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ENVER HOKHA

TWENTY YEARS  
OF NEW SOCIALIST  
ALBANIA

TIRANE, 1964

**ENVER HOXHA**

**First Secretary of the CC of the Party  
of Labor of Albania**

**TWENTY YEARS  
OF NEW SOCIALIST  
ALBANIA**

**(Speech delivered at the solemn meeting dedicated  
to the 20th Anniversary of the Liberation of  
Albania)**

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Dear Comrades, Sisters and Brothers!

Dear Friends!

Today all our people throughout the country and all patriotic fellow-citizens, wherever they may be in the world, congratulate themselves with indescribable joy; they celebrate the greatest commemorative jubilee in the glorious age-long history of Albania, the 20th anniversary of the liberation of our Fatherland and of the establishment of our people's democracy.

Allow me that, in the name of the Central Committee of the Party, of the Presidium of the People's Assembly, of the Council of Ministers and of the General Council of the Democratic Front of Albania, to express to you all our heartiest greetings and good wishes: congratulation for the great November festivities! Long live new socialist Albania, now 20-years old! **(Stormy applause. Ovations.)**

Innumerable comrades and friends the world over, fellow fighters for the great cause of peace, freedom, democracy and socialism are taking part whole-heartedly in this great rejoicing of our people.

Allow me to express in your name, in the name of our people and our Party, our deepest and unbounded gratitude to all true friends of new Albania for their sincere love, their fraternal support and solidarity towards our people and our Party of Labor. Their friendship and solidarity have been, are and will always be dear to us, for they are significant factors and component parts of all the achievements of our people; they are a great encouragement for us to continue ever more firmly our just struggle for the prosperity of our new Albania, for the complete construction of socialism, for the triumph of the noble cause of Marxism-Leninism.

At these solemn moments, let us, who live happily in our socialist, free and independent country, recall with respect and deepest sentiments of eternal gratitude all those who made the supreme sacrifice, by shedding their blood and devoting all their lives in order to secure for our dear Albania the 28th November 1912, the 29th November 1944 and the prosperity of these last twenty years: let us rise in memory of the veteran patriots and brave fighters of the period of National Revival, the revolutionary democrats, the glorious martyrs of the National Liberation War, the heroes who fell in the cause of socialist construction. **(All the audience stand and honour in silence their memory).**

**The 29th of November 1944 raised our people on the  
pedestal of the omnipotent masters  
of their own destiny**

Dear Comrades!

November 29, 1944 has entered in the golden heritage of our country's history as an event of unparalleled political significance, which gave our people their freedom and popular rule, the People's Republic of Albania, as a state of the dictatorship of the proletariat and paved the way of progress to socialism and communism. This crowned all the superhuman and ceaseless strife and struggles of the Albanian people which have their beginnings in the depth of centuries, strife and struggles of arms and of the pen, with blood, sweat and countless sacrifices against various enemies, who intended to wipe them off the face of the earth, struggles for existence, for freedom, bread, light and abundance.

Fifty two years ago, on November 28, 1912, our people scored an historic victory, they cast off the Ottoman yoke and proclaimed independence. This act was of major importance, for it was the first time Albania emerged in the world as a sovereign independent country. But this major victory of our people was exploited for the benefit of internal foes and satrap Zog and eventually in 1939, was robbed by the fascist invaders. On November 29, 1944, our people won their true freedom, sovereignty and independence. (Applauses)

In our history November 29 marks the borderline between two worlds, that in which our people had always been trampled upon by «the powerful» and in which they enjoyed no rights at all, and that in which they arose all-powerful masters of their own destiny. Our working masses, guided by the Party, sanctioned this major historical fact on January 11, 1946, shutting the door forever to the anti-popular regimes and solemnly proclaiming before all the world the new regime, the People's Republic, in which all power emanates from the people and belongs to the people.

Meanwhile our working masses with the most revolutionary and best organized class, our heroic working class, at the helm, guided by a Marxist-Leninist Party, the Albanian Communist Party (now the Party of Labor of Albania) did not stop halfway, but carried the achievements of November 29, 1944 and January 11, 1946 further, developing uninterruptedly the revolution towards socialism. Thus, November 29 opened for our people the epoch of the struggle for a society in which exploitation of man by man would not exist, the epoch of the struggle for socialism and communism.

On November 29, 1944 the whole world learned of the rebirth of the sovereign Albanian state, but of its rebirth on a new basis - as a state of a new type economically, politically and militarily independent of imperialism and unyielding to its plundering and oppressive designs, as a state which became a worthy

member of the camp of democracy and socialism,

Such is the historical significance of the victory of November 29, 1944. To achieve this victory our people had to wage their heroic National Liberation War; to accomplish a legendary epic, which will remain unforgotten for centuries.

The Albanian Communist Party which inspired, organized and guided the War for National Liberation, was founded under the critical conditions of fascist terror, at one of the most critical moments of the Albanian people's history, sprang up on the basis of the solid principles of Marxism-Leninism and inherited the best traditions and virtues of our people.

On the basis of a deep, creative Marxist-Leninist analysis of the situation of the country following fascist occupation and of the international situation, the Albanian Communist Party worked out a clear program of warfare and action, which included the uncompromising armed struggle against the fascist invaders and local traitors for the complete liberation of the Homeland, the overthrow and break up of the reactionary anti-popular regime of the invaders and exploiting classes, the establishment of a genuine democratic popular regime in Albania and the realization of major economic and social reforms. Right at the start of its existence the Party called on the people to embark on the struggle to put this revolutionary program into effect.

The party never made a secret to the people



of the great hardships and the countless sacrifices which the war demanded. The people and the Party confronted the forces of Italian and German fascists armed to the teeth, who had become masters of Europe, as well as of the forces of the traitors within the country, organized in the National Front and Legality, who strove to defeat the liberation movement by force and by fraud. As far back as the war days a real danger hovered over our people from the English and American allies of that time as well as from the Titoites, who tried their uttermost to wrest the victory from the people and to submit our country to a new occupation.

. Our people took up arms against all these enemies in order to carry out the program of the Party. And they rose up in arms despite the fact that they were wearied by oppression and exploitation, hungry and barefooted, with a few rifles and bullets wrested from the enemy. But, in time our mountains began to roar, Albanians rose up as a body. The enemies used terror, tortures, deportations, jails, firing-squads and the scaffold. They embarked like madmen on a series of military operations, burned and devastated the country. Our people offered 28 thousand martyrs to the cause of liberation and of the war against fascism. Our country, relative to its size and population, occupies one of the first places in the world in respect to the losses in men and material during the Second World War. But nothing could stop them on their glorious path. (Applauses).

It was in this gigantic war and under the leadership of the Party that the alliance was realized between the working class, the heroic peasantry and all the patriotic and progressive elements who joined in the Anti-fascist National Liberation Front. It was at war and under the guidance of the Party, that this new revolutionary partisan army sprang up from the ranks of the people, grew and was trained to become an invincible striking force, always loyal to the vital interests of the people. It was in the heat of battle and under the leadership of the Communist Party that the anti-popular rule of the invaders and of the traitors was uprooted and the national liberation councils were set up throughout the country on the ruins of the old order as organs of the National Liberation War and as a nucleus of the people's rule itself.

While fighting against invaders and traitors for the liberation of the country, the Albanian Communist Party never lost sight of the problem of the state power as a basic problem of the revolution, nor did it allow the exploiting classes, collaborators of the foreign invaders, to rob the people of their victory and to take over the reins of state without having fired a single shot for it. The Party succeeded in drawing the line between true allies and enemies of the revolutionary war. It was with Marxist-Leninist determination and courage that the Party liquidated the treacherous compromise at Muke, the intrigues of the English and American missions with the occupying forces and

traitors to the country and the plots of the Mediterranean «Allied» forces to occupy Albania under the guise of their «aid». It linked in an inseparable way the National Liberation War of our people with the gigantic liberation war of the glorious Soviet Army, of all the Soviet people, against the fascist hordes which was the decisive external factor of the liberation of our country, too. Our lifelong friendship with the fraternal Soviet people, fostered by the Albanian Communist Party during our common struggle against fascism, inspired our people and endowed them with unshaken confidence in victory during the critical years of the war; it became the powerful international support of our reborn country after liberation. This militant internationalist friendship will live for ages. (Applauses)

The clear and firm Marxist-Leninist line of the Albanian Communist Party rescued the destiny of the working people and the future of our country. This line led not only to the liberation of the country from invaders and traitors, but also to the complete conquest of power by the working people under the leadership of the Communist Party which, in its turn, made possible the progress of the country along the brilliant path of socialism.

In the heat of battle of the National Liberation War our Party and our people did not only achieve a major victory, but were also steeled and won a rich historical experience. The correctness of Marxist-Leninist teachings was once again corroborated by the

example of our revolution which rejected the preachings of the modern revisionists, who strive to smother all liberation and revolutionary wars, by spreading illusions about imperialism and the bourgeoisie and recommending all sorts of false recipes as to the method of liberating the people.

Our experience shows above all that freedom is not granted; one must not wait for it to be offered as a gift by the imperialists, these sworn enemies of the freedom and independence of the people, that no illusions of any kind should be nurtured towards imperialism and no credit should ever be lent to its demagoguery and fine pledges. National liberation and social emancipation are the work of the people of every country themselves, of the broad working masses and are achieved by their determined strife and struggle.

This experience goes to show that in order to carry out the popular revolution and consolidate its achievements it is indispensable to set up a political army, the union of all patriotic, democratic and revolutionary forces of the people based on the alliance of the working class with the peasantry, as its nucleus. This union was realized among us in the Anti-fascist National Liberation Front under the leadership of the Communist Party.

The experience of our National Liberation War and the subsequent development of the country after liberation point also very clearly to the indispensability of setting up a strong revolutionary popular

army, boundlessly loyal to the vital interests of the people and of the country, capable of liberating the country and of protecting it from any attempt by the imperialists and reactionary forces to conquer it.

The experience of our people's revolution further shows that a necessary condition for the people to win and embark on the road to socialism is to smash the entire state system of the exploiters and to set up an entirely new regime, from the base to the center emanating from the ranks of the people themselves, closely bound to and supervised by them, a form which was also represented by our National liberation councils among us. The preachings of the modern revisionists that transition to socialism can allegedly be effected without smashing the bourgeois state apparatus and through its assistance is nothing but a major mystification and treason.

It finally shows that the struggle for the triumph of the revolution, for the establishment of people's rule and for the building of socialism, can be crowned with success, if the people are guided by a revolutionary Party, which relies on and carries out faithfully the victorious teachings of Marxism-Leninism: **(Applauses)**

**The struggle to build Socialism — another  
heroic epic of our people**

Dear Comrades!

The 20th anniversary of liberation finds our Homeland, Albania, a free independent socialist

country, with a well-developed industrial basis, with a large-scale socialist agriculture, with an advanced culture and raised standard of living, with a sound social order, made up of friendly working classes, united by unbreakable moral and political bonds, with a stronger international position than ever before.

Only two decades have passed by since November 29, 1944, but the present aspect of new Albania, which differs as the day full of sunshine from the gloomy and bitter night of the past, reveals most clearly the immense significance of the turn recorded on that historic day, gives proof of the vitality of the socialist order and of the magnitude of the invincible force and work of our people and of our Party.

Alas! What hardships our people have had to endure in the days gone by! Hordes of barbarians ranging from those of the Romans and Byzantians, of Slavs and Ottomans, of chauvinist neighbors and various imperialist powers, to those of Italian and German fascists have come with torches in hand, have overrun and devastated our country, have murdered and massacred our people. Added to these sufferings and misfortunes have been the oppressions and ruthless exploitation by the local feudal chiefs and landholders, by the bourgeoisie and traitors sold to the foreigners, who have fleeced and sucked the blood of our broad working masses.

Let alone anything else even dry bread, corn became a «legend» as Migjeni used to say, in our

country. The Albanian never saw a happy day in his life: the worker broke his back toiling and sweating for 10, 14 and even 18 hours a day, failing even to secure the meager means of existence, the peasant although toiling night and day besmeared with mud, saw his children die from malaria and famine, the mountaineer could hardly stand on his feet on cliffs where «hens lived on pebbles», the few intellectuals wandered here and there with shattered dreams. Feudal and bourgeois economic and social relations prevailed in Albania. The development of the productive forces and of the relations of production was hampered in every way both by the ruling classes as well as by foreign monopolists, who used our Homeland as a market and source of raw materials. Our country had more centers of obscurantism like churches, mosques, monasteries, shrines and such-like than it had schools and hospitals. Under the rule of Zog and fascists the life of a man fighting for his rights was worth no more than a bullet or a yard of rope. Blood feuds, fostered by the ruling cliques, created havoc with and turned hundreds of homes a year into deserted places. The average life span of men was not more than 38 years.

Into such a plight had the hateful regimes of the past and the foreign enemies plunged our people and our dear Fatherland. It was in such conditions that we started our onward march towards socialism.

The way travelled by our people and our Party to build socialism has by no means been strewn with

flowers. It has been a hard, but a praiseworthy one, demanding all of our talents, all of our determination and courage, all the efforts and persistence of our people and of our Party of Labor.

Other obstacles and immense hardships created by the devastations of the war, were added to the lamentable backwardness inherited from the past. Albania was razed to the ground, the country was threatened with famine and afflicted with disease, it was also menaced by its ruthless imperialist and chauvinist enemies.

All those who have lived through the early years after liberation remember, but the youth of our days should never forget, that it was under such hard conditions that our heroic people, old and young, responded in a body to the call of their Communist Party, adopted the fiery revolutionary slogan «Build socialism by holding the pick in one hand and the rifle in the other», and marched ahead with indescribable enthusiasm and selfsacrifice (**Applauses**). You remember, Comrades, how our working masses and heroic youth tightened their belts and swarmed to the brigades of volunteer workers, and starting from nothing, set up bridges and factories, built highways and railroads, schools and hospitals, drained lagoons and swamps, attended courses against illiteracy and schools, mastered science and technology, management of production and the art of running the state, carried out the revolutionary transformations of the people's regime. A major and



complicated war was waged against the perilous wave of petty bourgeois spontaneity, against old relics that weighed heavy on the conscience of working people, particularly of the peasant masses, in order to actively draw them to the ways of socialism. Like the National Liberation War, this has been another heroic epic which will be remembered for all time in the history of our people.

The whole of this road was travelled under conditions of a bitter class struggle, under the frantic assaults and plots of internal and foreign foes. Backed by the people, our Party and our Government, crushed decisively the repeated aggressive designs and provocations of the English and American imperialists, of the groups of spies and saboteurs, of the various opportunists who strove to lead the country towards bourgeois development and under the control of foreign capital, of the plots of the Titoites and of Koçi Xoxe and company to subjugate our Party and to turn Albania into a 7th republic of Yugoslavia, of the provocations of the Greek fascist monarchists in August 1949, of the countless saboteurs thrown into our country by sea, land and air. **(Applauses).**

Once the deep economic and social changes had been effected, once our country had been reconstructed, our people set to work on a wide front to build socialism as set forth in the program worked out by the Party.

When we recall the past and compare it with