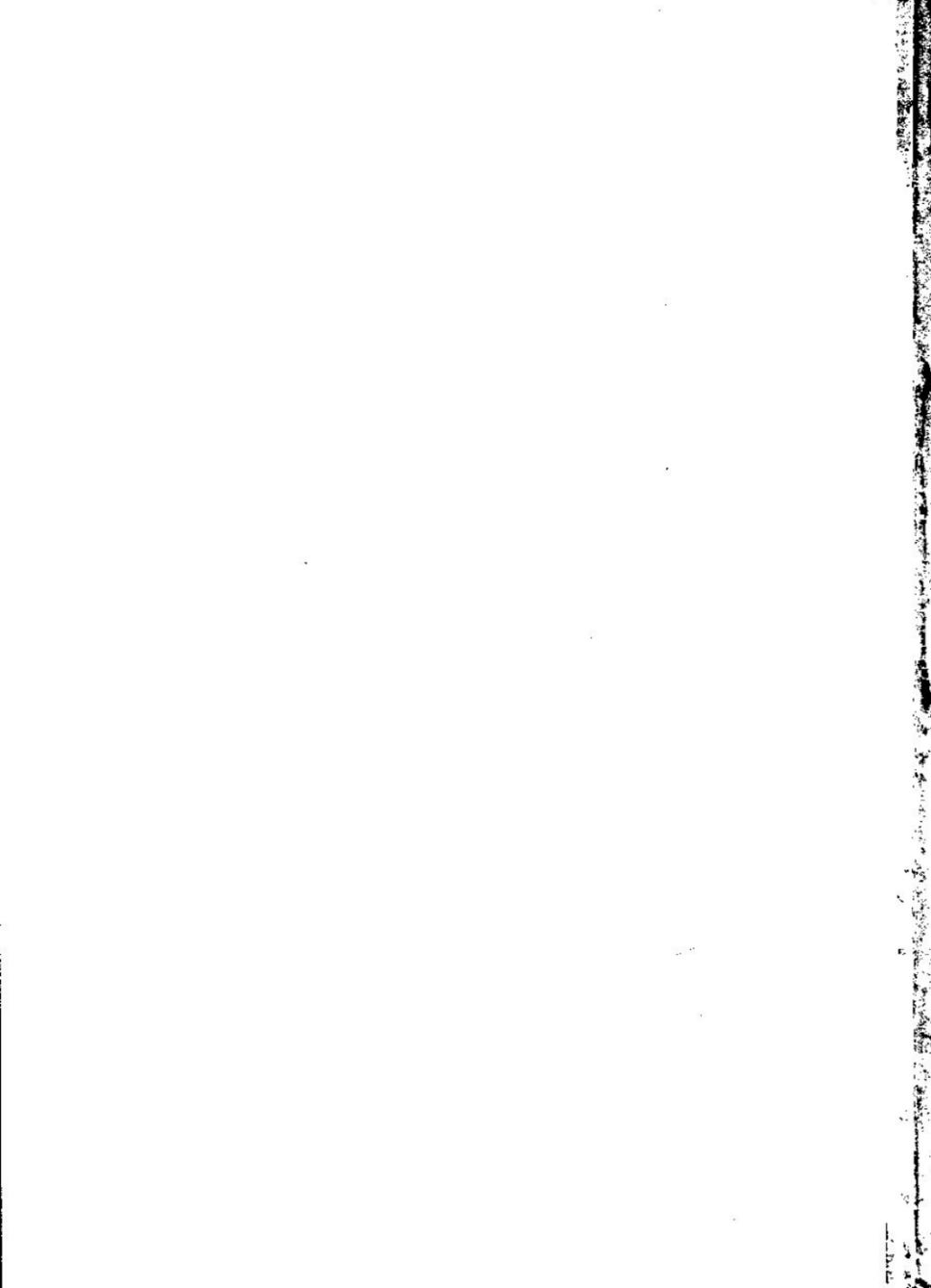


**HISTORY  
OF THE PARTY OF LABOR  
OF ALBANIA**



**Workers of all countries, unite!**

**HISTORY  
OF THE PARTY OF LABOR  
OF ALBANIA**

**Third, Fourth and Fifth Chapters**

**THE INSTITUTE OF MARXIST-LENINIST STUDIES  
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## CHAPTER III

### THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF ALBANIA IN ITS STRUGGLE TO REBUILD THE COUNTRY AND PROMOTE SOCIALIST REVOLUTION

(December 1944-1948)

#### 1. THE DEFENCE AND CONSOLIDATION OF THE PEOPLE'S DEMOCRATIC POWER

The People's State Power established in Albania and the sole leadership of the Communist Party in the State created the necessary political conditions to carry the people's anti-imperialist democratic revolution in the economic, social and cultural fields through to the end. This made it possible for the revolution to develop uninterruptedly and pass over immediately to the socialist revolution, to carrying out economic and social changes of a socialist character.

It was only by proceeding along this road that the victories achieved in the National-libe-

ration War could be safeguarded, that the destruction left from the war and the backwardness inherited from the past could be eliminated, the workers could be freed once and for all from exploitation and misery, and conditions created for the rapid development of our economy and culture.

The tasks confronting the Party for the further development of the people's revolution were determined by the internal and external situation following the Second World War.

**The Radical Change of  
the Ratio of Forces in  
the World in Favor of  
Socialism**

When Albania drove out the foreign invaders, the Second World War was still going on. It came to an end only after the unconditional surrender of Hitlerite Germany on May 9, 1945 and of militarist Japan on September 2, 1945.

Great changes had taken place in the world. Although the Soviet Union had suffered greater human and material losses than any other country, it emerged from the war much stronger politically and militarily. Its authority and international prestige were greatly enhanced.

The capitalist system was shaken to its foundations and weakened. The second stage of the general crisis of capitalism, which had begun with the outbreak of the Second World War, assumed still larger proportions. The principal manifestation of this crisis was the victory of a series of revolutions which opened new

breaches in the imperialist front in Europe and in Asia.

As a result of these revolutions, new people's democratic regimes were established in a number of countries of Europe and of Asia. The newly set up democratic governments carried out a series of political, economic and social changes which laid the foundations for embarking on the path of socialist development. The people's revolution in China was given a fresh impulse.

The detachment of these countries from the capitalist system was one very important result of the Second World War. This made a radical change in the ratio of forces in the world in favor of socialism, and constituted the fundamental feature which defined the new international situation following the war.

The liberating character of the anti-fascist people's war, the decisive role of the Soviet Union in it, and the detachment of a series of countries from the capitalist system gave a strong impulse to the national-liberation and anti-colonial movement. The domination of the imperialist powers over the colonies and dependent countries began to crumble. The process of disintegration of the colonial system of imperialism became widespread. A series of new independent States came into being in Asia and in Africa.

Even in the remaining colonies or dependent countries the liberation movement to shake off the imperialist yoke was on the rise.

The process of disintegration of the colonial system was another important manifestation of the second stage of the general crisis of capitalism. Consequently, the importance of the National-liberation Movement of the colonial and oppressed peoples, as a direct reserve of the world socialist revolution, was greatly increased.

The new alignment of the social and political forces in the world opened a new stage to the revolutionary movement, creating more favorable conditions for the triumph of socialism on a world-wide scale.

With the end of the war the ratio of forces between the principal capitalist countries also changed. The inequality of their economic and political development was deepened still more, upsetting the balance of power within the world system of capitalism.

After the war, Germany, Japan and Italy were temporarily excluded from the world market. Their economies were heavily damaged and disorganised. France could no longer play its former role of a great imperialist power. Under the blows dealt by the liberation war of the colonial peoples, the British Empire began to break up and the power of British imperialism declined.

Only the United States of America emerged stronger from the war. It had greatly enhanced its economic and military might and became the principal center of the capitalist world.

The imperialist powers could not reconcile themselves to the growth of socialist and demo-

cratic forces in the world and the development of the anti-colonial liberation movement. A bitter struggle ensued between the imperialist and reactionary forces, on the one hand, and the socialist and democratic forces, on the other.

Thus, the contradictions in the anti-fascist coalition about the aims and the character of the war became clearer when hostilities ended and grew deeper as time passed. The antagonism between the two world social systems was becoming more and more acute. The world was split up into two camps: the anti-imperialist democratic camp and the anti-democratic imperialist camp, with aims and objectives diametrically opposed.

The democratic camp was made up of the Soviet Union and the countries of people's democracy. At its head stood the Soviet Union. It was supported by the entire international democratic and workers' movement, by all progressive-minded persons fighting in defense of democracy, freedom, and the independence of peoples. The aim of this camp was to secure world peace, the independence of the peoples, democracy, and progress towards socialism. This could be attained only in struggle against imperialism.

The imperialist camp had the USA as its leading force. It relied on the reactionary classes and on all the anti-democratic forces in the capitalist countries. The aim of this camp was to save the old capitalist order, to suppress the workers' revolutionary and national-libera-

tion movements, to re-establish the capitalist regime in the countries of the people's democracy. By making use of their great economic and military potential, the U.S. imperialists sought to establish their domination over the world. To achieve this aim, the imperialists headed by the USA launched a frenzied hostile campaign against the Soviet Union and against all the socialist, freedom and peace-loving forces. International reaction resorted to direct armed intervention and drowned the people's democratic movement in Greece in blood. It dealt heavy blows at the democratic workers' movement in France, Italy, and elsewhere. A tendency to fascistize political life became apparent in the imperialist states.

In order to carry out its strategic plan, the imperialist camp, and especially the United States of America, began to pursue an openly aggressive policy, to intensify the militarization of their economy and, thus, prepare for the next world war. This policy and the measures deriving from it covered all the main fields of life, including the economic and military fields and the ideological struggle. The «Truman doctrine» and the «Marshall plan» were specific expressions of this policy.

The U.S. imperialists stationed a large number of troops and set up military bases in many foreign countries with a view to using them in the aggressive war they were preparing against the USSR and the countries of the people's democracy, as well as to suppress the

liberation movement of the colonial peoples. They made use of the liberation movement of the colonial peoples. They made use of their temporary monopoly of atomic weapons as a means of intimidating the peoples.

The aggressive policy of the USA for world domination was associated with a bitter attack in the ideological field. Anti-communism was the pivot of this campaign. Alleging that the Soviet Union and Communism presented a threat to the so-called free world, the imperialist propaganda endeavored to fence off and extinguish the socialist ideas which had spread and were spreading far and wide among the working masses of the world.

### **Difficulties in the Administration of the Country**

With the ousting of the invaders and the establishment of the People's Power, the Communist Party of Albania was charged with the burden of running the country. This task was no less difficult than that of conducting the liberation war, but our Party was firmly convinced that it would accomplish it successfully. This conviction was based on the experience it had acquired during the war for national liberation, on its determination to carry the revolution through to the end, on the firm support the masses of the people gave to its political line, and on the great revolutionary enthusiasm which had spread throughout the country.

But it had to surmount many difficulties along this course.

Liberation found our country in a lamentable condition. Albania had suffered colossal damage in the war. Its economy was shattered to its very foundations. All the bridges, big and small, had been blown up. Highways, ports and telephone networks were in ruins. Electric power was lacking, mines had fallen into disuse. Even the few factories which had escaped destruction could not work for lack of raw materials. Unemployment was widespread throughout the country.

Agriculture, too, was in a grave situation: part of the land had remained untilled; 1/3 of the cattle, especially draught animals, had been slaughtered.

Trade was at a standstill on account of shortages of goods and lack of means of communication. No funds were available. The gold reserves in the bank had been plundered by the invaders. Inflation had unheard of proportions. The people were facing winter without clothes, shoes, shelter, or food. Famine and disease threatened from all quarters.

The situation was further aggravated by the struggle the internal and foreign reaction waged against the People's Power. After liberation, a close counter-revolutionary alliance was formed between the overthrown classes and the foreign imperialist bourgeoisie.

The U.S. and British missions, which remained in Albania even after the liberation, on the pretext of preparing for the recognition of the new Government, became centres of espionage,

plots, and sabotage. They tried to unite all the forces of reaction and to launch them into struggle to overthrow the People's Power. The overthrown classes concentrated mainly on hatching up plots and preparing armed uprisings. Their main armed support came from the bands of fugitive war criminals throughout the country, especially in the northern regions. They aimed at creating insecurity, at intimidating the peasantry and at obstructing the establishment of law and order. They committed terrorist attacks against communists and propagandists of the People's Power. In January 1945, remnants of the reactionary forces mounted an assault on Koplik, but they were routed within a few hours. During the months of January-February the reactionary bands which had sought refuge in the Kelmendi highlands were completely wiped out.

Representatives of the reactionary bourgeoisie and of the land-lords set up secret groups, such as the «monarchist», «social-democrat», «demo-Christian» and other groups, which were directed by the British and U.S. missions in Tirana. The overthrown classes tried to wreck and sabotage our economy. They were also assisted by elements who had wormed their way into the ranks of the Democratic Front.

After the liberation, the Albanian people looked forward to the establishment of normal state relations between Albania and all the allies of the National-liberation War. But the leading circles of the USA and of Britain hinde-

red by all possible means the establishment of such relations, exerted pressure on the People's Power and instigated the forces of the internal reaction to fight against it.

The U.S. and the British imperialists also attempted to stage armed intervention. In January 1945, they demanded to expand their military missions in Tirana and, in May-June, to bring to Albania 1500-1700 officers and technicians of the Military Liaison (M.L.), who would be in charge, allegedly, of the distribution of their «aid». These demands were firmly rejected by the Democratic Government of Albania.

To pave the way for their armed intervention in Albania, the imperialists also made use of monarcho-fascist Greece. Immediately after liberation, directly incited by the USA and Britain, the Greek Government launched a widespread campaign in support of its timeworn claims to annex Southern Albania, organised systematic border provocations and made all-round preparations for an armed aggression to be associated with the landing of British forces on our coast. In the face of this new peril threatening the country, our people tightened their ranks around the Party, expressing their readiness to defend the independence and the territorial integrity of the Fatherland at any cost.

**The Central Problem:  
Safeguarding and Con-  
solidating the People's  
Power**

In these circumstances, the most urgent task confronting our Party was to safeguard and to strengthen the People's Power.

«After every war and revolution», instructed the CC of the CPA, "the most important and the most difficult question is the taking and maintenance of power. For us, for our Party too, the most important question is that of the State Power: this is our central problem. Accordingly, our main objective today is to strengthen the State Power and, with it, to pass from victory to victory, from reform to reform»<sup>1</sup>.

In order to attain this objective, the reinforcement of the political basis of the Power of the National-liberation Councils as bearers of the new State Power was of particular importance. If the councils were to become all powerful organs of self-administration of the people, it was essential that they should be invigorated, re-organise their work so as to become thoroughly capable, the «driving force in each step forward in the political, economic and social fields». The elections to the local organs of

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1) Circular Letter of the CC of the CPA, December 1944. Central Archives of the Party.

power, which were held throughout the country in May 1945, served precisely this purpose.

During the electoral campaign, the Party carried out extensive political work with the masses to make clearer to them the popular character of the new power and its duties. It exposed the propaganda of reaction about the incapability of the State, and its aims to place the leadership of the councils in the hands of the «experienced» representatives of the overthrown classes.

People tested in the war, resolute, loyal to the people's interest, and who enjoyed their confidence, were elected to the local organs of power.

Besides this the Party organized the complete reconstruction of the State apparatus, new both in form and in content. Economic and social institutions, the people's courts, were set up on a new basis; the people's police was created, the State security organs were re-organized and strengthened.

The Party appointed its best cadres to the new State organs. Although they lacked experience in administrative work, nevertheless they were resolved to carry the revolution through to the end, to implement the Party line to the letter. They would master the art of governing in the course of work.

To the State organs were also appointed functionaries of the former administration, persons politically linked with the Party and with the people, although imbued with bourgeois cul-

ture, practices and mentalities. They gave their assistance to run the new State organs, but along with this they unconsciously introduced into the method and style of work of the new apparatus elements of the method and style of the old apparatus. This exercised its influence on the Party cadres working in administration and led to the spreading of organizational forms of work which were incompatible with the revolutionary character of our State Power.

The main armed force of the revolution and of the State Power was our National-Liberation Army which was considered by the overthrown classes and the foreign reactionaries as the principal obstacle to attaining their objectives to the detriment of the People's Power. The enemies aimed at eliminating it by spreading the view that Albania was not threatened by any danger, consequently, the army should be demobilized, because it was a heavy burden on our State and the whole economy of our country!

Our Party evaluated the maintaining and strengthening of the army as a vital question of our revolution, as an indispensable condition for the defence of the People's Power, of the freedom and independence of our country. So that our army could fulfil its lofty mission, the CPA demanded that it be perfected, modernized and become

«a model army endowed with all valuable qualities, and worthy of... the task of protecting the people and their

power set up at the cost of such sacrifices and bloodshed»<sup>1</sup>.

Any sacrifice made by the people and the State for the people's army was fully justified.

In line with the instructions of the Central Committee, the army began the systematic training to master the art of modern warfare. In order to raise the military and political capability of army commanders and of commissars, schools and regular training courses were opened. Compulsory military service was introduced.

Besides strengthening and modernizing our army, the Party engaged in a wide scale, many-sided political work for the formation of a high level of consciousness among the fighters about the tasks of our army as a people's army, for the promotion of their loyalty to the cause of revolution, the preservation and the further development of the spirit of the National-liberation War. Political work in the army was the more indispensable, as, in addition to former partisan fighters, its ranks included a large number of recruits who did not possess the necessary political maturity.

Thanks to measures adopted by the Party,

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1) Enver Hoxha. Our National-liberation Army. November, 1944. Documents of the General Staff and of the Supreme Command of the ANLA. Tirana, 1966, p. 339.

the army became the sure guarantee of the People's new Democratic State.

To purge the country thoroughly of any remnants of the fascists and traitors was a pressing task. The Party turned the implementation of this task into a great political action, setting all the people in motion. With the support of the peasants, the State Power organs and the military detachments wiped out the armed bands of the reactionaries. People's revolutionary tribunals imposed on the war criminals the sentences they deserved. These trials were turned into a great national indictment of the line of treachery pursued by the exploiting classes. They dealt a heavy blow not only to the internal reactionaries but also to their imperialist padrons.

### **The Democratic Front of Albania**

The new historic tasks which confronted the Party could be carried out only if the unity of the masses of people around the Party, which was achieved during the National-liberation War, was maintained and further strengthened.

Under the new conditions, the Party advanced the slogan of national unity. Besides the broad masses of the people who had taken an active part in the war for the national liberation, this union should include also all those who had been deceived by the reactionary chieftains or had stood aloof but now could give their contribution to the building of our new society.

Life had demonstrated that this unity could be maintained and strengthened only on the basis of the Front created during the National-liberation War. The National-liberation Front had completely justified itself as revolutionary organization which had assured the fighting unity of the broad masses of the people and played a decisive role in the victory over the enemies. In this field the Party had acquired valuable experience, which enabled it to further develop the tradition of the direct unity of the masses of the people in the Front under its leadership.

The further strengthening of the National-liberation Front was the most appropriate and democratic way to deal with the attempts of internal and foreign enemies to create a reactionary «democratic» party for the purpose of splitting the people and robbing them of their victories. In August 1945, under the slogan of national unity, the CPA convened the 1st Congress of the National-liberation Front. The Congress laid down the tasks for the **Democratic Front of Albania**, as it was now called, and the measures for its further reinforcement.

The Front was to be the mainstay of the People's Power in its struggle to safeguard freedom and national independence, to reconstruct the country, to achieve its economic, social and cultural development on the road of socialism. The role of National-liberation Front was the mobilization and political education of the broad masses of the people and the streng-

thening of the political unity of the Albanian people around the CPA. Expressing the will of the people, the Congress of the National-liberation Front called for elections to the Constituent Assembly. Following the establishment of People's Democratic State at the Përmeti Congress, and now that the country had been liberated, the Assembly was to sanction the form of the political regime and adopt a new Constitution. This task had already been laid down at the 2nd Session of the ANLC in October 1944.

The Congress and the elections of new councils of the Democratic Front enlivened this organization and enhanced its role in the life of our country.

Nevertheless, the line of the Party regarding the Democratic Front was obstructed by the opportunist attitude of Sejfulla Malëshova and by the interference of the leadership of the CPY. Under the mask of «the struggle against sectarian trends» the doors of the Front were opened to hostile elements. The reaction exploited this possibility to introduce its henchmen into the Front, in order to undermine it from within and, from these positions, to carry on the struggle against the People's Power. However, the vigilance of the Party and of the broad masses of the people proved to be an insurmountable obstacle to the inimical activity of the reactionary elements within the Front.

The leading force in the Front was the working class, to which were now opened wide vistas of increasing in numbers and becoming

an industrial working class of a high socialist consciousness. As early as February 1945, it had created its own professional organizations (trade unions). The trade unions were charged by the Party with a role of importance in the communist education of workers and employees, and with becoming «the pillar of the Democratic Front and the People's Power»<sup>1</sup>.

The laboring peasantry, which had borne the brunt of battle in the National-liberation War, remained the broadest base of the Democratic Front. With the establishment of the People's Power all the premises were created for the realization of their age-old dreams: to take over the land and to do away with misery and backwardness.

The Union of the Albanian Anti-fascist Youth and the Union of the Albanian Anti-fascist Women, which operated within the frame of the Democratic Front, were to play a special role as a powerful lever of the Party in the mobilization and political education of the masses.

Now it was up to the Albanian youth as the most vigorous and revolutionary section of the people to take the lead in new battles for the re-building and socialist construction of our country. Addressing the 1st Congress of the

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1) Instructions of the CC of the CPA on the preparatory work of the 1st Congress of Syndicates, September 2, 1945. Principal Documents of the PLA, Vol. I, p. 254.

Youth organization, Comrade Enver Hoxha, assessing the great role played by the youth, said:

«The Democratic Government, which has placed its hopes on you, is confident that you will always be in the vanguard, will throw yourselves into work just as you threw yourselves into the war; that you will learn and educate yourselves with great zeal for your own good and for the benefit of the people, strengthen and help our army, the steel-like shield of the people's interests, and defend the People's Power for which you shed so much blood...»<sup>1</sup>.

Through their participation in and the contribution to the war the Albanian women had demonstrated that they were an important and essential factor for the development of the political and social life of our country. The first steps towards their emancipation, which had been taken during the war, should serve as a basis for the complete emancipation of all the masses of women so as to turn them into a great force in building the new society. The Party demanded that the equality of the woman with the man, already acknowledged by the Democratic Government at its Berat Meeting, should become a reality. To achieve this, the

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1) «Bashkimi», April 17, 1945.

Central Committee instructed the Party to strive untiringly for raising the political level of women, to enable them to acquire education and culture, to eliminate sectarianism in admitting women to Party membership and hesitation in promoting them to posts of responsibility. An important role in the emancipation of women was to be played by their active participation in the economic life of the country, first of all in productive labor.

### **Foreign Policy**

The strengthening of the People's Power in the country demanded the strengthening of its international stand also. The war they had waged and the contribution they had made to the common cause of the anti-fascist coalition entitled the Albanian people to a worthy place among the progressive peoples. Now Albania was no longer a token for barter in the exchanges of imperialist great powers. It had entered the international arena as a free and sovereign State.

Friendship with the Soviet Union and with the other countries of people's democracy was the foundation of the foreign policy of our Democratic Government. At the same time, our Government stated that it was for friendly relations and cooperation with all the countries which respected the freedom and independence of Albania and did not intervene in its internal affairs. Together with the other countries of the anti-imperialist democratic camp, Alba-

nia fought for a lasting peace, for the exposure of the aggressive warmongering policy of imperialism for friendship among the people, for their freedom and independence.

The Party considered friendship and close cooperation in all fields with the Soviet Union and the other countries of people's democracy as an external factor of very great importance for ensuring its national freedom and independence, for strengthening the international position of the new Democratic Albanian State. The political and moral support in the international field, and the economic aid of the Soviet Union were appreciated by the Party as an external factor of outstanding importance for solving the tasks confronting the People's Power. The Party also attached great importance to the establishment of relations of friendship and cooperation with the new Yugoslavia, as the peoples of Yugoslavia and Albania were bound closely together by the war and the blood shed in common against fascist aggressors.

The Communist Party of Albania followed with anxiety the development in Greece where internal and international reaction had launched a frenzied attack on the Greek National-liberation Front with which the Albanian people had been linked in their common fight against fascism. The Party and the Democratic Government of Albania took an internationalist stand, giving aid and support to the Greek progressive forces in their just struggle to resist reaction and establish democracy.

The CPA stood for the establishment of normal State relations also with capitalist countries on the basis of respect for national independence and territorial integrity, nonintervention in internal affairs and mutual economic benefit. On this basis, our Democratic Government tried to normalize its relations with the USA, Great Britain, and other countries, but encountered the aggressive policy of the USA and British imperialists.

Because of the hostile perfidious stand taken by the USA and Britain, Albania was not invited to the Conference of San Francisco for the founding of the United Nations Organization. It was not called to the London and Paris Conferences on War Reparations from Italy and Germany. Likewise, Albania was not invited to take part in the discussions on drafting the peace treaty with Italy. On all these occasions Albania should have occupied the place to which it was entitled by the sacrifices made during the war.

The USA and Britain threatened the independence and the sovereignty of the country. Through slander, they tried to present small new Albania as a country which disturbed peace and security in the Balkans. But all the intrigues of the U.S. and British imperialists to undermine the international position of the new Albanian State failed.

The Albanian people led by their Party resolutely beat back all imperialist pressures. The courageous defense of their independence

and legitimate rights, the course they had taken, their alignment with the anti-imperialist democratic camp made the Albanian people one of the inflexible fighters for democracy and peace and strengthened the international position of new Albania.

## 2. THE MOBILIZATION OF MASSES FOR THE RECONSTRUCTION OF THE COUNTRY. THE FIRST ECONOMIC-SOCIAL CHANGES

In the circumstances of the devastation left after the war, one of the most pressing problems was the reconstruction and normalization of the whole economic and cultural life of the country.

Great material and financial means were needed to solve this problem. The CPA was faced with the question of where to find these means.

**Relying on Internal Forces**      The U.S. and British imperialists hastened to offer their «aid» with the intention of exploiting the difficult economic situation in Albania. The CPA categorically rejected this enslaving «aid» and chose the course of building the country by relying, first of all, on the internal forces as well as on the fraternal help which the Soviet Union and the countries of People's Democracy would give.

The Party made the problem of the recon-

struction and the economic and cultural development of our country a matter of concern of the whole people. The workers, peasants, intellectuals, and women set up squads, detachments, battalions and brigades for voluntary work. An unprecedented enthusiasm for work burst out throughout our country. In order to ease the sufferings of the war victims they were provided with money, food and clothing, and people shared even their last morsel with them. Thanks to the supply of Soviet wheat our Government was able to ensure the daily bread of the people.

Faced with a desperate lack of technical means and cadres, under extremely difficult conditions, our people worked self-sacrificingly, first and foremost, for the reconstruction of the demolished bridges and highways and for the speedy reestablishment of communication lines.

Through the efforts of workers, during the year 1945, some of the factories, power stations, and mines, were put into operation. The Party mobilized the peasantry to sow the ploughed land, to re-build the burned down houses with a large assistance from the State. Work began in education and cultural institutions. New schools were opened, especially in the countryside. An extensive campaign was launched to do away with illiteracy among adults, which remained a grave plague inherited from the past. Old teachers and thousands of new ones who were trained in special courses threw themselves into this campaign as a voluntary action.

In the process of reconstruction the lack of technical cadres of different branches was very acute. Accordingly, training and qualification courses for technicians and workers were opened.

The youth shouldered the heaviest burden of the reconstruction. Young men and young women from town and countryside were the first to fill the ranks of the voluntary labor brigades. They were always in the lead in the actions for rebuilding roads, reconstructing blown up bridges and burnt out houses. They were in the forefront of the campaign to spread the light of education and culture.

Through war profiteering, the capitalists had accumulated large amounts of capital, mainly in gold and merchandise. Our State deemed it reasonable and necessary that a good part of those profits should be taken over by the State and used for the needs of the people and for the reconstruction of the country. For this reason, in January 1945, the law on extraordinary taxation on war profits was passed. The taxation was progressive. The law provided also that the property of all those who did not pay these taxes was to be confiscated without compensation. This measure was directed at the same time against the economic power of capitalists.

In all districts special commissions were set up to assess the amounts of profits and taxation. Representatives of the People's Power, the Army and the mass organizations took part in

these commissions which were set up and operated under the direct guidance of the Party organizations.

The merchants, manufacturers and all those who were taxed contrived by all means to evade the payment of the taxes imposed on them. They hid their stores of merchandise and gold. They tried to depict these measures as «robbing the people» and resorted to every trick to save the riches they had accumulated at the expense of the working people. The Central Committee instructed the Party organizations not to make any concessions and to fight persistently for the strict application of this law. Any leniency on this issue would only impair the authority of the People's Power.

.Backed up by the masses of the people, the commissions compelled the merchants and other capitalists to pay the taxes according to the law. In the year 1945, revenue from the extraordinary taxation on war profits accounted for more than half the State budget income.

All those capitalists who did not pay the taxes had their property confiscated. Through these measures our State amassed a big quantity of various goods which enabled it to open the first State-owned shops. This marked the birth to the socialist State sector in trade.

Besides the law on extraordinary war profits, a number of other revolutionary measures were taken also. A law was passed on requisitioning food products and other materials needed for the reconstruction of the country. Backed

up by the broad masses of people, special commissions were engaged in detecting hoarders and speculators. A system of fixed prices was enforced. Prices were supervised by the people themselves and a vigorous campaign was conducted against speculation and the black market. Private accumulation and selling of grain was prohibited. A State monopoly in the accumulation and selling of grain was established and unified prices for buying and selling were fixed. Old bank-notes were overprinted to check, to a certain extent, the inflation caused by the war and to control the circulation of old paper currency. The introduction of State-control over foreign trade, which later on was to be changed into a State monopoly, reinforced these measures.

In this manner, the financial problems were settled temporarily to facilitate the reconstruction of the country, the normalization of its economic life, while, at the same time, the economic positions of the bourgeoisie were weakened.

**Creation of the Socialist Sector of the Economy**      The new political power of the people's revolution could not be maintained on the old social and economic basis. On this basis neither the tasks of reconstruction nor, even less, those of the further development of the revolution, could be successfully carried out.

First and foremost, foreign capital, which

had dominated the key positions in finance, in mining and industry, had to be done away with. The local exploiting classes also still held strong economic positions and the principal means of production. Both these groups tried to sabotage the reconstruction work, to disorganize economic life, and to arouse distrust towards the People's Power. Albanian and foreign merchants and entrepreneurs deliberately withheld their goods from the market, causing increased prices and encouraging the black market. They closed factories and workshops, leaving the workers unemployed, and engaged in speculation, especially in grain. This disturbed economic life and caused difficulties in the lives of the working people. In these circumstances it became even more necessary to do away with the old economic basis.

The radical solution of this problem demanded deep economic and social changes and the construction of a new socialist base of the economy.

It is true that after liberation, the most pressing social and economic tasks were to carry out changes of a democratic, anti-imperialist and anti-feudal character. This was an inevitable and logical sequel of the people's revolution carried through to the end.

However, under the new political conditions, when the People's Power had started exercising the functions of the dictatorship of the proletariat, the Party could not wait, nor did it wait, for all these democratic transformations to be carried through to the end, and only then

begin to solve questions of a socialist character. The ratio of class forces in Albania permitted that, simultaneously with rapid changes of a democratic character, changes of a socialist character also could be undertaken.

Of all these transformations, the socialization of the main means of production, through their nationalization, was the most important and decisive. State control of production and distribution was the first preparatory step towards the nationalization of the principal means of production. This was established in December 1944. State control was at the same time a form of workers' control. It included enterprises of importance for our people's economy owned by Albanian and foreign capitalists.

The control was exercised through State-appointed commissars.

Assisted by Party organs and State commissars, the workers took part vigorously in the organization of production and the management of enterprises. Thus they had the opportunity to test their forces and gain experience in managing production. Through the workers' control the production capacity of enterprises, the sources and reserves of raw materials and fuels were assessed. This prepared the ground for the working class to take over the enterprises and run them once they were nationalized.

In December 1944, the mines, and the property of political fugitives were nationalized. A month later, a law on the confiscation of the property of Italian and German subjects in Al-

bania came into force. Under this law, the National Bank and other banks, as well as the property of share-holder companies owned by foreign capitalists, were transferred to the Albanian State without compensation as common property of the people. In April 1945, all privately-owned means of transport were requisitioned with fixed compensation.

Through these important nationalization measures the key positions of economy passed into the hands of the State to be put at the service of the working masses. The elimination of the economic positions of foreign capital put an end to the economic dependence on the imperialist Powers, which further reinforced the political independence of the country.

As to their form, the nationalization measures of the year 1945 were of a generally democratic nature, but their economic and social content reflected changes that went beyond these limits. The nationalizations were carried through in the interests of the working masses and the nationalized means of production were put completely and directly at their service. Therefore these nationalization measures were in essence a socialization of the principal means of production and had a socialist character. On their basis the State socialist sector of the economy came into being.

A particular role was played by the trade unions in ensuring an ever broader participation of the working masses in the work of rebuilding the country, in its political, social and State life.

Under the guidance of the Party, they became an important factor in carrying out the tasks which confronted the People's power. In particular, they exerted great efforts to raise production and efficiency, to improve the living and working conditions of the workers, as well as to carry out their vocational and political education.

In July 1945, consumers' cooperatives for workers and employees began to be set up in the towns. They were the first economic organizations of the masses. At a time when the State sector in trade was in its initial stage of development, they played a big role in supplying the working people regularly, and in the fight against speculation and the black market. Alongside the establishment of consumers' cooperatives, the Party worked hard at convincing the artisans why they should join in cooperatives as well.

With the creation of the socialist sectors of economy, important measures were taken in favor of the workers and employees. An eight-hour working day was enforced. The principle of equal pay for equal work, irrespective of age and sex, as well as the right to 15 days paid annual holiday were put into practice. Unemployment was almost completely eliminated.

These revolutionary victories somewhat improved the living conditions of the workers and cleared the ground for new victories in the economic and social development of our country on a socialist basis.

## **Doing Away with Old Agrarian Relations**

In the field of agriculture, the most acute and pressing problem was the elimination of former agrarian relations. This problem had to do with the radical solution of the antagonistic contradictions between the laboring peasantry and the big landowners, that is to say, with the biggest democratic change which remained to be carried out. This was now the main field for strengthening the alliance of the working class with the laboring peasantry. Therefore, in its agricultural policy, the Party devoted special attention to this problem.

In January, 1945, a law was promulgated to annul all the old land rents which were unpaid, whereas rents of the years 1944-1945 were to be reduced down to 75 per cent. But this was a half way measure which did not meet with the unanimous approval of the poor peasantry, and it was for this reason that the law in question was not put fully into execution.

At this time, the entire irrigation system, — formerly private property, — was nationalized and given to peasantry for their common use. In order to somewhat ease the living conditions of the laboring peasantry and the working masses, all interest-bearing debts incurred before liberation were cancelled.

However, the CPA was conscious of the fact that all these measures were only palliatives and did not solve the main problem — that of the land. During the war, it had promised the

peasantry that it would fight for the solution of the agrarian question and had already taken preparatory measures. Immediately after the liberation the Party launched the slogan «the land to those who till it!» Inspired by this slogan, the peasantry insisted on the application of a thorough revolutionary agrarian reform.

The law on the agrarian reform was promulgated in August 1945. According to this law, State-owned land, the estates of religious institutions, and all areas of private land exceeding defined limits were to be expropriated and alienated. These limits were laid down as follows: up to 40 hectares when the owner had an exemplary economy which he managed himself, 20 hectares when the owner tilled or managed the land himself, 7 hectares when the proprietor did not till the land himself but would do so not later than within two years' time.

Under the conditions of Albania, where the acreage of arable land was very limited, the 20-40 hectares of land left to private proprietors was too much. With this amount of land quite a number of landlords still retained their positions in the countryside; the economic power of the rich peasant (the kulak) was not affected at all, whereas many poor peasants remained without land. These shortcomings of the law on agrarian reform arose directly from the influence of the opportunist standpoint of Sejfulla Malëshova and of the representatives of the CP of Yugoslavia.

The expropriation of land exceeding the

defined limits was carried through without compensation. It was distributed without cost as private property to the landless and landpoor peasants. Up to 5 hectares of land was allotted to each head of a family. Selling, buying, or leasing of land were prohibited.

Part of the expropriated land was not distributed but was turned into State property. The State farms set up in these lands marked the birth of the socialist State sector in agriculture. Besides, the forests, springs, water supplies and all subsoil riches were proclaimed the common property of the people.

Prior to and after the issuing of the law on the agrarian reform, the Party carried out a great work, especially with the communists of villages and with the laboring peasantry, to have them understand the objectives of this reform.

It warned that the reaction would make use of all means to hinder the application of the agrarian reform, to dampen the enthusiasm of peasants, and to make the people believe that the Democratic Government was incompetent. The Central Committee instructed that the agrarian reform should be regarded as a great political action, which was not only to give the peasants the land, but also to free them once for all from the centuries of feudal oppression and exploitation, and unite the peasantry still more closely around the Party.

For the speedy and correct application of the agrarian reform the Party set up poor peasants' committees. They played an important

role in the accurate definition of the lands of the State, the big land-owners, and the enemies of the people, and in compiling lists of peasant families with little or no land. They helped in the division of the expropriated land and, especially, in mobilizing the laboring peasantry to expose and to fight the hostile activity of the landlords and other reactionary forces who rose against the land reform from its very start. The formation of the poor peasants' committees and their entire activity to carry out the land reform greatly assisted to raise the political class consciousness of the poor peasantry.

### **3. THE REINFORCEMENT OF THE STATE OF PEOPLE'S DEMOCRACY AS A FORM OF THE DICTATORSHIP OF THE PROLETARIAT**

The demand of the Democratic Front Congress for the convocation of the Constituent Assembly was embodied in the law on the elections to the Constituent Assembly issued by the Anti-fascist National-liberation Council in September 1945.

According to the law, the elections, which would take place on December 2, 1945, were to be democratic, free, general, equal, direct and secret. All Albanian citizens, men and women, over 18 years enjoyed the right to vote. The fighters of the National-liberation Army enjoyed this right irrespective of their age. Excluded from the right to vote were ex-ministers

of the Quisling government, the war criminals, and all those who had lost their civic rights.

**The Determination of the People to Proceed on the Road of the Party** The election to the Constituent Assembly would be the most important political action of the Party, a great test of its political maturity and of its organizational capability, of the strength of its links with the masses and of the determination of the people to proceed on the road of the Party. The CPA as a whole was mobilized to win this new political battle under the slogan «For the People's Republic».

Speaking on the Party work during the electoral campaign at the 4th Plenum, which discussed the question of the elections to the Constituent Assembly, Comrade Enver Hoxha said:

«The people must see concretely that those who liberated the Fatherland from the invaders and traitors are also able to govern, are able to reconstruct and to improve the economic and social life of their country. The communists should emerge, from the electoral campaign with a great experience, it should be a school for them and equip them to solve the other major problems that lie ahead»<sup>1</sup>.

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1) Enver Hoxha. Report to the 4th Plenum of the CC of the CPA, October 17, 1945.

The Party gave the instruction that the elections to the Constituent Assembly should be turned into a great people's plebiscite with the participation of all those entitled to vote and complete victory for the Democratic Front. Accordingly, the CPA decided to present a single list of candidates of the Democratic Front. However, as a result of the opportunist deviations of Sejfulla Maleshova, this list included a number of representatives of reaction, and a coalition in the elections was proposed to the Catholic clergy.

Internal and foreign reactionary forces tried to exploit the election campaign for their own purposes. Taking advantage of the provisions of the electoral law, reaction decided at first to present its own lists of candidates as a block in opposition to the Front. When this first attempt failed, from lack of support among the people, they changed their tactics and decided to boycott the elections. The reaction called on the people to abstain, claiming that allegedly «there was no democracy», «there was the dictatorship of a single party» and that «the election law was anti-democratic», because «it did not ensure equal rights to all the citizens who desired to put forward their candidature». Gjergj Kokoshi, one of the principal spokesmen of reaction, who was a member of the ANLC, demonstratively left the Democratic Front. Especially active in the attempt to boycott the elections was the «Albanian Union», — an illegal organization directed by the reactionary

Catholic clergy. To attain its aim, this organization did not shrink from collaborating with fugitive war criminals and resorting to terrorist actions.

Other representatives of the reaction who had remained within the Democratic Front did not feel strong enough to come out in open opposition. For the time being till the elections were over they decided to remain in its ranks with the objective of being elected to the Assembly under the banner of the Front. Afterwards they would set up a group, organize a legal «opposition», or even found an independent party.

The direct instigators and organizers of the hostile activity of the internal reaction were the U.S. and British imperialists. They left no stone unturned to defeat the Democratic Front at the elections. They opened a propaganda campaign against the Front and the CPA and went to such lengths as to demand that the Democratic Government allow the officers of their military missions in Tirana unrestricted control of the electoral campaign, and so on. They employed the question of the recognition of the Democratic Government of Albania as a special means of pressure. They announced that they would recognize the Albanian government only on the condition that the USA and Britain «were convinced that the elections were conducted freely», and that «foreign correspondents would be allowed freedom to supervise the way the elections were carried out». This was just an attempt to

intervene in the internal affairs of Albania, because, in fact, all the above conditions were already met by the election law and by the entire spirit and activity of the People's Power.

The U.S. Government put forward other conditions as well. On this occasion it demanded recognition of all the agreements concluded between the USA and Albania prior to April 7, 1939.

The U.S. and British Governments announced the establishment of normal diplomatic relations with the Albanian Democratic Government. However this was only a political manoeuvre directed against the People's Power and aimed at encouraging internal reaction. In fact they did not establish diplomatic relations with Albania after the elections either.

The CPA resolutely rejected all the new attempts of the imperialists and did not permit any interference in the internal affairs of Albania. It carried out extensive propaganda work to expose the aims and the tactics of the external and internal reaction and succeeded in isolating the enemy forces and strengthening further the political unity of the people around its platform.

When the electoral campaign was in full swing an event of great importance for our country occurred. In November 1945, the Government of the Soviet Union officially recognized the Democratic Government of Albania. Following the recognition of the Albanian Government by the USSR, Yugoslavia and Poland,

it was recognized successively by Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, France, and other countries. This strengthened the international position of the People's Power in Albania and strengthened the confidence of the masses of the people in the future of their country.

About 90 per cent of voters took part in the elections of December and 93 per cent of them cast their ballots for the candidates of the Democratic Front. These were the first democratic elections ever held in Albania. They were a great school for the political education of the people, the Democratic Front and the Party.

The CPA scored a sweeping victory while reaction was defeated. With this victory the free and sovereign Albanian people expressed their full approval of the policy of the Party and their determination to proceed undeviatingly along the road the Party indicated.

**The Proclamation of the People's Republic of Albania**

On the eve of the meeting of the Constituent Assembly the people instructed their elected representatives to express themselves for the proclamation of the people's republic. On January 11, 1946 the Constituent Assembly, expressing the will of the people, unanimously proclaimed Albania a People's Republic and chose the new Government with Comrade Enver Hoxha at its head.

The Party brought the draft Constitution drawn up by the Government to the judgment

of the whole people. The discussions, which lasted over two months, were very fruitful. The proposals made by the masses of the people were a valuable contribution to strengthening the revolutionary content of the Constitution. On March 14, 1946, the Constituent Assembly adopted the new Constitution. Once its task accomplished, the Constituent Assembly was turned into the People's Assembly as the highest organ of State Power in the PRA.

The new democratic Constitution sanctioned the historic victories achieved and confirmed the changes which had taken place in the political and economic order of the country after the establishment of the People's Power. It reflected the initial process of the development of the country on the road to socialism and opened wide vistas for further economic and social changes.

First of all, the Constitution laid down the fundamental principle of the structure and the activity of the People's Power: **the power derives from the people and belongs to the people.**

The Constitution proclaimed the principle that the main means of social production were common property of the people, cooperative property and private property. The private sector was subject to State control. To defend the vital interests of the people and to raise the level of the people's well-being the State was to guide the life of the country and its economic development according to a general plan. To this end the State was to rely on the direct participation of the working masses.

Social property, the socialist sector of the economy — the State and the cooperative sectors, — was to be the foundation of our social and economic order. With a view to the uninterrupted development and strengthening of the socialist economy, the Constitution defined the right of the State to restrict and to expropriate private property when the general social interest required it. On this basis entire branches of economy or single economic enterprises could be nationalized. The formation of capitalist monopolies, trusts and cartels was forbidden.

The Constitution regarded work as an honour and duty for everybody. It proclaimed the principle that each citizen was entitled to be paid according to his work and capability.

The Constitution upheld the principle of free elections by direct, general, equal, and secret ballot. Electors had the right to revoke their representatives in the various organs of State power. All citizens were guaranteed freedom of meeting, of organizing, of speech and belief and the necessary measures were provided for the preservation and implementation of these rights.

Such were some of the fundamental principles of the first Constitution of the People's Republic of Albania. With the adoption of the Constitution, the process of the political organization of the People's Democratic order as a State of the dictatorship of the proletariat was further perfected.

Besides its general content as the dictator-

ship of the proletariat, the RP of Albania had some special features of its own. These were:

The People's Power was born in the war for national liberation following the complete destruction of the State apparatus of the invaders and of reactionary classes of the country.

The People's Councils, immediate successors of the National-liberation Councils, became the political basis of the dictatorship of the proletariat.

The alliance of the working class with the laboring peasantry, the highest principle of the dictatorship of the proletariat, was embodied in the Democratic Front, which represented the political army of our revolution.

Ever since the establishment of the People's Power at its head had been only one party — the Communist Party of Albania — which was the only party in the country. It exercised the undivided leadership of the political, economic, and social life.

The dictatorship of the proletariat was the direct offspring of the people's revolution, which began during the National-liberation war as an anti-imperialist democratic revolution and was developed without interruption into a socialist revolution after the liberation of the country. While in the first stage of the revolution the strategic objective of the Party was to ensure national independence and the establishment of the order of People's Democracy, in the second stage the strategic objective was to reinforce the State of People's Democracy as a form of

the dictatorship of the proletariat, to eliminate the economic basis of capitalism and to build a socialist society.

These two stages were links of a single revolution which complemented each other. The accomplishment of the tasks of the first stage created the indispensable premises for the second stage. The second stage had its roots in the first, and grew out of it. Those democratic changes which remained uncompleted from the first stage were carried out in the second stage.

#### **4. OUR PARTY'S ORIENTATION ON DEEPENING THE REVOLUTION AND BUILDING SOCIALISM. THE ELIMINATION OF OPPORTUNIST MANIFESTATIONS**

The changes of the year 1945 had laid the first economic and social foundations for Albania to embark on the road of socialism. Now the question was to push ahead more rapidly on this road. This required the completion of the changes initiated and the definition of the main directions of socialist construction.

However, the solution of this problem was hindered by opportunist viewpoints and attitudes which had appeared in the implementation of the Party line. Their bearer was Sejfulla Malëshova, Member of the Political Bureau of the CC of the Party. Sejfulla Malëshova's opportunism was a direct expression of his capitulation to the strong pressure exerted by the over-

thrown classes and, particularly, by the U.S. and British imperialists, on the Democratic Government and on the leadership of the CPA.

His opportunistic manifestations had been criticized and severely condemned at the meeting of the Political Bureau in December 1945, but Sejfulla Malëshova, though he had found no support, stubbornly continued to defend his standpoint.

### **The 5th Plenum of the CC of the CPA**

To solve the questions connected with the orientation of the Party on intensifying the revolution and the construction of socialism, the 5th Plenum of the CC of the CPA was convened in February 1946.

The plenum pointed out that the line of the Party had been severely damaged by the thoroughly opportunist view which Sejfulla Malëshova had maintained in the political and economic fields.

Sejfulla Malëshova upheld his opinion that the new democratic order established in Albania should be an order of bourgeois democracy. He called for slackening the class struggle, he overestimated the strength of the overthrown classes, and had no confidence in the strength of the Party and the people. He was for complete freedom of activity for the private capitalist sector, for its uncontrolled and unrestricted development and against supporting the cooperative sector in town and countryside. In essence, he was against the con-

struction of socialism and a defender of the free development of capitalism.

In the field of foreign policy, he was afraid of imperialism and knelt before its might. He made the fate of the freedom and of the independence of Albania, the fate of the people's power, dependent on the political and economic concessions to be made to the U.S. and British imperialists, and he was always ready to submit to them. He demanded that no discrimination should be made between the Soviet Union and the USA and Great Britain, that the stand towards relations with them should be the same.

With his right opportunist viewpoints Sejfulla Malëshova had become a mouthpiece and defender of the interests of the local bourgeoisie and of the imperialists within the Party, he had turned into one of their lackeys. If these viewpoints were not exposed and combatted the Party line and the construction of socialism in Albania would have been endangered and obstructed. The elimination of them was an urgent and vital question.

The 5th Plenum firmly condemned and rejected these standpoints. As Sejfulla Malëshova persisted in his mistakes, the Plenum removed him from the Political Bureau and from the Central Committee of the Party.

The exposure of the opportunism of Sejfulla Malëshova made it possible for the Central Committee to guide the Party toward the intensification of the socialist revolution in the political, economic and ideological fields. It drew

up in general lines the principal directives of the socialist construction.

First and foremost, industry, internal wholesale trade, and all foreign trade, was to pass entirely into the hands of the State. Producers' and consumers' cooperatives were to be set up in cities and villages. The State was to exercise rigorous control on the private sector and unremittingly restrict the capitalist elements.

Comrade Enver Hoxha defined the course the Party would pursue in economy as follows:

«Everything to strengthen the State sector, merciless struggle against private capital, and the greatest State aid possible to producers' and consumers' cooperatives»<sup>1</sup>.

For the development of the productive forces and the exploitation of natural resources, a general direction was given for the setting up of heavy industry, mainly on the basis of the exploitation of minerals, and for the building of light industry.

Towards the elimination of the former relations in the countryside, which had been begun, it was decided to carry the agrarian

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1) Enver Hoxha, Report submitted at the 5th Plenary Session of the CC of the CPA, February 21, 1942. Central Archives of the Party.

reform through to the end and to set about the collectivization of agriculture. Simultaneously, model State farms were to be set up. The State should assist the laboring peasantry through financial means and work implements and restrict the kulaks. The mechanization of agriculture, the elimination of its one-sided character, the spreading of new crops, the development of animal husbandry, land drainage and reclamation were designated as the general lines along which the productive forces in the countryside were to be developed.

To intensify the revolution in the fields of education and culture as a constituent part of the socialist revolution, the 5th Plenum instructed that education should be reformed on these principles: education and culture were to become the property of the broad masses of the people and not remain the privilege of a minority, the school should be stripped of the old spirit and imbued with a new revolutionary spirit. But, above all, it was necessary to wipe out illiteracy.

For the socialist construction of the country it was of decisive importance to train capable technical and professional cadres imbued with Marxist-Leninist ideology to run the State and its economy.

In the field of foreign policy, the principal task of the Party was to fight in defence of the freedom and independence of the country, to strengthen the friendship with the USSR and the other countries of people's democracy, the peace

in the world. The 5th Plenum especially emphasized that a clear-cut and resolute and principled attitude should be taken towards U.S. and British imperialism, which represented the main danger to national independence and the people's democratic order.

The People's State Power would always remain a decisive weapon to cope with the new tasks of socialist development. The 5th Plenum directed that the State Power should be democratized, not only in its content, but also in its structure and the composition of its administrative apparatus. The specialists of the old administration who worked in the State organs should be kept under constant supervision to prevent the introduction of bureaucratic methods. To strengthen the Democratic Front a radical purge from its ranks of hostile elements was ordered.

Finally, the most important task of all, the intensification of the revolution and the construction of socialism made it absolutely necessary to strengthen the Party, to raise to a higher level its leading and organizational role in the entire life of the country. For this purpose, the decision of the 4th Plenum of October 1945 to convene the 1st Congress of the Party was re-adopted. It was decided to hold the Congress on May 25, 1946. However, due to the intervention of the CPY leadership this decision was not put into execution and the Congress was postponed for an undefined period.

## **The Deepening of Economic and Social Transformations**

The directives of the 5th Plenum of the CC were reflected at once in the Constitution of the PR of Albania, the draft of which was being discussed at that time by the people.

After the session, a new phase of nationalizations began. The power stations, the construction materials industry, the entire existing light and food-processing industries, property chiefly of the local bourgeoisie, became State property. At the end of the year 1946, the principal means of production in the cities had been turned into social property, and 87 per cent of the volume of total industrial output was contributed by the State sector. By the end of 1947 production by private capitalist industry was almost entirely eliminated.

The socialist socialization of the principal means of production put an end to the economic domination of the bourgeoisie. It laid the economic foundations of the dictatorship of the proletariat. The socialist relations in production and the socialist sector of economy in industry, trade, transport and finance were born precisely on the basis of this socialization. The nationalized enterprises became socialist enterprises. In them the exploitation of man by man was eliminated.

The nationalization of the principal means of production in Albania was done quickly and without compensation. It took place as a result

of the deep class differentiation which had taken place during the National-liberation War and after the war, and which had led to the elimination of the political domination of the bourgeoisie. This also removed the principal obstacle to the elimination of its economic basis.

The rapid rate of the socialization had its own difficulties, as well. The working class and the State took over the means of production without being fully prepared to organize and manage them efficiently. Engineers and technicians with experience and loyal to the revolution were lacking. Nevertheless, due to the good organization and to the all-round political preparation of workers and, likewise, to the State control which had been established in the capitalist enterprises, the nationalization was carried through without economic upheavals and damage.

Alongside the State socialist sector, the cooperative sector was set up and developed. During 1946 many new consumers' cooperatives in towns and trading cooperatives in villages were created. In response to the call of the Party, the individual artisans embraced the form of socialist cooperation. By the end of 1946 the handicraft cooperatives included more than half of the artisans.

To ensure the supply of the population with bread, in June 1946 the State system of purchase, procurement and sale of food grains was established. This measure did away with

any possibility of private merchants speculating with the people's bread.

In July 1946 the monetary reform was carried out, establishing the maximum limit of new banknotes which one family could exchange. Through this measure a good part of monetary means was taken from the hands of capitalist elements, and the grave consequences of inflation which affected the working masses were eliminated.

To ensure a more equitable and regular distribution of foodstuffs, in September 1946 the ration system was introduced. Under this system, a higher ration of food-stuffs was allotted to workers employed in the most important branches of economy than to the rest of the population. The weakness of this system was that no differentiation was made between the rations for the workers or employees, and for capitalist elements, who were not in work relations with the state.

The establishment of the ration system was necessary at a time when food-supplies were limited. It ensured the fulfilment of the primary needs of the working masses and blocked the road to speculation with rationed foodstuffs. The Party was conscious that the ration system was a temporary measure which would be withdrawn as soon as suitable economic conditions were created.

With the creation and the expansion of the socialist sector increased the possibilities and

the planned direction and regulation of the entire economic life of the country was made indispensable. In August 1946, the law on the general economic State plan and on the planning organs was adopted. The Planning Commission, created in 1945, was re-organized and the work for drafting the general economic plan for the year 1947 began immediately.

In May 1946 modifications were made in the agrarian reform law, which gave it a deeper revolutionary content. All lands, vineyards, olive groves, gardens, buildings and agricultural inventories owned by those who did not cultivate the land themselves were expropriated. All farmers and proprietors who cultivated the land themselves were left with no more than 5 hectares of land. The sale and purchase under any title whatsoever or the mortgaging of land were prohibited.

With these modifications the principle «the land belongs to him who cultivates it» was fully applied, big landownership was eliminated and a blow was dealt at the economic position of the kulaks (wealthy peasants). They aroused a new wave of enthusiasm among the working peasantry and secured its more lively participation in the application of the reform.

These modifications encountered the fierce opposition of the exploiting classes. Big landlords and wealthy peasants used all means to impede the execution of the agrarian reform. They warned the peasants against taking the lands allotted to them by the reform, threate-

ned them with the slogan: «The government will not be recognised by the great powers and the People's Power soon will be destroyed.» The reactionary clergy declared and preached that the land is «sacred» and that «whoever lays hands on it is punished by God». In particular, inimical activity was carried out by some of the bourgeois technicians and representatives of the overthrown classes who had wormed their way into poor peasants committees, into the State apparatus and the organs of agriculture. They attempted to leave the landlords and wealthy peasants with the best lands or more land than was due to them. Rich proprietors began to slaughter their cattle and to destroy their implements which were to be distributed to peasants. In some instances, they even passed to overt terrorist actions against the militants of the Party and the State. The U.S. and British missions in Tirana, which organized the sabotage of the reform, especially in Myzeqe, gave them direct aid.

For the full application of the agrarian reform the entire Party was set in motion, which raised the poor peasants' masses to their feet and organized a sharp struggle against the class enemies. The city workers also came to the aid of the peasants. In November 1946 the reform was completed successfully throughout Albania. The peasants became truly the masters of the soil, where they had toiled and sweated generation after generation. The Party fulfilled their age-old dream.

173,000 hectares of land, 474,000 olive trees and 6,000 draught animals were expropriated by the reform. About 90 percent of the total area of expropriated land (155,000 hectares), one half of the number of olive trees, and all of the draught animals were distributed gratuitously among 70,000 landless or landpoor peasant families.

The agrarian reform was the first revolution in the economic-social relations of the village. Its essence was the democratic change of agrarian relations in the countryside. It eliminated large-scale land ownership, it swept away for ever the remnants of feudalism and the landlord class in Albania. By the restriction of private property over the land, by the prohibition of the sale and purchase, leasing or mortgaging of land, the polarization of the peasantry was hindered and the confines of its exploitation by the kulaks were extremely restricted. Such being the case, the agrarian reform contained, at the same time, elements of an emphatically anti-capitalist character also. This occurred because the reform was applied by the dictatorship of the proletariat.

In these circumstances, though it preserved small private ownership of the land by the working peasants and increased the number of middle peasants, the agrarian reform limited the terrain for the development of capitalism in the countryside.

The allocation of land to peasants and their liberation from the yoke of the landlords and

merchants aroused their desire for and interest in a better exploitation of the land, for a more speedy development of the productive forces in agriculture.

The application of the agrarian reform demonstrated that it is only the working class and its party that, after taking over the political power, are capable of carrying out radical changes in agrarian relations.

The agrarian reform further strengthened on an economic basis the alliance of the working class with the working peasantry; it also strengthened the People's Power itself, which had this same alliance at its foundation. The laboring peasants tightened their ranks around the Party and formed a more profound conviction in the correctness of its political line. All this was a support of great importance for the Party to enter the road of gradual socialist changes in the countryside. The work of the CPA for spreading the idea of collectivization among the peasants resulted in the setting up of agricultural cooperatives of production in 1946. The first cooperative was set up in Krutje of Myzeqe.

The economic-social changes created new conditions which facilitated the development of the cultural revolution, whereas the new tasks of the socialist construction required that this revolution should develop with rapid strides. The cultural revolution found its expression, first of all, in the educational reform of August 1946. According to this reform, education be-

came universal, free, equal, secular and was given in the mother tongue. The school was given a completely State and unified character. Tuition fees were abolished. Primary education became obligatory in the entire Republic. The systems of pre-school education, of vocational instruction, and of schooling for adults were created. New plans, programs and textbooks with a new content were drafted. Primary schools were opened in every village. Along with this, the campaign for the elimination of illiteracy was intensified.

A fundamental problem of the cultural revolution and of socialist revolution in general was the creation of the new intelligentsia. The solution of this problem, under the circumstances when the Albanian intellectuals comprised a very small number, was of vital importance. For this purpose, many sons of the people were sent abroad for higher studies, especially to the Soviet Union. Despite the economic difficulties, the State provided the specialists with suitable conditions for work, creative activity and living. The constructive work, the educational work and the ardent support of the Party, rendered it possible for many of the old cadres to be re-educated, to embrace the Marxist-Leninist ideology and to accept the leading role of the Party.

The new socialist changes in the economic, social and cultural domain were accompanied by a purge of enemy elements from the organs of the People's Power and from the Democra-

tic Front organizations. This purpose was served especially by the new elections to the people's councils and to leading organs of the Front.

By special laws, the rights and the duties of local organs of the power were extended and the State Control Commission was created. By its agency, the control of the working masses over the State organs and their activities was increased.

Through the new revolutionary measures, the Democratic Front improved its own social composition. The Front now represented a purely political organization of the laboring masses.

The socialist changes and the revolutionary drive of the masses made it possible for the main works destroyed by the war to be reconstructed during the year 1946. At the end of that year in industry as well as in agriculture output reached the 1938 level. Besides, relying mainly on voluntary work, new works were also undertaken. Our youth built the Kukës-Peshkopia motorvehicle road. The Maliq swamp was drained, new irrigation and drainage canals were dug, and so on. In impetuous work for the reconstruction of the country, the initiative and the creative activity of working masses were developed, socialist emulation was organized, and the shock brigade movement sprang into existence as an expression of the new stand towards work.

**Theses on Reviewing  
the Proceedings of the  
Berat Plenum**

The 5th Plenum of  
the Central Commit-  
tee, which worked  
out the fundamental

directions of socialist construction and dealt a heavy blow at opportunism, did not, however, discover and eliminate the source of this opportunism: the erroneous estimations and orientations of the 2nd Plenum of Berat. It did not condemn nor avert the Yugoslav intervention in our internal affairs, did not re-establish unity and collective leadership in the Party. Consequently, the leadership of the entire life of the Party and of the country by the Central Committee and the Political Bureau encountered great obstacles. Through their agents in the CPA, the Yugoslav revisionists exerted every effort to remove the Secretary-General from the direction of the Party work on the pretext that he should occupy himself exclusively with State affairs, as Chairman of the Council of Ministers. In fact, the entire direction of the Party was concentrated in the hands of Koçi Xoxe, organizational secretary of the CC. Thus a Party-State duality had been created. In reality, however, by employing the authority of the Party, Koçi Xoxe attempted to get hold of the direction of State power as well. He had managed to create such a system that orders, decrees and laws could be put into execution only after special instructions of the CC apparatus signed by him had been issued. This method of work had greatly weakened the role of State organs,

nurtured bureaucracy and impeded the speedy and correct solution of problems.

In this situation there was no guarantee that the Party could safeguard the purity of its general line or successfully accomplish its great tasks of building socialism and defending national freedom and independence.

Comrade Enver Hoxha, who had never been convinced of the correctness of the conclusions and decisions of the Plenum of Berat, had come to the conclusion that they should be reexamined and corrected. Only in this manner could the unity in the leadership be re-established, the Political Bureau and the Central Committee function normally as leading organs of the Party and the life of the country, and the implementation of the directions for the socialist construction issued by the 5th Plenum be assured.

With this intent, in June 1946 he submitted at the Political Bureau a special report on re-examining the proceedings of the 2nd Plenum of the Central Committee.

The principal theses of this report were:

— The preparations for the proceedings of the 2nd Plenum gravely violated the norms of the internal life of the Party. The problems which had been submitted to the Political Bureau for discussion prior to the plenum had not been proposed in a comradely and communist manner, but had been decided outside the Bureau, without a profound Marxist-Leninist analysis, but with passion and prejudice, with-

out submitting them to a free exchange of opinions. They were put forward in the form of a «coup d'état».

— The estimations and conclusions of the Plenum of Berat were absolutely erroneous.

— The brilliant stage of the National-liberation War was «obscured, belittled and condemned» by the Plenum of Berat.

— The independence of the CPA was seriously encroached upon.

— The principal persons responsible were Velimir Stoinich and Sejfulla Malëshova. «Velimir Stoinich trifled with our Party and our people». He «directed and encouraged the proceedings» of the Plenum.

— The orientations of the Berat Plenum had grave repercussions for our Party and, if they continued, would become a great danger to it.

Comrade Enver Hoxha knew nothing, as yet, of the behind-the-scenes dealings in Berat, of the plot which had been set up by the leadership of the Yugoslav Communist Party, or of all the accomplices of this plot. He considered Velimir Stoinich and Sejfulla Malëshova as principal persons responsible because it was they who had carried the banner of the anti-party assault at the 2nd Plenum of the Central Committee. The others, Koçi Xoxe, Pandi Kristo and Nako Spiru, were merely criticized for the support they had given to Velimir Stoinich and Sejfulla Malëshova. Although unaware of the behind-the-scenes dealings, Comrade Enver Ho-

xa, by analyzing the proceedings of the Berat Plenum with a Marxist eye, had formed the absolute conviction that at this Plenum the Party line had been condemned unjustly and without any reason whatsoever, that the Party had not been politically mistaken, that its line had been correct. Therefore, he demanded that the decisions of this session should be rejected, the historic truth should be re-established and the peril which menaced the independence of the Party and its Marxist-Leninist line should be averted.

These correct theses of Comrade Enver Hoxha were opposed in the Bureau and were rejected by Koçi Xoxe and Pandi Kristo. They feared that a detailed discussion and approval of these theses would bring to light their anti-party work and the inimical intervention of the CPY in the internal affairs of the CPA.

As for Nako Spiru, he did not have the courage to disclose publicly his own activity and that of the other participants in the organization of the back stage manoeuvres. Thinking that his mistake in Berat would be covered by the lapse of time, and that he would make amends for his offence through work, after the theses of Comrade Enver Hoxha had been submitted, Nako Spiru began to uphold, on all occasions, the correct viewpoints of the Secretary-General. Thereafter, he fought with determination for the Party line on the question of the construction of socialism.

As the theses put forward in the report had not been approved and with the aim of creating

conditions for correcting the mistakes and establishing unity in the Political Bureau, Comrade Enver Hoxha proposed that the Bureau should be broadened by the admission of new members tested in battle and at work. But this proposition also was opposed by Koçi Xoxe and Pandi Kristo, and was not approved in full.

**Efforts to Normalize the Internal Life of the Party**

The new conditions which were created in the country after the triumph of the people's revolution, the new historic tasks which confronted the Party, required the elimination of wartime limitations in the internal democracy of the Party, the application of all Marxist-Leninist norms in its organizational life. But the intervention of the Yugoslav leadership, the copying of its Trotskyite-revisionist forms and methods by Koçi Xoxe prevented any such thing, engendered deviations and accentuated shortcomings in the organizational line. To correct these shortcomings and to normalize the situation, Comrade Enver Hoxha proposed that an analysis should be made of the organizational work of the Party and of the relations between the Party and State power. In this matter Koçi Xoxe was charged with presenting a report to the Political Bureau. However, on the instigation of the CPY leadership, he dodged this report and never presented it. This was to avoid an attack on Koçi Xoxe who was directly responsible for distortions in organizational

questions, to avert the bringing to light of the intervention of the Yugoslav leadership and the distorted line it was imposing on the CP of Albania.

On the persistent demand of Comrade Enver Hoxha and other comrades of the leadership, the Central Committee, nevertheless, took certain steps to normalize the organizational life of the Party. Lacking a Constitution, it issued detailed instructions which regulated the internal life of the Party, the admission of new members and the relations of the Party with the State and with the organizations of the masses. In these instructions, however, no mention was made of elections to Party organs. Later, in March 1947, the Central Committee decided that elections should be held only for secretaries of the cells. But even here not all the organizational regulations were observed. The secretaries were elected by open ballot. No elections took place for the Party bureaux and committees.

Of special importance to the internal life of the Party were the purge of its ranks (the audit) which was carried through during the year 1946, and the distribution of membership cards. As the result of the audit, 1,246 people, constituting 10 per cent of the total number of members and candidate-members, were excluded from the Party. Amidst them there were many who were not worthy of the proud title of a Party member. However, the audit was not carried out completely according to Marxist-

Leninist organizational regulations. Through a series of errors, there still remained in the Party persons who did not deserve to be members while others were expelled unjustly.

After this, the number of Party members began to increase rapidly. Within one year, this number increased more than three and a half times. On the one hand, this denoted the growth of the authority of the Party, on the other, it weakened its composition and militant spirit, for in admission to membership, attention was paid only to the increase in numbers, and the question of quality was largely neglected. This once again brought entirely alien and even hostile persons into the Party. While for the admission of women, especially in the countryside, a sectarian attitude was maintained.

Hand in hand with efforts to normalize the organizational life of the Party, the Central Committee took steps to raise the theoretical level of the communists, which was quite low. This became more urgent because the Party organizations did not feel that the study of Marxist-Leninist theory was absolutely necessary. For this purpose theoretical courses and circles were opened and individual study was organized. Besides, agitation and propaganda among the masses of the people was extended using new forms and methods.

## **The Intensification of the Class Struggle**

The intensification of the revolution encountered fierce resistance from the class enemies. The imperialists and the internal reaction, despite the defeat they had suffered in Albania, could not reconcile themselves either to the existence of the People's Power, or to the revolutionary economic-social changes. After the failure of the objective they had hoped to achieve through the elections to the Constituent Assembly, the U.S. and British Governments drafted a new plan of measures against the PRA, relying on the close coordination of counter-revolutionary activity within and outside the country. This plan aimed at re-grouping and re-organizing all the remnants of the internal reactionary forces and at creating a tense situation in the country by launching these remnants into action. In such a situation events would be manipulated to furnish the imperialists with a pretext for armed intervention from abroad and to justify this intervention before international public opinion.

The imperialist propaganda launched a frenzied campaign against the order of people's democracy appealing to the Albanian people to rise against it. In Greece and Italy U.S. and British agencies assembled in special camps fugitive fascists, Zogites and Ballists, and gave them intensive military and subversive training for the coming joint attack to be undertaken from abroad and from within the country against the «communists». British warships pa-

trolled the territorial waters of the PRA in a demonstrative manner, firing shots time and again in the direction of the Albanian mainland.

Meanwhile the U.S. and British military missions to Albania set in motion the internal reaction. They organized several reactionaries, who had been elected as deputies in December 1945, in a separate group. These deputies began to declare themselves openly against socialist changes and attempted to create all sorts of obstacles to the adoption and enforcement of laws. The imperialist agency had assigned to them the task of gathering around themselves all the remnants of reaction within the country and of assuming the direction of the attack which was being prepared against the People's Power. It had established links between the treacherous deputies both with the chiefs of the «Balli Kombetar» and of the «Legality» in exile, as well as with the Greek monarcho-fascists.

The U.S. mission, in particular, had undertaken the task of disorganizing our economy by sabotage in the main branches of construction and production. Groups of saboteurs composed of corrupted bourgeois specialists operated under its direction in Maliq (where the swamp was being drained), on the construction sites of bridges, in the oil fields in Kuçova, in the copper mines at Rubik, and elsewhere.

In September 1946, counter-revolutionary bands launched an armed assault on the city of Shkodra. This attack had been calculated to serve as a starting point for military interven-

tion from abroad. However it did not work out because the reactionary bands were annihilated within the day. Two months later, the imperialists organized a provocation of an international character against Albania. When a squadron of British warships was cruising along the Albanian coast-line with the aim of open provocation, two of them struck mines in the Corfu Channel and were damaged. As was revealed later, the British command itself had purposely organized this incident. Accusing the democratic Government of Albania of allegedly placing these mines in the Corfu Channel, the U.S. and British Governments attempted to use the Corfu incident as a means to prepare public opinion to justify the landing of their military forces in Albania. Meanwhile, the Greek monarcho-fascist Government launched more frequent territorial and aerial provocations along the State boundaries with the PRA.

The intensification of the activity of the imperialists and of the internal reaction had increased the peril which threatened the people's revolution in Albania. By this time, however, the CPA and the working masses had acquired experience in the struggle with internal and external class enemies. The Party had trained the communists and workers to stand vigilant and always prepared to cope with any danger. «The group of deputies», and other enemies within the country found no support among the masses of the people.

The terrorist actions and sabotage carried

out by reactionary elements, as well as the Corfu Channel provocation, further increased the hatred of the people towards the traitors and the U.S. and British imperialists, raised the all-round preparedness of the Party, the armed forces and all the workers, to defend the order of people's democracy, the national independence and territorial integrity of the Republic. Workers of cities and of village took part vigorously together with the organs of State Security and military detachment in detecting enemies and in exterminating them. The traitors and the saboteurs were brought before people's tribunals where they gave an account of their actions and were sentenced to the punishments they deserved. They were obliged to bring to light the entire plan hatched up by the U.S. and British Governments against the PRA and to admit publicly their treason.

At the same time, the objective which the imperialists tried to reach through the Corfu Channel provocation was frustrated. Although they put into operation the international organizations, their obedient instruments, such as the Hague Tribunal etc., they did not succeed in convincing international public opinion that Albania was really to blame for the Corfu incident. The Democratic Government of the People's Republic of Albania proved before the whole world that it had no hand whatsoever in that incident, and that the whole affair was a provocation organized by the British Government for hostile aims against the PRA. On

this occasion, the entire progressive international public opinion upheld the just cause of the democratic Government of Albania and condemned the attempts of the imperialists to lay the blame on the People's Republic of Albania.

The conviction of the Albanian people that the U.S.A. and Great Britain were not acting as allies, but as their archenemies, was strengthened likewise by the persistent efforts of the U.S. and British Governments to deny the PRA its lawful place in the United Nations Organization. They made use of their veto in the Security Council against the admission of Albania to this organization.

The U.S. and British imperialists also attempted by all means to hinder the participation of Albania in the Peace Conference which was held in Paris in July 1946, but they did not achieve their aim.

In order to voice the standpoint of the Albanian Government in connection with the Peace Treaty with Italy, a delegation headed by Comrade Enver Hoxha went to Paris. The delegation demanded: Italy should be compelled to respect not only the sovereignty and independence of the Albanian State, as it was proposed in the draft-treaty, but also its territorial integrity; the gold seized by the German invaders should be returned to Albania and reparations for war-damage should be paid by Italy; the PRA should be considered as an associate power. These legitimate demands were rejected by the Conference under the pressure of British

and U.S. delegations, but through the persistence of the democratic Government, the Albanian demands were approved by the Council of Ministers for Foreign Affairs of the Allied Great Powers in November, 1946.

The Anglo-U.S. delegates tried likewise to compel the Peace Conference to discuss the territorial claims of Greece against Albania and to consider the latter as a «defeated State», but the clear-cut stand of the Albanian delegation caused this attempt to fail, too.

«I solemnly declare», said Comrade Enver Hoxha before he left for home, «that neither the Paris Conference, nor the Four Power Conference, nor any other conference whatsoever, can take up for discussion the boundaries of my country, within which not even an inch of foreign land is included. Our boundaries are indisputable and nobody will dare violate them... Let the whole world know that the Albanian people have not sent their delegation to Paris to render account, but to demand that an account should be rendered to them by those who have caused them so much damage and against whom the Albanian people have fought so fiercely to the end»<sup>1</sup>.

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1) Enver Hoxha. Declaration Made to the Representatives of the Press in Paris, September 16, 1946. «Bashkimi», September 19, 1946.

An important role in bringing about the success of the People's Republic of Albania in the international arena was played by the support given by friendly States, especially by the Soviet Union.

The CPA had drawn lessons of major importance from the experience gained in the struggle against reaction during the early years after liberation. The communists were convinced in practice and, at the same time, had convinced the working masses, that the revolution can be developed and socialism can be built only through:

«a fierce and merciless struggle against internal enemies and their foreign imperialist supporters»<sup>1</sup>.

The Party was never carried away with the successes scored by the the masses of the people under its leadership nor by the defeats suffered by the enemy. The Central Committee taught that

«the enemy's work should be taken seriously and this calls for constant revolutionary vigilance»<sup>2</sup>.

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1) Instructions of the CC of the CPA, June 17, 1947. Principal Documents of the Party. Vol. I, p. 362.

2) Ibidem, p. 364.

**Changes in the Economic and Social Structure and the First Results of the Socialist Development of our Economy**

The socialization of the principal means of production and the agrarian reform changed the economic and social structure

of the country in favor of socialism. Our economy consisted now of three main forms: the socialist form, that of small-scale commodity production, and the capitalist form.

The socialist form included industry, mining, the power stations, transport and communications, the financial system, foreign trade, internal wholesale trade, the State and cooperative enterprises of retail trade, the State and cooperative agricultural economies, machine and tractor stations, the forests, waters, and subsoil resources. By the end of 1946 this form ruled the commanding positions of the economy and accounted for 95 per cent of overall industrial production.

Small-scale commodity production included the employment of most of the working people and represented about 80 per cent of the overall volume of production of the national economy. It comprised the economies of the poor and middle peasants and of the artisans who did not employ hired labor. All these people lived mainly on the income from their own toil.

The capitalist form comprised the economies of the kulaks in the countryside, the merchants and traders, and the small tradesmen

and owners in the cities who employed hired labor. They accounted for about 5 per cent of the overall volume of production in the national economy. It was concentrated principally in the field of circulation. In 1947 private trade represented about 80 per cent of the total volume of commodities handled by retail trade.

These three forms of economy corresponded also with three social classes: the working class, the working peasantry and the bourgeoisie. The working class and peasantry had become the two principal classes of society. Having lost its political power and the main means of production the bourgeoisie was turned into secondary class, but in order to safeguard its own class interests it carried on a sharp struggle against the People's Power and against the socialist construction of the country. In this struggle it had the backing of international imperialism.

Under the new economic and social conditions, for the solution of the tasks of socialist construction the Party took into consideration the fundamental circumstances which facilitated, as well as those which handicapped this construction.

The fundamental favorable circumstances were: the existence of a revolutionary Marxist-Leninist Party at the head of the State Power and the direction of the country; the sound militant union of the urban and rural working masses around the Party within the framework of the Democratic Front; the revolutionary

tempering of these masses, acquired in the war against internal and external enemies; the experience of the Soviet Union in building socialism; its moral, political and economic assistance and that of the countries of People's Democracy, and the support of the anti-imperialist liberation movement.

The fundamental unfavorable circumstances were: the direct transition of Albania from semi-feudalism to socialism; the cultural and educational backwardness of the population, the lack of engineers, technicians and qualified workers; the scanty material and financial resources; the encirclement of the country by the imperialists and by those neighboring states which maintained a hostile attitude.

Under these circumstances, in order to build socialism, our Party put forward as a primary task the speedy development of productive forces, by putting into operation and by using all the internal possibilities and resources. The achievement of this task comprised at the same time a decisive condition for the restriction and elimination of the capitalist element, the construction of the material basis of socialism and the extension of socialist relations in production.

The changes in the economic and social structure of the country gave the Communist Party of Albania the opportunity to take concrete measures for the planned development of the economy and culture. The first plans, in 1947 and 1948, aimed at strengthening the socialist economy, by developing mining in the

first place and the branches of light industry. In the field of agriculture, they envisaged extension of the area under cultivation, increased production of grains, and the introduction of new industrial crops. In the field of culture, pre-eminence was given to the extension of education, the elimination of illiteracy and the training of specialists.

To cope with the tasks of the planned direction of the economy, the Party and the Government took a series of measures during 1947. State industrial enterprises were put on a self-supporting basis. This was a new method of planned management of the economic activity of enterprises, which required that they should cover all the expenses incurred for production with the revenues assured by the sale of their products and, at the same time, yield an amount for accumulation.

The passage of economic enterprises to this system was supplemented also by the organization of work on the basis of norms and by the new system of remunerating work done according to the socialist principle of quantity and of quality.

For the centralization of accumulation and distribution, a reorganization was carried out of the financial system, the budget, taxation, and the function of the banks. Instead of its almost administrative character, the budget was turned into the principal financial plan of the entire people's economy. Taxes, also, lost their fiscal character. The main form of budget

income was defined as taxation on the turnover of economic enterprises and their surplus profits. The bank became the only center of credit and accounting.

The rights and the duties of workers were specified in the new law on labor and on social insurance of the workers. This law also regulated the conclusion of collective contracts between the directorates of the enterprises and the workers, rates of pay hours of work and rest. It especially protected the rights of underage children, and of women as workers and as mothers. According to the new law each worker was entitled to social insurance benefits which were accorded by the State in cases of illness or of accidents at work, in old age, during pregnancy and at childbirth.

Assessing correctly the role of the cooperative sector in building the socialist economy, the Party attacked the distortions which constituted an open deviation from its economic line.

In the artisans' cooperatives an end was put to the distribution of all the profits among members without laying aside something for the expansion of production, to the trend towards speculation and the biggest possible profits, and the remuneration for work was established on a socialist basis.

The consumers' cooperatives were categorically prohibited from re-selling goods they had accumulated to private merchants, as had happened in certain cases. In order to encour-

rage the consumers' cooperatives to accumulate larger quantities of agricultural products, an entire system of economic ties was established between them and the buying and selling cooperatives in the countryside.

The buying and selling cooperatives were charged not only with supplying the countryside with industrial goods but also with accumulating agricultural products for the regular supply of cities. This measure did away with intermediaries and private speculators, encouraged the organized exchange of rural products for those of cities and rendered them materially more profitable.

The adoption of these measures in the cooperative sector was of economic and political importance. It helped to put the cooperative movement on a correct and sound basis and to stop exploitation of their shortcomings by capitalist elements who opposed the economic line of the Party in building socialism.

Without underestimating the role and significance of cooperation in the field of circulation, the Party considered it merely as a first step, as a starting point, to pass over to cooperation in the field of agricultural production. Accordingly, during the years 1947-1948 the work continued for setting up agricultural cooperatives of production on a voluntary basis.

To become modern and exemplary socialist economies, the first agricultural cooperatives were in need of an advanced material and tech-

nical basis. For this purpose the first machine and tractor stations (MTS) were set up in 1947.

From the very start the machine and tractor stations were created as State socialist enterprises in agriculture. They were employed as a special form of the great aid the State gave to the peasantry in an organized manner for the establishment and strengthening of the new cooperativist order in the countryside. The MTS's were the foundation stone of the new material-technical base of socialist agriculture. They were a powerful political and organizational medium. Through them the Party propagated and spread among the people in the countryside, the necessity for and advantages of collectivization.

A great economic and political problem for the Party and the State Power was that of providing food grain. In order to solve it People's Power had been compelled to issue special ordinances, under which peasant farmers were obliged to sell to the State all their surplus grain, after deducting the necessary amount, fixed by law, for seed and for their families food.

In this way the State succeeded in accumulating the necessary grain. The enforcement of the ordinances however encountered difficulties caused by the opposition of the peasant producers and by the endeavors of enemies to exploit this opposition to their advantage. On the other hand, this system of accumulation did not arouse in the peasant any interest or

material inducement to increase the area under cultivation and agricultural production. For this reason, in 1948, modifications were made in the system of accumulation of grain. From now on each peasant economy was obliged to deliver to the State a fixed amount of grain at a standard price. The surplus grain, the peasant could keep for himself or sell to the State at a higher price than that of the compulsory quota. This system created a certain degree of material incentive for the peasant to increase agricultural production. But it did not solve the problem completely, because it was open to abuses, which led either to the obligatory accumulation of all the surplus production, or to leaving the producers with greater quantities of grain than those prescribed by the ordinances.

The frequent modification of the procurement system during the years 1946-1948 were the consequences not only of the difficulties of providing food grains, but also of the lack of experience in finding the most appropriate forms of economic links between town and countryside.

During the years 1947-1948 the working masses exerted great efforts to fulfil the plans. During these two years new industrial works were set up, the Tirana-Durrës-Peqin railway was constructed, and the productive capacities of mines were extended. In 1948 the total industrial output was twice as much as in 1938.

At this time agricultural production also surpassed the pre-war level. With the introduction of new industrial crops, slowly but

definitely, the old structure of agriculture began to change. The first steps were taken for the reclamation of swamps and drainage and irrigation of the land.

The economic social changes of a democratic and social character which were carried out in Albania immediately after the liberation were deep, speedy, and impetuous. This was so because they were carried out by the People's Power, which represented the dictatorship of the proletariat under the direct leadership of the Communist Party. The second reason was the broad social base of the socialist revolution. The activity of the Party and of the State Power in the revolutionary change of the country was supported unwaveringly not only by the working class and the poor peasantry, but also by the middle peasantry and the petty bourgeoisie of the cities.

The thorough-going military and political defeat suffered by the landlords and the reactionary bourgeoisie in 1944 and the firm base of the People's Power among the broad masses of the population did not permit the overthrown exploiting classes to turn their class struggle into a civil war despite the repeated efforts, especially, of the U.S. and British imperialists. After the liberation these classes suffered another major defeat, in the political and economic social sphere.

## **5. THE COLLAPSE OF THE HOSTILE INTERVENTION OF THE YUGOSLAV REVISIONISTS. THE DENUNCIATION OF THE ANTI-PARTY ACTIVITY OF KOÇI XOXE'S GROUP**

The successes achieved during the early years after the liberation would have been still greater if it had not been for the blatant interference of the CPY leadership in the internal affairs of the CPA and of the Albanian State. By its hostile activity it caused great damage to the building of socialism in Albania.

Based on the consistent internationalist policy of the CPA, which aimed at strengthening fraternal relations with the Soviet Union and the other countries of people's democracy, in July 1946, the Government of the PR of Albania concluded with the Yugoslav Government the Treaty of Cooperation and of Mutual Aid between the PR of Albania and the FR of Yugoslavia. A few months later an economic convention also was signed.

The CPA regarded with confidence the alliance between the Albanian people and the Yugoslav peoples who had fought side by side and had shed their blood in the war against the same foe and for the same objectives. The Party considered the close cooperation and the mutual assistance between the PRA and the FRY as an external factor of importance for the construction of socialism in Albania and for the protection of the national independence of the country from the enslaving intentions of

the U.S. and British imperialists and of their henchmen, the Greek monarcho-fascists.

Nevertheless, the Secretary-General and the other comrades of the Central Committee viewed with concern the interference of Yugoslav representatives in the domestic affairs of the Party and the Albanian State. But they did not suspect as yet that this interference was being actuated on the instructions and with the approval of the Central Committee of the CPY. While opposing on all occasions meddling by Yugoslav diplomats and military men in Albanian State and Party internal affairs, they tried to remove any misunderstandings or obstacles in the relations between the two countries and the two parties.

However, these endeavors clashed with the anti-Marxist, anti-Albanian stand of the Yugoslav leadership. Under the cover of this attitude, which the Yugoslav propaganda attempted to present as a policy of «disinterested fraternal aid», lay their intention to eliminate the independence of the CPA and the Albanian State.

### **The Resistance of the CPA against Yugoslav Intervention**

The agreements concluded on the basis of the economic convention were put into effect at the beginning of 1947. The first step, foreseen by these agreements, was the parity of currency. Right from the start, the Central Committee and the Albanian Government on the initiative of Comrade Enver Hoxha,

opposed this measure in principle because there were many obstacles which hindered reaching real parity. The level of economic development between the two countries, wages and the prices of commodities were not equal. It was impossible to bring them to parity within a short period of time. However, the leadership of the CPY described this opposition as out of place and interpreted it as an expression of distrust towards the spirit of the convention. After the pressure exerted by the CPY, the *lek* was brought to parity with the *dinar*, on an altogether arbitrary basis to the advantage of the *dinar*.

The second measure which was put into effect was the unification of prices. For this measure also the Party and the Albanian Government put forward their objections based on the fact that in industry, agriculture and other branches of material production of the two countries the fundamental funds were of different structures. The productions of labor and the labor cost per unit of product were likewise different. The leadership of the CPY described these factors as unimportant. As a result of the pressure exercised, an accord was reached to the effect that similar norms of accumulation were to be determined for commodities of both countries and that these commodities should be exchanged at domestic and not at international market prices.

The third measure was the customs-union. The CPA made efforts that this union should

serve to facilitate the exchange between the two countries. Meanwhile, the CPY distorted the concept of the agreement and, after exerting pressure, succeeded in ensuring that all Yugoslav enterprises or private merchants should have the right to buy commodities, without any limitation, on the Albanian market, and that the *dinar* should be exchanged freely with the Albanian *lek*. Consequently, Yugoslav firms and private merchants took everything they found on the Albanian market. The resulting drain on the market created an extremely difficult situation for the economy and the workers of Albania. This was why the country was threatened with a new inflation and there was a general rise in prices on the free market.

A special commission was set up for the purpose of coordinating economic plans and the application of other economic agreements. The Yugoslav leadership demanded that this commission should enjoy such rights and functions which, in fact, would turn it into a super-government above the Albanian Government. These demands were rejected by the Central Committee of the CPA.

In the framework of economic agreements, joint Albanian-Yugoslav companies were set up. They covered the most important branches of our people's economy. These companies were set up allegedly on the basis of equality. However while the Albanian side, according to the agreements, paid its full quota to the fund of the joint companies, the Yugoslav side did not

invest even a penny in the original funds. So that the companies were kept running on the investments of the Albanian State alone, while the Yugoslav side appropriated half of the profits.

All these agreements infringed even the most elementary norms of relations between two sovereign states and inflicted heavy losses to the economy of the PRA.

According to the economic agreements, the Yugoslav Government had promised Albania a credit of 2 billion leks for the year 1947. Less than half this credit was made available, while those commodities, which were supplied by Yugoslavia on credit, were calculated at prices two to four times higher than international prices. The entire so-called Yugoslav aid consisted of four small, altogether out-of-date, and long written-off factories. Besides this the credit was employed as a means to exert pressure on our Party and Government, and to arouse distrust in them, as being, allegedly, incapable of directing the planned development of the economy. All this made it very difficult to fulfil the plan for 1947, which was drafted relying on the Yugoslav aid. The Yugoslav Government did not provide the PR of Albania with the credit promised for the year 1948, either.

In order to meet the needs of the plan, our Government was forced to use all the reserves it had, in raw materials, building materials and consumption goods. Since these were scarce, the

economic and financial situation of the country deteriorated.

Hand in hand with its attempts to seize important positions in the economic domain, the leadership of the CPY extended its intervention with a view to getting hold of the Albanian Army. Having secured a footing in the Political Directorate, it concentrated its attacks on the General Staff of the Army and its chief, Comrade Mehmet Shehu, who defended the correct line of the Party and the independence of the People's Army. In military matters, too, its views and demands clashed with those of the sound part of the Central Committee of the Party, led by Comrade Enver Hoxha.

In order to crush the resistance of the CC of the CPA, in June 1947, the leadership of the CPY sent it a provocative letter. In this letter, Tito, Secretary-General of the CPY, openly attacked the Central Committee of the CPA, accusing it of distorting the Party line and claiming that «a second line in anti-Yugoslav spirit was allegedly crystalizing» in Albania. By means of this accusation the Yugoslav leadership intended to strengthen its weakened positions in the CPA and to give its agent, Koçi Xoxe, a weapon to combat and attack the Secretary-General and the other sound comrades of the leadership, whom it indirectly indicated as the main source of the distortion of the Party line.

The letter of the CC of the CPY was taken up for discussion in the Political Bureau. Koçi

Xoxe and Pandi Kristo neither opposed the accusation of the Yugoslav leadership nor dared come out openly in its defence. The Bureau rejected it. It instructed Comrade Enver Hoxha to answer the Central Committee of the CPY, describing the accusation as absolutely unfounded and as an open intervention in the internal affairs of the CPA.

After this the situation became more acute. The leadership of the CPY increased its interference and pressure against the CPA. For this it created new pretexts.

At the beginning of 1947 the CC of the CPA issued directives to the State organs to begin the drafting of a two-year plan (1948-1949) of economic development. The Party took into account the actual state of affairs in Albania: the internal possibilities, the scale of studies which had been made and the experience which State organs had managed to acquire for drawing up a plan of not too long a term.

Without taking any account whatsoever of this situation, the leadership of the CPY demanded with persistence that Albania, too, should work out a prospective five-year plan, just as Yugoslavia was doing. And not only that, but it even recommended to the PRA Government the orientation for this plan, dealing with Albania as if it were a Yugoslav republic. According to this orientation, the economy of the PRA should not be developed independently, but should be integrated with the economy of Yugoslavia. Albania should not create and deve-

lop its own national industry, but should confine itself only to the production of agricultural and mineral raw materials, which would be processed in Yugoslavia. In exchange, Albania would receive from Yugoslavia the necessary industrial commodities. This orientation aimed at subjugating and exploiting the Albanian economy and at reducing it to an appendage of the Yugoslav economy.

The Central Committee of the CPA immediately rejected this orientation. It agreed to the drafting of a five-year plan, but it instructed the Government that the plan should aim at creating and developing our national industry, the electrification of the country, the development of agriculture on socialist lines, and that this plan should rely mainly on the internal resources as well as on the aid of the Soviet Union and of the countries of the people's democracy.

The Party took concrete steps to strengthen and extend the political and economic relations of the PR of Albania with the Soviet Union and the countries of people's democracy. But these steps encountered the opposition of the leadership of the CPY, which aimed at keeping Albania isolated from the Soviet Union and the countries of people's democracy.

In July 1947, a government delegation went to Moscow to confer with the Soviet Government. The delegation was headed by Comrade Enver Hoxha. As a result of these talks, the Soviet Union accorded the PR of Albania a

credit for the equipment of agriculture with tractors and other agricultural machinery and also for the construction of several important industrial works.

Using as an excuse the Treaty of Friendship, Collaboration and Mutual Aid, the Yugoslav leadership attempted to hinder the conclusion of the agreement with the Soviet Union. It went so far as to have the Yugoslav representative in Moscow demand that the Albanian representative should hand to him copies of this agreement asserting in a threatening manner that nothing should be concluded without the approval of the Yugoslav Government. The Albanian Government protested against this new intrusion in its internal affairs.

The correct orientation which the CC of the Party gave the Government for the drafting of the plan, and the visit of the Albanian delegation to Moscow, were used by Tito as a pretext for formulating the second accusation against the CPA. In November 1947, he accused the Albanian Government of having allegedly drafted an autarchic, unrealistic five-year plan, which separated the economy of Albania from the economy of Yugoslavia. Indirectly he condemned the acceptance of direct material and moral assistance from the USSR and openly accused Comrade Enver Hoxha with having altered his policy towards Yugoslavia after his return from Moscow. The orientation towards the Soviet Union he described as anti-Yugoslav. The Communist Party of Albania was charged

with the crime of having allegedly allowed the creation of an anti-Yugoslav front in Albania; of wrecking the relations between the Albanian and Yugoslav peoples. Finally, comrade Nako Spiru in particular was accused of being a collaborator with the enemy.

These further accusations dealt another very hard blow at the CPA. They profoundly upset the leadership of the Party and aggravated to the extreme the tense state which had been created in the Political Bureau. These accusations placed in the hands of the Koçi Xoxe faction the dynamite with which to blow up the very foundations of the Party. And, in fact, Koçi Xoxe, Pandi Kristo and Kristo Themelko<sup>1</sup> became most ardent defenders of the Yugoslav theses. Koçi Xoxe did not invite a number of the members of the Bureau to the session which discussed these accusations, with the aim of depriving Comrade Enver Hoxha of all backing and support.

Besides this, instead of disclosing the reasons for the Yugoslav leadership's intervention and rejecting its false accusations, Koçi Xoxe and Pandi Kristo supported them and put all the stress on Nako Spiru's «treason». This was a maneuver aimed at hiding the heavy blow which was being dealt at the CPA and at its

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1) Kristo Themelko acknowledged his faults and made self-criticism before the Party after the treachery of the CPY had been entirely disclosed in June 1948.

Secretary-General by the Yugoslav leadership, as well as its objective.

In this acute situation and under most difficult circumstances for him, comrade Nako Spiru was unable to face up, as a communist should to any situation, but committed suicide.

In order to strengthen relations with the countries which had embarked on the road to socialism, a government delegation headed by Comrade Enver Hoxha, went to Sofia in December 1947 where the Treaty of Friendship, Collaboration and Mutual Aid between the PR of Albania and the PR of Bulgaria was signed.

The leadership of the CPY attempted to obstruct the conclusion of this treaty. Through Koçi Xoxe, who was a member of the Albanian delegation, it tried to have the Treaty framed in such a way that any common action of Albania with Bulgaria should have the prior approval of Yugoslavia. This persistent demand by Koçi Xoxe was rejected. Since it was impossible to impede the conclusion of the Treaty or alter its sound spirit, the Yugoslav leadership exerted every effort to diminish its importance.

Pronouncing itself in favor of strengthening its relations with the sister communist parties on the basis of the principles of proletarian internationalism, the October 1947 Plenum of the CC of the CPA adopted in full the Declaration and the Resolution of the Warsaw Consultative meeting of a number of communist and workers' parties, which was held at the end of September 1947 and approved the

creation of the Information Bureau, which arose from the consultative meeting. The CPA expressed its readiness to exchange experiences and, in case of need, to coordinate its actions with sister communist and workers' parties. At the proper time the Central Committee would seek membership for the CPA in the Information Bureau.

### **Exposure of the Anti-Marxist and Anti-Albanian Schemes of the Yugoslav Leadership**

Nako Spiru's suicide seriously damaged the Party and further aggravated the tense situation which had been created in the Party leadership. This gave an advantage to the Yugoslav revisionist clique to make use of this event as «a proof of the truth» of its accusations and to undertake a new assault on the line of the CPA, on its unity, and on the Secretary-General.

Under these conditions, Koçi Xoxe, with the direct help of the leadership of the CPY and masquerading as the «savior» of the Party, prepared the 8th Plenum of the CC of the CPA. The anti-Marxist, anti-Albanian theses of the CC of the CPY, which had been expressed in programmatic form in a speech delivered by Koçi Xoxe at the Party School served as the platform for this session. During preparations for the plenum, Koçi Xoxe stepped up the persecution of sound and tested cadres of the Party who defended its correct line and launched a campaign of disparagement against

communist intellectuals. Through the State Security organs, which were under his direction, he collected and trumped up data against leading Party cadres who were undesirable for him and who were to be denounced at the 8th Plenum.

Precisely at this time, the Yugoslav leadership, through Savo Zlatich, its representative in the People's Republic of Albania, submitted to the Central Committee of the CPA its plan for the «union of Albania with Yugoslavia on a federative basis». «The other peoples of the Balkans and, particularly, Bulgaria» were also to be included in the Federation. According to this plan, at first the federation would be concretized in the «economic relations» by «fusing the national economies» and by «drawing up common plans». «The union of armies in a single army» would also be carried out. Eventually «the creation of a single state» which would be allegedly the «will of peoples and parties»<sup>1</sup> would be examined. Koçi Xoxe's group made the theses of this scheme the basis of the preparations for the coming Plenum.

The hostile activity of the Titoites and of their agents, headed by Koçi Xoxe, reached its culmination at the 8th Plenum of the CC of the CPA, which was convened in February 1948.

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1) The theses of Savo Zlatich on the union of Albania with Yugoslavia, submitted to the Central Committee of the CPA, December 5, 1947. Notes on talks.

In fact Koçi Xoxe and Pandi Kristo charged Comrade Enver Hoxha as the principal person to blame for the allegedly mistaken road the Party had taken. Nako Spiru was declared an enemy of the Party and of the people and was stigmatized as a spy. Comrade Mehmet Shehu, who was arbitrarily prevented from taking part in the session, was accused of «inimical» anti-Yugoslav activity and was excluded from the Central Committee. Koçi Xoxe concocted the so-called faction at the head of the Party which operated «under the nose of the Secretary-General!» He even let it be understood that Comrade Enver Hoxha in person stood at the head of the faction. This was a serious blow at his position and at the unity of the Party.

The plenum agreed to such forms of economic ties between Albania and Yugoslavia which would have led to the elimination of the Albanian Government. The concept of the unification of the Albanian army with that of Yugoslavia was launched. Open attempts were made to divide Albania from the Soviet Union and anti-Soviet tendencies were manifested.

The 8th Plenum deepened still more the blunders in the structure and inner life of the Party. The organizational methods of the Party leadership were replaced to a greater degree by military-police methods.

At this plenum the resistance of the CC of the CPA in defence of the Party line was broken by the pressure of the Yugoslav leadership.

The session adopted Tito's accusations, put forward in November 1947. The correct political and economic line of the Party was seriously violated. Independence and national sovereignty were directly endangered! The 8th Plenum prepared the ground for the implementation of the Yugoslav plan for the colonization of Albania. This plenum is a black stain on the glorious history of the CPA.

Following the plenum, Koçi Xoxe's group set to work with all their might to put the Yugoslav scheme into effect. They stepped up their preparations aimed at discrediting and even at the physical elimination of those leading cadres of the Party and the State, who opposed the intervention and the pressure of the Yugoslav revisionists.

The direction and the activity of mass organizations took a distorted road. Tendencies were manifested to dismantle the youth organization. A series of functions were withdrawn from the trade unions and they were turned into an altogether bureaucratic apparatus.

Police methods were introduced in the State apparatus. The State Security organs were placed above the Party.

Thinking that they had by now fully subjugated the CPA, the Titoites intervened in the internal affairs of the Party and of the Albanian State in a more brutal and flagrant manner. The commission for the coordination of plans was changed into almost a second government. The joint Albanian-Yugoslav companies were

turning simply into Yugoslav enterprises. A special control commission came from Yugoslavia with the task of helping to integrate the Albanian economy with that of Yugoslavia, which would serve as a basis for the political union of the two countries. Meanwhile Koçi Xoxe's group launched a broad propaganda campaign for the «union and fraternization» with Yugoslavia with the aim of presenting this union as an act, allegedly, carried out by the will of the Albanian people.

The Yugoslav leadership and Koçi Xoxe's faction persistently demanded from the Party CC and the Government that the Soviet advisers be withdrawn from the army. Finally, they raised at the Political Bureau of the CC of the CPA the question of the unification of the supreme command of Albanian and Yugoslav armies with Tito at the head and demanded the approval of the plan for the union of Albania with Yugoslavia. Despite the grave situation which had been created in the Bureau and despite the extraordinary pressure from the Titoites and their supporters, after Comrade Enver Hoxha's resolute and principled resistance these anti-Marxist and anti-Albanian demands were not adopted.

The Yugoslav leadership, feeling that its intentions might soon be exposed and taking into consideration the resistance put up by the CPA, endeavored to reach these aims by means of intimidation. It fabricated as pretext the danger to Albania from an imminent attack

by Greece and sought to dispatch urgently several divisions of the Yugoslav army to Albania. In this manner the military occupation of Albania would become a 'fait accompli'. This would permit Titoites to overcome the resistance they would encounter in the annexation of Albania. Koçi Xoxe and his group supported this demand. Koçi Xoxe and Rankovich, one of Tito's closest collaborators, had even prepared a project to publicise the arrival of Yugoslav troops, after they had been established on Albanian soil, as an act carried out on the basis of the Treaty of Friendship, Collaboration and Mutual Aid!

However, this Yugoslav scheme, too, fell short of materializing. Comrade Enver Hoxha raised this question in the Central Committee leadership. On his proposal it was decided not to accept the stationing of Yugoslav divisions in Albania. This historic decision saved the country from the bloodshed which would have been caused by the entry of Yugoslav troops and from a new enslavement.

Comrade Enver Hoxha informed J. V. Stalin about the demand of the Yugoslav leadership to send some division to Albania and the refusal of this demand by the Central Committee of the CPA, as he had previously informed him of the other serious interference by Tito and various Yugoslav functionaries in the internal affairs of the Communist Party of Albania and the Albanian State.

The Party and the State were passing

through exceptionally difficult moments. Precisely at this time, the CPA was informed of the letters which the CC of the CPSU(b) had sent to the Central Committee of the CPY.

In these letters the Yugoslav leadership was severely criticized for its anti-Soviet attitude, for following an opportunist line which led to the re-establishment of capitalism, for violations of the Leninist norms in the inner life of the party, and for the arrogance and conceit of the leaders of the CPY.

«Such an abnormal state within the Yugoslav Communist Party constitutes a serious danger for the life and the development of the party»<sup>1</sup>.

The letters were of major significance to the CPA and to the Albanian people.

«At the most critical moment of the fierce conflict which existed between the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Albania and the leaders of the Communist Party of Yugoslavia, a conflict caused by the anti-Marxist Yugoslav leadership, the help of the Bolshevich Party of the Soviet Union, which was extended to our Party and to all other sister communist parties, was

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1) Letter of the CC of the CPSU(b) to the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Yugoslavia, May 4, 1948, Central Archives of the Party.

the great salvation of our people, of our Communist Party»<sup>1</sup>.

In the light of these letters, the character and the aims of the Yugoslav intervention in Albania now became quite clear to the CC of our Party. A contribution of major importance to the unmasking of the revisionists and chauvinistic activity of the leaders of the CPY was made by the meeting of the Information Bureau which was held in June 1948. The Information Bureau reached the correct conclusion that the leaders of the CPY had departed from Marxism-Leninism and had taken the road of revisionism, had betrayed socialism and passed over to the positions of bourgeois nationalism. Starting from this state of affairs, it condemned the CPY leaders as traitors to the cause of socialism and proletarian internationalism.

The CC of the CPA gave full approval to the resolution of the Information Bureau «On the Situation in the Yugoslav Communist Party». In a special communiqué it condemned the treacherous, anti-Soviet and anti-Albanian course taken by the leadership of the CPY.

This stand of the Central Committee was approved by the entire Party. At their meetings all the Party organizations expressed their unshakable trust in the Central Committee and in the Secretary-General, Comrade Enver Hoxha.

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1) Communiqué of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Albania, July 1, 1948. Central Archives of the Party.

**The 11th Plenum of the  
CC of the CPA. Defeat  
of Yugoslav Intervention  
and Koçi Xoxe's  
Hostile Activity**

Following the exposure of the inimical intentions of the Yugoslav revisionists, the economic and political relations between Albania and Yugoslavia had to be purged of any spirit or content of exploitation and subjugation. For this purpose the CPA demanded that, with the exception of the Treaty of Friendship, Collaboration and Mutual Aid, all the other agreements should be revised. However the Yugoslav leadership turned a deaf ear to this just demand. This being the case, the Albanian Government was obliged to abrogate the economic agreements concluded between the PR of Albania and the FR of Yugoslavia.

To completely eliminate the Yugoslav intervention and the distortions in the political and organizational line of the Party, the 11th Plenum of the CC of the CPA was held in September 1948. This session was attended also by those members and candidate-members, who had been unjustly excluded from the 8th Plenum.

The plenum thoroughly analysed the political line of the Party and its activity, disclosed the causes of blunders and determined the measures to effect a turn dictated by the new historic circumstances.

The plenum considered that the political line which the Party had pursued since its foundation had been correct. The particular distor-

tions which had appeared after the liberation were consequences of the Yugoslav intervention. This intervention and Koçi Xoxe's Trotskyite activity caused the organizational line of the Party in the post-war period to take a generally incorrect course.

The principal decisions of the 2nd Plenum and all the decisions of the 8th Plenum were described as anti-Marxist, harmful and, as such, were denounced and invalidated.

The plenary session discussed in detail the relations of the Party and the Albanian State with the Yugoslav Party and State. It condemned severely the national-chauvinist and colonialist intentions of the Yugoslav revisionists towards the PR of Albania. On the other hand, the Central Committee made self-criticism for the excessive trust it had placed in the leadership of the CPY.

The plenary session regarded as incorrect that the Party remained in a semi-illegal state even after it had become the leading party in power. The fact that the Party program was hidden under the program of the Democratic Front, that Party members preserved the secrecy of their membership, and that the directions of the CPA were published as decisions of the Front, were all considered as serious errors. These forms borrowed from the CPY, weakened the leading role of the Party in the entire life of the country and led towards its elimination.

The lack of a Party constitution, which had allowed the arbitrary introduction into the

Party of the anti-Marxist forms and methods of the Yugoslav leadership, was regarded as harmful and therefore the need for the preparation of this fundamental document was stressed.

The plenum charged Koçi Xoxe with grave responsibility for the unreserved support he had given the Titoites and for the distortions in the organizational line of the Party. Holding simultaneously the functions of organizational Secretary of the Party and Minister of Internal Affairs, Koçi Xoxe employed his position to put the Party under the control of the State Security organs, to apply police methods in the Party. This had brought about the serious violation of democratic centralization and the stifling of principled criticism and self-criticism. The leading organs of the Party were not elected, but appointed from above. They did not regularly render account to the masses of communists. The membership lacked control over the leading organs. In many cases, the rights of Party members were trodden underfoot. Discipline was mechanical rather than conscious. The collective spirit in the Party leadership had been replaced with individual order and instructions.

There were serious shortcomings and errors in the practice of the cadres. Sectarianism, local attachment and personal friendship predominated. The cadres were not appreciated as the Party's invaluable treasure. The work to educate and raise their capacity was almost entirely

neglected. All the old and capable cadres of authority had been gathered in the center, whereas the local Party and State organs had been greatly weakened.

This grave situation within the Party had left pronounced traces throughout the entire life of the country. As Minister of Internal Affairs, Koçi Xoxe had allowed serious violations of socialist legality and of the democratic rights of the workers. The organs of internal affairs, especially of the State Security, were turned into all powerful organs, which were not subject to any control. Through their arbitrary and harmful actions, these organs were becoming separated from the people.

In various cases, erroneous political attitudes had been maintained by the Party and organs of State Power toward the patriotic petty-bourgeoisie and intellectuals. Drastic economic measures against small merchants which led to their premature elimination, had been taken through administrative acts. Patriots from the ranks of the middle strata of cities and villages, who had fought for the liberation under the leadership of the Party had been unjustly declared enemies. On account of the inimical activities of individual intellectual elements a broad circle of intellectuals had been arbitrarily persecuted.

All these were errors fraught with very serious repercussions which created a feeling of insecurity among the masses of the people and were weakening the bonds of the Party

with the masses and with the Democratic Front.

The 11th Plenum of the CC of the CPA put an end to all these distortions and mistakes in the political and organizational line of the Party.

It rehabilitated comrade Nako Spiru as a militant of the Party and took punitive measures against Koçi Xoxe, Pandi Kristo and several other participants of the factionist group. It was decided that all those who had been promoted to leading posts in the Party or State Power in the spirit of the 8th Plenary session should return to the positions they had occupied before. Whereas, all those who had been unjustly punished were rehabilitated and returned to their former posts. Those who had been expelled contrary to Party rules, were readmitted into its ranks.

The 11th Plenum reaffirmed its unshakable stand to continue to follow the policy of friendship and close fraternal collaboration with the Soviet Union and with the Bolshevik Party led by J. V. Stalin, which stood at the head of the socialist camp and of the entire workers' revolutionary democratic and anti-imperialist movement in the world. The Party stressed that it was a duty to study the experience of socialist construction in the Soviet Union and to apply it in a creative manner under the conditions of Albania.

The Party organizations were charged with

the task of carrying out large scale propaganda work in order to make it clear to the working masses that the chief enemies of the PRA and of all humanity were the U.S. and British imperialists, to explain to them the treachery of the Yugoslav revisionist leadership, headed by Tito, to Marxism-Leninism and the socialist camp, as well as its hostile activity against the CPA and the PR of Albania.

In order to build socialism with success, the Party was charged with the task of mobilizing the masses for the fulfilment of the State plan, for strengthening the economy of the country and for raising the standard of living of workers, for strengthening the alliance of the working class with the poor peasantry and for eliminating the exploiting classes.

To enable the Party to accomplish its historic mission, it was indispensable that political and ideological training should be organized on a more solid basis

«...to master the fundamentals of Marxism-Leninism, to strengthen communist consciousness..., to learn the laws of economic and social development»<sup>1</sup>.

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1) The Resolution of the 11th Plenum of the CC of the CPA. Principal Documents of the PLA, Vol. I, p. 397.

The Political Bureau was charged with the task of

«organizing the scientific study of the reality of our country from a Marxist-Leninist standpoint in order to enlighten the Party better on the situation and development of the class struggle in our country, on the repositioning of the class forces and on the concrete conditions of the transition from capitalism to socialism»<sup>1</sup>.

The plenary session decided to recommence publishing «Zëri i Popullit» («People's Voice») organ of the CC of the Party.

In order to normalize the life of the CPA it was decided to legalize it at once, to call its 1st Congress and to apply Marxist-Leninist principles in organizational matters.

The 11th Plenum marked the beginning of a sharp turn in the life of the Party and in the destiny of the country. It reestablished the unity in leadership and immeasurably raised the authority of the Party. The decisions of the plenum which, for the first time, were published in the press, aroused and put in motion all the Party organizations, stimulated the initiative and the daring of communists and enhanced their belief in their own forces.

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1) The resolution of the 11th Plenum of the CC of the CPA. Principal Documents of the PLA. Vol. 1, p. 397.

The occasional mistakes and vascillations which became apparent as a natural sequel of the passage of the Party from a serious situation to a new situation of revolutionary upsurge, were averted by the intervention of the Central Committee.

During the discussion in the Party on the resolution of the 11th Plenum many facts and documents were disclosed, which threw new light on the inimical activity of the Yugoslav revisionists and which added to the culpability of Koçi Xoxe, Pandi Kristo and their close collaborators. On the other hand, in the self-criticism which Koçi Xoxe and Pandi Kristo made before the Party actives in Tirana and in Korça, instead of disclosing the real origin and causes of their errors and, in this manner, helping all the Party organizations to correct the shortcomings, they attempted to deceive the Party. This showed that they were not repentent for the course they had taken and for the great damage they had done to the cause of the Party and the Albanian people. In the light of new facts, their responsibility before the Party and of the people required another evaluation.

Various measures were taken to eliminate the influence of the Yugoslav revisionists on the socialist sector of economy and on the front of the class struggle. The old law on the taxes on agricultural economies, which supported the well-to-do peasants (the kulaks) and permitted their enrichment, was amended. The

new law assisted the poor peasantry and limited the growth of capitalist elements in the countryside. Other laws to regulate and step up the economic development of the countryside along socialist lines were enacted.

A new statute for the cooperative farms was drawn up eliminating the elements of capitalist cooperation borrowed from the Yugoslav revisionists, which were embodied in the old constitution. This new constitution abolished the system of distributing incomes on the basis of the amount of acreage and introduced remuneration on the basis of work done. The number of livestock and the area of personal plots of land of the cooperative members were limited. The concern of the State for the good organization and running of cooperative farms was augmented, thus putting an end to the erroneous view that the State organs should not interfere in directing the affairs of cooperative farms which are organizations of the masses.

At this time all the attention of the Party and the workers was concentrated on the preparations for the 1st Congress of the CPA. The creative work of the masses assumed a major impulse in order to greet the Congress with the economic plan fulfilled. The revolutionary enthusiasm which had gripped all the people greatly assisted the Party to its preparations for the Congress on a high level.