TWENTY FIVE YEARS
OF STRUGGLES AND VICTORIES
ON THE ROAD TO SOCIALISM
ENVER HOXHA

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AND VICTORY ON THE ROAD
TO SOCIALISM

Speech delivered at the solemn meeting dedicated to
the 25th anniversary of the liberation of the country
and the victory of the people's revolution

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ENVER HOXHA
Dear Comrades,
Brothers and Sisters,
Dear Friends,

Today, all our people, young and old, are celebrating with great joy and grandeur the glorious jubilee — the 25th anniversary of the liberation of the country from the fascist occupationists and of the establishment of the people’s power in Albania. Jointly with us, this great festival is being celebrated also by the patriotic Albanians abroad, as well as by all the comrades-in-arms of the Albanian people, by the many friends of new Albania.

Allow me on this great festive day to bring to you, as well as to all our patriotic Albanian brothers wherever they are living, greetings and best wishes, to thank all the real friends of socialist Albania for their love, support to and fraternal solidarity with our country, on behalf 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.

Allow me likewise to warmly greet from this rostrum our glorious working class, the steel-like pillar of the dictatorship of the proletariat and the builders of socialism in Albania, the laboring and patriotic peasantry, our people's intelligentsia, our heroic youth and our wonderful mothers and sisters for their gigantic work, their self-denial and countless sacrifices, for the magnificent contribution they have rendered to the building of socialism. I wish you, comrades, a joyous festival and much happiness in new Albania which you have built with your blood and sweat. Honor, prosperity and glory to our dear socialist Homeland!

At these moments of special joy and cheerfulness, when we are celebrating, free, independent and sovereign, the glorious jubilee of liberation, we remember and honor with the deepest respect all the heroic men and women partisans who shed their blood for these happy days which we are living today, all those who, in the glorious National-liberation War and in the work for building socialism, laid down their lives to cement the firm foundations of new socialist Albania. To them belongs the deep and everlasting gratitude of the entire Albanian people!

The roots of our people have been nurtured in this soil through the ages, but
it is only in these 25 years of their free socialist existence and of people's power that they have ever known happy days.

In 1912, fifty-seven years ago, the patriotic Albanian people scored a great victory, the proclamation of their independence which crowned their protracted struggles through the centuries against the occupationists. For the first time since the days of Skanderbeg, Albania emerged in the international arena as an independent and sovereign state. We recall today, with honor and respect, the heroic struggle of the patriots of the period of our national revival, their spirit of self-denial and their infinite love of country.

But the bourgeoisie and the feudals who came to power went only half way and betrayed the brilliant cause of the patriots of the period of our national revival. Albania remained in a state of poverty and ignorance and was sold off to the foreigners.

The National-liberation War, the people's Revolution, along with the expulsion and the overthrowing of the exploiting classes, realized the beautiful dream of the great patriots of Albania; they made Albania really free and independent; they embarked her on the road to progress and well-being.

The National-liberation War was a real people's war which was waged by the people and in the interest of the people. It ended with our victory over the external and internal
enemies, because, from the ranks of the people and at the decisive moment, when their existence and their future were at stake, there came into being the Communist Party of Albania, the revolutionary vanguard of the working class, the reliable and wise leader of all the working masses. The creation of the Party and its emergence at the head of the people in revolt and of their liberation struggle, marked a radical turning-point in the historic destiny of Albania. The Party gave the people a clear programme of action and showed them the only correct way to put it into practice.

It was under the leadership of the Party, and in the legendary clash with the most savage enemies of mankind — the Italian fascists and the German nazis that the bravery and heroism of the Albanian people, their indomitable freedom-loving spirit, their great hatred of the oppressors and enslavers, their courage and determination to fight the enemies and win, defying all sacrifices, were manifested with a force multiplied ten times over, and were reaffirmed on a new basis.

Taking a bird's eye view of twenty five years of heroic work of our Party, we see more clearly the glory of the National-liberation War, and the historic significance of the triumph of our people's revolution. They laid the steel-like foundations of new socialist Albania, they opened the bright epoch of
socialism and communism to the Albanian people.

Glory to the men and women partisans, to the Albanian sons and daughters who, arms in hand, fought over mountain and plain, with unprecedented heroism, giving the people freedom, independence, power, and opening to them the road to socialism!

Our young socialist state, which grew from the barrel of the partizan gun slammed and locked the door forever to the imperialist wolves and the anti-popular regimes. The once long-suffering Albania, oppressed by the beys and agas, a semi-colonial country and a token taken to be traded among the great powers, is today a free socialist, independent and sovereign country, master of its own destinies and invincible.

The historic aim of the proletariat, of the working people, of their revolutionary representatives — the communists, is to overthrow in their own country any anti-popular oppressive order, to abolish any sort of exploitation of man by man, to build a new society in which the working people will enjoy all their rights and be masters of their own destinies, and where everything will be in the interest and in the service of the people. Our Party and our people come to this great jubilee, head erect and breast out, for they have carried out with honor this glorious historic mission.
The objective of proletarian revolutionaries is to do everything in their power for the triumph of the great cause of socialism, not only in their own country, but also throughout the world. Our Party and our people have always held firm and raised ever higher the banner of proletarian internationalism, the banner of unreserved support for the revolutionary and liberation struggle in other countries, the banner of inflexible struggle against imperialism and modern revisionism.

The twenty-five years that have elapsed since the day of liberation are a living testimony to the life-giving illumination of Marxism-Leninism, to the invincible strength of the socialist regime, they are a great affirmation of the correctness of the general line of our Party, of the steel-like political unity of the Albanian people, of their work and determination to always march courageously forward on the road opened to them by people's Revolution.

We are fully entitled to be proud of the successes achieved and of the battles won in all fields. Albania is no longer that backward country of the wooden plough and thatched roofed huts, of the pinetorch and kerosine lamp, of illiteracy and malaria. Today new socialist Albania is marching with giant strides and with an irresistible revolutionary vigor towards the complete building of socialist society. We have an industry equipped with
most modern machines, a developed socialist agriculture, a very advanced and complete educational system. The former country of poor shepherds, of exhausted peasants and of the savage vendetta, has become today a country of a developed culture and art whose content may be envied even by those who measure their civilization by centuries.

In their gigantic efforts, exerted all along from the beginning of the National-liberation War to this day, our people have had to shed much blood and much sweat, they have had to fight and work encircled by savage and wily enemies, to keep the rifle always ready beside the pick. Not only our enemies, but also those who knew little about our people and our Party have frequently predicted and declared that people's Albania «would not last long». Reality, however, has completely disabused them all. Our people, under the wise and farsighted leadership of the Party, have successfully coped with all the enemies, they have courageously overcome all the difficulties, they have resolutely removed all the obstacles.

We come to the great jubilee of liberation stronger than ever. The most advanced social order — socialism — has been established in Albania on firm foundations. We meet the glorious 25th anniversary united to a man around the Party of Labor and the People's Power. Our people, workers, peasants and
people's intelligentsia are celebrating the 25th anniversary of the triumph of revolution full of revolutionary optimism, confident of a more beautiful and happier future lying in store for our socialist Homeland, determined to work and fight with all their strength so that socialist Albania may live and thrive through centuries, so that the banner of freedom, the banner of communism may always fly proudly in our homeland.

29 November 1944 marks the great day of our people's true revival

Der Comrades!

The 29th of November 1944, the day when our valiant partisans brought freedom to our Homeland, marks the great day of the real revival of our people, the boundary where the old world ends and where the new world, the brilliant epoch of socialism, begins.

The road which we have traversed during these 25 years has been one of continuous struggle in the most diverse fields and forms for the building of socialist Albania, for the complete triumph of the new world over the old world and its remnants. On this road we have had to fight against the class enemies, against numerous obstacles and difficulties, we have had to fight against the imperialist ene-
mies and the sham friends — the Titoite and Khrushchevite revisionists, against their detestable sabotage and blockades. But just as during the National-liberation War, so also in the struggle to build socialism, our people, endowed with a lofty spirit of sacrifice and heroism, with an iron will and exemplary courage, and wisely led by the Party, have always emerged successful and have achieved one victory after another.

Following the liberation of our country and the establishment of our people's power, our people and our Party were faced with great and complicated historic tasks on whose solution depended the future of the country and the fate of socialism in Albania.

The entire old feudal-bourgeois structure and super-structure had to be overthrown, the relations of small scale production of commodities had to be radically transformed, and we had to pass over to the system of scientific socialism in the city and the countryside, in economy and culture. But it was necessary to radically transform also, the inner world of men and women, to endow them with the Marxist-Leninist world outlook, with socialist ideology, with communist morality. It was indispensable and urgent, likewise, to rebuild the war-ravaged country and to overcome at the most rapid rates the centuries long economic and cultural backwardness inherited from the past.
Our Party relied on the teachings of Lenin and Stalin, on the valuable experience of socialist construction in the Soviet Union, but it could not copy this experience and carry it out in practice in a mechanical way. This experience and the Marxist-Leninist principles had to be implemented in a creative manner on our specific territory with its historic, geographic, economic, class, political, ideological and other peculiarities. The difficulties and dangers were great. One could break his neck at every turn, at every fundamental decision which determined the strategic direction, as well as in the tactical stand towards the implementation of these decisions.

To its honor and glory our Party, however, correctly solved both the strategic and the tactical tasks.

Within a very short time, the aftermath of war was liquidated, and the energies of the working class and of all the working masses were concentrated on the vital battle for the vigorous development of the forces of production, for the uplift and rapid progress of the whole economy. In this direction the Party followed, consistently and with unshakable determination, the course of socialist industrialization, of giving priority to industry in the development of our young socialist economy, considering it as a decisive factor of the country’s development in all fields.

The socialist industrialization of the coun-

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try started in the early years at slow rates and developed with a persistent struggle on the part of the Party, of the working class, and of the whole people overcoming many difficulties and obstacles. This had its own reasons. We inherited almost no industry whatever, while even that little which existed was gravely damaged by the war. The Yugoslav pseudo-allies, far from helping, sabotaged our country’s industrial development by all manner of means. The Soviet aid, in the direction of industrialization, came after some delay and, at the beginning, it was limited, due to the difficult situation created in the Soviet Union as a result of the terrible war devastation. Later, this aid increased, but with the advent to power of the Khrushchevite revisionists it began to slow down and to be sabotaged until it was cut off and replaced with a hostile blockade.

But our Party, our working class and all our people with a courageous struggle, heedless of difficulties and sacrifices, marched courageously ahead. They were not deceived by the idle talk of the Khrushchevite revisionists about the so-called «international socialist division of labor», «specialization and cooperation of production among socialist countries», etc., the objective of which is the economic and political subjugation of other countries and aiming at making our country an agrarian appendage to their own. Our Party and our
people unwaveringly continued the correct road of socialist industrialization which was not long in yielding brilliant results that have completely changed the face of our Homeland.

From a backward agricultural country, Albania has been transformed now into an advanced agricultural-industrial one. In 1938 industrial production accounted for only 8 per cent of the total industrial-agricultural production, whereas in the year 1968 it reached 61.5 per cent. At present, the production of the «Mao Tsetung» textile combine in Berat alone, is larger than the production of the whole of the country’s industry in 1938.

All over Albania there have been set up hundreds of big works of heavy and light, extraction and processing industries. Today the chimneys of the factories and plants are seen in all our cities, old and young, which have been turned into important industrial centers. Formerly the city of Fier counted 4,800 inhabitants. Its population engaged only in trade, in handicrafts and in agriculture. Today Fieri has become one of the country’s largest industrial centers. Erected there are a nitrate fertilizers plant, an oil refinery, a heat-power station with a capacity of about 100,000 kilowatts, a cotton ginning factory, a brick works, etc. In the city of Fieri, which has been expanded and filled with beautiful buildings, there are employed today over 7,500 workers. The same can be said also of Lush-
nja, Kavaja, Berat, Kukës or Gjirokastra, without speaking of such cities as Tirana, Shkodra, Durrës, Korça, Vlora, etc.

The country’s socialist industrialization has brought about not only quantitative changes. It has brought about also great qualitative changes. The priority development of the branches serving for the production of the means of production, which in 1963 accounted for 55.5 per cent of the total industrial output, has ensured an ever more efficient exploitation of our natural resources, it has led towards the consolidation of the country’s economic independence and has ensured ever more favorable conditions for the rapid development of our economy. While in the past our country’s industry was mainly represented by some small and primitive factories of the light and food industries, by handicraft and an occasional small mine, now there have been created new and modern branches such as the oil, chromium or iron-nickel industries, the chemical, machine-building and power industries, the building materials industry, etc., which are growing rapidly and constitute a sound basis for the creation and development of new branches of industry under the coming five-year plans.

Big works, equipped with a modern technology, such as the nitrate and superphosphate fertilizer plants, the machinery plants, that of tractor spare parts, the textile combines,
the construction of big hydro-power stations, like the «Mao Tse-tung» hydropower station at Vau i Dejës, or of the powerful heat-power stations like the one in Fieri, the cement factories or the construction of railways, the erection of the ferrous metallurgical combine, and so many others, are eloquent proof of the high level of our economy, of the results achieved and of the vast prospects which have been opened to our national economy.

The country’s electrification, as one of the decisive factors in the rapid and sure development of the whole of our national economy, is another important index clearly showing the great results of the socialist industrialization policy pursued by the Party during these 25 years. Today, in about 4 days the country produces as much electric power as that produced during the whole year 1938. The Kruja district alone consumes 3.5 times more power than the whole of pre-liberation Albania consumed. The electrification of all the villages, which is being carried out now with full success, at a time when in many European countries they cannot even think of such an undertaking, testifies best of all to the strength of our socialist country, to the growth of the country’s economic possibilities, to the great solicitude displayed by the Party and the people’s regime for the progress and the continuous increase of the material and cultural wellbeing of the laboring masses.
The Party policy for the country's industrialization has strengthened the whole of our national economy. It has resulted in achieving major victories not only in the field of industry and mining, but also in those of building construction, communications, commerce, etc.

During these 25 years of new Albania, jointly with the development and advance of the various industrial branches, there has also been achieved another great victory of historic and decisive importance to the country's destiny. I am referring to the creation and growth of the new working class, the pillar of the dictatorship of the proletariat, the standard-bearer and leader of socialist construction in Albania. Today, we have a working class large in number, endowed with a high political class consciousness and with wonderful capacities and talents. It is becoming ever more conscious of its role as the class in power. The working class is continuously tempered on the anvil of revolution, it is ever more forcefully having its decisive say, is extending its direct control over everyone and over everything. With its ideology, work and struggle, it is setting the tone today to the entire national life, leading the revolutionary movement, inspiring all the other working people by the example it sets.

Our socialist industrialization, always taking into account its particular features deriving
from Albania's specific conditions, as well as from the historic circumstances through which we have passed, has been and is being developed on correct Marxist-Leninist lines.

In the conditions of our small country, the undeviating Party line has been and remains that, by advancing at a rapid rate on the road of socialist transformations and, at the same time, of the intensive development of agriculture, to make our national economy more independent, ever more capable of standing on its own feet, preserving and consolidating thereby also the political independence of our socialist Homeland; to unremittingly strengthen its defensive power against any attempt of the imperialist and revisionist enemies who surround us; to constantly improve the well-being of our people and ever better fulfil their needs.

The Party has laid down the continuous development and deepening of the technical and scientific revolution, the widest possible introduction of modern science, technology and agronomy, the spreading of scientific experimentation in every field as one of the most important problems and tasks of the development of our socialist economy, of the complete building of socialism in our country.

This revolution is an integral part of our socialist revolution and is being carried out in unity with the ideological and cultural revolution. Its fundamental aim is to place
the whole of our national economy on a higher scientific and technical basis, in order to ensure a higher labor productivity, a more vigorous development of the productive forces, in order to lighten the work of our men and women and to raise their living standards higher. The main efforts must be concentrated everywhere on the transition from handicraft forms to modern industrial production, to the introduction of new technology, to the implementation of a strict scientific discipline in all the processes of work and production, to the scientific organization and management of the national economy, to the summing up and spreading of advanced experience. The decisive condition for leading the technical and scientific revolution forward is the mobilization of all the creative living energies of the working masses and specialists, their all-round political, ideological, technical and scientific education, the continuous strengthening of their cooperation in the most diverse and the most fruitful forms.

Our road of socialist industrialization, closely combined also with the broad development of the technical and scientific revolution, has nothing in common with and is in complete opposition to the various technocratic views which the bourgeoisie and the modern revisionists are spreading with clamour at the present time.

The ideologists of the monopoly bour-
geoisie are striving to make the working people believe that the technical and scientific revolution which is being carried out in the world today is allegedly removing the ills of capitalism, that it is reforming it, liquidating the classes and class antagonisms, and replacing the capitalist owners with the technocratic administrators. On this basis they declare that the old capitalist system of exploitation, the class struggle and the need for proletarian revolution, have been overcome.

In reality, behind the so-called «industrial society», or «technocratic society» there lies hidden the brutal oppression of the working people by the capitalist monopolies and the state monopoly capitalism. The modern revisionists, who have completely and absolutely betrayed Marxism-Leninism and placed themselves at the service of the bourgeoisie, have proclaimed the «technocratic society» and the technical and scientific progress, which leads to the strengthening and expansion of the state monopoly capitalism, as an «introduction of the elements of socialism in the gradual transformation of capitalism».

In the revisionist countries, technocraticism, alongside with bureaucratism and as a subtle expression of it, has become one of the principal means of displacing the working class from leadership and of restoring capitalism. The economy of these countries, which the revisionists continue to call «socialist» under
the pretext that it is nationalized or collectivized, is, in reality nothing else but a capitalist economy of a special type. It is in the hands, in the service, and in the interest of of the new bourgeois class of the bureaucrats and technocrats, which has been created and continues to be consolidated. The western bourgeois theoreticians call what is happening in the revisionist countries, as the "liberalization and democratization of socialism". Thus, both sides, the bourgeoisie as well as the revisionists, converge at one and the same point, that of trying to keep capitalism alive and liquidate socialism.

But the technical and scientific revolution, and linked with it, the development of technocratism, do not and cannot save capitalism or modern revisionism from their inevitable collapse and destruction. They cannot change the objective laws of social development, particularly, that of the class struggle and revolution. The introduction on a large scale of science and technology in production, which the western capitalist monopolies and the new bourgeoisie of the revisionist countries are compelled to do because of the fierce domestic and inter-state competition and to ensure maximum profits, does, by no means, mitigate the internal and external economic and class contradictions, of the old and the new capitalism; it does not save it from the incurable and the ever more destructive crisis.