
**THE PARTY
OF LABOUR OF ALBANIA
ON THE BUILDING AND THE LIFE
OF THE PARTY**

TIRANA, 1974

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**FROM THE RESOLUTION OF THE MEETING OF
THE PRINCIPAL COMMUNIST GROUPS OF
ALBANIA FOR THE CREATION
OF THE PARTY**

November 1941

R E S O L U T I O N

The first meeting of the principal communist groups of Albania concluded with this resolution:

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V. ORGANIZATIONAL TASKS

The narrowly sectarian organizations of the past, with their group and factional spirit, were founded on a very limited basis and often almost entirely isolated from the masses; such communist cells existing so far should be done away with and reorganized as soon as possible, for this sort of work has been quite wrong. The method of work with the youth is also wrong; this work has been done on a narrow basis, setting up cells which in the majority of cases have been isolated in themselves

and have lacked broad links with the mass of worker, peasant, and intellectual youth. These are the two principal organizational shortcomings, and it is essential to eliminate them as soon as possible.

One of the fundamental laws of the development of a party of the new type, a Bolshevik Party, is struggle on two fronts, against its own mistakes and especially against attempts to create groups, and irreconcilable struggle against the class enemy. Thus the party will not become a party of the old type, a party like those of the social-democrat second International, which were corroded by inactivity, nepotism, factionalism, and betrayal of the interests of the working class. We want a disciplined party, in which the comrades submit to the higher organs (committees), a party able to lead the working class in struggle till victory, a party closely linked with all the working masses of town and countryside. «If they do not separate from the people, from the mother who gave them birth, the communists will be invincible»¹, says our great teacher Stalin. This is the sort of party we want.

It is essential for us to continue our work more energetically, and to get rid of all negative and unhealthy symptoms and theories.

To safeguard our Party from the attacks of the class enemy, from various factionalist tendencies, from the destructive activity of some individuals, it is necessary to carry on as quickly as possible and as energetically as possible with the purge of the party ranks, preserving what is good and separating it from alien influence. It is necessary to liquidate narrowness in our work, politick-

1. Cf. J. V. Stalin, Works, vol. 14, p. 136 (Alb. ed.).

ing, liberalism, and manifestations of opportunism. Therefore we must always be vigilant politically and organizationally, and cooperation between the rank-and-file members and leaders is essential. In this respect, it is necessary to know the ability of all the committees and party members, and everyone should be assigned to the appropriate place.

To uphold unity in the Party, we must throw out of the Party all the incorrigible factionalists and those affected by cronyism. Thus, the Party is further strengthened through the purging of its ranks. We must pay special attention to the comrades who have rid themselves of cronyism and have become devoted fighters of the Party.

Cronyism, factionalism, and indiscipline are the main causes of weakness among the communist organizations of Albania.

Hence the following tasks face the party organization:

- 1) To select the members and organize them in cells, and to create new cells. The cell system must without fail, and in the shortest possible time, become the organizational basis of the Party.

- 2) We must consolidate immediately its ranks with new forces, sound fighters, workers and peasants recruited from among the poor of town and countryside. We should dispense once and for all with timidity and sectarianism towards admitting sound worker and peasant elements into the Party. Its cells should emerge from the worker movement, from which the true leaders of the Party emerge.

- 3) We should energetically insist on raising the ideological, theoretical, and political level of the cadres through the study of Marxist-Leninist theory, and through

the study of the History of the CPSU(B), which constitutes the main pivot in the formation of a strong underground communist party; this study course will be useful for training comrades to fight against all phrasemongering and unhealthy intellectualism.

4) In the cells and committees, the work should be divided among all the members according to the abilities of each.

5) Only he who accepts the party program, takes active part in a party organization (cell) and pays the membership dues can be a party member.

6) Strong links should be established between the cells and the regional committees, and between the lower and higher committees.

7) The committees should constantly check up on the work of the cells and of every party member. In particular we should guard against the possibility of the old cronyism smuggling its way into our cells.

8) To bring about a healthy situation in the Party, the cells should take as much initiative as possible and the leading comrades should give this initiative every assistance. The comrades should exert all their willpower and zeal in the daily work of the Party. They should increase love for the Party, and keep the name of communist and the name of the Party untarnished.

9) Indiscipline, and scorn and contempt for work and for the decisions of the Party, are among the gravest and most harmful manifestations in the organization. It is essential that these manifestations are done away with, and that iron discipline and total submission to all decisions of the Party are enforced. Therefore, the Party will energetically expel from its ranks anyone who breaches discipline, and any elements with anarchist,

opportunist and liquidationist tendencies, or unhealthy ambition.

10) On the question of party security and keeping secrets from the class enemy, some liquidationist, opportunist, and traitorous elements say that they cannot endure tortures, but must confess and betray their comrades; these are viewpoints alien to the Party of the proletariat, and should be ruthlessly suppressed. So far, our security has been very bad. We maintain secrecy in order to safeguard our organization against the class enemy, and not to hide behind a curtain and withdraw into ourselves.

11) We should extend our organizational links to all those places, where, so far, nothing or very little has been done.

12) We should engage in agitation and propaganda activity among the broad mass of the people, and organize and carry out combat actions.

13) We should create and organize concretely the guerrilla movement of the masses, as the framework of the future army, and the real material and political bases for the guerrilla units, together with other political parties and with the national liberation movement.

14) It is essential to make a change in the work with women. The present situation in particular obliges us to undertake serious work among women; we should admit working women to the Party, and help them in their work to mobilize the mass of women in the liberation war.

15) The party organization and the higher organs must help the Albanian Communist Youth in its development and in the mobilization of all honest Albanian youth.

16) The party organization should collect contributions for the Party to enable it to carry on broad party activity in the liberation war, and to aid the victims of the white terror. This work should be strengthened and extended over the entire country.

Every organization must have some sort of discipline, but in our Communist Party it is essential that we have a special discipline, which stems from the high consciousness of the party members, as the most conscious sons of the working class and the people. The difficult conditions of underground activity make even more rigorous discipline imperative, especially here in Albania. Every party member must submit to party discipline. Without iron discipline and unity, our Party, which has a large number of enemies cannot possibly lead the struggle successfully. Indiscipline is brought into the Party by alien elements who worm their way into it with the intention of destroying it from within. Thus, various elements from petty-bourgeois strata enter the Party without having got rid of their petty-bourgeois spirit, people who are not mature enough to be party members, or carrierists, who make trouble and prepare the ground for anti-party and Trotskyite activities. It is not difficult to recognize these people, if we keep our eyes open.

The Conference¹ and the higher organs² pledge that the party organization in Albania will exert all its efforts to eliminate the unhealthy situation which has dominated all the communist organizations in Albania, and will

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1. The meeting of the communist groups.
 2. The Provisional Central Committee of the CPA and the Central Committee of the Albanian Communist Youth.

muster all the organizational forces of the Party for the struggle for the bolshevization of our Party, which must fulfil the great tasks which face it today.

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THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF THE
COMMUNIST PARTY OF ALBANIA

*«Principal Documents of the
PLA», vol. 1, 2nd ed., pp. 11,
22-26, 27.*

**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, you have seen how things stood in regard to

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 the main communist groups in Albania was held in underground conditions from the 8th to the 14th

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,

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 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-

such as those of Korça³, Shkodra⁴, and the

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 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, directed by comrade Enver Hoxha which later became an important centre of the communist and anti-fascist movement in the capital.

4. The communist group of Shkodra was formed in 1934 and extended also to several other towns. The head of the group was an intellectual of wrong theoretical views and marked political unclarity. When arrested, under Zog's regime, he knelt down before the enquiry and told on all the comrades of his group. The activity of the group was

«Youth»⁵ group, and we have 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 over whom they have some influence, and have kept them «for their own ends». These comrades are A. and M. There were also two Trotskyite groups: that of Fundo⁶ and of Qendro⁷ and finally, a group of

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 Trotskyite and anarchical literature.

5. The «Youth» group was formed in 1940 as a result of the division and weakness of the communist movement. It began as a faction of the communist group of Korça and later on emerged as a separate group. Elements of marked Trotskyite and anarchical views placed themselves at its head. The group swelled its ranks with intellectual elements of bourgeois and petty-bourgeois extraction. Its leadership emerged with an anti-Marxist ideological and political platform. It held that Albania lacked proletariat, that the class struggle did not exist in Albania, and therefore there was no basis to form the Communist Party, that peasantry was conservative, 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!

6. L Lazar (Zoi) Fundo, deserter from the group of Korça, chief of a small Trotskyite group in Tirana, offered his services to the reaction and occupiers.

7. Aristidh Qendro, a deserter from the communist group

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 it is here that all the representatives of the groups, including the most quarrelsome

of Korça, chief of a small Trotskyite group in Tirana, placed himself at the service of reaction and occupiers.

factionalists are to be found, 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 rigorously set about the task, carrying out the line, while the other has reservations on all questions, criticising (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 promis-

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. In 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 destroyed 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.

ing 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 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.

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.

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 good understanding of Marxism-Leninism, that they do not appreciate the importance of linking theory with practice, or that they do not have a grasp of the most fundamental questions which must be grasped by a communist organizer, agitator, and propagandist. It is clear that things cannot go on like this. We must do a great deal of work in every field to raise the level of the comrades' understanding, so that they can make progress and become leaders. But we cannot possibly do this if we do not link theoretical work with the practical work, because, «without a revolutionary theory there can be no revolutionary movement»*; that is to say, we have to follow the road pointed out by our immortal teacher, Lenin, towards the linking of theory with practice, linking theoretical development with practical work. It is impermissible for us to neglect the one on account of the other, to underestimate the one and give more importance to the other. Both in the one direction and in the other, our work is lagging. It is lagging painfully; only those who refuse to look at themselves, who close their eyes to the truth, can fail to see this.

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

The best way to understand this question more cle-

*) Lenin, What is to be done? Works, vol. 5, p. 434.

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

The lack of firm contacts and knowledge about organizational matters, the lack of unity, the lack of faith in the cause of the struggle of the working class and the labouring people, the irresponsibility of comrades, distrust of and failure to implement directives of the Comintern which were of historic importance¹⁰, ambitions and cronyism, the influence of the bourgeoisie, the tendency to lie low in order to conceal that one is a communist and many other such things have caused to old group rivalries to flare up to the point where their struggle has come out into the open.

This has led to individuals and groups working without plans, without check-up, without responsibility to

10. The directives of the Communist International for the communist movement in Albania, were drafted on the basis of the decisions of the 7th Congress of the Comintern, which held its proceedings from July 25 to August 25, 1935. They reached Albania in 1937.

anyone. Serious organizational errors have been committed, which will take a long time and a great effort to correct. The hang-overs from such organizational errors which, along with group factionalism include sectarianism and pettiness, prevent progress in the organizational work, and hinder the work of the Party from being reorganized as it should. Thus, it is necessary to begin a decisive struggle against those remnants (sectarianism, misunderstandings, and unclarity), which are totally alien to the Party and the worker movement, but which, unfortunately, still exist among us. We shall not allow harmful, ambitious and irresponsible elements to destroy the party work, to destroy what we have built with such great effort. We shall not allow the old ills and the old teachings to persist. Astonishing things have occurred and are still occurring among us in matters of organization. Frequently a few people have attached themselves to certain elements, falling under their influence, serving them and trusting them blindly. These elements have become skilled in group work. Under the old mysterious cloak of conspiracy of the time of the groups, they have made approaches to some comrades and today are still endeavouring to win over others by various cunning methods. Amongst them there are some comrades with a low level of understanding, or with little awareness of the importance of this question, who believe all they are told by the old group leaders or the quarrelsome factionalists, who place the individual above the movement, above the Party.

This is an evil which we must rigorously combat without fail. We cannot allow this state of affairs to continue any longer. The comrades must be absolutely convinced to have faith in the Party, to love it and its

work. Long discussions have been needed to explain the necessity of work with the masses. These comrades have been very slow in becoming conscious of the necessity of work with the masses. They have denied the possibility of working under fascism. They alleged that «It is possible to work with this organizational system in Greece and other countries», or «perhaps this is an old method of work and we should not be exposed», «we should not go into action, because the police may discover us», «we do not want to lose men and if anyone wants to go into such actions, let him go alone». In other words, they have refused to work and show themselves as communists before the masses, they have refused to undertake actions. How then do they think the revolution will be achieved? This is not clear to us. But one thing is clear; in that way we will never be able to achieve the revolution, and nothing good can be expected from such work.

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

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

Enough about that.

The comrades of the Provisional Central Committee¹¹ have gone to various places and have reorganized the work, have set up communist cells (among which duties and tasks have been divided). The Provisional Central Committee has not only done the organization but has in fact unified the organizations of various regions and established contacts between them and the Central Committee. While visiting various places and organizations, it has given the comrades full assistance. In fact, it has directed the entire organizational work, giving advice and directives. It has defined its position on all questions, and, through its proclamations, has laid down the political line of the work, and brought the organization to life. Its task has been important and arduous. It has been charged with creating the Party, and you know well, comrades, that this task was not at all simple, especially in a domain where a contradiction might emerge at every step. It has fought sectarianism and has begun the struggle against deviations, it has fought pettiness and parochialism, and in the course of this work, other problems have emerged, which have been resolved by the Central Committee. The Party is not built in a day. It takes time. The Central Committee will wage a struggle relying on its organizational experience, so true unity can be created through this struggle. This is why the Central Committee has decided that parallel with the organization of the Party, the comrades should undertake

11. The Meeting of the main communist groups in Albania elected a provisional Central Committee of 7 persons. Comrade Enver Hoxha, was assigned to guide it, though there was no secretary elected.

actions, demonstrations, etc., in which they will learn, become steeled, and link themselves with the masses. We have always had to face numerous difficulties in this work; but they have never stopped us; and up to now we have always overcome them successfully. We want a truly unified party, and we must transform our organizations from small isolated cells into big organizations of the Party, closely linked with the masses, with their roots among them. We want organizations which, through the example of their struggle, encourage others to be self-sacrificing and win the trust of the circles in which they are working. We cannot leave a single trace of the old style of work. The spirit of the Party and of communist work should be felt everywhere. We must build such strong organizations that they are invulnerable to the attacks of the enemy. We should link ourselves with the masses and merge with them so closely that the enemy cannot harm us.

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

This is still a long way from what we must achieve but nevertheless, it can be regarded as a major success, considering the external and internal circumstances in which we are working. Besides this, the comrades of the Central Committee have had to carry out even the smallest tasks. They have had to organize the work in the cells, which is the responsibility of the local leaders. In addition to this, they have spoken separately with every comrade, have had long discussions with them, trying to convince those people who were discontented for some reason, of whom there were no small number at the

beginning. Their discontent mainly stemmed from the selection of the regional committees. But these comrades did not limit themselves to criticism of the system of selection, but went as far as to oppose the leading comrades, and to refuse to accept discipline. Thus, they have brought confusion into the ranks of the Party, creating tendencies towards anti-party work. See, comrades, what a high level of consciousness they have as party members! They are dissatisfied because they themselves have not been made leaders. How do they know that their representatives have not been appointed? It is evident that discipline has been violated and secrecy betrayed. Old connections have been maintained. These comrades have got the idea into their heads that their group is considered worthless. This, allegedly, is the reason for their revolt. This pretext has been suggested to them by their old chiefs, because the Party has left no room for the slightest doubt on this subject. They have duplicated propaganda material without the permission of the regional committees. They have undoubtedly notified the old leaders of the group (Anastas Lula and Xhepi) about this and have distributed this duplicated material only amongst their former comrades. This had led to the creation of some petty theories according to which «work in the countryside is impossible; when you talk with a peasant, he agrees, but once you turn your back, he sticks out his tongue and makes fun of you». Others claim that «it is necessary to move the entire organization into the countryside», or that «some comrades who should be freed from all party work should be assigned to the mission of killing fifth columnists and spies» (professional assassins!), etc.; that «the comrades of the cells lack initiative»; that «the Soviet Union is playing politics like the bourgeois countries».

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

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

From these people come accusations that they could

12. Titles of the Turkish feudal military regime. The title «aga» was bestowed on low and middle rung officers, and that of «bey» to high rung officers and officials. After the proclamation of Albanian independence «beys» and «agas» were titles applied to all the rich of the town and countryside.

not tolerate the orders of the regional committee, because the committee was composed of some undeveloped workers. Admittedly, some regional committees are not at the required level. But why do these discontented comrades not ask for an explanation from the higher organs? It seems to us that they are hiding something else; they do not accept the line of the Party although they say they accept it. The worker comrades, who are very young and not at the required level, but who are most likely to become leaders, cannot answer certain questions or solve certain problems of a purely intellectual nature, but within a very short period, these comrades have understood the party line very well, and carry it out to the letter. They know and apply the political line better than the intellectuals who have studied «certain economic developments». It is understandable that sometimes the party organs make mistakes, not knowing how to behave with the comrades and people in general, that there is a tendency to commandism, and this is not correct; it is harmful and should be banned. The higher organs should check up on the work of the lower ones and make every effort to prevent them from acting in this manner any longer.

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

Now, let us return to two people we have spoken of above; one of them has accepted the party line on all points, while the other, who at first expressed his desire and was interested in the election of the Central Committee, has shown dissatisfaction because he himself is not in the Central Committee, because «only workers, and not intellectuals, can become members of the committee». In fact, intellectuals can become members, those who are far removed from the group spirit and have the necessary qualities. This man, who formerly had contacts with the Korça group and who now maintains «friendly relations» and contacts with all the groups, is dissatisfied with the election of these Committees. He raises some astonishing matters, but one thing is clear, he does not have a single correct idea of the Party and is quite unable to distinguish between communists and nationalists. He goes so far as to criticize our statements, which according to him, are not sufficiently nationalist in content. Astonishing! Under the influence of the nationalists, he has formed the opinion that our fight today is a fight just for solidarity and internationalism and not for the good of the Albanian people! He has other such ideas in his head, but there is not need to comment on them.

He has refused to hand over the names¹³ of his contacts. He claims that they have not yet been trained, but they have been trained to have contacts with him! Among them there are both young and mature elements with

13. The meeting of the main communist groups for the creation of the Party has decided that the leaders of the communist groups were to hand over to the Central Committee all their connections with the members of their groups.

whom he is unable to do communist work, first, because there are too many of them and second, because he himself is working underground. For this and other reasons, these people are often left a long time without communication or contact. The most important thing is that he does not do regular communist work among them. He maintains contacts with people in Peqin whose names he has still not handed over. He also had connections in Ishëm, but did not hand over their names until the Party itself discovered them. We advise this comrade not to continue in this way, for it is not the way to act, and cannot be tolerated.

Within a short time he should hand over all his connections, and the names of all his contacts (the Party will not deprive him of his friends). If he does not observe party discipline then the Party will have to take the necessary steps.

We have always been of the opinion that we should correct our comrades. But we should blame ourselves for not taking the decision to denounce these wrong actions openly right at the beginning. However we justify this fault by the desire to correct people. We have scored successes in this and we are continuing to follow this method. We bear in mind the teachings of the great Lenin: «We are marching in a compact group along a precipitous and difficult path, firmly holding each other by the hand. We are surrounded on all sides by enemies, and we have to advance under their almost constant fire. We have combined voluntarily, precisely for the purpose of fighting the enemy, and not to retreat into the adjacent marsh, the inhabitants of which, from the very outset, have reproached us with having separated ourselves into an exclusive group and with having

chosen the path of struggle instead of the path of conciliation. And now several among us begin to cry out: let us go into this marsh! And when we begin to shame them, they retort: how conservative you are! Are you not ashamed to deny us the liberty to invite to take a better road! Oh, yes, gentlemen! You are free not only to invite us, but to go yourselves wherever you will, even into the marsh. In fact, we think that the marsh is your proper place, and we are prepared to render you every assistance to get there. Only let go of our hands, don't clutch at us and don't besmirch the grand word freedom, for we too are «free» to go where we please, free to fight not only against the marsh, but also against those who are turning towards the marsh!»*

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

Its chiefs have created an arsenal of very petty harmful theories and hypotheses which every reactionary, even Mustafa Kruja¹⁴ himself, could subscribe to. Here are some of their theories: «we should not engage in agitational work and propaganda, because the time is not right», «the USSR today is making concessions such

* Lenin, What is to be done? Works, vol. 5, p. 417.

14. Mustafa Merlika (Kruja), an inveterate agent of Italian fascism, Prime Minister of the quisling government from December 1941 to January 1943.

as in the realm of religion», «in the Soviet Union the communists are on the retreat and so should we be, we should not carry out actions» (according to them they have allegedly received directives from the Comintern about this!), «for this reason, we should not undertake any actions until four days before the expulsion of the Italians» (they say «the Italians» and not «the fascist invaders»), «the communists should not undertake any actions for the time being because those who undertake them now are not communists» (then, when should actions be undertaken?!). They say the communists should not act at the present time. And this mysterious thought raises a question: then, when should they go into action? They say only four days before the revolution! How ridiculous that grown up men should say such things! They have established contacts with the government of Mustafa Kruja¹⁵. They ask: «Who can guarantee that the USSR will win?» They are slipping into the position of the German fascists who claim that «the war of the Albanian communists (our war) serves Russian panslavism. Then, they declare again that «we should not distribute leaflets, because our people can neither read nor write, and it is not the appropriate time for this», that «those who hold demonstrations, write the leaflets and undertake actions, are not communists, but terrorists»! They claim that «it is not the time for us

15. In December 1941, Zisi Andrea, the head of the «Zjarri» group, together with Mustafa Kruja, the quisling Prime Minister, signed an agreement in which the former promised that «The Albanian Communist Party» (as he styled his Trotskyite «Zjarri» group) would not fight against fascism.

to fight, it is not the time for revolution», «when we have a communist government and army, the revolution will burst out»; etc. etc. There are many such opinions. Here, finally, is a typical example. The Zjarrists declare: «Those who undertake actions today, will be condemned by the people's tribunal». The interesting thing is that they show themselves up. If they act in this manner and fall into the position of the fifth column and spies, it is true that the people's tribunal will pass judgment on them, and they can fall into this position very easily.

Comrades, we should be careful, because there are Trotskyites in our country, as the Comintern itself has defined them, such as the infamous Fundo, and Qendro who is connected with the Greek Trotskyites. Both of them oppose the Comintern and its line, and comrade Stalin. We must not underrate the danger they represent. They are infiltrating among us in various ways, and using every means to try to spread their «ideas». They find various ways to propagate their «ideas», and for this reason we should not underestimate them, but should wage a fiercer struggle against them, and expose them before the people. «We should brand these dregs of society and put them in the pillory of shame and scorn». (History of the CPSU(B)).

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

2. EDUCATIONAL, POLITICAL, AND THEORETICAL WORK.

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

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

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

such as «the theory of the class»¹⁶, the «theory of cadres»¹⁷, etc.

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

But we would be very wrong to lay all the blame on the past; we should look for a large share of this responsibility in the present weaknesses in our work. We should use our experience, benefit from it, increase our knowledge and proceed further ahead on this road. We should take this work seriously in hand. The question of the development and raising of the political level of the

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

17. The «Theory of Cadres» was borrowed from the archeo-marxists, members of an anti-Marxist organization in Greece, who, in 1930 joined Trotsky's International and during the Second World war acted as overt agents of fascism and nazism. According to their theory, the communists must not engage in any activity to organize and mobilize the masses, but sit in their secluded cells and engage themselves only in theoretical education, in «training cadres», and only after the cadres are trained can they start their revolutionary activity.

comrades should not be left solely to their own initiative. They should study collectively, while at the same time individual study should not be neglected. On this point, the Party should exercise careful check-up and give assistance.

It is very difficult for the worker comrades to raise their political level much by relying solely on their own initiative. When he comes home tired from his work, the worker comrade finds it difficult to read, because he is not used to doing this, and thus very precious time is wasted. For the intellectuals on the other hand, this is possible, because of the very nature of their work. The workers should be given the possibility of collective study as well as individual study. We should make this possible by preparing suitable literature. There are objective difficulties in this field, in particular because of the lack of literature for the workers. Thus, for quite a while our work will limp along, but we hope that the «History of the CPSU(B)», and the «Foundations of Leninism» will soon be translated. It is necessary to raise the political and theoretical knowledge of the comrades and train comrades for the leadership. There are also other difficulties, such as the difficult conditions in which the work is being carried on, inadequate equipment, etc. We tell the comrades not to be content with the single copy they receive from the Central Committee but to duplicate it by hand or with a typewriter. It sometimes happens that comrades do not study even those materials that come into their hands, such as books, leaflets, etc. There are also communists who distribute leaflets without even reading them themselves. But what could they possibly say to the people? Sometimes, only the distribution of the leaflets is discussed in the cells. This

should not happen any more. All party members should read and study our leaflets, for in them they will find the political line of the Party. We should study the literature, for only in this way can we arm ourselves with knowledge. All the materials of the Party should be the subjects of study in the cells. We should not behave with the party materials as we have done up till now; we should study them, not leave them for months in unsuitable places to get wet in the rain, or eaten by mice. The organs of the Party should be very careful about this, and they should organize the distribution of materials properly, because irregularities on this point, as well as other manifestations of laxity on the part of certain comrades, help the factionalists to win over young people by giving them some books which in many cases they cannot understand.

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

3. ON THE QUESTION OF NUMBERS IN THE PARTY (ON CADRES).

It appears from comrades' reports that the number of comrades is low and that the quality of members is not yet as high as it should be. Today the Party comprises a small number of comrades. Here we observe a narrow and sectarian attitude. Why not bring in all who fulfil the necessary conditions? We should seek the causes of this in our behaviour which is still sectarian, and not only in this, but also in our inactivity; we do not yet know how to select people. We should go further than the desire for increased numbers and find loyal fighters. It is often said of various people that they are «friends», «comrades», «good fellows» and many other terms which indicate that they are communists, but very little initiative and ability is shown in organizing them. These people are disciplined, devoted and active, but they are communists outside the party ranks. Some comrades claim that they are not yet «sufficiently advanced», and thus do not fulfil the requirements. But what do the comrades expect of them? This practice should be ended. The dedicated, disciplined comrades, those who would make good party members, especially worker comrades, should be admitted to the Party. This applies to the proletariat and the peasantry. But we should not go too far and admit unprepared sympathisers and similar elements into the Party. On the question of admission to the Party, the party organs should check carefully on the candidates, to see that they fulfil all the necessary requirements, because the present period is dangerous for the Party and the enemy may introduce provocateurs into our ranks. In this period the organizational

question is the major one. Our primary task is to consolidate the Party organizationally. Those who are conscious, loyal, convinced, steeled, disciplined, fearless and have an unblemished record can enter our ranks. Without these qualities no one can become a party member, or win the right to take pride in the name of Lenin and Stalin.

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

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

b) Our youth have been organized according to old

forms of work. Because the youth organs have imperfectly understood the line of the Party, the youth are fragmented and in some places there is still a field for the activity of factionalists. Through their old methods of work they attract the youth (they included many of the communist youth in their cells, etc.). The leaders of the youth have not correctly understood the struggle of the youth. Thus they have not been able to wage an energetic struggle against the old group methods amongst the youth and in the educational groups. Here too, the factionalists have exploited the situation, doing their old work behind our backs, setting up sectarian educational groups and reviving the old group spirit. We cannot allow the old forms of work to go on among the youth, because this is the most important sector of the Party, from which it is regenerated. We should make every effort, exerting all our energies, to bring about the unity of the Albanian Communist Youth. We should mobilize the youth of town and countryside on a broad scale; this is one of our principal tasks. The task of the Albanian Communist Youth is to mobilize the entire popular youth of Albania. We now have a new method of work among the youth and I shall not speak at length on this, because the comrade from the youth¹⁸ organization will speak to us about it.

c) The work among the workers is extremely important. It is essential for us to penetrate among the workers and the poor of the towns and work among them, among the proletariat. The majority in our Party

18. Besides the main report by comrade Enver Hoxha, the Conference heard reports on military, youth, equipment and other questions.

should be workers. We should henceforth put an end to our old practice. We should not deceive ourselves. No one else can lead, fight and work wholeheartedly for the cause of communism like the proletarians and workers. We should go to countryside too and mainly among the poor peasants in the villages, the semi-proletarians, of whom there are many in our country. We should send the most disciplined and the best organizers, our best propagandists and agitators there, because today we must mobilize the countryside around our Party, because our Party alone is a fighting Party and today the masses of the people want to fight. We must educate the masses and explain to them what is most essential. We should know how to approach them, to discuss with them openly and listen carefully about the most immediate and concrete questions. We should not speak to them, for example, as the Vlora comrades are doing, calling the national liberation councils¹⁹ soviets. This is an error and a left deviation.

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

19. In February 1942, the CC of the CPA issued the directive for the setting up everywhere of national liberation councils, as organs of the National Liberation War, of people's uprising, and simultaneously, organs of the revolutionary people's power.

strations, acts of sabotage, etc., popularize our Party and our struggle.

All our organizations are obliged to undertake actions, and every organizations has had the possibility to undertake some, but a very liberal attitude has been maintained towards them. Certain actions which have been carried out have not been given the necessary publicity. One factor which has impeded the carrying out of actions is the fact that we have not yet organized our army. This question has been the subject of much discussion in our organizations and the absolute necessity of setting up partisan detachments and town guerrillas has been raised, but they are still not in evidence. The comrade responsible for the military line will discuss this question in his report on the army. The comrades will report on what has been done in this sector. One thing must be stressed; that any hesitancy in this matter must be eliminated and we must get down to the reality: to the formation of our army, to actions.

4) DISCIPLINE IN THE PARTY

In every organization there must be some kind of discipline. But in our Communist Party, which is the vanguard of the working class, there should exist that particular discipline which arises from the high consciousness of Communist Party members, the most highly conscious sons of the working class and the working people. The difficult conditions of illegal work demand even greater discipline from us. Without steel-like discipline and without the unity of our Communist Party,

which has many powerful enemies, we cannot fight the war successfully.

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

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

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

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

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

*Enver Hoxha, Works, vol. 1,
pp. 5-18.*

**FROM THE RESOLUTION OF THE 1st CONFERENCE
OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF ALBANIA**

March 17, 1943¹

R E S O L U T I O N

**OF THE 1st NATIONAL CONFERENCE OF THE
COMMUNIST PARTY OF ALBANIA**

ORGANIZATIONAL TASKS

1) The 1st National Conference of the Communist Party of Albania put forward, as the main task for all organizations and members, the strengthening and extension of the party organizations, the consolidation of the unity of the Party and the raising of the level of the cadres. Now that we are involved in the National Liberation War, these tasks become even more imperative, important and crucial. Therefore we must: a) strengthen the work of the cells, both at the base and in the National Liberation Partisan and Volunteer Army of Albania,

1. This is the date of the beginning of the Conference.

divide the work proportionately among the cells, and hold meetings regularly; b) pay special attention to the development of the cells among the workers; c) set up party organizations in the countryside, because without them the cause of the Party and the National Liberation War will not succeed; the comrades must show the greatest care in this, especially those working in the Central and Northern regions; d) do away with the old sectarianism towards the admission of new members into the Party, in particular now that we are waging the National Liberation War, which is bringing forth staunch, disciplined, devoted and courageous fighters; d) today, in particular, the organizations should attach importance to the admission of women into the Party, and especially, women from the poor strata of town and countryside, and raise their political level so that they become leaders; f) we must work within the Albanian army to win its support for the National Liberation War, and within the occupation army, setting up anti-fascist and anti-war councils in those areas.

2. In this complicated situation, unless proper work is done to raise their political and theoretical level, our young cadres will not be able to carry out successfully their numerous and varied tasks, and will not be able to distinguish between the main current tasks and the minor ones; therefore the 1st Conference charges the leadership: a) to wage an energetic struggle against ignorance, for this is the source of many errors and deviations; b) to do the maximum to enable the party members and to learn and develop in a Marxist-Leninist spirit, as soon as possible and on a sound basis; c) to get the members into the habit of studying, even in this time of war, because particularly today the need is

even greater; to combat and eliminate the view still held by many comrades that the present is a time of war and not of books, because together with the gun we need the book too; d) to duplicate the Marxist-Leninist literature and to continue the duplication of the «History of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (Bolshevik)» which constitutes an invaluable treasure and great experience and teaches us how to train and develop cadres, how to fight opportunism and various deviations, and how to master Marxist-Leninist theory; e) to overcome obstacles and difficulties arising in our work, and to organize a course for the study of the History of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (Bolshevik) to raise the level of the comrades; f) to enable the comrades to learn in study groups or individually; g) to teach the comrades to study the party material and take care of it; h) the leading organs should have warm, comradely relations with other comrades; i) any symptom of domineering behaviour in the ranks of the Party should be fought.

3. Sectarian phenomena within the Party must be wiped out. a) The comrades should be encouraged to display their qualities and be assigned to the most suitable posts where they can contribute more to the Party; b) we should eliminate the fear of entrusting young comrades with posts of responsibility; c) we should encourage initiative, for it is generally lacking among the comrades; d) the rank-and-file comrades or the lower organs should not expect everything to come from above; the comrades should be able to cope with the situation; e) in the Party there is trust and check-up; check-up, which is continual, is necessary to improve the cadres; cadres are selected in this way, and care is shown for

them; f) the feeling of responsibility should be encouraged among the members, and in particular among the leading comrades.

4) As far as vigilance is concerned, a great deal has been done, but not enough; therefore: a) we should develop in our comrades vigilance against provocations which the enemy tries by every means to organize in our ranks, and against secret enemies; b) we should fight against the importation of any alien idea which our various enemies try to introduce into our ranks; c) we should fight against every negative vestige which has remained in the comrades as a heritage of the past; d) we should fight relentlessly against various deviationists and thus prevent anything alien from infiltrating into our ranks; e) we should be vigilant over the admission of new members; the cell is fully entitled to admit new members, except expelled ones, without waiting for decisions from higher organs; the new members should have it clear what the Party is, and its role and importance.

5. We must fight mercilessly against Trotskyite elements, against all deviationists and enemies of the Party; we must take seriously the purging of the wavering, inactive and indecisive elements from the Party, and especially elements infected with the group spirit. The organizations and members of the Party should keep fighting mercilessly against that enemy of the Communist International and of our Party, the Trotskyite Zai Fundo, and various Trotskyite elements such as Dhimitër Fallo, Aristidh Qëndro, Niko Xoxe, Niko Pandi, and Andrea Zisi. It should not be forgotten that Zai Fundo and some other Trotskyite scum have connections and influence among some honest patriots; it is therefore the task of the party

organizations and comrades to publicly expose these bandits.

6. Since the enemy is trying by every means to discover our organizations, we are faced with the task of improving our security and thus preventing the enemy from harming us. We must also strengthen and steel the discipline in our ranks. . .

*«Principal Documents of the
PLA», vol. 1, 2nd ed., pp. 120,
143-145.*

**FROM THE INSTRUCTIONS OF THE CC OF THE
CPA ON MATTERS OF PARTY ORGANIZATION¹**

February 10, 1947

**TO THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF THE ACY²
THE REGIONAL COMMITTEES OF THE CPA
AND THE ORGANIZATIONS OF THE CPA IN
THE ARMY**

Dear comrades,

It is clear to all that in the stage of the construction of a new people's economy which we have now entered, our Party faces great and important tasks.

1. This is the first document, from the period after liberation of the country up to the 1st Congress of the CPA, which contains more or less full instructions on matters of party organization. In these instructions there is no mention of elections to party organs, and it contains some things which are not altogether correct. However, it demonstrates the efforts of the CC of the Party to regulate the organizational life of the Party, at a time when there was no Constitution of the CPA. However, Koçi Xoxe, the organizational

The successful implementation of these tasks depends chiefly on the forces and organizational strength of the Party. The influence of our Party on the entire development of the economy of the country is closely linked with its organizational work. Hence the following questions of party organization arise: the need to make our organizations strong and healthy, and to increase the ranks of the Party throughout the country, in all work centres, towns and villages.

Therefore, wherever work and production is going

secretary of the CPA, and at the same time Minister of Internal Affairs, pursuing hostile aims, had in fact, placed the Party under the control of the State Security department and had established police methods in the internal work of the Party. This had caused serious violations and irregularities in organizational matters, and led to a lack of genuine democracy in the internal life of the Party, a lack of collective leadership, and the implementation of an erroneous cadre policy. In February 1947, in view of the unsatisfactory organizational situation in the Party, comrade Enver Hoxha put before the Political Bureau of the CC the necessity of analysing the situation in the internal life of the Party, and in the relations between Party and state. Koçi Xoxe was given the task of presenting a report to the Political Bureau. But, although he accepted the task, he never fulfilled it, and in fact the organizational situation of the Party was never taken up for consideration, either in the Political Bureau or in the CC of the CPA. The 11th Plenum of the CC and the 1st Congress of the CPA, in condemning the hostile activity of the factionalis group of Koçi Xoxe, fully restored the Leninist norms in the internal life of the Party.

2. Albanian Communist Youth.

on for the rebuilding and construction of the country, in factories, enterprises, villages, cooperatives, in the administration, in schools, etc., we should have our party basic organization, and a strong one at that, in order to be able to activate the masses, and for it to become the main factor in organizing and leading them in the workplace to implement the state economic plan.

Today we are in the process of strengthening and modernizing our army. To carry out this important task, it is necessary for our organization in the army to be as strong as possible.

Here emerges the role of our Party as the guiding power in the life of the country, its role as the lever in the activation, mobilization, organization, direction, and education of the masses of the workers in building a new life. In the days of the 1st World War, on the eve of the October attack, Lenin, replying to enemies and slanderers, declared: «... it is in the Party that we see the mind, honour, and conscience of our epoch...»³. This is what the working masses should see in the party member, in the strength of our organizations, and in the work for the construction of the socialist economy.

To make our organizations better able to carry out their numerous tasks, it is necessary to re-emphasize the great importance of organizational work as well as the importance of strengthening the party basic organizations. Lenin and Stalin say that the organization multiplies the strength of the working class a hundred times over...

3. V. I. Lenin. Works, vol. 25, p. 303.

THE CELL

... The cell, as a party basic organization, faces great and important tasks. It carries out the line of the Party, and is responsible for applying the line of the Party in practice. Therefore, it engages not only in agitational work concerning questions of state power, e.g. the implementation of the land reform, but in the first place mobilizes its forces and all the working masses to solve this question, that is, to implement the land reform correctly...

In its work for the concrete implementation of the line of the Party, the cell mobilizes, organizes and directs the mass of the workers. Through its work, it links the masses with the Party, and its line. Because of this the cell is in the heart of the masses, it works for the political and educational development of the masses, it works to mould the consciousness of the masses, to strengthen their confidence in their own efforts and in the leadership of the Party; it must also live with the masses so as to learn from them, to understand their aspirations, to know their problems, and to lead them according to the party line in solving these problems.

Therefore, the cell should work in the place where it is, in the factory, for instance, to raise the consciousness of the workers to produce more, to strengthen discipline at work; it should be interested in the hygiene conditions of the factory and the health of the workers, it should see to the improvement of their material conditions by setting up dining halls, by planting parks, it should promote the cultural and vocational development and advancement of the mass of workers, etc..

The cell has the task of working continually and

showing constant concern for the growth of the Party, and the admission of new members. It is up to the cell to guard the Party, to prevent distortions of its line, to fight patiently, unhesitatingly and relentlessly against every erroneous trend, and every viewpoint alien to the Party. The cell is always the first to speak out in punishing its members, either by taking educational measures or by meting out the extreme punishment — expulsion from the Party.

The cell works to raise the ideological level and increase the political activity of its members. It is in the cell that party members develop and are tempered, and it is here that their qualities and work are checked on.

It is the task of the cell to take an active part in the political and economic life of the country...

LIFE IN THE CELL (discipline, criticism)

For the cell to be able to perform its assigned tasks, it is essential that within it there should be lively, active participation of all comrades without exception in discussing all questions raised in the Party. It is the duty of the party members to discuss, and express their opinions on all questions raised in the cell. Such discussions as how to solve a problem better, more correctly and more quickly, are essential for the progress of the work, and therefore the comrades should be encouraged. In cases of anything not going right, of disorganization and delay, the party member has the duty to discuss, criticize and put forward his proposals at the meeting of the cell, help the work progress; when a party member is not clear about a question, he should not be shy to ask

about it in the cell, for that is the right place for a question, and it is the duty of the cell to explain things patiently to comrades, more than once if need be. When the party member who lives among the masses notices in the factory, the administration, the village, or at a mass undertaking, that work is not proceeding as it should do, when he notices that the decisions of the Party are not being carried into effect, when he sees that the line of the Party is not being upheld, he should raise his voice in the cell of which he is a member, and should make criticism, which is his right and at the same time his duty. A party member is by no means permitted to remain aloof in passive indifference when it is a question of the future of the line, or the decisions of the Party. It is here that he should show his love for and loyalty to the Party, and should speak up in the cell about what happens. The question is not his hesitation about whether he can speak well, or make a fine speech. When it comes to the question of defending the interests of the Party there is no reason to be hesitant or shy, no reason to doubt whether we will be able to speak well. The party member should think of his Party and speak up, criticize and leave the shyness to those who do not want to criticize even when they see that work is not going well, who do not concern themselves when they see that the line of the Party is being distorted. This is what the Party demands of all its members, this is the spirit in which our cadres should be raised and educated. The right to discussions, the right to constructive criticism, to sound criticism, which is intended to improve the work, is party member's undeniable right.

It is precisely in the active participation of the members of the cell in discussions that inner party

democracy rests, that is, when the masses of the Party themselves solve problems, and actively carry out the decisions of the Party, and when the implementation of these decisions is proved through concrete work. From the instructions of the Bolshevik Party, we learn that our democracy is not only an electoral democracy, but also democracy in action.

... One of the tasks of the party member is respect for party discipline. We won, and today we are at the head of the state, at the head of the working masses, only because we have a strong Party with iron discipline, a monolithic Party. Similarly, we should be clear that in order to maintain and strengthen our state power, in order to be able to play the role of vanguard of the working masses in the struggle to build the socialist society, we should increasingly strengthen the discipline of the Party. Only through a strong unity of thought and action, only through the unconditional submission of all members to the iron discipline of the Party, will we win in the struggle against our enemies, against obstacles and hardships. Precisely in this unity of thought and action lies the iron discipline of the Party. Here we should see the great importance of and the necessity for such a discipline, and we should also bear in mind that failure to respect party discipline means to destroy the unity of the Party, and to give intentional or unintentional help to the enemies of the Party, the class enemies, the enemies of socialism.

In the daily struggle for the implementation of the line of the Party, the communist is tempered, discipline is strengthened, it is shown that the interests of the Party are above everything else, and lack of vigilance and any liberal opportunist spirit are fought. Iron discipline does

not suppress discussion; on the contrary, on the basis of inner party democracy, it implies and encourages discussions in the cell. But when the discussions end and a decision is taken, then there must be unity in the decision, there must be a common opinion for all, and a unity of action, that is, joint action to implement the line of the Party and to put it fully into practice. Here, there is no room for «opinions», «interpretations», and «waverings». Here you have to do with the unity of the Party, with the very life of the Party. Without unity of thought and action it is absurd and quite wrong to think of the unity of the Party, of the iron discipline of the Party. The discipline of the Party is not blind, because our Party does not require such discipline, on the contrary, the discipline of our Party is conscious, and it is precisely this quality that makes our Party strong, able to play the vanguard role. To be conscious in the discipline of the Party means to be conscious in fully carrying out the line of the Party, and to be a conscious militant for its implementation.

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*«Principal Documents of the
PLA», vol. 1, 2nd ed., pp. 379-
-383, 386-391, 397-399.*

**FROM THE LETTER OF THE CENTRAL
COMMITTEE OF THE CPA TO ALL PARTY
ORGANIZATIONS ON MAINTAINING SECRECY**

June 1, 1947

TO ALL THE ORGANIZATIONS OF THE CPA

It is the duty of all party members to guard the Party's secrets. This is closely linked with the very existence of the Party, with its strengthening, and with its unity. Guarding the Party's secrets, and the question of clandestinity, are not being raised today for the first time in our Party. Without sound secrecy, without special concern to guard its secrets, our Party could not have achieved success, because the enemy could easily have harmed it. During the war, the comrades knew how to guard the secrets of the Party, they knew how to protect them well and to safeguard our Party from the attacks of the enemy. Therefore, even now that the Party has won its enemies should not be underrated. They are still alive and are trying at all costs to find out the secrets of our Party and state so as to harm us. This is why all party organizations and all the members

are charged with the task of strengthening secrecy so that it may become a tradition of our entire Party.

But many infringements are observed in this field; carelessness is shown in preserving the documents of the Party and state, and carelessness in keeping the secrets of the army. This is a weakness and it should be strongly fought against. To act in this way means to underrate the class enemy, who tries to make use of every possible means to harm our Party and state. In order to learn about the organizational system of our Party, to gauge its strength, to discover the secrets of the state, and to learn about the strength and organization of our army, the enemy resorts to the lowest methods and the comrades should not forget this, or take it lightly. Therefore, the members of the Party and its high organs face the important task of guarding secrets, of shaking off liberalism and negligence, as well as ridding themselves of the idea that now everything is going all right, that we are strong. The party members should keep their eyes wide open and be vigilant, to guard against the enemy. To this end, all party members and all state functionaries should be educated to guard the secrets of the Party and state with the greatest care. The entire people should also be educated in this way, for this is how to show love for the Party and the state, and determination to defend them. . .

... The party members should understand that the maintenance of secrecy is a duty so as to safeguard the Party and state against spies, provocateurs and foreign agents, who are trying to harm us at all costs.

THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF THE CPA

*«Principal Documents of the
PLA», vol. 1, 2nd. ed., pp. 433-
-435.*

**FROM THE RESOLUTION OF THE 11th
PLENUM OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF
THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF ALBANIA**

September 24, 1948

.....

THE 11th PLENUM OBSERVES:

2. Of all mistakes made in our Party, the most serious ones, which have caused our Party most damage, have been made in the organizational line of our Party — a line which has been almost identical with the organizational line of the Communist Party of Yugoslavia. Koci Xoxe bears great responsibility for these serious mistakes made on the question of cadres and in the organizational line.

a) The fact that the organizational secretary of the Party at the same time held the post of minister of internal affairs, was a great mistake, and this anti-Marxist organizational form has harmed the organizational line of the Party. The organizational secretary of the Party was placed in a privileged position; he monopolized the

work in his hands, and the leading role of the General Secretary of the Party was pushed into the background; thus in fact the Party was placed under the control of the State Security. This form of organization has caused revolutionary vigilance in the Party to be relaxed, and replaced with police information; it has aroused fear in the party members, damaged the inner party democracy, and stifled criticism and self-criticism; it has introduced military methods into the leadership, violated the fundamental principle of democratic centralism, on which the Party is built, and has encouraged megalomania and a sense of privilege among many comrades of the State Security, the organs of which have gone so far as to control the party organs and members. This form of organization has caused the manifestation of bureaucratism, careerism and servility in our Party.

b) The elections to the leading organs from the bottom up have not always been held in a democratic way in our Party, and especially after the liberation of the country elections have been replaced with appointments and coopting. Members have also been coopted into the Central Committee.

c) The Central Committee has not been functioning as the main leading organ, and its role has been depreciated by the Political Bureau.

d) The leading organs of the Party have not rendered account regularly to the organization on their activity, and even when they have done so, they have failed to make sound criticism and self-criticism.

e) Discipline in our Party has not been strong and conscious, but rather mechanical, and this was due to the lack of inner democracy, of Bolshevik criticism and self-criticism.

f) In many cases the rights of the members were ignored, their voice was not listened to by those responsible, and they did not receive due encouragement or proper training for their work.

3. In our Party, especially in the leadership, collective work has not been given due importance. This has led to individual and incorrect work in the leadership. Such a method of work in the Political Bureau and the Central Committee has caused the organizational work of the Party to escape the sound control of the Political Bureau, of the Central Committee and of the General Secretary of the Party, and the problem of cadres has been dealt with in an individual way. This state of affairs in the Political Bureau has also been reflected in the lower organs of the Party.

4. In the policy of cadres mistakes have been noticed such as lack of sound work for the education of cadres, the failure to appoint cadres according to sound criteria, and mistreatment of cadres, and a narrow policy based on personal acquaintance has been followed in appointing cadres to various functions. . .

The 11th Plenum decided that:

... 5. Our Communist Party should at once be legalized as a leading party of the working class, as the sole leading force of the entire activity of our country, which guides the country towards socialism.

6. Marxist-Leninist principles should be established as soon as possible in the structure and internal life of the Party; these principles should be strictly implemented, and unhesitating struggle should be waged against any attempt to violate them.

a) The function of the organizational secretary of the Party should be separated from the function of minister of internal affairs. The function of minister of internal affairs should be considered as a state function under the control and guidance of the Party, and not as a function of the Party organization to control the Party, as has been the case so far.

b) We must implement the principle of democratic centralism as the main principle on which the Party is built, and which consists in the election of all leading organs of the Party from the bottom up, in the rendering of account from time to time by the leading organs to the organizations which have elected them and which are led by them about all their activity, in the observance of iron discipline in the Party, with the submission of the minority to the majority, and in the duty of all lower organs to obey the higher ones unconditionally.

c) We should dispose at once with non-Marxist, bureaucratic police methods, fatal to the Party, its internal life, by establishing inner democracy in all the party organizations, in which all the rights and duties of party members should be fully respected according to the party Constitution, in which all the questions of the Party should be solved on the basis of Bolshevik criticism from the bottom to the top and vice-versa, in which the party member should feel himself at home and should not fear to criticize any functionary of the Party, in which no moral repression should be exerted on a party member when he makes correct criticism, and in which conscious and not mechanical discipline should be steered, on the basis of the inner democracy from which it springs.

d) We should do away with the primitive method of solving problems of the Party from the individual

viewpoint, proceeding from a non-Marxist position detrimental to the life of the Party, and from petty-bourgeois prejudice and reservations. We should establish the Marxist method in solving all questions of the Party, on the basis of the Marxist principles of the Party, on the basis of the sound criticism and self-criticism, on the basis of democratic centralism. The assessment of the activity of a party member is based on facts, on whether he has defended or harmed the party line with his activity, and not on individual, backward, petty-bourgeois prejudice.

e) The 1st Congress of the Party should be held as was decided at the 10th Plenum, and should be attended by democratically elected delegates from all party organizations. The Congress will consider the entire activity of the Central Committee and the internal situation of the Party, approve the Constitution and the program of the Party, define the political and organizational line of the Party for the future period, and elect the new Central Committee. Immediately after the Congress, general elections will be held for all leading organs of the Party, except the Central Committee, which will be elected at the 1st Congress.

f) Revolutionary vigilance should be heightened, to defend the Party against the activity of its internal or external enemies. Information in the Party should not be turned into police information, but should be sound Marxist information, helping the Party to implement its line. Revolutionary vigilance should be understood as a task of every party member to uphold the implementation of the party line and Marxist principles in the life and activity of the Party. To be vigilant means to expose

hostile activity designed to distort the line and principles of the Party.

g) The links of the Party with the broad working masses should be consolidated; the party member should learn how to listen to the voice of the worker and labouring peasant, to understand their situation and needs, and respond to them in time. In order to consolidate the links with the working masses, the party organizations should wage the class struggle with greater firmness, and should understand well that in the period of transition from capitalism to socialism class struggle is inevitable and necessary, because the internal and external enemies of the people's democracies and of socialism will never for a moment cease their attempts and efforts to impede our country's development towards socialism, overthrow our people's power, and establish their capitalist regime. The party organizations and every party member should be at the height of their tasks, and play their leading role; the party member should rid himself of all individual shortcomings or petty-bourgeois vestiges which he may still have, such as ambition, egoism, conceit, etc. The party member should win the sympathy of the masses, should teach them and learn from them, and lead them along the line laid down by the Party.

h) Marxist unity should be established in the leadership of the Party, a unity which should rely on the principle of solving questions of the Party on the basis of sound criticism and self-criticism, and not from unsound personal positions. The collective methods of leadership in the Party should be strengthened, and primitive and harmful methods of individual leadership fought against. There should be a better division of labour, and all the members and candidates for membership of the Central

Committee should be activated. The Central Committee should meet regularly to consider the work of the Political Bureau; the party conferences should be held regularly, and the meetings of the party activists should be held whenever it is found necessary. The method of utilizing party activists should be used correctly; the meetings of the activists should become effective organizations which judge the work of the Party in concrete terms, and not be transformed into rallies which solemnly approve the reports submitted by the leadership. All party questions of importance should first be judged and then approved by the members of the higher organs. Along with the collective leadership, the feeling of personal responsibility of every leader should also be strengthened. The Central Committee should regularly inform the Party, through special letters, on the decisions adopted, and the decisions of the Party should be made public. . . .

*«Principal Documents of the
PLA», vol. 1, 2nd, ed., pp. 480,
494-498, 500-502.*

**FROM THE REPORT TO THE MEETING OF THE
TIRANA PARTY ACTIVISTS ON THE ANALYSIS
AND CONCLUSIONS OF THE 11th PLENUM OF
THE CPA**

October 4, 1948

Organizationally our Party should be strengthened on the basis of the Leninist principle of party building.

The main principle on which a revolutionary Marxist-Leninist party is built, is the principle of democratic centralism. Democratic centralism means:

1. All the leading organs of the party are elected democratically from the bottom up, and are not appointed or coopted.

2. It is the duty of the leading organs to render account periodically on their activity to the members who have elected them, and to create every opportunity for their participation in discussions and decision-making.

3. Steel-like but conscious discipline, with the minority submitting to the majority is absolutely essential for democratic centralism. Iron discipline demands discussion and the struggle of opinions. «But after a conflict of opinions has been closed,» comrade Stalin says, «after criticism has been exhausted and a decision arrived at, unity

of will and unity of action of all party members are the necessary conditions without which neither party unity nor iron discipline in the Party is conceivable.»¹

4. Decisions of the higher organs of the Party are binding on the lower organs.

It is necessary to emphasize strongly the need to take measures to eliminate all anti-democratic, military and police methods, anti-Marxist and anti-party views, which have penetrated into our Party, and to establish inner party democracy, as Lenin and Stalin teach us.

Inner party democracy is a necessary condition for the very existence and consolidation of the Party. It strengthens party discipline, but is opposed to military and police methods.

The party member should feel at home in the Party. All his rights should be respected.

All problems in the Party should be solved on the basis of criticism and self-criticism. The party member has the right to have his say, to criticize anyone, and on no account should moral repression be taken against him for his correct criticism. The active participation of the party members in debates and free discussions, and the implementation of the decisions taken, constitute the essence of inner party democracy.

... Inner party democracy strengthens the unity of the Party, its ideological unity, its conscious discipline and centralism.

The principle of inner party democracy demands sound Bolshevik criticism and self-criticism. Without criticism and self-criticism, Leninist-Stalinist organiza-

1) J. V. Stalin. Works, vol. 6, p. 186 (Alb. ed.).

tional principles of party building cannot be implemented. Self-criticism is a law of the development of a Marxist-Leninist party. It is a sound weapon in the hands of the Party and enables it to overcome difficulties and to forge ahead. «Only parties which are departing into the past, and whose doom is sealed,» comrade Stalin says «can fear the light and fear criticism. We fear neither the one nor the other, we do not fear them, we are a party which is in the ascendent, that is marching to victory. This is why self-criticism... is a sign of our Party's immense strength, and not of its weakness, it is a means of consolidating and not of disintegrating the Party.»¹

Our whole Party, all the party members should be educated in this method, which is the method of educating the cadres in a revolutionary spirit. Any other stand towards criticism and self-criticism is anti-Marxist and unworthy of a communist. Not to accept criticism and not to make self-criticism, means to be afraid, to be on one's guard against the Party, or to be reluctant to admit one's mistakes. On either case this is a stand harmful to the Party. Our Party should be educated in a revolutionary spirit, as Lenin and Stalin teach us.

Without broadly developing criticism and self-criticism in the party organizations, it is impossible to judge matters correctly, it is impossible to make progress, or to strengthen the Party. If criticism and self-criticism are lacking, the way is opened for the penetration of alien and anti-Marxist methods into the Party, which weaken and erode it from within.

Similarly, all anti-Marxist methods of work concern-

1. J. V. Stalin. Works, vol. 7, pp. 123-124 (Alb. ed.).

ing the assessment of the cadres should be ended once and for all. The party cadres should be evaluated and judged according to their work, according to the results of their work, and the way they defend the party line, and not according to personal opinion derived from backward and petty-bourgeois prejudices.

We must stress the necessity for our Party to establish unity and the method of collective work in all its organizations, from the highest to the lowest. We cannot allow a situation where party problems are not raised, or to be raised only superficially, merely for the sake of information and for them to be solved in an individualistic unconnected way.

Party questions should be dealt with on the basis of the party norms, on the basis of the great principle of democratic centralism. It is only on this basis that party questions can be correctly solved, otherwise room is left for grave errors in the Party, as a result of individual work isolated from the Party, viewed and assessed not according to the line and interests of the Party, but according to personal interests, prejudices and ulterior motifs.

Assessing questions in a personal light is a primitive method of work of our Party, and does not at all comply with the principles of a Marxist-Leninist party; it is often the result of conceit that stems from over-estimation of oneself, scorn for, and from the flagrant violation of democratic centralism. This method eliminates the participation of the Party in the broad and free discussion of problems, and does away with the struggle of opinions, criticism, and self-criticism, which should be the method of work of a revolutionary party. Such individualistic work, far removed from the fundamental prin-

ciples of a Marxist-Leninist party, based on personal opinion, petty-bourgeois prejudice and narrow personal and egoistic motives cannot be allowed in our Party, for such a method is anti-Marxist and spells death to the Party.

The elimination of such a method of work and the establishment of collective work in the party organs will safeguard and strengthen the unity of the leading organs of the Party, and of all its organizations.

We must also understand more clearly and consider in a more profound way the question of the personal responsibility which each party member and especially each leader, should feel towards the tasks entrusted to him. Collective work and the observance of the Marxist-Leninist principles in the work of the Party should lead every party cadre to be more aware of his responsibility and carry out his tasks better, on the basis of the decisions and line of the Party.

Revolutionary vigilance in the Party should be heightened in order to safeguard the line of the Party, to safeguard the Party from distortions of its line, and to defend it against the attacks of the internal and external enemy. The Bolshevik Party of Lenin and Stalin has given a brilliant example of the way the unity and the line of the party should be defended at any time against the avowed enemies of the Party and the proletariat. We must follow the example of the Bolshevik Party, and strengthen revolutionary vigilance in our Party.

We should eliminate as soon as possible police methods of supervision which limit vigilance and in fact cannot properly defend the Party. Information in the Party should also be understood in this way, that is, it should not be information of a police nature, but information which can give the Party every opportunity to

have a clear understanding of how to implement its line, to uncover distortions and mistakes, to take the necessary measures in time. To be vigilant means to detect distortions in the party line, to detect hostile and anti-party activities. The Party should teach every one of its members that the Party is defended by preserving the purity of its Marxist-Leninist line.

The links of the Party with the masses should be strengthened. This is one of the main tasks of the Party, and an indispensable condition for its very existence. This means, primarily, that the party members should not only be among the working masses, teaching and guiding them, but should always be ready to listen to what they say, to their suggestions, and their opinions, and should know how to learn from them, understand their needs, and respond to them appropriately.

In the period of the socialist construction of our country we should attach great importance to the question of the broad development of criticism and self-criticism, and control from below, in the working masses, teaching them to expose shortcomings and mistakes at work, and to take an active part in putting them right. The party members should have a good grasp of this very important task, otherwise there can be no progress in socialist construction.

In order to strengthen the links of the Party with the masses, all the party members should orientate the masses politically and mobilize them to carry out the line of the Party. They should take the party line to the working masses...

*Enver Hoxha. Works, vol. 5,
pp. 1, 152-158.*

FROM THE CONSTITUTION OF THE PARTY OF LABOUR OF ALBANIA

November 18, 1948

I

PARTY MEMBERS, THEIR DUTIES AND RIGHTS

1. Anyone who accepts the program and Constitution of the Party, works in one of its organizations, conforms to the decisions of the party organs and regularly pays the membership dues can be a party member.

2. *The party member has the duty:*

a) to be a staunch fighter in the ranks of the masses of the people to defend and strengthen the Republic and the people's power, to work untiringly to achieve the unbreakable unity of the people in the Democratic Front, and to be a determined fighter against the bourgeoisie, against remnants of fascism and feudalism, and against reaction;

b) to work untiringly to master the basis of Marxism-Leninism and to raise his political and cultural level;

c) to observe party discipline meticulously, to guard the Party against the attacks of the enemy, and its unity against every internal and external enemy, by developing revolutionary vigilance; to take an active part in the political life of the Party and country, to apply the policy of the Party and the decisions of its organs in practice, and to set an example of conduct and morality;

d) to be an example in respecting discipline as a worker and citizen of the People's Republic of Albania, abiding strictly by work regulations and state laws. To master and improve his professional skills by steadily raising his vocational and practical ability;

e) to strengthen links with the masses from day to day; to be aware of the needs and requirements of the working people and at the same time to respond to these requirements; to explain to the working people the decisions of the Party and their political significance; to lead them according to the line of the Party; to work untiringly to develop and organize them, and thus become a genuine leader of the masses;

f) to take part in the trade unions or in other mass organizations and to work for the creation of such organizations where they do not exist.

3. *The party member is entitled:*

a) to take part freely in discussions in party meetings, and in the party press, on questions of party policy;

b) to express his opinion freely and to criticize at party meetings the activity and conduct of any party member, leader or organization;

c) to elect and to be elected to the party leading organs;

d) to participate personally in discussions whenever a decision is to be taken regarding his activity or conduct;

e) to address himself on any personal or party matter, and direct any question or declaration to all leading organs of the Party, up to the Central Committee.

4. Admission to the Party:

Admission to the Party is made only on an individual basis.

New members are admitted only from the ranks of candidates for membership, who have completed the probation period as candidates.

New members admitted to the Party must come from the ranks of the working masses of town and countryside.

Those elements who exploit the work of others are not admitted to the Party.

In admission to the Party no distinction is made as to nationality, race or sex.

New members to be admitted to the Party must have reached the age of 18 years.

The rules for the admission of candidates to the Party are as follows:

a) candidates for admission to the Party are divided into three groups:

1) workers of town and countryside;

2) poor and middle peasants, artisans and strata of this category of the city;

3) intellectuals...

III

THE BUILDING OF THE PARTY, PARTY INNER DEMOCRACY

.....

15. The guiding principle of the organizational structure of the PLA is democratic centralism.

This means that:

a) All leading organs of the Party are elected from the bottom up at general meetings, conferences and congresses.

b) The leading organs are obliged to render account periodically on their activity to the members of the organizations which elected them.

c) Iron party discipline should be observed, and the minority should submit to the majority. Decisions are taken at the end of free discussions, but from the moment a decision is taken, unanimously or with a majority of votes, all party members are obliged to implement it without further discussion.

d) The decisions of the higher party organs are binding on the lower organs.

16. The Party of Labour of Albania is constructed on a production and territorial basis.

17. All party organizations solve local problems in an autonomous way, provided that their solution does not contradict the decisions and line of the Party.

18. — a) The highest organ of the PLA is the Party Congress, which elects the Central Committee and the Central Audit Commission.

b) The highest organs of city, district or regional organizations are their respective conferences (city, district, or regional conferences) which elect the committees and their audit commissions.

c) The general meeting of the basic organization elects its secretary or bureau.

d) The bureaus of the basic organizations and the committees elected by the general meetings, conferences and the congress, are the executive organs and lead the entire activity of the organization.

.....

20. In the election of party organs, open voting or voting by list are prohibited.

Every party member has the unrestricted right to criticize candidates and demand their revocation, as well as to withdraw his own candidacy.

Voting is held by secret ballot, and separately for each candidate. The candidates receiving the majority of votes are considered elected.

The higher leading organs determine the number of members of the respective committees.

21. In the cities, districts, and regions, the meetings of party active members of the city, district or region are called whenever important decisions of the Party are discussed.

These meetings should not assume a formal and demonstrative character, but concrete discussions should be held, so that the decisions may be implemented as well as possible in practice.

22. Good and sound discussion about problems of party policy in the various organizations or throughout the Party is an inviolable right of every party member,

which stems from inner party democracy. It is only on the basis of inner party democracy that sound criticism and self-criticism can develop, and party discipline, which must be conscious and not mechanical, can be strengthened. However, a broad discussion of problems of party policy, especially a discussion throughout the Party, must be organized in such a way as not to allow attempts by a minority to impose its will on the majority of the Party, or attempts to create factions with the aim of breaking the unity of the Party, or attempts at division which shake the strength and stability of the Party.

A broad discussion of interest to all the Party may be held in the following cases:

a) When it is considered necessary by many party organizations.

b) When there is no overwhelming majority in the Central Committee on the principal problems of the party policy.

c) When, despite an overwhelming majority in the Central Committee, that body considers it necessary to verify the correctness of its policy through a broad discussion within the Party. Only under these conditions can the Party be guaranteed against the abuse of internal democracy by elements hostile to the Party and only thus can it be ensured that inner party democracy will be useful and will not be exploited to the detriment of the Party...

VI

THE PARTY BASIC ORGANIZATIONS

43. Party basic organizations are the primary party organizations set up in factories, transport, construction sites, institutions, villages and detachments of the People's Army.

Party basic organizations are created where there are no less than three party members.

Where there are less than three party members, groups of party candidates are set up, which are guided by a party member appointed by the city, district or regional committee.

Party basic organizations are approved by the committee on which they depend.

44. Party basic organizations link the working masses of town and countryside with the leading organs of the Party.

Their duties are:

a) To carry out agitational and organizational work with the masses for the application of the slogans and decisions of the Party.

b) To admit new members to the Party, to educate them politically and raise their ideological level.

c) To mobilize the masses in all production centres and work sites to fulfil production plans, to strengthen discipline at work and to develop socialist emulation and drive at work.

d) To fight against irregularities and carelessness in production centres and work sites, and to show continual

concern for the improvement of the material and cultural conditions of the labouring masses.

e) To take an active part in the economic, political and cultural life of the country.

f) To show concern for the organization and education of the workers and the younger generation.

45. For the running of a basic organization with less than 15 members, its general meeting democratically elects a secretary and a deputy secretary from among the most active and tested party members, whereas for the running of a basic organization with more than 15 party members, a bureau is elected, which must be approved by the higher committee.

Usually the secretaries of party basic organizations should have been party members for one year.

Where necessary larger party basic organizations are organized into party groups. Each group elects its leader.

46. Party basic organizations in industrial enterprises, state institutions, city quarters, and villages together form the local party organization of the given district, city or region. . . .

*«Principal Documents of the
PLA», vol. 1, 2nd ed., pp. 520,
522-524, 526-528, 532-533.*

**FROM THE RESOLUTION OF THE 1st CONGRESS
OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF ALBANIA**

November 19, 1948

....From the analysis of the whole activity of the Party from its founding up to today, the Congress

A S C E R T A I N S T H A T :

5) The development of the internal situation of our Party during the war is characterized by the endeavours of the Central Committee and all the organs to establish Marxist-Leninist principles in the life and structure of the Party, by the fierce struggle of the entire Party against cliques and factionalists Niko Xoxi, Anastas Lula, Sadik Premte and others who, through their hostile and anti-party activity, strove to undermine the foundations of our party, to disorganize and weaken it, to usurp its leadership and to liquidate it by handing it over to the bourgeoisie.

The Party grew and was strengthened in the struggle against cliques and factions, purging its ranks without hesitations of anti-party scum and wavering elements,

and increasing its ranks with ordinary people who had distinguished themselves in the armed struggle against the enemy, people determined to fight for the communist cause and tested in the heat of fierce liberation war.

During the war, the principle of inner democracy was correctly established in the internal life of the Party, the principle of electing leading organs from the bottom up was applied, and criticism and self-criticism were developed according to the possibilities and circumstances of war time. Through its activity, the Central Committee became the genuine leading body of the Party and led it on the correct path according to the teachings of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin.

Our Party educated and selected its cadres on the battlefield, following the principle that struggle is the best test for cadres. Guided by this principle, we succeeded in bringing into the leadership of the Party and state organs cadres tested in the heat of war, conscientious and loyal to the Party and the people.

The organizational line of our Party during the National Liberation War was generally correct. Some organizational mistakes made during the war, such as, for instance, the lack of fully democratic elections to the Central Committee at the 1st Party Conference, do not constitute a line and do not distort the organizational line of the Party, but resulted from the lack of experience of our Party.

The style and method of work of the Central Committee and of all the leading organs of the Party during the war were correct, they were in accordance with the principles of full activation of every leader and of running the work in an operative way, supervising the application of the party line in practice, and bring-

ing the higher organs directly in touch with the lower organs...

18) As an inevitable consequence of our relations with Yugoslavia, of the direct influence of the Yugoslav Trotskyite leadership on the leadership of our Party, a pronounced Trotskyite spirit in the activity of Koçi Xoxe and Pandi Kristo, and the low ideological level of our party, we made serious mistakes, especially in the organizational work and in connection with the cadres of the Party:

a) Up to now, our Party has not had its own Constitution approved by the mass of the party members. The absence of a Constitution influenced the disorientation of our Party in organizational matters and, as a consequence, the organizational regulations which direct the internal life of our Party are not familiar to the rank-and-file, or even to the party organs themselves. The lack of a Constitution originates from our undervaluation of organizational question of the Party.

b) Our Party still lacks a program of its own approved by the party rank-and-file. Instead of the party line stemming from the party program, from the need to attain the objectives envisaged in the party program, this line has not been laid down on the basis of a program of its own¹, although it was orientated by the teachings

1) In fact the PLA never lacked a program of its own for the various stages of the revolution. But it was impossible to formulate this program all at once, due to the lack of the necessary experience of revolutionary leadership, which is not gained from books, but in the heat of revolutionary action. At the beginning of each stage the foundations of the program were laid, and the aim and strategic tasks of the

of Marxism-Leninism and the experience of the Bolshevik Party, and it was put forward correctly and in due time at the conferences, in the decisions of the Central Committee, in the speeches of its leaders, in leaflets and articles. Under the influence of the Yugoslav leadership, we believed, though we did not say so, that the program of the Front was also the program of the Party. In this way we undervaluated the leading role of the Party by concealing its program under the shadow of the program of the Front.

c) We violated the fundamental principle on which the Party is built, the guiding principle of the organizational structure of the party-democratic centralism.

1) In our Party, except for the elections of the delegates to this congress, elections have not been carried out on the basis of the organizational rules of the Party. The elections of the cell secretaries were not carried out properly, because of undue influence brought to bear from above; candidates were decided on prior to the meeting of the basic organization through private consultations; criticism and self-criticism were lacking, and voting was not secret but open. Although the procedure of the recent elections of the departmental committees was in the main correct, they still cannot be considered as absolutely correct, because they were held in circumstances in which the internal situation of the Party was unhealthy, as the Party was still living in the spirit of the 8th Plenum, with its anti-Marxist platform which

Party, and the fundamental lines of its tactics were clearly defined. Then, as the revolutionary experience of the Party and the masses was accumulated and analysed, its program was added to, deepened and corrected.

violated inner democracy. Therefore, the mass of the party members could not act and solve the questions of elections by themselves. At the 1st Party Conference the elections to the Central Committee were not carried out correctly, for they proceeded in the basis of inadequate secrecy. At the other party organs, such as the bureaus of the party organizations, the district committees and, in the majority of cases, the Central Committee itself, were not elected from below but appointed and coopted from above.

2) In our Party the superior organs have not regularly rendered account to the mass of the party members. Even when the leading organs have sometimes reported on their activity to the organizations they direct, the meetings held did not play the role they should, and were transformed into rallies for the solemn approval of the reports of the leadership. In this way, control of the leading organs of the Party by the mass of the party members has been lacking.

3) Iron, conscious discipline has been lacking in the Party. Discipline has been more mechanical than conscious. And this is understandable, because as long as our Party lacked inner democracy which is the source of conscious discipline, it could not have happened otherwise. In our Party, administrative discipline replaced party discipline. This stemmed from the introduction of military and police methods into the leading of the Party and the solution of its problems, and was the result of pronounced Trotskyist spirit in the activity of Koçi Xoxe, who directed the organizational work of the Party. Such formal, police discipline suppressed the cadres of the Party, hindered the development of their initiative and, in many cases, was used by Koçi Xoxe as a means to

harm and demoralize honest members of the Party, because they did not fall into line with its views.

4) The submission of the lower organs to the higher ones existed in theory in our Party. But, taking into consideration the conditions under which the Party existed prior to the 11th Plenum, this submission was rather formal and not conscious. The submission of the lower organs to the higher ones implies the unified leadership of the lower organs by the central organ of the Party — the Central Committee and the Political Bureau. Such a leadership was not exercised in our Party, because party work was completely monopolized in the hands of Koçi Xoxe, cadre secretary of the CC, who kept the CC and the Political Bureau in the dark about the internal affairs of the Party. But even the formal submission was not complete. The party organization of the State Security apparatus rejected it. The very fact that the basic organization of the State Security Directorate under the Ministry of Internal Affairs refused to allow delegates appointed by the departmental committee to attend its meetings, and demanded that the basic organization of the State Security Directorate itself should appoint the member of the committee who should attend its meetings, shows not only that the principle of the submission of the lower to the higher organs of the Party was violated, but also that the Party was underestimated by the State Security organs. This meant that the State Security refused to be supervised by the Party, and wanted to control the Party.

This is how the principle of democratic centralism has been violated in our Party.

d) The organizational line of our Party was gravely violated because the organizational secretary of the

Party was at the same time Minister of Internal Affairs. This anti-Marxist organizational form borrowed from the Yugoslav Trotskyite leadership allowed the organizational secretary of the Party, who was at the same time Minister of Internal Affairs, to place himself in a privileged position, to monopolize the work in his hands, to push into the background the leading role of the General Secretary and play *de facto* the role of the latter, to place the Party under the control of the State Security.

This form of organization caused military forms to be introduced into the Party, caused the weakening of revolutionary vigilance in the Party and its replacement with police information, created fear of repression among the party members, and aroused doubts and uncertainty among them.

This anti-Marxist form of organization and the pronounced Trotskyite tendency of Koçi Xoxe led to the violation of inner party democracy, to the suppression of criticism and self-criticism, to the introduction of military methods into the leadership, to a lack of unity in the leadership of the Party, to the violation of democratic centralism, to the Party in fact being placed under the control of the State Security, to manifestations of bureaucratism, careerism and servility in our Party.

e) The collective method of work was not given due importance in our Party, especially in the leadership. Because of the lack of such a method of work in the Political Bureau and the Central Committee, the organizational activity of the Party escaped the sound control of the Political Bureau, the Central Committee and the General Secretary of the Party, and it was possible for the organizational secretary not to give account for the work done in the sectors under his direction, and to

act in an entirely sectarian, personal and parochial spirit in the policy of cadres.

The leadership of the Party lacked sound unity, and the responsibility for this lies with Koçi Xoxe and Pandi Kristo, whose activity from the Berat Plenum onward was characterized by conscious, organized, factionalist, Trotskyite work. Koçi Xoxe and Pandi Kristo, acting according to the wishes of the Yugoslav Trotskyite leadership, became its main supporters in the leadership of our Party, and consciously working for their career-seeking aims, considered the Party as a partisan detachment with the two of them as «chiefs», bound to each other by an unhealthy familiarity, and thus gravely harmed our Party and country.

f) We failed to organize operative information, without which the leadership cannot possibly direct the work of the Party properly. In checking on the implementation of the directives of the Party, the leadership based itself rather on information coming from the lower levels, without involving members in the leadership on the spot to check on the implementation of the directives. Not only that, but the leading organs of the Party relied more on the informational reports of the State Security than on the operative information of the Party, especially on the question of cadres...

THE LINE OF THE PARTY FOR THE FUTURE

III. On the internal situation of the Party:

To implement its policy and organizational line, to carry out a complete historic turn and embark decisively on the road of Marxism-Leninism, our Party of Labour faces these tasks:

1. — The Party of Labour should immediately be legalized as the leader of the working class and of all the labouring masses of town and countryside, as the sole guiding force of the whole activity of our country, which is leading resolutely towards socialism. . .

5. — The Party should complete its great turn as soon as possible by establishing Marxist-Leninist principles in the structure and internal life of the Party, on the basis of its Constitution. These principles should be rigorously applied, and any attempt to violate them should be unhesitatingly fought:

a) The Leninist-Stalinist principle of democratic centralism should be applied and guarded as the apple of our eye, as the main principle on which the Party is built, and which consists in the election of all leading organs of the Party from the bottom up, in the leading organs rendering account on their activity from time to time to the organizations which have elected them and which they lead, in guarding the iron, conscious discipline of the Party, in the submission of the minority to the majority, and in the obligation of the lower organs to obey the higher ones unconditionally.

b) We should fight to eliminate all non-Marxist, bureaucratic, police manifestations which are fatal to the

Party and its internal life, maintaining and continually developing internal democracy in all party organizations. All the obligations and rights of party members should be fully observed on the basis of the Constitution of the Party, all party questions should be solved through Marxist-Leninist methods of sound criticism and self-criticism, the party members should feel themselves at home in their own organization, and have no hesitation about justly criticizing any party functionary and organ, and iron, conscious discipline should be steeled on the basis of inner party democracy, from which it stems.

c) We should eliminate the method of solving the principal questions of the Party from an individual angle, from a non-Marxist position harmful to the life of the Party, in a spirit of petty-bourgeois, Trotskyite prejudices and reservations. Marxist methods should be established in solving all party questions on the basis of the Leninist-Stalinist principles of unity of thought and action, on the basis of sound criticism and self-criticism, on the basis of democratic centralism.

d) The activity of the party member should be evaluated on the basis of concrete facts, on the way it has defended or harmed the line of the Party through his activity, and not on the basis of groundless suppositions and personal, backward petty-bourgeois prejudices.

e) Revolutionary vigilance should be consolidated in order to defend the line of the Party and the Party itself from the activity of internal and external enemies. Information in the Party should not be transformed into police information, but should be healthy Marxist-Leninist information, accurate, full and relevant, to assist the Party in learning how its line is applied in practice. Re-

volutionary vigilance should be understood as a duty of each party member to ensure the carrying out of the line of the Party and of Marxist-Leninist principles in its life and activity. We should fight unhesitatingly, severely and justly against any manifestation of the influence of the bourgeoisie, of the Yugoslav Trotskyite leadership, or of Koçi Xoxe, etc., who violate the line and Marxist-Leninist principles of the Party.

f) The links of the Party with the broad labouring masses should be strengthened. The party member should learn how to listen to the voice of the worker and the labouring peasant, to understand their situation and needs, and respond to them in time. In order to strengthen the ties with the labouring masses, greater importance should be attached to the work of the basic organizations, which are the main link between the Party and the labouring masses, and the party leaders should frequently go to the base to make direct personal contact with the masses. The party organizations should strengthen their ties with the masses, understanding well that in the period of transition from capitalism to socialism, which our country is living through, class struggle is not extinguished because the internal and foreign enemies of the people's democracies and of socialism will not for a moment stop their efforts and attempts to hinder the development of our country towards socialism, overthrow our people's state power and establish their capitalist regime. The better and more correctly the party organizations lead and carry out this class struggle in daily life, the more closely they will be linked with the broad labouring masses. The party organization and

party members should live up to their tasks and play their leading role. The party member should rid himself of all his personal shortcomings and petty-bourgeois survivals which may still persist in him, or which may be reflected in him due to the pressure of the bourgeois environment. The party member must work to win the sympathy of the labouring masses, to learn from them and to direct them according to the line of the Party.

g) Marxist-Leninist unity in the leadership of the Party should be established and guarded as the apple of our eye. It must be based on the principle of solving the main questions of the Party on the basis of sound criticism and self-criticism, and not on the rotten basis of personal positions. All those who attempt to violate the unity of the Party and its leadership should be ruthlessly fought. The method of collective leadership in the Party should be strengthened, and the Trotskyite method and spirit of Koçi Xoxe, the individualistic method and Trotskyite, sectarian, parochial, pessimistic spirit, should be fought. The work of the leadership should be more correctly divided, and all members and candidate members of the Central Committee should be activated. The Central Committee should be met regularly to consider the activity of the Political Bureau, and the conferences and the Congresses of the Party should be held regularly as provided for by the Constitution of the Party. Whenever necessary, meetings of party activists should be called to look concretely at major party problems. All important party problems must be first judged and approved by the forum, and then put forward by its members. Parallel with collective leadership, the feeling of personal responsibility of every leader and rank-and-

file party member should also be strengthened. Through special letters, circulars, and meetings of party activists, the Central Committee should regularly inform the party organizations on the decisions it adopts while the more important decisions should be published. . . .

*«Principal Documents of the
PLA», vol. 1, 2nd, ed., pp. 536,
537, 542-543, 557-561, 563, 569-
-572.*

**FROM THE LETTER TO THE PARTY
ORGANIZATIONS AT THE GRASS ROOTS AND IN
THE ARMY CONCERNING INNER PARTY
DEMOCRACY**

March 6, 1949

To all the organizations of the PLA at the grass roots and in the army, to all communists.

The Central Committee of the PLA observed that inner party democracy has been wrongly understood by many party organizations and party members and, as a consequence, the party discipline which stems from it is not strictly abided by.

It is essential to put an immediate end now, in the initial stages, to all those harmful manifestations which seriously weaken the Party, weaken the militant unity and compactness of its ranks, and lead to a sort of anarchy in the activity of the Party.

Our Party categorically rejects such a distorted understanding of democracy in the Party, which in fact undermines the Party, and breaks its unity of thought and action.

Lenin and Stalin teach us that we must understand

party democracy as a weapon to raise its militance, as a method of inner party work that intensifies the activity and strengthens the solidarity of all party members, that involves the whole Party in working out its decisions, and launches them in active struggle to implement these decisions promptly and correctly.

Comrade Stalin says: «Inner party democracy means the increase of the activity of the mass of party members and strengthening of conscious proletarian discipline in the party.»¹

All party members should understand well that the iron rigorous discipline the Party demands from them by no means threatens the sound democracy of our Party. On the contrary, iron, conscious discipline, such as that of our Party, can develop only through inner party democracy.

The Constitution of the PLA says: «Good, sound discussion about problems of party policy in the various organizations or throughout the Party is an inviolable right of every party member which stems from inner party democracy. It is only on the basis of inner party democracy that sound criticism and self-criticism can develop, and party discipline, which must be conscious and not mechanical, can be strengthened»².

Thus, the strengthening of the internal unity of the Party, the strengthening of conscious and not mechanical party discipline, can be conceived only on the basis of complete democracy in the Party, because on this basis

1. J. V. Stalin. Works, vol. 8, p. 149 (Alb. ed.).

1. Principal Documents of the PLA, vol. 1, 2nd edition, p. 527.

the consciousness of the communist is raised, as well as his political and ideological level.

As was stressed in the decisions of the 1st Congress of the CPA, in the past, when inner party democracy was lacking, when military and police methods were introduced into the Party as a result of the hostile activity of Koçi Xoxe, Pandi Kristo and others, it was only natural that iron, conscious party discipline was lacking, and mechanical and administrative discipline was imposed instead of genuine party discipline. Today, when all conditions for the complete development of democracy in the Party have been created, any distortion of democracy, any violation, however slight, of iron, conscious party discipline, is impermissible, and dangerous to the Party.

What has occurred in our Party to show that many basic organizations and many party members have an erroneous understanding of inner party democracy, and that iron party discipline has been violated?

a) *In many party basic organizations, regulations about party meetings have not been observed.*

... Such a situation in the Party should be forcefully tackled. This indifference towards party meetings shows in the final analysis indifference and negligence in implementing the party line and carrying out its tasks. Where, if not at the meeting of the basic organization, can the party member learn the party line, find out the tasks the Party lays down, be assigned tasks to carry out, etc.?

To fail to attend the meetings of the party basic organizations means to detach yourself from the life and spirit of the Party, and, in the final analysis, to follow your own judgement, not as the Party teaches and

instructs you. We should always bear in mind the teaching of great Lenin, that each party member is responsible for the Party and the Party is responsible for each member. But for the Party to be able to take responsibility for each member, it is essential to ensure its supervision of the activity and work of each of its members.

This is why participation in party meetings constitutes one of the primary conditions for membership of the Party. Of course, punitive measures, as stipulated by the Constitution, should also be taken against those who do not fulfil these party obligations.

Failure to attend party meetings prevents the party member from carrying out party activities, from working for the Party. Every communist must understand well that the discipline of our Party does not presuppose verbal agreement with the party line but a concrete and active struggle to implement this line through deeds, in the sector where the Party has placed its member.

The Party does not allow even the slightest breach of discipline, this is one of the particular features of the discipline of our Party. In no case is it permissible to deviate from the program and Constitution of our Party. The communist who neglects his party tasks, whether he fails to pay his membership dues, or to attend the meetings of his basic organization, does not come on time to the party meeting, or fails to discharge any other party task, or to implement the line of the Party in the organization where he works, violates party discipline.

b) Many comrades have shown a tendency not to implement decisions and not to carry out the tasks assign-

ned to them by the basic organizations, the district or city committees, or even by the Central Committee.

... where do these erroneous views, these distortions of democracy lead to..? They lead to the weakening or loss of confidence in the leadership. Failure to carry out orders and decisions issued by the highest organs would result in every party member acting as he wishes and going where he pleases, which in the long run, would call the party line into question.

The party member should respond to every task the Party lays down. He should be ready to go where the Party tells him, wherever it considers necessary. For the party member there are not two sets of interests, party interests and personal interests. When the interest of the Party requires him to go even to the remotest village, the party member should be ready. What the party member should want to do most is to work where the Party has the greatest need, where the Party calls on him to go.

If party members were to demand to go where they wanted, without considering the needs of the Party, it would hinder the Party in correctly distributing its cadres, and would prevent the Party from keeping firmly under its control the different work sectors, and all the regions of our country.

The implementation of orders and decisions of the Party is one of the primary tasks of the party members. For all those who violate the orders and decisions of the Party, the Constitution of the PLA provides a series of measures and sanctions, up to the extreme punishment, expulsion from the Party.

«The decisions of the central organs of the Party

and state administration should be carried out promptly and to the letter,» the Constitution of the PLA says, and continues, «failure to carry out the decisions of the higher organs and other acts described as offences by the general opinion of the Party leads to: criticism or disbanding of the basic organization, criticism of the party member, and a note of this in his record, temporary prohibition from holding a leading position in the Party, or expulsion from the party ranks.»¹

Those in charge of the work, and the Party Committees, always have the task of checking on the carrying out of duties by the basic organizations, and by each party member. To dodge this control means to leave the way open to breach of discipline. Today there are many comrades among us who tend to demand a limitation of the Party's right of control, seeking to escape the control of the responsible persons above them. When called to account for their failure to carry out their tasks, many comrades are heard to say: «Comrade, this is in the spirit of the 8th Plenum.»² These are wrong views, they are not party views. Our Party has stressed and will always stress forcefully the need to check on the way tasks are carried out; without this there is no party discipline and tasks are not performed.....

*Enver Hoxha, Works, vol. 6,
pp. 38-42, 44-45.*

1. Principal Documents of the PLA, vol. 1, 2nd edition, p. 534.

2. The 8th Plenum of the CC of the CPA, held in February 1948.

**FROM THE DECISION OF THE PLENUM OF THE
CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF THE PLA «ON THE
TASKS OF OUR PARTY IN THE LIGHT OF
THE RESOLUTION OF THE INFORMATION
BUREAU»**

December 27, 1949

... In the basic organization, in the leading organs, at the work centre, at the grass roots level and everywhere, revolutionary vigilance must be sharpened and the Party further strengthened. Wavering elements, oppourtunists, and sectarians, anarchists, career-seekers, and others whom chance brought into the Party, but who do not support its line and its ideology, constitute a negative element hindering the strengthening of the Party. They are ready to embrace bourgeois ideology and support hostile activity, as our Party's experience has proved. Therefore, in the process of everyday work at the grass roots level, it is their deeds and not their words that should be observed, studied and tested, and those who can be helped and advised should be given help and advice, and those who need to be purged from the ranks of the Party should be purged, because in this way the Party is strengthened. At the same time, the

greatest care and attention should be shown in the admission of new members, who should love the Party and the people wholeheartedly and spare nothing for the cause of socialism. Respect for order and discipline, respect for the party norms and principles, and criticism and self-criticism, are indispensable conditions for the Party to be further strengthened and safeguarded. Therefore, the party members should fight for order and discipline in the basic organization, they should watch and fight vigilantly against all manifestations violating order and discipline, such as coming late to meetings, unjustified absences, non-participation in discussions, failure to carry out the directives of the Central Committee, or the district party committees, or the decisions of the basic organization, the violation of proletarian morality, unjust criticism of comrades, criticism outside the basic organization, questioning and expressing doubt about the directive and line of the Party, belittling the leadership of the Party, the failure to maintain secrecy, talking about the party matters with one's relatives, and maintaining reservations towards the Party. All these manifestations are alien and dangerous to the Party, they lead to deviations and the creation of groups and factions. To understand well how and when these manifestations occur in practice, it is essential for every party member to increase his efforts to study Marxism-Leninism, to raise his ideological and political level, and to read our press as much as possible. . . .

THE PLENUM OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE
OF THE PARTY OF LABOUR OF
ALBANIA

*«Principal Documents of the
PLA», vol. 2, 2nd ed., pp. 110,
113-114, 119.*

FOR THE FURTHER IMPROVEMENT OF THE INTERNAL SITUATION IN OUR COUNTRY

*From closing speech at the 4th Plenum of the
CC of the PLA¹*

December 28, 1949

... Our Party is young, but it is a militant Party. Its members have passed through the heat of war and are equipped with many years of experience. Our Party has its foundations deep among the people, and fights to become ever stronger in order to overcome every diffi-

1. This plenum of the CC of the PLA examined the resolutions of the Information Bureau of some communist and worker parties: a) «On the defence of peace and the struggle against warmongers», b) «Working class unity and the tasks of communist and worker parties», c) «The Communist Party of Yugoslavia in the hands of murderers and spies». These resolutions were unanimously adopted in the Conference of the Information Bureau which was held in Hungary during the second half of November 1949.

culty and obstacle, which the imperialists and their Titoite agents, inside and outside the country, will try to create. The Party must guard against external enemies, but it must also guard vigilantly against internal enemies.

Our Party is the vanguard of the working class and of all the working masses of the country. Our working class is still small, it does not boast of a long revolutionary struggle and all-out endeavours in the past; nevertheless, a worker and communist movement existed in our country, which became the nucleus of the Party, and around it gathered all those who wanted communism and fought for its triumph in Albania. But our working class will become stronger, will grow and be steeled in battles.

Following the creation of the Party, various evils appeared in its ranks, introduced by bourgeois elements, evils which the Party could not avoid, but which it fought against successfully. Evils will appear in the future, too, but increasingly less, if we make every effort to strengthen our working class, to raise the ideological level of the party members, and to arm them with the vanguard science, Marxism-Leninism. Great revolutionary vigilance is required of all communists, in order to defend the Party against every danger; criticism and self-criticism should be well used and developed; we should be severe towards our mistakes and shortcomings. We must be merciless particularly towards all deviationists, whether of the right or of the left, overt or covert, because their aim is to dig the Party's grave. The daily struggle will compel such elements to come out into the open, where they can be fought against and expelled from our ranks.

During the life of the Party, such manifestations as

opportunism and sectarianism have appeared, and it has raised these problems and fought them. Renegades and traitors like Koçi Xoxe and company, agents of the Belgrade Trotskyites, have emerged. But our Party has successfully fought these manifestations. Even since the Congress, the Party has discovered many unhealthy manifestations such as those noticed in the Lushnja and Peshkopia Party Committees. The Party has analysed these diseases, found their source and their causes, and taken them up for discussion at its meetings with the aim of fighting and curing them. The material about these manifestations has been of service to the Party, though not to the proper extent, since such manifestations still persist, even after the discussion of the letters to the base, and there are even people who have studied these letters, but are not in order themselves, they continue to make mistakes, and often more serious ones. In the period of transition from capitalism to socialism, class struggle is not extinguished, so in our Party nothing can remain secret, no unhealthy manifestation can remain undiscovered, but must be brought to light. The greater the vigilance of the party members, the quicker these manifestations and these people will be revealed and fought.

Manifestations such as unhealthy sympathies and friendships which lead to the creation of groups outside the Party and become sources of unhealthy anti-party viewpoints exist and have many times been raised for discussion and fought against by the Party. There are comrades who criticize from all quarters, as they wish, every higher organ and every individual, and cherish the illusion that it is they who defend the Party and

carry out its line, but in fact they violate the line of the Party and carry out the line and directives of their group. They go about their tasks and duties in accordance with the naturally erroneous conclusions reached by their group, conclusions that result from discussions carried out in narrow circles of unsound comrades. We cannot claim that in our Party individuals or organs do not make mistakes. These mistakes should be severely criticized and corrected, and measures should be taken towards those who do not correct themselves. But discussions and criticism should be carried out in the party basic organizations, not in groups of comrades and friends. The people I mentioned above do not do this in the party basic organizations, and thus do not help their comrades to fight against and eliminate mistakes and shortcomings in their work. These unsound people who meet in their circles of friends suffer from megalomania, they claim to be masterly and astute, capable, in their opinion, of carrying out any task successfully. They think they are infallible, but in reality they make more mistakes, and above all they make the great mistake of principle that, through their actions, they violate the party line. When they come into contact with reality and meet difficulties in their work, they are unable to overcome them and make serious mistakes, but they hide their errors, find excuses and, in their unsound circle of comrades, create the conviction that it was not they, but others, who made the mistakes. Such people object to correct criticism, they are affected by it and go to find consolation in their group. Such activity leads to the creation of factions.

Then there are comrades who make such grave mistakes that in war time they would be punished by

firing squad. In making self-criticism, they declare that their errors stem from the mistrust and prejudice they have nurtured against the Party in the past and at present, as well as from many other serious reservations and prejudices. Those who associate with these unsound elements defend them and whisper here and there in groups to discredit the party and state leadership. It is surprising how a communist can defend a culprit who himself admits that he has made an unforgivable mistake, because he has lacked confidence in the Party and its leadership. This implies that those who defend such an element are in the same position, i.e., that they are not in order on this question. The Party understands these things and this way of acting, and will of course take measures to change the situation. No leniency is allowed in this; either the party road, or the opposite road. There is no middle road. We must be patient with people, help them to correct themselves when they make mistakes, but if they do not change, then get rid of them. We should not exclude the possibility that the enemy may have a finger in this. The communists would make a mistake if they excluded such a possibility, especially when a person does not mend his ways but persists in them. A genuine communist does not make such mistakes. In the case of those who continually make mistakes and do not correct themselves, if their past as communists is studied, it will not be difficult to see that they have long been unsound, that their mistakes are not accidental, but specific. It is the task of the Party to study people and their activity, for only in this way will it be able to heal the sick and purge its ranks of the incurable cases. Some of these people have committed condemnable mistakes which, in view of the circumstances, have been

forgiven them. But when the situation is clear, when the party work has been strengthened, and if these people go on repeating the old mistakes, then the Party, remembering their old mistakes, will not forgive their present ones; it cannot close its eyes to these things.

In our ranks there are megalomaniacs and career-seekers, who live only for rank and position, who invent problems and threaten the Party's existence, waiting for the moment to set off the mine. But when exposed, they act like lambs and take the most servile stand. Genuine communists are made of different stuff. Such attitudes on the part of those unhealthy elements are not accidental: in order to hide their errors, they claim that they are being persecuted. Then there are some who say that the Party views them with disfavour, or that it still retains the old views about them from the time when they had erred. They say these things, while they go on making gross mistakes; they feel in themselves that they have greatly wronged the Party, but still they are not the sort of communists who openly acknowledge their mistakes and make Bolshevik self-criticism. Of course, the reasons they put forward sound hollow to the Party, because it has acted correctly towards these people, openly criticized them when they made mistakes, and later helped them, promoted them, and raised them even into the Central Committee. If someone goes on working against the line of the Party, and his activity is exposed, he invents excuses to cover up his error. But the Party understands these things, and not only judges him as an erring party member, but judges and condemns him as a recidivist, as an element who continues to repeat his earlier errors on a larger scale.

There are comrades in the Party who become swelled

headed when they become directors or members or candidate members of the Central Committee, and do not take into consideration either the opinions of the comrades or the views of party forums. These people should change their ways, otherwise the Party will cut the grass from under their feet, it will not allow anyone, whoever he may be, to trample other party members and forums underfoot. The views of a party forum are more correct than those of an individual. If the views of the individual are correct, the basic organization or the forum are quite able to evaluate them, accept them and put them into practice, but if they are wrong, the basic organization or the forum are equally able to judge them worthless and to throw them out. The higher the position of the party member, the greater the responsibility he should feel towards the Party. To detach oneself from the Party, to consider other comrades as insignificant, to consider the basic organization and the forums as worthless, is a grave mistake which leads to many dangerous actions.

Life is struggle, and we cannot expect perfection from party members in their life and work. But the life and work of the party member in his basic organization leads him towards perfection. The weapon of criticism and self-criticism shapes the genuine communist. But there are also strange people who are quickly hurt by criticism levelled at them; they lack self-possession and do not make efforts to solve problems in the spirit of the Party, but go from one discontent to the next, thus building up a knot of grudges, quarrels, and hurt pride, which develop and then become dangerous to the Party. These people will certainly make mistakes in their life, they will be criticized, but it is clear that they will not accept criticism, because they are unable to make real

self-criticism. These people are greatly embarrassed, they remain on tenterhooks, create doubts, put the blame on other comrades or forums, and, not being blameless themselves, spread rumours that the fault lies with the Party or the Central Committee. The sole remedy for them is Bolshevik self-criticism. A communist who makes open self-criticism has no reason for concern, on the contrary, he should feel free of what troubled him.

There are people who have doubts about everything, who are always afraid. Why does this happen? It is because these people have made mistakes, but have not acknowledged them, so they are not unblemished. If a comrade makes a casual joke with them, they connect this joke with a thousand problems seething in their minds, and harbour opinions harmful to the Party. The enemy has great possibilities of getting these people into his clutches, for they are psychologically prone to embark on the anti-party road. «I don't agree with the Party...» the comrade says... But if he disagrees with the Party, then the Party does not agree with him. To disagree with the Party means to agree with the enemy, and those opposing the Party are renegades, Trotskyites and Titoites.

But hasty measures have also been taken, which must be reconsidered so as not to harm the comrades. Everything in our Party must be correctly solved, nothing must be left uncorrected. The communist does not burn the quilt for a flea. He has the greatest confidence in the justice of the Party and is always patient. The Party must be vigilant towards weak and wavering elements who infiltrated the Party during the National Liberation War. The Party must preserve the purity of its ranks, fight against the pressure of the bourgeoisie, and against

bourgeois and petty-bourgeois viewpoints existing in a number of comrades. Efforts should be made to raise their ideological level, because the problem of studying has not yet been satisfactorily solved. Among our party members there are good practical people who are lazy when it comes to reading even the main newspapers. The question of the future of our country depends on strengthening the Party both organizationally and politically, ideologically and culturally. It is in this way that our Party will become the steel-like leader of the people, both in state matters, and in social, cultural and other activities. . .

*Enver Hoxha. Works, vol. 6,
pp. 466, 469-477.*

**FROM THE RESOLUTION OF THE PLENUM OF THE
CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF THE PARTY OF LABOUR
OF ALBANIA ON THE FACTIONAL ACTIVITY OF THE
ANTI-PARTY GROUP LED BY ABEDIN SHEHU,
NIAZI ISLAMI AND SHYQRI KËLLEZI**

March 6, 1950

C O N C L U S I O N S

.....

2. We should further develop sound Bolshevik criticism and self-criticism and strengthen inner party democracy. We should raise the combativeness of the party organizations in their struggle for the purity of the party ranks, and the purity of the line, and for the communist education of the comrades. Criticism and self-criticism should be valued as the only law of the development of our Party and Republic, without which the existence of the Party and the construction of socialism in our country are threatened. Where sound Bolshevik criticism and self-criticism are not applied, unhealthy friendship, reservations, prejudices, personal enmity, favouritism and

disharmony strike root, and gradually and systematically lead to the anti-party road and the destruction of the party organization. Where criticism and self-criticism are not developed, party members cannot be freed from the petty-bourgeois shortcomings and survivals they have brought with them into the Party, they cannot be defended against the pressure of the bourgeoisie, and cannot be helped to improve themselves and their work. The Party should more and more turn criticism and self-criticism into a powerful weapon for itself, the state organs and the masses of the people.

3. We should develop revolutionary vigilance which is essential for the defence of the Party against the enemies who infiltrate into it, and for its purification, and essential in order to detect weaknesses, shortcomings and concessions in the activity of the Party and state, to distinguish their deep causes and motives, and to take measures in time. It should be kept in mind that the enemy strives to infiltrate into the Party, and once in, aims for the leadership. This is shown by the experience of the Bolshevik Party and of our own Party. The enemy tries by every means to weaken the Party, and the weaker he is and the more he is attacked, the greater become his efforts, and the subtler his methods. Therefore, the Party is even more urgently faced with the task of continuously sharpening its revolutionary vigilance, and developing this vigilance in the working masses in our country, in all patriots, so as to defend our state power against the enemy and ensure that the masses themselves defend our country.

4. We must strengthen iron, conscious discipline in the Party. We must uphold and defend the principle of democratic centralism and the organizational regulations

of the Party, against which all the enemies of the Party are fighting. The scrupulous observance and application of the regulations of the Constitution of the Party is the first and main duty of every party member.

THE PLENUM OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE
OF THE PARTY OF LABOUR OF ALBANIA

*«Principal Documents of the
PLA», vol. 2, 2nd ed., pp. 126,
130-133, 136, 138-139, 140.*

**FROM THE RESOLUTION OF THE PLENUM OF THE
CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF THE PARTY OF LABOUR
OF ALBANIA «ON THE POLITICAL SITUATION AND
THE WORK OF THE PARTY»**

February 23, 1951

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II

**STRENGTHEN THE PARTY ORGANIZATIONALLY,
FURTHER DEVELOP INNER PARTY DEMOCRACY,
AND INTENSIFY CRITICISM AND SELF-CRITICISM
IN THE PARTY**

The important tasks we face call for the greater strengthening of the Party itself, so that its organizations can play their vanguard role in all sectors of work.

In order to strengthen the Party we must further deepen inner party democracy, increase the combativeness of party members in carrying out their tasks, and create an atmosphere of intransigence towards one another's shortcomings, showing concern to uphold the principles

of the Party, to fight against excessive familiarity and liberalism, to strengthen criticism and self-criticism in the Party, and to combat the tendency to satisfaction with little, and conceit.

The leading organs of the Party should be particularly concerned about the organizational strengthening of the Party, the internal life of the Party, and the full implementation of the main principle on which the Party is built — democratic centralism; they should fight for the bolshevization of the Party. The Organizational Directorate under the Central Committee and the organizational sections of the district party committees should devote great attention to these questions which are related to the vital problem of the internal strengthening of the Party.

1. Criticism and self-criticism in the Political Bureau and Central Committee should be strengthened, for without sound principled criticism and self-criticism there cannot be genuine unity of thought and action. The Political Bureau and the members of the Central Committee should render account for their work to the Central Committee, because this is a necessary condition for the development of criticism from below. Criticism should be principled, severe, and levelled against anyone, regardless of his past merits or the responsibility he had, and without fear of displeasing him or damaging his authority. Tolerance and concessions in regard to each other's mistakes must not be allowed in the Central Committee and the Political Bureau, excessive familiarity should be fought against, and all mistakes and shortcomings in work, wrong manifestations, and negligence, should be severely attacked. The members of the Central Committee should be intransigent in fighting these manifestations.

2. Criticism and self-criticism in the district party committees and in the basic organizations should be deepened, bearing in mind what is said about the Central Committee. The district bureaus should regularly give account of their activity to the committees, and make sound criticism of each other's mistakes and shortcomings, as well as of the shortcomings of the bureaus themselves; meetings of the party activists should be called once every three months, and criticism and self-criticism should be encouraged; in the basic organization, rigorous criticism and self-criticism should be developed, and the rank-and-file member should not be afraid of criticizing anyone—whether the secretary or the chief in charge of the work.

3. Inner party democracy should be further developed in the Party, and therefore the active participation of the masses of party members in solving party problems should be encouraged keeping in mind the teachings of the Bolshevik Party that democracy does not consist only in democratic elections. . . Genuine democracy rests in the fact that the mass of the party members are active in the organization, that the mass of the party members solve both party problems and general practical questions. This should raise the responsibility of all party members in the solution of party problems. For this purpose, in basic organizations, meetings of party activists and district conferences, it is necessary for the elected organs to render account regularly and submit issues of major importance to the judgement of the mass of the party members.

4. Recognizing the great importance of the development of criticism from below and the deepening of inner party democracy for the strengthening of the Party itself,

all those manifestations or individuals hampering the development of criticism from below, in whatever form, should be dealt with severity.

5. We must encourage not only criticism of the elected organs by the mass of the party members, but also criticism of the Party by the mass of the working people.

The party press should further intensify criticism.

The deepening of criticism is an indispensable condition for the Bolshevik education and tempering of cadres, for the strengthening of revolutionary vigilance, and the exposure of enemies and suspicious elements, so as to fight and eliminate shortcomings and mistakes that hinder progress and hamper the carrying out of the great tasks the Party is faced with. The deepening of criticism and self-criticism is also necessary to combat all alien manifestations, and to bolshevize the Party.

Criticism and self-criticism are a necessary condition for, and a law of, the development and consolidation of our people's democracy, and our advance towards socialism.

*«Principal Documents of the
PLA», vol. 2, 2nd ed., pp. 176,
184-186.*

**FROM THE REPORT TO THE 2nd CONGRESS OF THE
PARTY OF LABOUR OF ALBANIA «ON THE
ACTIVITY OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE
OF THE PARTY OF LABOUR OF ALBANIA»**

March 31, 1952

IV

**OUR PARTY AT THE HEIGHT OF ITS TASKS AND
ON THE ROAD OF ITS FURTHER STRENGTHENING**

In the period between the two congresses, important successes have been scored in our country, which are due to the fact that the Party has carried out its duty and has correctly guided the destiny of the people. It has known how to mobilize the inexhaustible energies of the people and launch them in an organized way in the construction of the base of socialism. The communists, inspired and led by Marxist-Leninist principles, have gained experience in political leadership and organization, and have become more capable of carrying out their tasks. The daily fight against difficulties, against internal and external enemies who seek to weaken the Party and

the regime of people's democracy, the fierce struggle against the Titoites and their agents, the struggle against new deviationists, and against the pressure of the bourgeoisie, have steeled our Party and strengthened its unity. The Party has become capable of carrying out successfully the tasks which face it, and smashing the attempts of any enemy who dares hinder it on its course in the interests of the people, peace, and socialism.

As we know, our Party avoided the danger of intervention by the Titoites and their agents, Koçi Xoxe and company, for it understood Stalin's teachings and applied them correctly. The Central Committee and the Party assimilated the lessons of the historic letters of the Bolshevik Party to the former Communist Party of Yugoslavia, and the Resolution of the Information Bureau «On the Situation in the Communist Party of Yugoslavia», routed the Titoite agents in our Party, and achieved the historic turn which led our Party on to the correct Marxist-Leninist road. During this entire period, the Party has remained vigilant and has fiercely attacked all alien and inimical manifestations. It has fought for the defence of its line and of Marxist-Leninist Stalinist principles, and has combatted opportunism, considering it as a manifestation leading to the relaxation of the class struggle, as a departure from the revolutionary line of the Party, influenced by the petty-bourgeois environment and the external conditions in general.

1) *The composition and size of the Party*

Implementing the line of the 1st Congress, the Party has fought to improve its composition, to strengthen its leading organs, to establish the closest possible connec-

tion between them and the base, and to improve its leading work. The Party has achieved satisfactory results in this.

The membership of the Party at the time of the 1st Congress was 45,382 members and candidate members. At this Congress 44,418 members and candidate members are represented. It is evident that the party membership is slightly smaller than three years ago, for the reason that we have striven more to improve quality than to increase numbers. The Party has aimed to bring into its ranks tested people loyal to the cause of communism. As a result of the verification of documents, which has now finished, 3,776 people were expelled from the Party. Likewise, during the normal development of the verification campaign, 2,220 people unworthy of being party members were expelled. From the 1st Congress up to the end of last year, 3,909 new members and 7,127 new candidate members were admitted to the Party. It is evident that the proportion of candidates to members was abnormally high. But, in general, this situation has improved; whereas on the eve of the 1st Congress the candidates made up 35.79 per cent of the effective party membership, on the eve of this Congress they represented only 32.6 per cent. This situation will go on improving.

The social strata are represented in the Party as follows. Prior to the 1st Congress there were no exact data about strata, for social origin was confounded with social status, and the actual definition of origin was confused. Now the members and candidate members of worker origin make up 8.08 per cent of the party members, and those of worker social status, 11.5 per cent. Of the total number of production workers, only 9.73 per cent are party members. As you see, the number of

worker members and candidates is small. This is influenced by the fact that our working class is young and small in number, and is now growing and being consolidated alongside the development of industry, but, nevertheless, the increase of working class elements in the Party is not satisfactory... Compared with the social strata of our country, the social composition of the Party is generally good: 74.1 per cent come from the poor strata, 22.02 per cent from the middle strata and only 3.7 per cent from the rich strata. The growth of the working class and the continuous care of the Party will doubtless further improve its social composition.

In this situation, the Party has the task of strengthening itself with elements from the working class, and extending particularly to industrial, economic, and production centres, as well as to those villages where we still have no communists or very few. We must continually strive for good quality rather than for quantity. The Party should be cautious and exacting in admitting to its ranks elements who come from the rich and the middle strata, it should preserve the purity of its ranks, and keep itself free of demagogues, chatterboxes, careerists and boasters, who have no place in our Party; it should defend its ranks against the enemies of the class and of the people's power...

2) *The inner life of the Party and the problem of its direction*

The Party has fought for the implementation of the directives laid down by the 1st Congress. The Trotskyite-Titoite methods that hindered the implementation of the

political and organizational line of the Party have been eliminated. Discipline, criticism and self-criticism have been strengthened, and inner democracy developed and deepened. Elections in the Party have followed the correct road laid down by the Constitution; the method of appointing people to leading posts from above has been done away with, and the method of coopting people to forums has been abandoned. All this has strengthened the Party, strengthened its members, strengthened the leadership, and strengthened the sense of duty of those who take part in it. This has brought about a more developed sense of responsibility among the communists, and a more correct and consistent stand towards tasks, has strengthened the rendering of account by the leadership to the mass of Party members and has strengthened criticism and self-criticism.

From the 1st Congress up to now, regular meetings have been held, and this has strengthened inner democracy. The elections of the forums as well as of the secretaries of the basic organizations have been held in a spirit of sound criticism and self-criticism. This militant Bolshevik spirit is noticeable especially in the election of secretaries of the basic organizations and delegates to the district conferences, and in the election of the committees. Here, the concern and vigilance of party members to defend the Party against careerists, demagogues or enemies are apparent.

But despite all these achievements we still have serious weaknesses in the understanding and carrying out of tasks, and the solution of problems; this is the case both with the forums and with individual communists. The 2nd National Conference of the Party and the 9th Plenum of the Central Committee criticized these weak-

nesses, which consist in the irregular holding of plenums and meetings of party activists; the way problems are dealt with by the leaders; the faulty methods of work and the failure to implement decisions properly, be it on the part of the leaders or of the base. The criticism of these weaknesses brought about a certain degree of improvement, for in the elections of 1951, the party committees made sounder self-criticism and a better analysis of problems, and meetings of activists were called more regularly. The party basic organizations not only criticized more openly people who had made mistakes and had hidden the serious shortcomings in their work behind the authority of the Party and its leadership, but also made a better study of many problems of capital importance to the Party. The basic organizations followed this example and improved their work, taking a more lively interest in the solution of their problems. But even these results are not satisfactory; we must recognize that weaknesses exist, and criticize them severely. The communist should not be alarmed at a critical stand towards errors, but should increase their efforts and their courage to improve their work...

a) It is not enough to understand in theory the importance of collective leadership and of rendering account to the mass of party members; this must also be put into practice.

I want to stress here that the meetings of party plenums and activists are not always conducted in order. They are not prepared as they should be, and they are often held in a formal way, just to keep in line with the Constitution and the Central Committee. The fault here

lies more with the leaders and especially with the comrades of the bureaus of the Party committees. The comrades of the bureaus are burdened with practical work, they are submerged in a sea of papers, they worry about solving trifles which are not their job, or problems which do not concern them directly, but concern the state sector, and forget the importance of convening the meetings of party forums and activists which should be the main concern of the party leadership. It is harmful for the first secretary of a district to preoccupy himself with trifling economic matters, and neglect the great problem of the supply of his city or district, neglect the hygiene or education situation, neglect the ideological and political development of the mass of party members. It is evident that these leaders are incapable of preparing the meetings of plenums and activists, for trifles have got in their way, they do not see the major problems nor have a clear idea of how they can be solved.

Certainly the party rank-and-file should constantly call the leadership to account, demand the implementation of the Constitution, and criticize, help and check on the leadership, which is responsible to them. But this is not done as much as it should be, not because those at the base are incapable of doing it but because in many cases the leaders prevent them, and one of the things that prevent those at the base from exercising their supervision is the irregular holding of meetings of the party committees and activists. The Central Committee of the Party itself is to be blamed for this, because it has not properly followed up the implementation of its directives and has not helped the districts as much as it should in advising how these meetings should be held and the way problems should be taken up. For their

part, the bureaus of the party committees in the districts have shirked this very important task. This shows that the leaders in the districts have not correctly understood what collective leadership and rendering account to the Party mean. It is not enough to understand these things in theory, they must also be put into practice. There can be no excuses about this. Wherever an occasion arises, the leadership should be prevented from violating the main principles of inner democracy, which are one of the criteria of correct leadership. The method of work in the high organs of the Party is still weak and affected by serious shortcomings, sluggishness, bureaucratism, neglect of theory and concern about problems of third and fourth rate importance. The party organs are smothered in red tape, they concern themselves a great deal with state problems, monopolize them and, of course, underestimate the state organs. Such leadership causes us great harm, for not only does it weaken the general activity of the functionaries of the state administration and economy, but also the Party Committee, being overburdened with economic problems which should be dealt with by the state organs, deprives itself of the opportunity to concentrate on the principal problems and devote due attention to political work with the masses for the fulfilment of economic tasks and the all-round education of the masses, or deal in greater depth with the problems of the inner life of the Party. In this way, the party committee does not play its leading role as it should, but becomes like an executive organ of power and state control. The party leaders in the districts are making a great mistake in this, which they should correct as soon as possible. The competences of both the party and state organs should be clear, for only

in this way can problems be quickly and correctly solved, people faced with their responsibility, the implementation of decisions supervised, people's stand towards work checked, and bureaucracy combatted. It is only in this way that we will achieve a proper understanding of the genuine leadership of the Party.

Many people in leading posts do not have a clear understanding of the collective leadership in the Party. This happens with many comrades in the bureaus, who are unclear about this question. Proceeding from the incorrect principle that they should do everything themselves, they work individually in mapping out and taking measures and decisions; problems are not gone into deeply, or studied collectively. Thus decisions are taken in a perfunctory, hasty and incomplete manner. Of course, where such a method of work exists, the important task of the organizational work of the Party, which consists in organizing the implementation of a given decision, is not accomplished properly. The cadres should be ready to fight for the implementation of decisions, for they play a decisive role in the achievement of success. This presupposes that all should be clear about their work, not only about what they should do, but also about how they should work and what course they should follow in order to achieve results. If such work is halting right from the start, it is natural that decisions cannot be very clear to those who implement them. Decisions, and many of them, are taken, but they are not all implemented. Then just as many decisions are taken to implement the decisions previously adopted. New decisions are also made on questions which have been decided upon, but forgotten. This means to mock at work and decisions, to pose as though you are working by spawning decisions,

but in reality you are doing nothing, only marking time and hampering the work.

Often, some comrades of the district party committees do not take a lively interest in all the problems concerning the leadership, but confine themselves to their particular sector. This is a grave shortcoming which should be eliminated. Even when they are responsible for their particular sector, they do not give a positive account of how tasks are carried out, but produce a thousand excuses and justifications, coming out with the conclusion, when tasks are not performed, that it was this one's fault or that one's fault, that it was raining, or the wind was blowing. And so in the leadership a situation is created full of justifications and unhealthy familiarity, which cannot help degenerating into a general malaise. As a result, criticism and self-criticism are weakened, everyone is more or less compromised, and the comrade who has not done his job is not properly criticized, nor does he show any shame or concern about it.

In many cases the party organs do not act in a sufficiently effective way, and a stereotyped and conventional method of work predominates. This method of work causes our leaders to take a superficial approach, preventing them from delving deeply into issues, and from taking correct decisions. Quick action is not taken to solve problems or to do away with shortcomings, on the pretext of abiding by procedural rules. Meeting after meeting is held, lasting hours and days on end, but very little is achieved. We are not against meetings or necessary paperwork, for a state cannot do without them, but there are meetings and meetings, there is paperwork and paperwork...

In the districts in which work is done in such a

way, a feeling of self-satisfaction is created among the people of the bureaus of the party committees; in order to cover up their mistakes, they either go on making formal criticism, or use the authority of the Party to attack the lower cadres who allegedly bear all the blame for the unsolved problems. Then they pass over to arrogance, take excessive measures, repress cadres, stifle criticism from below, and begin dismissing and transferring people. Some leaders think that but for them the work would not make headway, and that they must be everywhere. They overestimate themselves and underestimate other cadres, they stifle creative drive and hamper initiative. They create an unhealthy spirit in the bureau, and the harmful opinion that it can solve all problems and has the capacity and function to decide and act without the district party committee. From this stems underestimation of the main party leadership. For this reason the meetings of the party committees are not held regularly, problems are not studied in detail before being taken up there, they are not exhaustively discussed there, and decisions and directives to serve as guidelines for the work of the bureau and all the Party in the district are not taken. The directing, educating and controlling role of the party committee in the district is weakened. The bureau of the party committee feels itself to be the sole leader of the district and responsible only to the Central Committee. It feels little responsibility to its Party Committee and the Party in the district, which appointed and elected it and to which it should continuously render account. The comrades who think this way about this problem, whether they mean to or not, distort the principle of democratic centralism and of inner party democracy. Such views not only lead to

the underestimation of collective work in the bureau and committee, but also to the underestimation of the leadership of the Party in the district, to the feeling that its help and control are unnecessary. Sometimes they even try to dodge its control. Of course, such anti-Marxist opinions about party leadership greatly weaken the leadership and the Party, and these tendencies should be mercilessly fought against, because to carry on in this way means the emergence of factions of comrades linked together by unhealthy sympathies, totally alien to the spirit of the Party. This has happened in the bureau of the Party Committee of Stalin City with its former secretary Pajo Islami, in the Lushnja Party Committee with the faction of Hasan Gina, in the bureau of the Shkodra Party Committee, and in the bureau of the Puka Party Committee with the former second secretary of the Party Committee, Z. G. Leaders with such unhealthy opinions create the impression that the bureau is everything, that it can take the law into its own hands, that the people who form it are infallible and above criticism. In working and thinking wrongly, they also underestimate the members of the plenums of the party committees, who are considered unimportant; it is regarded as sufficient for them to carry out the task they have been appointed to in the state organs or in the party apparatus. In practice, such a spirit prevails not only among some bureau leaders, but is also beginning to be noticed among some plenum members. Those comrades forget the principal task that the Party has entrusted them with in appointing them to leadership, they forget that they are party leaders before they are departmental heads or factory directors. This view is also apparent among some members of the Central Commi-

tee. In practice, the field of activity of those comrades is limited to the work assigned to them as departmental heads, factory directors, or ministers. They do not look further, they even do not try to, and they do not have the courage to intervene, to advise, to call for urgent measures to be taken, to call to account those bureau members who are charged with carrying out the decisions of the Central Committee and of the Plenum of the district party committee. No, these comrades are indifferent to questions of leadership. They do not show any interest in how procurements are going, how education is progressing within the Party, how industry is developing, how education and culture and many other problems are tackled. It rarely occurs to a member of the party committee for example to go and have a talk with the comrade in charge of education about the problems of culture and education in his district, to visit the schools of his town or village and see for himself whether the decisions of the Party and government are implemented or not, or whether the words of the comrade in charge of education are true or are only empty talk. In this way, it is understandable that the plenum as a leading body will never raise the problem if the bureau will not. If the bureau neglects it, none will think of it, for it has never concerned them. But even when the bureau takes up the problem for discussion, it is only the comrade in charge of education and culture or some intellectual who reports, and the question ends there. The others have nothing to say, for they have not felt concerned about this problem. «There are no discussions», it is said, «is no criticism or self-criticism». But how can there be discussions, how can there be criticism, and how can self-criticism be made under

those conditions? Then people come to the wrong conclusion that the Party is at a low level. It is true that the ideological and cultural level of the Party is low, but not to the extent that some leading comrades think. The leaders of party organizations should be lively, active, hardworking and vigilant in questions of leadership, they should continually concern themselves with all problems, because not one comrade alone is responsible for these questions; there is personal responsibility in the leadership, and there is also collective responsibility. These matters are closely interconnected and should go together.

b) If the party active is underestimated, then the role of the Party is underestimated.

If the party leaders themselves have not correctly understood this important problem, then it is understandable that the problem of the meetings of party activists (actives) remains still unsolved. We must admit that the party leadership in the district does not make a proper use of the meetings of activists according to the Constitution, and does not consider them as its important assistants, advising, guiding and orientating the entire work of the Party and the leadership. The party leaders should not forget that in these meetings of activists all the party organizations of the district are represented, the finest people of the Party, of the base, who come there to study major problems, to take important decisions, correct mistakes in the work, straighten things out, reform people who err, and propose measures against those who are not fit to be in the leadership. If the meeting of the party activists is underestimated, then the

role of the Party is underestimated, its leading work takes on a bureaucratic form, and the principle of centralism and inner party democracy is violated. Then the leaders do not rely on the Party as they should and to the extent they should. In practice they are detached from the base, and their links with the base, despite their fine words, are not strong and concrete. If this question is not understood correctly, then the decisions taken by the leadership cannot become, as they should, problems of the basic organizations, and these organizations cannot be mobilized as they should to solve the problems they are confronted with from above. Then there is another important aspect of the problem. The decisions that come from above must be carried out by the lower organs and by the base. That is the principle of democratic centralism. But we should not forget, on the other hand, that together with the necessary implementation of the decisions and directives, there is also inner democracy, the dynamism of the Party, the verification of the correctness of a decision, of its good aspects and its weaknesses, which concern the party basic organizations and the masses of the people. The Party has objections, comments, corrections, and suggestions about the decisions taken which it is implementing. It makes proposals for amendments, changes and improvements. The leadership should listen to these, study them, take into account the good proposals and discard the mistaken ones. But when will the leadership consider these things, if it continues to work in bureaucratic ways, underestimating the importance of meetings of the plenums, neglecting the meetings of the activists, often not reading and studying properly the reports and protocols of the basic organizations, or the reports of

party instructors and organizers, and not holding regular seminars with the secretaries of the basic organizations? When it acts in this way, the leadership is like a fish out of water, it acts from above and is not master of the situation. The importance of the meetings of activists lies in the mobilization of the party organizations, and in the increased activity of the entire mass of party members. Such meetings should be held regularly to discuss the most important decisions of the Party and government, and the implementation of these decisions (and this must be understood once and for all) depends much on the groups of activists for they explain the decisions in question to the masses, and mobilize all the communists to implement them, and through the communists, all the working masses. We should not forget that the active assembles the best cadres of the Party and state, and this means the most lively expression of the opinion of the whole Party. We learn from Lenin, Stalin and the Bolshevik Party that the Bolshevik compactness of the group of party activists is an indispensable prerequisite for the successful activity of every party organization. The meetings of activists should by no means be called with the formal aim of giving solemn and useless approval to the decisions of the Party, but in order to hold a genuine discussion of these decisions. To underestimate, and neglect the meetings of activists is irreconcilable with Leninist-Stalinist organizational policy, it violates inner party democracy, and leads, as an unavoidable consequence, to the weakening of the work of the Party.

c) *Bolshevik criticism and self-criticism in our Party recognize no conditions or limits.*

... We may speak much about inner democracy, we may call for the strengthening of criticism and self-criticism, of the initiative of the Party members, but we will have little result if we do not carry these things out in practice through the organizational forms defined by the Party. Only inner democracy makes it possible for the mass of the party members to criticize, check on the leadership and elect the worthiest people to the leading organs. Bolshevik criticism should be strengthened in the ranks of the Party, and self-criticism along with it. In particular, Bolshevik criticism from below should be strengthened, regardless of the fact that those criticized may be important figures of the Party or state. Bolshevik criticism and self-criticism in our Party recognize no conditions or limits. Severe criticism should be levelled against any one who makes a mistake, whether he is in a high or low position, whether he is an old or new party member, and there should be especially severe criticism of those who hold high posts and have been in the Party for a long time, but continue to make mistakes. Self-criticism should be open and sincere, and we should not forget that self-criticism is only the beginning of the matter, practice must show whether self-criticism is sincere or merely like confessing to a priest. Criticism from the bottom up is not properly made use of. Why are people so timid that they do not have the courage to use this weapon and this great right the Party gives them, a weapon the Party tells them to use unhesitatingly, fearlessly, against anyone, regardless of his personality and position. Criticism and self-criticism promote

our work, and their absence undermines our work. If we are afraid of a person in a high position, then we are not on the road of the Party, we are fostering petty-bourgeois views, opportunism, servility, favouritism, careerseeking, unhealthy familiarity, fear, etc., evils alien to communists. Do we perhaps not want to criticize someone higher up because we think that he will «quickly find the opportunity to do us harm?» Those who think in this way are not on the road of the Party, they have not understood what our Party is, in fact they have a distorted idea of it.

...The correct development of criticism and self-criticism educates them on the correct party road to realize the essence of their mistakes, and following the example of the good comrades, the sound communists, who are not in the least afraid to criticize anyone at all in a correct way, and who are not ashamed but consider it an honour to acknowledge their errors and mistakes honestly, openly, in a Bolshevik manner, and to give the Party tangible proof that they have corrected their errors through work, and struggle, all the others should profit from them and raise the level of their criticism and self-criticism. Those who stifle criticism in various ways should be severely dealt with. The communists should be vigilant towards petty-bourgeois tricks disguised in Marxist garb. Lenin and Stalin teach us that self-criticism, the detection of errors in the Party, the study of the causes that have led to them and the specifying of the necessary measures to eliminate them are one of the surest methods for the correct education of the Party and of the working class. Lenin emphasized that pride and fear of self-criticism are a great danger to the party, for a party that suffers from pride falls into an abnormal shameful and ridiculous position.

We should keep in mind at every moment Lenin's and Stalin's teachings, and carry them out to the letter in the everyday life of the Party, for only in this way will we still further strengthen the Party, will the struggle of the working class against its enemies be successful, and will we successfully combat bureaucracy, the tendency to self-satisfaction, to overestimation of ourselves, to seeking personal comfort, which give rise to dangerous political and organizational weaknesses.

The taking of measures to improve the work for the solution of the problems which I have mentioned will certainly result in the still greater strengthening of the leading role of the Party, will strengthen the leadership, and link it more closely with the base of the Party, and the base with the broad masses of the people...

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*Enver Hoxha. Works, vol. 9,
pp. 123, 173-194, 196-197,
202-208.*

**FROM THE RESOLUTION OF THE 2nd CONGRESS
OF THE PARTY OF LABOUR OF ALBANIA, ON THE
REPORT «ON THE ACTIVITY OF THE CENTRAL
COMMITTEE OF THE PARTY OF LABOUR OF
ALBANIA»**

April 6, 1952

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III

ON THE FURTHER STRENGTHENING OF THE PARTY

1. The Congress reached the conclusion that since the 1st Party Congress, important achievements have been made in our country which show that the Party has honourably accomplished its historic tasks.

Our Party drew important lessons from the historic letters of the CPSU(B) to the former Communist Party of Yugoslavia, and from the Resolution of the Information Bureau «On the situation in the Communist Party of Yugoslavia». It exposed the Titoite agents in our Party, Koçi Xoxe and company, and successfully made

the historic turn which put the Party fully on the correct Marxist-Leninist road.

Our Party has successfully fought to uphold its Marxist-Leninist line and principles. Its struggle against external and internal enemies, its fierce fight against the Titoites and their agents, its fight against the deviationists in the Party after the 1st Congress and against the pressure of the bourgeoisie, and its everyday struggle against difficulties, have tempered our Party and strengthened its unity.

2. The Party has striven to bring into its ranks tested men and women loyal to the Party and people. The party membership today is somewhat less than three years ago, because of the verification of documents, and because we have fought for the improvement of quality rather than for the increase of numbers.

The social composition of the Party in general is good if compared with the social strata of our country, but nevertheless, the number of worker members and candidate members is still small. Candidate members still make up a high percentage of the party membership. Work for the education of the young communists has not been carried out as it should be.

An indispensable and very important measure was the verification of documents, which purged the Party of hostile and worthless elements, attacked weaknesses and shortcomings in the present attitude and activity of the communists, greatly influenced the strengthening of the internal life of the party organizations, and strengthened their vigilance, militant spirit, criticism and self-criticism.

The further extension of the Party brought the leading organs closer to the basic organizations, and this

helped to strengthen them. Party basic organizations were set up on the basis of production branches, their numbers were increased, and the links of the Party with the masses were strengthened.

3. The Trotskyite-Titoite methods in the Party which severely harmed its political and organizational line were done away with. Democratic centralism was deepened, and the Party's internal life, criticism, self-criticism and discipline were improved.

All this strengthened the Party and its leading role and raised the capability of the communists and their sense of responsibility towards their tasks.

But despite all this progress there are many weaknesses in the internal life of the Party. The meetings of the plenums of the party committees and the party activists have not taken place everywhere according to the rules. They have not been properly prepared, and have often been formal. The party committees have not always used the meetings of party activists in the correct way laid down by the Constitution, they have not seen them as first hand assistance, as a genuine cadre school, as organs directing and orientating the entire work of the Party and its leadership. This underestimation has meant that the leading party organs in the districts do not rely on and listen to the voice of the base as they should. Because of this underestimation, the leading organs in the districts have not been properly able to make their decisions the concern of the party basic organizations. The Central Committee is responsible for this situation, but the comrades of the bureaus of party committees in the districts are also responsible, for they have avoided rendering account to the plenums and to the mass of

party members, thus weakening the collective leadership role of the plenums themselves.

The method of work in the leading organs of the Party in the districts, and in the apparatus of the Central Committee, is still weak, and has serious shortcomings; there is sluggishness, great bureaucracy, and neglect of theory, questions are not deeply analysed and not always studied in a collective manner, and therefore superficial, hasty and incomplete decisions are taken, while the organizational work and the control of the implementation of decisions are weak. Some of the comrades in the leading organs do not take a lively interest in all problems, but only deal with their particular sector of work, forgetting their role as members of a leading party organ. As a consequence, there have been weaknesses in the use of criticism and self-criticism. Criticism from below has not been strong, and often there has been suppression of criticism. This has then led to concessions in the implementation of the decisions of the leadership.

There are still many weaknesses in the links of the leading organs with the base; the work of the party instructors has been insufficient, it has not been properly checked on, and inadequate care has been shown for their education. . .

In connection with these findings, and in order to strengthen the Party further, the Congress laid down the following tasks:

1. The Constitution of the PLA should be fully known and implemented by all the party members and candidate members.

2. The social composition of the Party should be improved. The party organizations should devote parti-

cular care to new admissions to the Party. They should show more concern for the activation and education of candidate members, and improve the social composition of the Party with new elements, particularly from the ranks of the working class. Both the background and the present work of new elements to be admitted to the Party should be well looked into. Individuals should be judged according to their loyalty towards the Party and the people, according to their untiring work to carry out honourably the tasks they are charged with by the Party. The Party should be defended as the apple of our eye against the efforts of the enemy to infiltrate into its ranks, and revolutionary vigilance should be raised.

3. The basic organizations should be continually strengthened, and become genuine schools of the Bolshevik education of the communists. They should be in the front ranks of the struggle for the implementation of the party line.

4. The leading organs should take appropriate measures to improve their method of work.

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*«Principal Documents of the
PLA», vol. 2, 2nd. ed., pp. 265,
272-274, 276.*

**FROM THE REPORT SUBMITTED TO THE
7th PLENUM OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF THE
PARTY OF LABOUR OF ALBANIA «ON THE
SITUATION OF THE ORGANIZATIONAL AND
POLITICAL WORK OF THE PARTY AND THE
MEASURES FOR ITS FURTHER STRENGTHENING»**

May 11, 1953

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II

**ON THE MEASURES FOR STRENGTHENING INNER
PARTY DEMOCRACY**

The 2nd Congress of the Party of Labour of Albania charged the party organizations with the most important task of consistently applying party democracy, and satisfactory results have been achieved in this direction. The control by the mass of party members over the leading organs has increased, and the role of the plenums of the Central Committee and of the meetings of party activists has become greater. The inner life of the basic organiza-

tions has become more militant, and criticism and self-criticism have been strengthened. On the basis of the development of inner party democracy, results have been achieved in further enlivening the Party, in placing it in a more combative position, and in the running of the political, economic and cultural work of the country.

One of the conditions for strengthening inner party democracy is the election of the leading organs from bottom up. We have attached particular importance to this question, the meetings to render account have been held regularly, and better conditions have been created to study these problems, better and analyse them more deeply. Greater help has been ensured by the party committees for the basic organizations, and by the Central Committee for the district party committees. The encouragement of criticism has also made it possible for party problems to be discussed more extensively at those meetings. The party conferences held during December 1952 and January 1953 proceeded at a still higher level. The measures taken by the Party both at the base and in the Party conferences during the elections were very militant and vigilant concerning the discussion of the candidates for election to the leading organs of the Party.

But this does not mean that the meetings to render account and hold elections have everywhere been at the required level. We can say that we have taken a step forward in this, but we must strive more persistently for these conferences and the preparation for them to be at a still higher level, for them to become a genuinely militant tribune for the assessment, discussion and solution of all party problems. We must fight against some serious shortcomings that threaten to turn these meetings

into parades of self-satisfaction and give them a formal character. These shortcomings are: failure to prepare reports properly, superficial analysis of shortcomings and mistakes, inadequate knowledge of the actual situation, failure to take up the principal problems, satisfaction with little, elimination, by various methods, of criticism by the mass of the Party members, lack of encouragement of criticism, etc.

The participants in party conferences and in meetings of activists should feel more deeply the responsibility for the trust placed in them by the organizations which have sent them to these meetings, they should prepare well for them and criticize without fear the shortcomings in the work of the leadership of the Party. We should always keep in mind that the principal means to raise the entire work of the Party to a higher level, to increase the activity and initiative of the party organizations and their members, is the strengthening of control over the activity of the leading organs by the mass of party members.

Inner party democracy should be strictly implemented. We should always keep in mind the fact that the expansion of the working class which is taking place in our country is a primary factor for the strengthening of inner party democracy. If the Party expands its ranks with elements of the working class, if every day it creates good living conditions for the workers, if it works consistently to raise the cultural level of the working class, the inner party democracy will be strengthened constantly, and will be a reality.

Likewise, an indispensable condition for the strengthening of inner party democracy is the broadest possible participation of the masses of party members in lively

discussion of the great economic, political, cultural and social problems that concern the party organization in work sites and production centres, in villages and co-operatives, in the administration, in cultural and educational institutions, and in the activation of all the communists to carry out their tasks...

Our work shows that we still have great shortcomings in this respect. There are party members who do not take part in discussions at the meetings of their organizations and attend only to listen, or to vote when it comes to taking a decision or electing the leadership. Such comrades who take a formal attitude are also to be found in the leading organs. Responsibility for this lies with the comrades who allow themselves to take such an indifferent attitude towards the problems of the Party, but grave responsibility also lies with the leaders of those party committees and basic organizations who have not created the conditions for the education and activation of all the comrades. This is the main reason that today in our Party there are a great many candidate members who are in their second, third, or even fourth probation year, and the party organizations are still unable to give an opinion about their admission into the Party, for they have not yet tested their qualities and capacity at work. Great tasks await us, and to fulfil them we must mobilize the masses to act heroically, and lead them correctly. These tasks weigh above all on the Party, and thus they will be carried out only by activating the party members to the maximum on the basis of inner democracy, by mobilizing them in the leading work of the Party.

The main method our party has to strengthen the unity of its ranks, discipline, and internal democracy, is

criticism and self-criticism. This sharp weapon in the hands of the Party, which serves to uncover and correct our shortcomings and errors, has begun to be used more correctly. The communists, guided by the lessons of the 2nd Congress of the Party of Labour of Albania on the intensification of criticism and self-criticism, use this weapon more courageously in their daily struggle against difficulties, shortcomings and manifestations alien to the Party. But we may say that this tested method of the Party is still not used to the due extent, or in all fields. Often criticism and self-criticism are made in general terms, without a deep analysis of causes and consequences, without singling out the responsibilities of those who make mistakes. There are cases when party or state leaders, carried away by successes or conceit, do not take kindly to criticism, do not take seriously the actual weak situation in their work, do not take into account the proposals of the comrades or of the working people, and so violate the organizational rules of the Party and state. Although criticism from below has become more vigorous, there are still many comrades who display fear that the person who is criticized may be angry and view them with an unfavourable eye, or feel resentment. Thus they remain silent before mistakes or make their criticism in the form of indirect suggestions. An expression of the suppression of criticism, and the failure to encourage it, is the insufficiently critical stand of some members of the Central Committee and high state functionaries towards their shortcomings. In principle these comrades support criticism and self-criticism, and never stop giving directives about the «bold» use of this sharp weapon, but when it comes to them it is a different matter, they begin to avoid responsibility, they do

not put up with criticism from below, but stifle it in various forms, exerting pressure on those who criticize them and sometimes even taking revenge on them...

... It is necessary to encourage and support correct criticism from below, even if it is only five per cent right, as Stalin teaches us; we should welcome criticism, and not turn our backs on the criticism of the rank-and-file communists and of our working people. The leaders of the Party and of the economy should have a highly developed sense of sincere self-criticism, and should create favourable conditions for the control of the leadership by the masses; we should draw as many people as possible into the socialist construction of the country. These should be our slogans of the day...

The communists and all the working people of our country are directly interested in rectifying shortcomings and errors, in eliminating bureaucracy, apathy and conservatism, all of them manifestations dangerous to our Party and state. A correct attitude towards our shortcomings and mistakes stems from the very character of our Party and our people's democratic system. We strive and fight to forge ahead, fulfil the state plan, and implement the directives of the Party and government. Every one is interested in the progress of our economy, in the strengthening of the defence potential of the country, and in the consolidation of the state and Party. The leaders and functionaries of the Party and state should respond to these burning aspirations with work and deeds, listening attentively to the voice of the masses, and striving to implement their valuable proposals. Sound criticism and self-criticism are the weapons that safeguard the members of the Party and all working people against vices, that keep the ranks of the Party and state pure, and promote our work, for they weed out career-

seeking, megalomania, factionalism, servility, satisfaction with little, etc. Only by strengthening inner party democracy can we strengthen the Party and the unity of its ranks.

III

ON STRENGTHENING THE UNITY OF THE PARTY, AND REVOLUTIONARY DISCIPLINE AND VIGILANCE IN ITS RANKS

1. Strengthening unity in the ranks of the Party.

Our Party of Labour is strong and invincible, for it is built on Leninist-Stalinist organizational principles, on the basis of the many years of experience of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, and because in its entire activity it has been and is guided by these teachings. It is strong and invincible, because it has continually fought to strengthen the unity of its ranks, to strengthen iron discipline, to deepen party democracy, which constitute the fundamental law of its development and life, the main organizational principle of a Party of the new type. But the tasks that confront us in the fulfilment of the five-year plan and in the construction of socialism require the further strengthening of the Party, the leading and directing force of the whole country; they require, first and foremost, the strengthening of the unity of the Party ranks, which we must defend as the apple of our eye

so as to make our organization as compact and militant as possible.

... The unity of the ranks of the Party consists in the unity of thought and action, in the unity of word and deed, in the mobilization of all the communists to achieve a single aim: the faithful implementation of the program, tactic and organizational rules of the Party. «The Party is not merely a union of people of one mind», comrade Stalin says, «it is also a union of people who act for one purpose, a militant union of people who act and fight relying on a common ideological basis.»¹

This teaching of Stalin's shows that in the parties of the new type there cannot exist a disorganized struggle that is not based on sound ideological principles, and that internal Party democracy cannot be understood apart from iron discipline. On the contrary, inner party democracy, on the one hand, and iron, conscious discipline on the other, make up that indissoluble unity which is called democratic centralism, a leading principle of the organizational structure of our Party.

2. — On strengthening discipline

The successful fulfilment of the directives and policy of the Party, and the tasks of the state plan, require iron, conscious discipline as an indispensable condition for advancement in the socialist construction of the country. It is true to say that insufficient efforts are made to establish such discipline in the ranks of the Party. It is often noticed, in almost all districts, that party members do

1) J. V. Stalin, Works, vol. 5, p. 361 (Albanian ed.).

not regularly attend the meetings of the basic organizations, they do not pay their dues regularly, do not take part in the meetings of party activists, and leave these meetings without permission. Of course, such manifestations show that discipline is weak and the basic organizations and party committee in the districts do not devote particular attention to this very important problem, do not consistently educate the communists, or take disciplinary measures against the incorrigible. A lack of discipline is also noticed even among the members of the Central Committee, in attendance at the Party School, and ideological and political courses and seminars, in which the Party has created every opportunity for its people to be educated with Marxist-Leninist ideology. These manifestations of the lack of strong, conscious discipline should be brought to an end.

Party and state discipline in our country are one inseparable whole. In practice there have been cases of an artificial division between party and state discipline. It is a fact that in the state organs, in quite a number of cases, various measures have been taken against communists over their mistakes and shortcomings, but in the party organizations of which they are members, these comrades have not been called to account for these mistakes and shortcomings, they have not been criticized, and no measures have been taken towards them. The bad thing here is that the violation of state discipline, of the discipline of the plan, is not properly estimated as a violation of party discipline. It must be understood that the violation of state discipline, the failure to fulfil the plan in the mine, factory, village, and everywhere else, is at the same time a violation of party discipline. Whether or not the political and economic tasks of the first

five-year plan are carried out is related to whether or not the party line, its policy and program, are implemented. . .

Our Party and its Constitution recognize only one discipline, both for the comrades in posts of responsibility, and for the rank-and-file communists.

The indifference of the Shkodra Party Committee or of the party basic organization of the Shkodra vehicle depot, when the management of this depot was preparing to sack 130 of its workers, is incomprehensible. Who were these workers who were to be sacked, allegedly to reduce staff? They were young workers whom the Party had trained for a long time in course, had educated, and made into cadres, and after all this they were to be quite casually thrown into the street, because allegedly financial discipline required this. This was prevented, but the party leadership in the district and in the enterprises should be very vigilant and not allow such actions, even if they are undertaken by the ministries. The party organization is responsible to the Party for everything that happens in the enterprise, the village, the cultural and educational institutions, etc. The Party is responsible; therefore, it must call the members at the base and the leaders to account for the implementation of party and state decisions, for the establishment of iron discipline, regardless of the post they hold.

Experience shows that where party and state discipline is weakened, however little, where people and leaders are covered by the rust of bureaucracy and are satisfied with little, where discipline is lacking, where no personal responsibility is felt for work, and as a consequence, the way lies open for fraud, theft and abuses, the enemy has a hand. This happened for instance in the

Tirana vehicle depot where, because the managers of the enterprise, the party organization and the leadership of the ministry had shut their eyes to irregularities and abuses because they stood in a position of petty-bourgeois comfort-seeking, the way was open to thefts and misuse. Those managers who reconcile themselves with or permit such a situation may be anything, but not managers. The severest measures should be taken against them, for otherwise the discipline of the plan, the line of the Party and its program would be seriously compromised.

The lack of conscious discipline among party members is also shown in the failure of some communists to carry out the orders of the district party committees when it is a question of going to work in production. The district party committees strive for a more correct distribution of the forces of the Party, but they should not underestimate the resistance put up by certain communists against going from administration to production work. There are many communists who prefer offices and paper, and shun production work as the devil does holy water. Among those comrades a desire for petty-bourgeois comfort prevails, they lack drive at work, initiative and courage, they bring the worm of bureaucracy into our Party and state organs, and develop it there. These communist bureaucrats are not prepared to fight and cope with petty-bourgeois influence and the pressure of non-party people, in enforcing iron party discipline. The communists must always and everywhere be ready to go where the party interests require. This is how we should understand party discipline, and it cannot be understood and achieved without strengthening inner party democracy. Discipline and inner party democracy

are two questions which make up one whole, they are the two sides of the fundamental organizational principle on which the Party is built — democratic centralism.

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Enver Hoxha. Works, vol. 10,
pp. 333, 351-365.

ON FURTHER IMPROVING THE METHOD OF PARTY WORK IN THE COUNTRYSIDE

*From a talk at the meeting at the Secretariat of the
CC of the PLA¹*

September 22, 1954

...The entire policy of the Party should be understood well by the communists in the countryside, so that they can properly adopt the methods of party work. Like all the comrades, I am against bureaucratic and dogmatic methods. I agree with what was said here that many methods of work are unsuitable for the present conditions and need reviewing. But the work of doing this does not depend only on the higher bodies, on the Central Committee and its apparatus. The party committees and the basic organizations should make efforts too. This should be well understood. The daily experience of the

1) This meeting considered the report of the Tirana District Party Committee «On the work of the Party in the countryside».

Party should induce us to take up these remarks, to consider them in detail and to apply appropriate methods of work in all respects. Otherwise unsuitable methods might hamper our progress.

The regional and district party committees, and the secretaries personally, should be well acquainted with all the secretaries of the basic organizations. They should maintain close contact with them, and talk with them, not in an official way, but freely, as communists talk with one another, about everything, and about all matters concerning the village. An atmosphere should be created in which the secretaries of the basic organizations are not afraid of putting questions realistically. All this will help them to acquire knowledge of the situation, so as to take concrete measures to improve it. The close contacts of the party leaders with the base help them to judge various phenomena not from their outward appearance, but on the basis of their internal causes, and thus come to correct conclusions. . .

*Enver Hoxha. Works, vol, 12,
pp, 26, 29-30*