

Marxism- Leninism Teaches that the People are the Creators of History

Enver Hoxha

Introduction, A.Hamza & F.Ruda

“Marxism-Leninism Teaches that the People is the Creator of History“ was published in *Zëri i Popullit* (The Voice of the People), the official newspaper of the Labour Party of Albania¹ in *Nr. 90 (2359)* on the 14th of April 1956. It was published a day before the Tirana Conference of the Communist Party (15th-16th April 1956), which was a very important political development for the Labour Party of Albania. At that time, the country was still holding a very pro-Soviet position, however, trying to situate itself with regard to the Soviet Union after Tito's attempt to renormalize relations with the Soviet Union and Khrushchev's visit in Belgrade just a year before.

At this Conference, Enver Hoxha was nearly voted out, or more precisely, the Tirana Conference was about to vote out the Albanian Troika of Enver Hoxha- Mehmet Shehu²- Beqir Balluku.³ Balluku was presiding over the Conference, when the critiques of the Politburo reached its peak. When the situation was “electrified,” as Hoxha himself described it, Balluku called Hoxha, who was on holiday in the southern town of Vlora, and suggested to come back to Tirana immediately, as he was about to be voted out. Enver came back and delivered two speeches. In the first one (given on the 15th of April), he addressed the delegates in a very soft and moderate tone, trying to reconcile with his critics, whereas on the morning of the 16th his tone was much harsher and he denounced many delegates, who were then later executed. As he said in his opening speech: “I am here only because this conference is a little electrified”⁴ Most of the critiques towards Enver and the Party leadership concerned their “bourgeois way of life,” “developing the cult of personality,” etc.

Why is this piece important? First, Enver Hoxha was an arch-Stalinist. There were numerous statues of Stalin erected all over Albania;

1
Established in 1941, initially edited by Enver Hoxha himself.

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Mehmet Shehu was the Prime Minister of the Socialist People's Republic Albania (1954-1981), considered to be a hardliner within the Labour Party of Albania, when he according to the official statements, killed himself in 17 December 1981. It is believed that he killed himself in order to save his wife, Fiqirete, and his sons from being arrested. After his death, the Labour Party denounced him as a spy (of KGB, CIA and Yugoslavia) and a traitor of the country. His remains were found only in late 2001.

3
Beqir Balluku was the minister of Defence of Albania (1952-1974), a member of Politburo. In 1974 Enver Hoxha himself denounced him and he was arrested and later executed by a firing squad. It is interesting to note that he had an anti-Soviet and pro-Chinese position. Furthermore: during the Moscow Conference in 1957, the Soviets tried to organise a coup d'état in Albania, proposing Balluku to take Enver Hoxha's position while he was in Moscow. Being a hardliner, Balluku refused the offer and informed Hoxha, who immediately came back from Moscow. That was also Enver Hoxha's last trip out of Albania. Ismail Kadare's novel *Dimri i Vetmisë së Madhe* (*The Winter of Great Solitude*)

4
Hoxha 1973 p.202

one city was called Qyteti Stalin (City Stalin). His admiration for Stalin⁵ was genuine and he applied Stalin's policies with great rigour to Socialist Albania. After the Soviet-Albanian split (1961) and Albania's alliance with China, Khrushchev said that "Enver Hoxha of Albania conducted himself especially rapidly as an agent of Mao"⁶, referring to Enver's alliance with Mao's China.

Enver Hoxha was a life-long leader of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania. He was the First Secretary of the Communist Party of Albania and later of the Labour Party (renamed in 1948). During World War II he was the commander of the Partisan units in the Anti-Fascist National-Liberation Front. During his rule, he followed a Stalinist path. After the Sino-Albanian split in 1978, Enver Hoxha continued his policy of declaring the Socialist Albania as the only true Socialist country, thus defending it against Soviet and Chinese revisionism.⁷ He was described by Khrushchev as "a man of harsh and abrupt character, and when he talks about something that he doesn't like, his face starts to twitch all over, and he can barely keep from gnashing his teeth"⁸

The piece you are about to read, which is published for the first time in English, was written two months after Khrushchev's Secret Speech, and Enver is perhaps the only Stalinist in the Socialist Block to survive the post-Stalin's purges of the former hardliners. It is also an interesting piece because it shows an arch-Stalinist denouncing Stalin for a brief moment, only to later return to Stalinist policies. Compare on this for instance his position apropos kulaks, or dealing with internal enemies, etc.

Khrushchev described the Albanian Troika Hoxha-Shehu-Balluku, who were at the centre of attacks in the Tirana Conference, as the Albanian beasts, or rather that "the Albanians are worse than beasts." They operated in the same way as Stalin and Beria did: Hoxha and Shehu decided on who was going to be murdered and the executions were carried out by Balluku.

If someone was to be punished, and that was decided by Hoxha, Shehu and Balluku, they handed down the sentence as a threesome. It was sufficient for the three of them to agree that a person was harmful, and then they would find some means to eliminate him secretly. This person would soon disappear. All this was very similar to the system

5 This can be seen also in Hoxha 1981

6 Khrushchev 2007, p.500

7 For example, see the letter of the CC of the Party of Labour of Albania to the CC of the Communist Party of China 1978

8 Khrushchev 2007, p. 513

Stalin had introduced. He operated the same way through Beria and others like Beria. Thus, many good and worthy people were destroyed by Stalin. The same kind of situation took shape in Albania. This was the result of their fear of the democratization of the country, fear of democratization in public and party life. But in my view that path is inevitable. That's what the split between us was really about. How did this split develop? Through what stages did it pass? First, we found out that the Albanians were holding talks with the Chinese that were aimed against the CPSU and other fraternal parties. Before that we had no other information [that is, no indication of an imminent split with the Albanians].⁹

Another long passage from Khrushchev's Memoirs, which refers to the Twentieth Congress of the CPSU and the de-Stalinisation, but is worth quoting here:

There was stormy discussion of all these questions at party meetings in the countries of Eastern Europe. However, in Albania things took a peculiar turn. People in our embassy staff in Tirana told me back then that at a party meeting in Tirana great passions were stirred up. The meeting was extended over a period of several days, and Enver Hoxha was literally hanging by a thread. He was criticized sharply, and the question was raised of replacing Hoxha, Shehu, and Beqir Balluku the entire ruling threesome. I don't remember who else was subjected to criticism from among the leading party cadres at that party meeting in Tirana. I am calling attention to this fact because it evidently had decisive significance in the subsequent development of relations between the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the Albanian Party of Labor and between our governments. In spite of everything, Hoxha resurfaced; he wasn't swept away. He and Shehu and Balluku remained in the leadership. But this episode filled them with mortal fear. Of course they were terribly shaken. They had thought of themselves as the big chiefs, the infallible authorities. How did people dare raise their voices at that party meeting and challenge their authority? Not only was their leading position shaken; they just barely managed to avoid being removed from their leadership posts.¹⁰

We are not publishing this piece to endorse Enver Hoxha in any way. Nor relativize his socialist experiment with which we do not share any form of solidarity or sympathy. We are publishing this piece for the following reasons:

9 Ibid., p.520

10 Ibid.519

It is an interesting and instructive 'document', the real nature of Hoxha's regime is displayed.

Hoxha is a completely under-analysed figure of the socialists experiments of the previous century. While we all love to dismiss him, most of us do *not* know why we do love to hate him (or not even that). Furthermore, just mentioning the name of Enver Hoxha will most likely cause an outburst of reactions, as was the case with the Labour leader Jeremy Corbyn in December 2015¹¹

The central question thus is: how did Enver Hoxha remain a Stalinist after Khrushchev's report? Was that maybe structurally comparable to, say in the last instance, remaining a romantic composer after Schoenberg? In order to fully answer this question a long and detailed study would be required. We will refrain from doing so here, yet propose the following thesis: Enver Hoxha's critique of Stalin was only a tactical move against the anti-Stalinist current during the Khrushchev's era. This text should be read as the ultimate tactical flexibility from Enver's side. The Albanian split with the Soviet Union was based on Hoxha's genuine conviction that Khrushchev's Soviet Union became a revisionist country. This piece of Hoxha should not be so much read as his attempt to remain in power (as liberal revisionism would have it), but rather it should be understood as an attempt to keep the Stalinist current alive in the Socialist Albania.

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11 See, Corbyn 2015

Jeremy Corbyn Quotes Enver Hoxha at Labour Party Christmas Party, available online at <http://www.newstatesman.com/politics/staggers/2015/12/jeremy-corbyn-quotes-enver-hoxha-labour-party-christmas-party>

Marxism-Leninism teaches that the people is the creator of history, by Enver Hoxha

The Twentieth Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, titled, *Making the balance of victories of socialism in the Soviet Union and in global scale, and of the report of new forces in the development of today's international situation*, took important decisions for the future of socialism and the fate of humanity. Key issues were discussed about the peaceful coexistence of the both systems, the possibility of stopping war in the present time and forms of transition to Socialism in various countries which were analyzed in the spirit of creative Marxism and have opened major prospects for the future. Indeed, is there anything greater today than to liberate the conscience of men from the fear of a new war as well as showing that there are possibilities for stopping wars and which are the ways to achieve these goal?

The Twentieth Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union has given a correct answer to many other issues on the victory of socialism and communism. In depth analysis of the historical experiences and development of the dictatorship of the Proletariat, as well as firm criticism of the cult of personality, the damages derived from it and the violation of Leninist principles on the party have proven the vitality and strength of creative Marxism, that inspired, in all its works of the Twentieth Congress of Communist Party of the Soviet Union

The issue of the decisive role of the People as the creator of history and condemnation of the cult of personality has great theoretical and practical importance, both for the Soviet Union, as well as for all People's democratic countries which build Socialism and for the entire labor movement and Communist parties of the world.

Marxism-Leninism, through a discovering of the laws of social development, scientifically argues that those people who are the manufacturers of the goods are also the creator of spiritual values and this is a crucial driving force of radical changes in society. The development of human history proves this clearly. Understandably, therefore, the establishment of the role of prominent individuals above the masses it is alien to Marxism-Leninism because it is contrary to the life itself, reduces the role of the Party and of the masses, and creates conditions for serious mistakes that damage the Party and the masses.

Communist Party of the Soviet Union rightly condemned the cult

of personality created for J.V. Stalin in the last years of his life activity and which brought such damage to the Soviet Union. J.V. Stalin played a crucial role, as did his close friend V.I. Lenin, in the preparation and the victory of the Socialist Revolution and in the years after his death when together with the other members of the Central Committee, Leninism was defended and the brilliant victories of the Soviet Union were reached.

Marxism-Leninism does not deny the role of individuals in history as long as they understand the needs of society and their activities facilitate solving the problems of its march forward. But when prominent individuals put themselves above the masses and begin to escape from them, they then create the conditions for serious mistakes that damage the masses.

It should be said that J.V. Stalin after the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the Soviet people reached great victories, which led to the triumph of socialism, began to put himself above the Party and the People, when leaving the masses was a mistake that was costly to the Soviet people and to the question of Socialism.

In the condemnation that the 20th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union did to the cult of personality as well as, in the open and brave criticism that it made to its this damages, the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and all communist and workers parties of all countries draw conclusions of great practical importance.

The Central Committee of our Party and the entire Party has approved the decisions of 20th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union as very fair and important for both the development of the Soviet Union toward communism, for the victory of socialism in the people's democracy countries and in other countries, as well as for the fate of humanity. For our Party and our country, these are a great help.

A plenum of the Central Committee of our Party in July 1954 analyzed the issue of the fight against cult of personality that brings damage to the Party, because this weakens the confidence of the masses in their creative forces, reduces the role of the Party and its leadership of the he Central Committee. The Central Committee and the entire Party must do even more in practice to strengthen collegial leadership. The development of the cult of personality has deep roots and in our country's conditions there are several factors that feed it, like the existence of a lot of waste of feudalism and patriarchy as well as the low ideological level of the cadres and of the Party, so, the tendency to for some particular person to have extraordinary power can easily appear. It is a permanent task of the Party to fight against the cult of personality in any form that it is displayed and to implement the collegiality as a lodestar of the Party.

Our Party of Labor has taken measures to raise the Party's leading role in the whole life of the country and to further strengthen its ties with the People. During its lifespan of 15 years, and while always staying

loyal to Marxism-Leninism, knowing deep conditions for developing of our society as well as the wishes and interests of our people, The Party is closely connected with masses which has led them in the National-Liberation War and in the struggle for the victory of Socialism. Implementation of Leninist principles in the work of the Party, the precise observance of the Statute that will be approved by the Third Congress of APL, the collegial leadership of the Central Committee, whose common experiences ensures the proper processing of its line and the right decision making, as well as development of criticism and self-criticism, are all necessary measures to establish the leading role of the Party and strengthen its links with the masses.

We must eliminate everything that weakens the internal Party Democracy and affects the rights of its members, which in turn create fear to criticize and to express opinions openly. Now, during the elections in some Party organizations it has been observed that some friends who have responsibility in enterprises or departments and who have been no criticism against them, have not received votes from many Communists. It makes one think that those in these organizations are reluctant to become openly critical, fearing that criticism would have consequences for the Party member. Perhaps in these sectors there have been similar cases, and someone has suffered when he has openly been criticized. The Party Central Committee has examined and will carefully examine every such an ugly case. But it is important for every Party member to understand that we can't have fear; for every party member it is necessary to express their opinion in the Party and to criticize hardly the shortcomings and also those who are responsible for these shortcomings. The Central Committee realized that some base-organizations and Party committees in districts and regions do not examine at any time the Communists' issues with passion. But our Party must strongly condemn all those who, in the guise of criticism, slander and denigrate the honest People devoted to the Party and to the People. The violation of Leninist principles of the Party and the establishment of commanding methods in the Party leads to the killing of Communist initiative and of Party organizations, through putting some leaders above the Party weakens the leading role of the Party in the masses.

It should be said that some people in the enterprise, villages or departments, who are trying different forms to escape the control of the Party and who are reaching this goal, do an injustice to the workers, peasants and other employees, as they are being more arbitrary and are able to make false accusations against those who they do not like, thus creating a kind fear among the masses and averting them from the wider participation in the country's life. Often it happens that these kinds of actions, which have nothing in common with the Party line, damage it, which is masked by the pretext of the classes struggle and t such errors as to qualify as a kulak, even a middle peasant depriving him of Front's

stamps, calling him an enemy, etc. It is clear that such actions do not match at all with the class struggle, on the contrary, its' arbitrariness goes up in violation of the rights of citizens.

Regarding the class struggle, of course, we are not allowed to weaken vigilance. But we will not sever it, so we are not going even to stimulate it artificially. The Central Committee of the Party, especially lately, in the district conferences explained that the severity of class struggle at the time of the construction of Socialism is not right. Life itself proves that day to day, Socialism forces are increasing while the economic basis and political influence of the overthrown classes are weakened, while they are not capable to develop their struggle towards increasingly more severe forms. This of course does not mean at all that the class struggle will be extinguished and that the overthrown classes voluntarily give up their fight against Socialism, as far as Socialism is strengthened, the more they are weakened. Undoubtedly, they alter the forms of the war, but this war is not now as fierce as it was in the early years after liberation. When the overthrown classes had a better economic basis they still had political influence and had all the help of the foreign reaction. The truth is during the process of development of this war, our country also made mistakes which included liquidating economically a number of Kulaks in villages. Some have resulted in prison sentences with swollen charges, especially in the period up to the First Congress of our Party, in November 1948. when the Party condemned the attempts to put the State Security upon Party, to establish the police methods in the Party and to violate the citizen's rights by committing arbitrariness, persecution and punishment without reason. It is clear that, despite the shift that was made, this question was not totally solved and it's still remains unsolved in this respect. The Security came under the control of the Party, but this aspect the Party must be more active in educating the sector's employees. Democracy was restored in the Party, but it still needs to be strengthened because in many cases it has been violated. And especially there is still arbitrariness against some citizens, who previously had no better attitude toward the People's war. The Central Committee of the Party has taken measures and the entire Party must fight to eradicate any such injustice that has been made and could be made because it undermines the Party, not only because is not human and promotes artificially the class struggle, but also because it denies them the opportunity to reflect and to be linked with the power, as well as this, it can exercise bad influences within some vacillating people, which then will compromise their large participation in all matters and as the Party required. It's a fact that the unjust attitudes, e.g. sectarian attitudes in the Democratic Front, are inappropriate unmaskings which have been made to some people and are not understood always from the masses. We must liquidate all this as soon as possible and move forward towards further democratization of our lives, of our People's Democracy.

Further democratization of life in our country is a task that Party raises by force. Popular power has provided broad democracy for the masses. In fact, our country provides a broad participation from the masses in governing the state, which is achieved by providing the citizen's rights from the Constitution of the Republic as well as their protection by thousands of people who participate in the elected institutions of the power, etc. Our People's power creates all conditions for the development of democracy for the masses of working people. For employees, our democracy is complete because people's power is the power of the working masses. Our people's power exercises the functions of the dictatorship of the Proletariat against those who resist and would like to undo the victories that the People achieved owing to the fight of its employees and under the leadership of the Party, for the liberation of the country and the construction of Socialism. Both the Party condemn and will condemn more and more every action that violates our popular Democracy. Traditions of Democracy, even if formal, did not exist in our country because the oppressive regimes of the past have not allowed such a thing, much less for the people, but over the years after the liberation the Party has developed a great work on raising the political consciousness of the masses and making possible for them to participate extensively in power, leading the fate of the country. The Party has a duty to remove all workers' obstacles in the development of Democracy, so it needs to fight against the violations of laws, against illegal actions of some power's people, as well as against the favours and privileges.

Of great importance for the Party and our country are the decisions of the Twentieth Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union because in general they help for the increase of the activity of masses at a higher level. In the period of the construction of Socialism which our country is going through now which is the period of the overall growth of economy; the people's culture as it is predicted by the guidelines of the second five years plan; of major socialist transformations in the countryside and in the overall life of the country, has required a wide participation of the masses of the people who raise their political consciousness and their activity in all fields of life is vital. We learn from the Marxism-Leninism that in revolutionary periods arises to much the role of the masses. V.I. Lenin wrote that, "Nevermore masses of the people are not able to act as an active creator of a new social order, as in time of the revolution. In these times the people can do wonders..." Moreover, deeper the changes they want to make happen, broader participation of the masses in the implementation of these changes must be.

If we take a look at the period of the National Liberation War of our people, we will see that, as never before, during this period arose the activity of the broad masses of the people and as never before arose the political consciousness of the masses that under the leadership of the

Party extensively participated in the Revolutionary War that led to the liberation of the country, to the establishment of people's power and the construction of Socialism.

If we look today at this issue, in the struggle for the construction of Socialism, the distinguishing characteristic is the overall raise of consciousness and political activity of the broad masses of the people for the development of economy and culture, for all profound social transformations that are happening in our country. It is clear that without the participation of the broad masses, our economy and People's culture would not have reached the point where they have presently are. The historical experience of the Soviet Union and the people's Democracy countries shows that Socialism increases the activity of the masses because employees enjoy full freedom and take all the fruits of their work, and therefore more initiative increase, the creative abilities of the masses increase, wonderful talents emerge, and inexhaustible energies are found where they were previously crushed. Through all of these, we understand that a major task for the Party emerges - the removal of everything that prevents the increase of the masses' activity, through expanding its educational work in order to raise awareness of the measures and increase their activity.

We find ourselves before the Third Congress of the Party of Labor of Albania, where will also be approved directives of the second five-year plan. The draft guidelines predict that in 1960 industrial production will grow 91 per cent compared with 1955, that we will produce the entire bread of the country, that the real wages of workers will increase about 23 per cent and revenue of peasants will grow around 38 per cent. These are great tasks, the realization of which should increase even more the activity of the masses. It is clear that without even wider participation of the masses these tasks cannot be performed successfully. Therefore, the decisions of the Twentieth Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union give us a very great help to take the necessary measures to increase a higher level of creative activity from the people. Given that we are near the Third Congress of the Party, the Central Committee is specifically elaborating very important problems that will be submitted to Congress on all these issues. The broad creative discussions are going to make the Party and the masses regarding the project of the Party's Statute and the guidelines' project of the Third Congress for the second five-year plan will give a great help to the Third Congress of the Party to make fair decisions in order to further advance our country on the road of Socialism victories.

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