings, it doesn’t matter if you don’t do it very well; for example, you will see different emblems
on their chests, such as eagles of various forms. This information, especially concerning the Germans, should be sent directly to us with the first courier available, for it is very important in order to identify the German divisions that have come here and to ascertain where they have come from.

4 — Identify the fifth column, gather information and documents about them, observe their activity and contacts.

5 — Identify the spies, the agents of the Italians and Germans, and the elements who have sold out to the enemy.

6 — Identify the enemies of our Party, their connections, their circles, and so on.

All information of a military nature should be sent to the General Staff, and that concerning the Party, to the Central Committee. This work is of major importance, and therefore, within ten days from the date of this letter, this service should be set up and start functioning.

Enclosed herewith you will find a letter. This is an order to the Tirana region from the General Staff. A detailed report should be made for the General Staff on the military situation of the region, on our military strength. How many men are there? Is it possible to form battalions? Is it possible to effect a mobilization? Who are the commanders of the partisan units? Are they suitable? What comments might be made about these people, and what proposals? What is the situation with the supply of weapons there and what arms are needed in that region? Can weapons be bought there?

Comrade Hysen is to write a letter to Durrës, telling them to organize the information service there (the comrades there should inform us as soon as possible of the movements in the port and those of the German army, as we have told you above), and to organize guerrilla units.
Comrade Hysen should go from time to time to check the work of the Durrës regional committee, or summon those in charge there, and assist and advise them in their work. We are also sending you a list of medicines. Try to get them donated by the pharmacies there, as we need them for the hospital which is being set up. I believe you have enough friends among the pharmacists to collect these few things.

Check on the attitude of Çiça, and inquire into the Pali affair. The experience of the Vlora comrades does not seem to have taught you a lesson, for you are slipping into the same errors! The grand plans you had designed did not help to get rid of Pali! You reckon without the host and imagine that Pali is alone and without people to warn him. Therefore, fewer high flown words on the carrying out of orders, and more work. The enemies of the Party must be fought through systematic and rapid work, and not through plans and super-plans.

Keep your eyes open, defend your organization, and strike without mercy at those who fight the Party from within!

—What of the question of the Peza cell and of the quarrels in it? It seems to me that the Central Committee is entitled to know what is happening in every organization. The report brought from Peza by Dr. Rosho should be sent here immediately, and also information about the measures you have taken to organize the work there.

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2 This refers to the weaknesses of the party organization of the Vlora region which were utilized by the faction of Sadik Premte.

3 This refers to the struggle going on in the Peza party cell between the healthy communists defending the line of the Party and Mustafa Gjinishi, who maintained an opportunist stand and engaged in disruptive activities.
— The other partisan units of the region should be supplied with material and literature.
— We have written asking you to send us an account of your financial situation, and how much you have left. We don't know whether you have taken a political stand towards the events which are occurring. From our observations, you seem to have lost your bearings in the questions of propaganda. In nearly two months, we have received only two or three communiques, and these were as dry as dust.

You should attach great importance to propaganda, take responsibility, and adopt a definite stand towards every event which occurs. We have no knowledge at all concerning the rest of the party press. Does “Zëri i Popullit” appear? Or, do you wait for articles to come to you from us, or to fall from the sky? What books have you published? You should send us 5 copies for the Central Committee of everything you print.

Comradely greetings
For the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Albania

Shpati

Works, vol. 1.