

ENVER HOXHA

SELECTED WORKS

I

THE INSTITUTE OF MARXIST-LENINIST STUDIES
AT THE CC OF THE PLA

ENVER HOXHA

VOLUME

I

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WORKERS OF ALL COUNTRIES, UNITE!

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FOREWORD

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

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

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

The works of the war time dwell on the elaboration of the political line of the Communist Party on the basis of the fundamental Marxist-Leninist principles and of the revolutionary experience as it was continually being gained in the country.

The revolutionary experience of the CPA and of the masses of the people in the Anti-fascist National Liberation War shows that in revolutionary situations any Marxist-Leninist party of the working class can raise itself to the level of a genuine leader of the masses, can organize the revolution and carry it through to the end, provided it is in a position to work out a correct political line responding to the objective tendencies of development of the situations, the political aspirations and demands of the masses, and provided it is capable of implementing this line with determination and maturity.

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

In the works of the war time, an important part is occupied by the stand of the CPA towards the foreign allies of the insurgent Albanian people, stemming from these revolutionary principles: differentiated stand towards the allies; non-interference in the internal affairs of any ally; self-reliance.

Hence the treatment of the connection between the National Liberation War of the Albanian people and the world anti-fascist war, in the first place, the Great Patriotic War of the Soviet Union and the liberation war of the neighbouring people of Yugoslavia and Greece.

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

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

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

and the Trotskyite and hostile activity of its agents in Albania.

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

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

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

PART ONE

**REPORT DELIVERED TO THE
1ST CONSULTATIVE MEETING OF THE ACTIVISTS
OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF ALBANIA¹**

[April 8, 1942]

Comrades,

The cause of a certain degree of organizational fragmentation, and the fact that our Party is not yet consolidated as an organization, should be sought in the group spirit which still exists. Comrades, in the Resolution of the Meeting of all the main communist groups in Albania²,

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

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

In the course of the discussions of the ideological, tactical and organizational questions of the Party, pronounced divergencies emerged among the representatives of groups. Comrade Enver

you have seen how things stood in regard to communist work in our country. You have seen what great mistakes these groups have made. Because of these errors, orderly work has still to be established, and we have not yet been able to advance as we should.

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

As you know, we have had many groups, such as those of Korça³, Shkodra⁴, and the "Youth"⁵ group, and we have

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

³ The communist group of Korça was formed in June 1929. It was the first revolutionary organization of the Albanian working class, but suffered from marked ideological and organizational weaknesses. Anti-Marxist elements had found their way into the group. The communist literature studied by its members was not entirely Marxist and included also Trotskyite and anarchical materials. Due to these shortcomings it remained isolated from the worker movement and confined itself to the town of Korça only. With the arrival of the distinguished communist militant

also had two people, of the communist group of Korça, who have set up a sort of small group. They have gathered around themselves a few people with whom they have some influence, and have kept them "for their own ends". These comrades are A. and M. There were also two Trots-

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

⁴The communist group of Shkodra was formed in 1934 and extended also to several other towns. The head of the group was an intellectual of wrong theoretical views and marked political unclarity. When arrested under Zog's regime, he knelt down before the enquiry and told on all the comrades of his group. The activity of the group was limited to student and trade circles, and some working centres. This group had not a clear-cut political line, a definite organizational form and a sound discipline and secrecy. Like other groups, that of Shkodra, apart from Marxist literature circulated also Trotskyite and anarchical literature.

⁵The "Youth" group was formed in 1940 as a result of the division and weakness of the communist movement. It began as a faction of the communist group of Korça and later on emerged as a separate group. Elements of marked Trotskyite and anarchical views placed themselves at its head. The group swelled its ranks with intellectual elements of bourgeois and petty-bourgeois extraction. Its leadership emerged with an anti-Marxist ideological and political platform. It held that Albania lacked proletariat, that the class struggle did not exist in Albania, and therefore there was no basis to form the Communist Party, that peasantry was conservative and reactionary, and could not become the ally of the working class, that the links with the masses and the work among them would endanger the cadres, that the fascist occupation promoted the development of capitalism and the growth of the proletariat!

kyite groups: that of Fundo⁶ and of Qendro⁷ and, finally, a group of liquidationist opportunists: the "Zjarri" group (we shall have more to say later about all the groups and individuals).

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

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

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

⁷ Aristidh Qendro, a deserter from the communist group of Korça, chief of a small Trotskyite group in Tirana, placed himself at the service of reaction and occupiers.

it is here that all the representatives of the groups are to be found, including the most quarrelsome factionalists, those who find difficulty in reconciling themselves to the new organizational line. Their former situation is shaken, and the new situation has not entered their heads, and thus they carry on in the old spirit, outside the line of the Party, hindering its work and orderly development.

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

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

⁸ Anastas Lula, ex-chief of the "Youth" group. At the Meeting of the communist groups in November 1941, together with the former vice-chairman of the group, Sadik Premte (Xhepi), he endeavoured to hinder the forming of the Communist Party of Albania. Following the founding of the Party, they fought by every manner of means against the political line of the Party and its Central Committee. At the 1st Consultative Meeting of Activists, the CPA admonished them for the last time to give up their anti-Marxist activity and carry out the directives of the Party. But they did not change their ways. They organized a dangerous faction in the bosom of the Party. In June 1942, the Extraordinary Conference of the Party liquidated this Trotskyite faction and expelled its chiefs from the Party. As they kept up their treacherous activity, the 1st National Conference of the CPA branded them as enemies of the Party and people.

carry out the directives to the letter. Now we should resort to another method, that of purging the Party of harmful elements, of all those who hinder the work and development of the Party. In our opinion, we must resort to this method without fail, if we do not wish to fall into the old bog and if we want the Party to develop in a unity of discipline. An irreconcilable struggle should be waged against all deviations, whatever their origin and whatever group they come from. It is impermissible for us to slip into the position of the old social-democrats, who said: "Better an insecure peace than a good clash". A struggle must be waged also against all those who attack the work of the Party from outside (Z.)⁹, because we should be clear that only through such a struggle can the Party be consolidated. We should unmask harmful elements before the masses of the people. If we don't denounce them before the people they could deceive others who are honest.

1) THE SITUATION WITHIN THE PARTY

A full understanding of the structure of our organization and how the Party is run has not yet been formed. This is due to many causes, and in particular to the fact that the comrades do not have a good understanding of Marxism-Leninism, that they do not appreciate the importance of linking theory with practice, or that they do not have a grasp of the most fundamental questions which must be grasped by a communist organizer, agitator, and propagandist. It is clear that things cannot go on like this. We must do a great deal of work in every field to raise the

⁹ The Trotskyite "Zjarri" group was formed in Greece in 1936. It engaged in an openly hostile activity against the communist groups and against the CPA. In the beginning of 1943 it was finally destroyed.