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FIFTIETH ANNIVERSARY
OF THE
ALBANIAN INDEPENDENCE

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SOCIALIST TRUTH IN CYPRUS

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HAXHI LLESHI

**President of the Presidium of the People's Assembly
of the People's Republic of Albania**

**SPEECH DELIVERED ON NOVEMBER 27, 1962, AT THE
SOLEMN MEETING IN THE HEROIC CITY OF VLORA
ON THE OCCASION OF THE 50TH ANNIVERSARY OF
THE PROCLAMATION OF THE NATIONAL
INDEPENDENCE**

Comrades!

Allow me to greet you on behalf of the Central Committee of our Party, of the Presidium of our People's Assembly, of our Government and the General Council of our Democratic Front on the occasion of the commemoration of the 50th anniversary of our independence.

Fifty years ago, tomorrow, on November 28, the National Convention headed by the great patriot Ismail Qemal proclaimed the independence of Albania and hoisted the unvanquished flag of Scanderbeg in this city of Vlora. After nearly five centuries of enslavement under Turkish domination, this flag wavered again free and dignified on Albanian soil bathed in the innocent blood of the best sons and daughters of our brave, unconquerable people of ancient origin.

It is a great joy for us to celebrate the 50th anniversary of the proclamation of Independence here in Vlora, in this distinguished hearth of patriotism where our national flag

was hoisted, in this heroic city which has made a name for itself in the noble struggle of our people for freedom and independence, in the legendary epic of 1920 against the Italian imperialists and in the war for national liberation against the fascist invaders, in the city of Vlora which has offered the blood of hundreds upon hundreds of its best sons and daughters to the cause of national liberation.

The blood shed for the sacred cause of freedom and national independence of a people is never shed in vain. People who fight, be they ever so few in numbers, are never exterminated nor assimilated by others, they fight their way to freedom undaunted and unobstructed by obstacles and difficulties, they will eventually triumph over their foreign and internal enemies. Bondage could not be the permanent lot of even the few but heroic Albanian people. The age long struggle of the Albanians against foreign invaders, their endurance and the blood they shed, were crowned with success by the creation of the Albanian national State on November 28, 1912.

The proclamation of independence and the establishment of the Albanian State opened a new phase in the history of the development of the country, they opened the way for an independent life of our people, for the elimination of the dreadful economic backwardness into which the Ottoman rulers plunged Albania.

By proclaiming their national independence the Albanian people gave further proof to the world that they have never been subdued, that the land of Scanderbeg cannot be trifled with to be used as a trade commodity in the hands of the imperialist powers, that their soil cannot be partitioned and swallowed up by either the chauvinist neighbors or by anybody else, and that nobody has a right to deny the Albanians the right to live as a free and independent people and to have their own national state.

The proclamation of independence on November 28, 1912 is one of the most significant events in the age-long history of the Albanian people. It constitutes one of the main links

of the long chain of wars and gigantic struggles for freedom and independence which brought about the happy days we are enjoying today. Without the brilliant victory of November 28, 1912 we would not have attained the other glorious victory of November 29, 1944. In this lie the great merits of Ismail Qemal, who devoted his whole life to the cause of Albania's freedom, and of the other distinguished patriots who turned the dreams of our men of the renaissance and the age-long aspirations of the Albanian people for freedom and national independence into reality.

Our people have had to wage continuous battles to defend their liberty and independence from foreign invaders of superior numbers and strength throughout many centuries. Invaders have followed invaders making their inroads into the land of Albania. They have tried to subjugate and exterminate our people by fire and sword. But they have finally had to withdraw with shame and leave behind a number of casualties from their ranks. While the Albanians stood their ground unbending, they live and will always live in their own land.

The Albanian people have written glorious pages in history by their heroism against foreign foes, against brutal social oppression. Their historical records are filled with ceaseless uprisings and battles against Roman domination, against the Byzantine feudal yoke, against the onslaught of barbarians, against mediaeval Turkish occupation, against chauvinistic covetousness of the Servians and Greeks, against the Italian, French, Austrian and other imperialist invaders and lastly, against the Italian and German fascist occupants of the country.

By their heroic resistance the Albanians halted the advance of the Turkish hordes towards Europe for tens of years during the XV-th century. Peoples will cherish for centuries sentiments of deep gratitude and respect towards the great warrior of Albania, the noted statesman and strategist, our national hero, George Castrioti - Scanderbeg.

The Albanian people, as Comrade Enver Hoxha has

said, have had to hack their way through history with sword in hand. A proof of this lies in the just wars of liberation, in their struggle in defense of their freedom and their very existence as a people. These gigantic wars and struggles developed the marvelous virtues and traditions of our people: their ardent love of country, their unparalleled courage and valor in unequal encounters with foes; their honor, generosity and fidelity, their notion of freedom, their boundless hatred for foes, slavery and oppression and deep respect for other peoples and for the friends of Albania. It is to these lofty virtues that our people and our great poets have sung. Naim Frasheri gave this response to the peddler-diplomats of the imperialist powers:

*So long Albanians live you cannot trade their land
Their lives they'd rather give than slavery to stand*

But it is not only with rifle and sword that the Albanians have waged their wars. They have also fought with pen and knowledge. Even in the darkest days of foreign domination and of Ottoman mysticism our people kept their creative talents alive and carried their national culture further ahead. We are justified in being proud of the marvelous productions of our folklore, of our writers and artists both in the country and abroad, of our achievements in the field of material culture which are of great significance to our country and a valuable contribution to the entire civilization and culture of the world.

The historical road of the Albanian people has been a long and strenuous one. Foreign domination, oppression and brutal exploitation, plunder and devastations have greatly hindered the cultural and economic development of Albania. The Turks found their tools and agents to enslave, assimilate and exterminate the Albanian people among the Albanian feudal chiefs who hitched themselves to the chariots of the Sultans. But our people withstood all the frantic storms of time like a granitic rock, they never bowed before hardships or foes but safeguarded their lofty patriotic and progressive traditions, their mother tongue, their customs and habits and

their very existence as a people with inexhaustible vitality. It was on this sound unshakable basis that the brilliant period of Albanian revival developed, the period of the broad and organized movement for liberation by arms and the pen in order to remove the intolerable yoke of the Turks, to defend Albania's soil from the rapacious intentions of the imperialist powers and the covetous chauvinistic neighbors, to make Albania free and independent.

Our great patriots, Naum Veqilharxhi, Zef Jubani, Abdyl Frasheri, Naim Frasheri, Konstantin Kristoforidhi, Jani Vreto, Pashko Vasa, Sami Frasheri, Ismail Qemali and others, gave this movement a clear political platform whose main objectives were:

1) To fight for the independence of Albania and protect Albanian soil from the rapacious intentions of the chauvinist neighbors, in very diverse ways: by spreading Albanian culture, by opening Albanian clubs and schools, by creating the proper alphabet of the Albanian language, by carrying on ceaseless work in the country and abroad to compel Turkey and other states to recognize the lawful right of the Albanian people to live free and independent and to establish their own national state. But the primary means, above all others, was to be the rifle of the Albanians themselves. In his programmatic thesis on «Albania, its past, its present and its future» our great ideologist and patriot Sami Frasheri wrote: «Turkey grants nothing of its own free will and magnanimity. Turkey prefers to lose Albania and partition it among its foes rather than grant it a good and wise government which would build it up and embellish it and turn it into a progressive country like the rest of the world. Therefore Turkey will never grant the Albanians anything of its own free will. The Albanians must acquire the things they want by force, they should ask for them by words, but they must, at the same time, have their rifles loaded».

2) Upon liberation of the country from the Turkish yoke there should be established in Albania a bourgeois democratic parliamentary regime to make economic and

social transformations, to do away with ignorance and the deplorable economic situation of the country, to do away with misery and devastating diseases, to open schools and spread education, to segregate it from the church and the mosque.

3) To establish relations of friendship and collaboration with the neighboring countries by respecting the territorial integrity of one another.

«The Central Committee to protect National Rights» founded by our men of the national revival stated:

«We earnestly desire to live in peace with our neighbors, Montenegro, Greece, Serbia and Bulgaria. We demand and claim nothing from them but we are totally resolved not to yield an inch of what is our own. Keep your hands off from Albanian territory!»

This correct platform and very progressive for that period became the basis for national unity and for the organization of the Albanian people for the struggle for liberation one of whose brightest pages was written by the Prizren League founded in 1878. This League waged a three-year long armed struggle in defense of Albanian territory which the big powers intended to offer as a boon to the Balkan States and raised its voice to separate Albania from Turkey. The Prizren League established the first Albanian national Government. The overwhelming forces of Turkish and European reaction brutally suppressed this movement of the Albanians but they were not able to deflect the Albanian people from the road of using all methods and means to achieve freedom and independence.

The struggle for national liberation was kept up with more vigor both in the country as well as abroad among the Albanian emigrants. The flames of the war for liberation spread throughout Albania from Çameria to Labëria, Elbasan, Tirana, Shkodra and Kosova, from the Adriatic shores to Korça. The Albanian revolutionaries wrote in blood on their revolutionary banner the martial watchword: «Liberty or Death!» Clandestine committees were set up to direct the

war. Albanian patriots in the country and abroad waged parallel war of no less significance, namely, the struggle to open schools and to elaborate the Albanian literature unintimidated by the cruel persecutions of the Ottoman authorities. The writings and poems of Naim Frashëri, Ndre Mjeda, Sami Frashëri, Çajupi, Mihal Grameno and others illuminated the road to the Albanian people and urged them to take up arms in defense of liberty.

Major uprisings burst forth throughout Albania in the years 1910 to 1912.

Under these circumstances and faced with fresh danger from imperialist intentions to partition Albania, the duty of proclaiming national independence had become a pressing and decisive one. The masses throughout the country demanded the immediate proclamation of independence. The enthusiasm of the people reached its culminating point when the news was spread far and wide that Ismail Qemal and a group of other patriots had taken the initiative to call a national convention in Vlora which would fulfill this age-long aspiration of our people. All the Albanian people rose in a body to support the National Convention and urge it to achieve this sacred mission. It was precisely this general support of the people that emboldened Ismail Qemal and his companions to secure for our people the historic triumph of November 28, 1912.

The proclamation of independence and the establishment of the Albanian national sovereign state was hailed with indescribable joy by the entire nation as one of the most brilliant pages of their thousands year history, as the substantiation of their age long aspirations for freedom and independence for which they had shed rivers of blood and had made unheard of sacrifices. This event was also welcomed by progressive public opinion abroad. Our people, young and old will always cherish with deep admiration the memory of the enlightened patriots with Ismail Qemal at the head, who hoisted the national red-and-black flag fifty years ago in this heroic city of Vlora, they will dearly cherish

the memory of all the freedom fighters who devoted all their lives, sacrificing even their blood to the sacred cause of national liberation!

The newly established Albanian State began its existence under extremely difficult conditions. Under the assumption that severed from Turkey Albania would be a weak country unable to defend its liberty and rights, the imperialist powers and the chauvinist neighbors, Serbia, Greece and Montenegro, tried to chop it up and partition it among themselves. The feudal chieftains who had served as a social basis and support for the domination of the Turkish invaders and who still held leading positions, served also as a point of support for the imperialist and chauvinistic schemes following the proclamation of independence. As an outcome of the negotiations between the imperialist powers and the neighboring chauvinistic cliques the 1913 Conference of Ambassadors did gross injustice to the Albanian people by chopping off whole regions to the south and to the north of Albania, leaving over half of the Albanian people outside our national borders.

The imperialists revealed their beastly nature as sworn enemies of the Albanian people when they turned Albania into a battlefield where they fought their rapacious first World War and when they decided in 1915 by the Secret London Treaty, to efface our country from the map of Europe and to partition it among themselves. But the Albanian people frustrated their diabolic plans. The Albanians who had languished for nearly five centuries under the yoke of the Ottoman Empire, had a clearer notion than anyone else as to what it is like to live without freedom and independence,

Better live an hour and free

Than hundred years in slavery! Than a century in

This was the watchword of the liberation war of the Albanian people in defense of national independence won on November 28, 1912.

At this perilous time when gloomy clouds had again

darkened the Albanian sky, when the liberty and sovereignty of the young Albanian State were at stake, a great historical event shook the old capitalist world from its roots - the Great October Socialist Revolution triumphed in Russia and set up the first socialist state in the world and opened a new epoch in the history of mankind, the epoch of the downfall of the capitalist system and the triumph of socialism on a world scale. The triumph of the October Revolution emboldened our people, too, and opened up brilliant perspectives for the future of our Fatherland.

By laying bare the brutality and the decrepitude of imperialism and its perfidious and plundering nature the October Revolution awakened the Albanian people too. The publication by the Soviet Government, acting on instructions from Lenin, of the imperialist secret treaties including the London Treaty which partitioned Albania, exposed the whole backstage machinations of the imperialist states against our country.

A wave of anti-imperialist movement swept all over our country. To forestall the implementation of the secret plans of the imperialist states to partition Albania, a National Congress was summoned to meet in Lushnja in 1920 to give notice to all the world that the Albanian people were determined to make any sacrifice and shed their last drop of blood in defense of the independence and territorial integrity of Albania.

The Albanian people gave tangible proof of their determination at the legendary epic of Vlora in the summer of the same year when Selam Musai and other Albanian heroes drove the Italian imperialists, who had come to occupy southern Albania, into the sea. They showed a similar determination in their struggle against the chauvinistic troops of the Servian monarchs during 1920 and 1921, whom they ousted from the northern regions of our Fatherland.

Through their heroic war against foreign foes and local traitors, through the blood they shed in streams in their legendary battles in defense of liberty, through their dogged

determination and unconquerable spirit for victory, the Albanian people frustrated the plundering plans of foreigners, safeguarded the independence of their country, and compelled them to recognize the Albanian National State. The whole world was convinced that the Albanians were dead set on defending the liberty and sovereignty of their country through thick and thin, that they preferred to die standing with arms in hand rather than live on their knees and without freedom, that, so long as there was one single Albanian capable of bearing a rifle, the spirit of liberty would never be curbed in this land of heroes, that such people as the Albanians, brought up and tempered like steel in the forge of sacred age-long battle for freedom, are unconquerable and will sooner or later triumph over their enemies be they ever so numerous and so powerful.

Even after having won national independence the Albanian people never laid down their weapons but continued their struggle to rid themselves of the oppressive rule of the internal feudal chiefs who had been the main support of the foreign occupants of Albania and who sucked the blood of the rank and file of the population for centuries at a stretch. The anti-feudal struggle to establish democratic rule in the country spread with lightning speed throughout Albania and reached its acme in the bourgeois-democratic revolution of June, 1924 which overthrew the dark forces of reaction and established the anti-imperialist democratic regime. Albania became an important center of the revolutionary movement throughout the Balkans. But alarmed by the growing impetus and influence of the revolutionary democratic movement in Albania, the monarchical Yugoslav reactionaries, in close collaboration with the internal reactionaries whom the democratic regime had not done away with completely, suppressed Albanian democracy with fire and sword and brought their agent, Ahmed Zogu, to power in December 1924.

The establishment of Zogu's deeply reactionary feudal and bourgeois dictatorship opened a black period in the his-

tory of Albania. The Albanian people became the object of heartless exploitation and cruel oppression by the big landowners and the bourgeois merchants and their tyrannical regime as well as by foreign capital. Through his unpopular and anti-national policy of the open door Zogu turned our country into a semi-colonial sphere of Italian imperialism. It was precisely this policy that led finally to the occupation of Albania by the Italian imperialists on April 7, 1939.

But a more powerful resistance was made impossible and Albania fared worse again under bondage. The Albanian people were again faced with the danger of extinction as a people and as a nation. But our people would never stand to this. They had never been used to being subdued by foreigners and, as a consequence, they were not subjugated by the Italian fascists either, least of all now that their national consciousness was deeply rooted in their hearts. Futile were the attempts of the fascist authorities and propagandists together with the Albanian traitors, to waylay the Albanian people into accepting the humiliating yoke of the fascists which they tried to describe as a movement to deliver the Albanian people from the anti-popular regime of Zogu and from the evil of former times. The Albanian people dashed their hatred of fascism on their very face and, as ever, chose their glorious line of action, their line of combat for freedom, their line of honor which has always led them to success.

The Albanian people were living the most critical moments of their lives. The foe was numerous, powerful, cruel and wily. But freedom is not achieved with hands crossed behind one's back. The angry masses were up for a death struggle with the fascists, they demanded that the invaders be ousted from Albanian soil. The anti-fascist movement of resistance kept growing from day to day. But at the outset this movement lacked its leadership, loyal to the end to the vital interests of the people and of the Fatherland, resolved and capable of organizing all the Albanian people for combat and to lead them to victory. The circumstances of a revolutionary situation that were created in our country as a result of the

fascist occupation, on one hand, and the entrance of the Soviet Union into the war against fascism, which created the outside conditions for the liberation of our Fatherland from fascist enslavement, on the other, made the setting up of such a leadership imperative. The angry masses of our people found such a leadership in the Albanian Communist Party (now the Albanian Party of Labor) which was founded on November 8, 1941.

This initiated a new stage in the war for liberation in Albania, and not only in the war but also as regards the future of our country. The Albanian Communist Party was the star that would illuminate the road of and would lead the Albanian people to the highest peaks of freedom, to total national liberation and to socialism.

Under the leadership of the Party with Comrade Enver Hoxha at the head the Albanian people revived in the war for National Liberation, the glorious epics of Scanderbeg and of the period of National Revival but, this time, with more vigor and with an entirely new program. This war did not aim at liberating the country from the Italian and German fascist occupation, at doing away with all foreign yokes and at restoring the full national independence alone, but it aimed at building a people's democratic Albania, free of fascists, free of kings, free of feudal and other bloodsuckers, where the workers would have all power in their hands and would be complete masters of their own destiny.

The irreconcilable war without reserve led by the Albanian Communist Party against the fascist invaders and the traitors to the country, gave rise to the founding of the National Liberation Front (now the Democratic Front of Albania) which joined in its ranks all the revolutionary anti-fascist and patriotic forces of our people, the working class, the laboring peasantry, the petty and medium bourgeoisie of the cities, the popular intellectuals and all the patriots of the country. The history of our people has never recorded such powerful union and organization in the war against the enemy.

The heroic War for National Liberation of the Albanian people, so few in numbers, aroused the admiration of the whole world and was upheld by the people who had taken up arms in the great anti-fascist war against the common enemy of mankind, the fascist aggressors. Our war found its powerful support, above all, in the Great Patriotic War of the Soviet Union which played the leading role in smashing the power of Hitlerite Germany and its allies and rescuing the world from the danger of fascist enslavement. Through its historical victory in the Second World War the Soviet Union saved the Albanian people as well and made it possible for them to liberate their country from fascist occupation by heroic fighting and to set up the new State of People's Democracy. The war against fascism tempered in blood the lasting friendship between the Albanian people and the fraternal Soviet people who, under the leadership of Lenin and Stalin, have shown the world how to win and safeguard freedom and how to bring about a happy life for the workers. The Albanian people will be grateful for life to the glorious Soviet peoples, to the country of Soviets, to the famous Soviet Army and to the Communist Party of the Soviet Union for the valuable help they have rendered them in liberating their Fatherland from fascist bondage. Our friendship to the Soviet Union is lasting and unbreakable, it has withstood and will always withstand the vicissitudes of time and the attacks of enemies of every kind like our lofty mountains.

The National Liberation War of our people was crowned with victory on November 29, 1944. Albania got rid of fascist invaders and the people's regime was established throughout the country. It was the first time now that our people felt themselves true masters in their own land of ancient origin bathed in the blood of their best sons and daughters, it was the first time that they fully won their national freedom and independence. Through bitter battles with the fascist invaders and traitors our people did away not only with imperialist domination in Albania but also with the political rule of the landlords and the bourgeoisie of the country. The

exploiting classes of our country, the feudal lords, the chieftains, the upper bourgeoisie, and the treacherous organizations, - the National Front and Legality, - which represented them, by their anti-national stand as agents of foreign invaders, had incurred the hatred of the Albanian people, who did short work of them as a whole.

The liberation of the country, the overthrow of the odious rule of the fascist invaders and of the exploiting classes and the establishment of the rule of the working class in alliance with the revolutionary patriotic working masses guided by one single party, the Albanian Communist Party, constituted the basic circumstances which enabled our country to sever connections with the world capitalist system once and for all time, to sidetrack the road of suffering, misery and pain of capitalist development and to embark all at once on the brilliant road of socialism which is the road to the welfare of the broad masses of people and, at the same time, to the assurance of true liberty and sovereignty of our Fatherland. A new life dawned for the Albanian people.

The ardent desires and boldest aspirations of the great thinkers and revolutionaries and of the entire people of Albania were fully realized on November 29, 1944. The objectives towards which the Albanians strove and shed their blood at the time of Scanderbeg and of the men of our national revival, in 1912 and at the Battle of Vlora, in 1924 and during the war against the Italian and German fascist occupation and against the traitors of the country, were finally attained.

The ceaseless struggle of our people and the brilliant victory that they attained on November 29, 1944 show in a very convincing way that freedom and national independence are never granted as a boon by either imperialist invaders or local rulers. They are won by the people united around a firm revolutionary leadership through fighting, bloodshed, hardships and many sacrifices.

The glorious 50th anniversary of the proclamation of the independence of our Fatherland finds our country with an 18-

year experience of popular rule. During this period radical changes have come about and colossal achievements have been attained to transform the aspect of our Fatherland, formerly so backward and greatly devastated by the war.

We are celebrating the 50th anniversary of independence and the 18th anniversary of liberation not only in a free and sovereign but also in a socialist Albania which forges its way speedily ahead towards prosperity, and culture, towards opulence and allround consolidation. The time when Albania was pointed to as the most backward country in Europe, belongs now to the past. We can now face the world with pride and show what colossal progress, what rapid and radical changes can be brought about, what gigantic creative power a people possess, be they ever so few in numbers as the Albanian people, when no imperial, feudal and capitalist exploiters' yoke hangs on their necks, when they are masters of their own destiny. We are fully justified to be proud of our new socialist industry which produces today over 27 times as much as it produced in 1938. The city of Tirana alone turns out such an amount of industrial production which is more than five times above the total prewar industrial production of the country. From a backward agrarian country which it was not very long ago, Albania has now become an agrarian - industrial country well on the way to becoming an industrial - agrarian one.

We can also be proud of the progress scored in agriculture. Over 75 thousand hectares of virgin land were opened during the second five-year period alone, thousands of hectares of land were planted to grape vines, fruit and olive-trees, hundreds of kilometers of drainage and irrigation canals were opened, tens of square kilometers of marches were drained and were turned to first class grain fields; our agriculture, formerly primitive, was furnished with a sound material and technical basis. During these 18 years we have carried out two major revolutions in agriculture: the agrarian reform, which put an end to the remnants of feudalism, and collectivization, which launched the Albanian countryside on the

road to socialism. This brought about a second major historical achievement after that of November 29, 1944; that is the establishment of the economic basis of socialism in the city as well as on the countryside. The attainment of this goal did away with the exploiting classes in our country, put an end for all time to the exploitation of man by man.

The great progress made in industry, agriculture and other sectors of economy was associated with speedy progress in training and bringing up cadres, in developing culture and education, in raising the living standard of the working masses. Ignorance, illiteracy, misery, epidemic diseases, unemployment in Albania now pertain only to history. Our country boasts of about 6,000 cadres of higher training and 21,000 cadres of middle-school training as contrasted with nearly 380 and 2,000 respectively it had before the war. One in every 5 persons attends school in the People's Republic of Albania at present. Due to the constant care of the Party and of the Government to raise the people's welfare, due to the elimination of numerous diseases that wrought havoc among the people in the past and due to limitations on other diseases, a considerable increase of nearly 50% of population was recorded during the 15 years of people's power. Buildings have been set up from the time of liberation to this day to house a population equal to the whole urban population of our country before the war. While the number of houses built on the countryside during the same period has been 74,500, housing 40% of all the rural families.

Today the working class of Albania which leads the way, together with the cooperative peasantry and the popular intelligentsia, have set to work with unparalleled enthusiasm and impetus to set up a complete socialist society in our country, which opens brilliant prospects for further and allround progress of our Fatherland. These perspectives were clearly set forth by the IVth historic Congress of the Party in the tasks of building the complete material and technical basis of socialism, in furthering the industrialization of the country, in intensifying agriculture, in furthering the cultural revolution

in our country. The 3d five-year plan which constitutes a further significant step on the road to building complete socialism in our country, envisages the allround development of our national economy and culture, the establishment of a series of new major industrial schemes and numerous measures to bring about the gradual transition of agriculture to intensive farming and so on.

The major successes which our country has achieved in a relatively short period of time are due to the heroic endeavors and the tireless efforts of the Albanian people under the correct and far-sighted marxist - leninist leadership of our Party of Labor guided by its Central Committee headed by Comrade Enver Hoxha. In attaining these successes our country has at the same time had the assistance and support of the fraternal peoples of the Soviet Union, as well as that of the People's Republic of China and other socialist countries. The Albanian people have appreciated and appreciate this generous assistance as an expression of proletarian internationalism, which inspires and should always inspire the relations among fraternal socialist countries.

We never lose sight of the fact that the Albanians have achieved these successes having been compelled to live and work under circumstances of geographical encirclement by states which maintain a decisive hostile attitude towards our socialist Fatherland, under circumstances of ceaseless anti-Albanian activities of the international imperialist reaction, with that of the United States of America in the lead, as well as that of the Yugoslav revisionists. The imperialists, the Greek monarchical fascists and the Belgrade anti-marxist clique have made many attempts since liberation, have organized numerous provocations and deflections, have devised all sorts of plots and intrigues, have hatched up various schemes in order to rob our people of their freedom and national independence, in order to deprive them of their revolutionary successes. But led by their Party of Labor, the Albanian people, who have shed so much blood and have endured so many privations in order to attain freedom and to establish the peo-

ple's regime, have not allowed nor will ever allow that these things be trampled upon by foes, whoever they be, under whatever form and guise they may appear. Whoever has dared to raise his hand against our socialist Fatherland has had to withdraw before the determination and the force of our vigilant people who are always prepared to defend their achievements and their future. The time has already passed by when the imperialists and the chauvinists treated Albania as a trade commodity. With their Party at the head, the Albanian people have frustrated and will always frustrate the plans of the foes of the People's Republic and of the Party of Labor of Albania. Albania is a socialist country, it is a member of the socialist camp and of the Warsaw Treaty. The Government of the People's Republic of Albania pursues a consistent peaceful policy in its relations with the neighboring states, with states of different social systems, it pursues a policy of peaceful coexistence, of good neighborhood and of mutual respect. We have never harassed nor will ever harass anyone but we have always been and will be determined to defend our Fatherland from any outrage wherever it may come from. Our glorious Army has the necessary force and means to defend our socialist Fatherland from any eventual aggressor.

The solid unity of the Albanian people with their Party of Labor, its Central Committee and Comrade Enver Hoxha has been and continues to be the warranty for freedom and national independence, for the establishment of the power of the people and for the attainment of successes in their creative and peaceful efforts to build socialist society, for preserving them intact and for furthering socialist construction in our country. This unity is an historical achievement, it is leavened in the heat of the National - Liberation War and in the endeavors to build socialism in our country, it is tempered in blood and strife, it is steeled in ceaseless battle with imperialism and its agent, modern revisionism. It is based on the marxist - leninist policy of our Party, a policy which is fully compliant with the highest interests of our Fatherland and of our people as well as with the interests of socialism

throughout the world. It is in this marvelous unity that our power rests.

It is in clash with this solid unity that the diabolic schemes of the imperialists and of the Yugoslav revisionists have met with their doom. It is in clash with this unity that the daydreams and pressures of Nikita Khrushchev and his revisionist group against the Party of Labor and the People's Republic of Albania were shattered.

By safeguarding this unity as the apple of our eyes and by strengthening it, the Party of Labor of Albania is, at the same time, waging a war of principle in preserving and consolidating the marxist - leninist unity of the socialist camp and of the international communist and workers movement, which constitutes one of the main springs of our force in the war against the common imperialist enemy, on the road to the common objective, the triumph of socialism and communism. That is why our Party has always strictly observed and continues to observe the principles of proletarian internationalism which govern the relations among socialist states and communist and workers parties, it has preserved and continues to preserve these principles with highest determination against distortions and dissentient activity of the modern revisionists.

The revisionists, the Titoite clique and Khrushchev's group and their followers included, are attacking with fury the Party of Labor of Albania because our Party wages a determined and unyielding war against imperialism headed by American imperialism, against their warmongering and aggressive acts, because our Party defends on principle the revolutionary teachings of marxism - leninism from revisionist distortions and carries on an irreconcilable war against the anti-marxist and dissentient views and deeds of the revisionists, because it had the courage to reject the opportunist and capitulating line of N. Khrushchev's group and did not succumb to his threats, pressures and blackmail. The revisionists have long since lost sight of the leninist principles of the party and have no other means of fighting revolutionary marxism - leninism than blatant slanders, blackmail and repulsive

plots. But the slanders and the maneuvers of the revisionists are doomed to meet with disgraceful failure in face of life and facts, in face of the incontestable truth of marxism - leninism. And that is what is actually happening. The communists and people of different countries are getting it home to them ever more clearly as to who really stands for marxism-leninism, for proletarian internationalism and for the 1957 and 1960 Moscow Declarations and who have slid away and are continually sliding further away from them, who, in reality, are defending the unity of the socialist camp and of the international communist movement and who are splitting it. That is why the authority of the Party of Labor of Albania and the respect for it, are speedily growing among the communists and workers throughout the world while the Yugoslav renegates, N. Khrushchev's group and all modern revisionists are being daily unmasked and isolated. The total victory of revolutionary marxism-leninism and the total defeat of revisionism are inevitable.

Comrades!

Thanks to the correct marxist - leninist line of their Party of Labor, the Albanian people have attained great success in building their happy life, socialism, in the allround consolidation of the internal and international position of our socialist Fatherland. Better days and fresher triumphs lie ahead for the Albanian people. There is no force in the world to stop our march ahead. Whatever circumstances may arise, however hard and complicated they may be, we will triumph while our enemies will meet with defeat after defeat.

But this does not lull the Albanian people to sleep, on the contrary, it sharpens their revolutionary alertness. Experience itself has taught the Albanian people never to forget that the imperialists never give up their efforts to hamper the socialist countries in their peaceful work, they never give up their plan and strategy to split and destroy the world socialist system, to put an end to every anti-imperialist liberating

movement and to establish their rule over all the world. So long as imperialism exists the danger of war and aggression exists also. The imperialists, with the Americans at the head, have been and will always be aggressors, perfidious and sworn enemies of the freedom and national independence of peoples. This is borne out by the events that have taken place and continue to take place in the world especially in recent times. Wherever you turn you will come across plots, provocations and blockades, you will come across the gory hand of imperialism trying to undermine the socialist states and to regain the positions they have lost in the newly emancipated countries.

It is in vain that the modern revisionists try to embellish capitalism, to describe the American and other imperialists and their leaders as «realists» that «show concern about maintaining peace» etc. Kennedy's aggressive and warmongering acts against revolutionary Cuba, which constitute a serious menace to the revolutionary movement of liberation throughout the world, to the security of peoples and general peace, disprove most clearly the dangerous pacifist illusions which the revisionists proclaim far and wide, and demonstrate in a convincing way, that imperialists, especially the American imperialists, are today more aggressive, more warmongering, more reactionary and more dangerous than ever, that they are more prone than ever to embark on crazy adventures that may cause unheard of suffering and misery to mankind, if the peaceloving peoples, the countries of the powerful socialist camp, in the first place, do not take firm steps and rise in a body to halt the dash and stay the hand of the warmongering imperialists in time. Only the credulous, traitors, cowards and demagogues can sing praises to the policy of capitulation before the blackmail of the American imperialists and demand that heroic Cuba capitulate and submit to the dictates and supervision of the American imperialists, only such people can call Kennedy's false pledges not to attack Cuba as a «diplomatic success» although Kennedy has always and even in his recent statement on Nov-

ember 21, said that the United States of America will not give up their counter-revolutionary intentions and acts towards Cuba.

But the plans of the imperialists in Cuba will certainly meet with failure. The heroic Cuban people under the guidance of their great leader Fidel Castro will never tolerate the imperialists and revisionists to smother their revolution. They are hundred per cent determined to defend their liberty and independence under all circumstances and will finally and most assuredly win over the imperialists. All the peoples of the world are on the side of Cuba and they are risen in defense of the revolution in the «fiery island». Cuba has today become a symbol of the struggle for freedom. The sacred cause of the Cuban people is the cause of all progressive mankind. Socialist Cuba will triumph!

In these moments of hardship, the Albanian people taught by experience are very well aware of what it means to be fighting in defense of freedom, therefore, guided by the principles of proletarian internationalism, they are by the side of the heroic fraternal Cuban people and express their unwavering fiery and unreserved solidarity.

In our days the imperialists and reactionaries of every hue and color are pointing their fists to another socialist country, to the great People's Republic of China, which, through its magnificent success in building socialist society, through its relentless war against imperialist aggressors and warmongers in defense of peace and the security of peoples as well as through its firm support for the revolutionary and liberation struggles of peoples in Asia, Africa, Latin America and elsewhere, has become an insuperable obstacle to the plundering and warmongering plans of the imperialists, of the American imperialists, in the first place, a radiant torch-bearer of the revolutionary, national-liberation and democratic movement of the world. The modern revisionists have in fact joined in the reactionary attacks against the People's Republic of China. Joining in the chorus of the imperialists and Indian reactionaries, they are trying to present People's

China as an aggressor especially in the Sino-Indian border conflict.

For our people as well as for all progressive peoples and individuals in the world, it is plain that we are here faced with a nasty provocation of the Indian reactionaries and a plot devised and supported by world imperialism, headed by American imperialism which is now making no secret of its participation in the organization of the aggression against the People's Republic of China but is openly supplying the Indian reactionary circles with large contingents of arms and other war material in order to keep the conflict going.

Progressive public opinion throughout the world denounce the dangerous provocation of the imperialists and of the Indian reactionaries and uphold the great People's Republic of China considering it as a primary duty in defense of world peace.

Pursuing a consistent policy of peace and peaceful co-existence, the Government of the People's Republic of China has made frequent endeavors and constructive proposals to settle the Sino-Indian border issue in a peaceful way. But Nehru's Government has rejected them. Regardless of this, the Government of the People's Republic of China decided recently and unilaterally to put an end to armed hostilities all along the Sino - Indian border and withdraw its troops 20 km from the line of control that existed on November 7, 1959 with the purpose of creating more favorable conditions to start peaceful talks on settling the Sino - Indian border issue. This is another living proof of the consistent peaceful policy of the Government of the People's Republic of China and a heavy blow on the attempts of the imperialists and of the Indian reactionaries to attribute aggressive and warmongering intentions to the Government of the People's Republic of China.

Our people like all progressive mankind hail this important peaceful initiative of the Government of the fraternal People's Republic of China and express their unshakable conviction that its just cause will triumph and that the imperial-

ists, the reactionaries of various kinds, the revisionists and all the enemies of the great Chinese people and of peace will meet with shameful defeat. The glorious People's Republic of China will live and attain rapid progress for the good of the cause of socialism and of communism, of peoples and of peace and to the dismay of foes.

Imperialism is as cruel as it is weak. Having received repeated deadly blows since the triumph of the Great October Socialist Revolution until now it is making desperate efforts to regain the positions it has lost. But nothing can rescue it from perdition. Peoples are not intimidated by the pressures, threats and the atomic weapons of the imperialists. Nor are they waylaid by revisionist appeals for reconciliation with the bloodthirsty imperialists. Contrary to what the imperialists and modern revisionists desire and prophesy, the general crisis of capitalism is imminent, the different contradictions within this system are getting more and more acute, the forces of socialism are growing from day to day, the oppressed peoples are uniting, are organizing themselves, are taking up arms and are rising in battle against oppression and misery, in defense of freedom, democracy, socialism and peace in the entire world. The hour of the complete downfall of the odious imperialist system and of the triumph of socialism throughout the world is approaching!

Comrades!

The 50th anniversary of the proclamation of independence which we are commemorating today is finding our Fatherland, the People's Republic of Albania, a flourishing socialist country stronger than ever. The November 28 and 29 festivities will find our country ever more beautiful, ever more prosperous and ever more powerful. A happy future lies ahead for our people.

United as a single body around their Party of Labor and faithfully pursuing the correct line it lays out for them, the Albanian people will spare no efforts, not even their blood,

if need be, to defend and consolidate from day to day our socialist Fatherland, free and sovereign, they will march firm and unfaltering steps ever ahead on the road to complete socialism and communism.

Long live the glorious 50th anniversary of the proclamation of our national independence!

Long live the heroic Albanian people, who hold proudly aloft the banner of freedom, peace and socialism on the Adriatic shore!

Long live the Party of Labor of Albania, the instigator, organizer and guide of the great historical achievements of our people and its Central Committee with Comrade Enver Hoxha at the head!

Praise to marxism - leninism!

MEHMET SHEHU

**President of the Council of Ministers of the People's
Republic of Albania**

**SPEECH DELIVERED ON NOVEMBER 28, 1962 AT
THE BIG RALLY IN VLORA ON THE OCCASION OF THE
50th ANNIVERSARY OF THE ALBANIAN INDEPENDENCE**

People of Vlora!

Brothers and Sisters!

Allow me to convey to you and to all the Albanian people the most vehement greetings and fiery good wishes 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 on the occasion of our great festivities, the 50th anniversary of the proclamation of national independence and the 18th anniversary of liberation from the foreign yoke.

The Albanian people celebrate these two historical dates as people who have never begged their liberty but who have won it at the point of the bayonet, as people who have had to hack their way through history by fire and sword. Our people enjoy the right to be proud of their past before the history for it has never seen them abashed during the stormy centuries; history may have seen us despised and oppressed but never subdued and crestfallen, it has seen us bleeding but never kneeling, famished but never begging, poor but generous, kind towards friends but harsh towards foes, good shots at the target of treachery and vigilant guardians of Honor, of the Pledged Word, of the Fatherland and of Liberty.

Our people have come to these historic festivities with cheer and singleness of heart, with hands full and happy, with the pick in one hand and the loaded rifle in the other, with sleeves turned up and hawkeyed, united as one body around our heroic Party, our Party that knows no defeat but scores victories, that places nothing above the interests of our people and of marxism - leninism, the gifted pilot of the destiny of our people who are led with loyalty, courage and determination to the highest peaks of history, to socialism and communism, by the militant staff, its Central Committee headed by its founder and beloved teacher, Comrade Enver Hoxha.

Fifty years ago, on November 28, 1912, the fiery patriot and great scion of the Albanian people, Ismail Qemali together with his fellow fighters for freedom like Luigj Gurakuqi, Dom Nikoll Kaçorri, Pandeli Cale, Baba Dud Karbunara, Vehbi Dibra, Murat Toptani and others, raised exactly in this square where we are gathered today, the Flag of Scanderbeg, proclaimed national independence, the rebirth of the sovereign independent Albanian State.

The Proclamation of National Independence on November 28, 1912, was not a formal political act or the result of political combinations of the imperialist powers. Our National Independence was not born on the backstage or in the lobbies of London or Paris, of Rome or Washington; it was born on the lofty highlands of our country, the only loyal time-long ally of our people in their struggle for freedom and independence, it was born in heroic Vlora, a hotbed of Albanian patriotism, it was the logical upshot of the uninterrupted age-long struggle of the Albanian people against Ottoman domination. No one granted National Independence to the Albanian people as a boon, but they won it by shedding their own blood.

The Albanian people are of an ancient origin and boast of a history of thousands of years. They withstood the trials of time and history: our people have fought throughout their lives for their own existence, no turmoil of centuries could

exterminate them from the face of the globe and here they stand now in full bloom, free, happy, steeled and ever ready to withstand other trials and hardships fully confident that they will, as always, come off victorious. History itself is a witness of the vigor and vitality of our people. Only those of lofty virtues can withstand the trials of time. Love of freedom and the determination to prefer to die standing rather than live on bended knee, the courage and daring to look the enemy in the eye and not flinch, to face all risks with open chest and never show the foe your back, honor, the pledged word and hospitality, conduct in life that commands the respect of friends and foes alike - these are the lofty virtues always typical of the Albanian people. That is why they survived withstanding all the great trials of time, that is why, although few in numbers, they stood their ground, they fought and they won safeguarding their own existence, their honor, their mother tongue and their freedom as a people and as a nation.

The Albanian people had to shed rivers of blood to attain November 28, 1912. What hardships has this land of ours had to endure! What harsh witness these lofty mountains of ours bear in the tribunal of our age-long history! Our people accuse: they accuse Caesars and Sultans, the swastika and the fasces, the Washington wizard and the present Trojan horse! Time has meted out their doom to some of them; the others are awaiting their turn which will certainly come for time is merciless to the enemies of the peoples and the peoples are the grave-diggers of their enemies. Our people have seen and are watching how their enemies are marching towards their graves and have made it a habit to take an active part in their entombment.

Thousands upon thousands of the sons and daughters of our country have laid down their lives in the age long struggle for freedom. Today we bow before their tombs and their memory before this national shrine with the deepest gratitude and respect for the blood they shed for freedom, for without their self-abnegation the path of the history of our people to November 28, 1912, and to November 29, 1944 would

not have been hacked. Praise to the memory of our heroes that laid down their lives in defense of the liberty of the people and the Fatherland!

Five centuries ago our national hero, great Scanderbeg waged his legendary 25-year-long war, kept the ruthless hordes of the Sultans at bay, defended the independence of the Fatherland and the honor and dignity of the Albanian people with pluck and courage, rescued European civilization from the impending danger of Ottoman brutality with only the tenacity of the Albanian people and the fastness of Albanian mountains to depend on. Scanderbeg's legendary battles became a source of inspiration for our people in their age-long struggle for freedom, became a magnificent example of militant patriotism, of heroism and of exceptional ability of a great captain who by his tactical and strategic genius showed the whole world how a people, few in numbers, how an army, limited in size, can fight and score historic triumphs against an enemy ever and many times superior in numbers and means.

The Albanian people continued their armed hostilities against Turkish domination, for the liberty of their Fatherland, after Scanderbeg's death as well. After Scanderbeg's death the Ottoman invaders succeeded in occupying our country but they never succeeded in subjugating our people. Albania became an abysmal grave for Turkish soldiers. Frequent and innumerable were the armed uprisings and hostile activities of our people against Turkish domination which lasted for about 450 years.

One of the most brilliant pages of the history of our people was written by the heroic exploits of our great men of the Renaissance for the freedom of the Fatherland. At the time when the accumulated hatred of our people for the century long enslavement was at its height, when the hearts of the Albanians were craving for freedom the great torch-bearers of our National Revival like Naum Veqilharxhi, Konstantin Kristoforidhi, Pashko Vasa, Thimi Mitko, Jani Vreto, Abdul Frasheri, Sami Frasheri, Naim Frasheri, Ismail Qemali and

hundreds of other patriots of the period of national revival rendered a valuable contribution, by pen and sword, to pulling our country from darkness, to strengthening the national conscience of the people, to leading our people towards the independence of our Fatherland through an armed uprising of the people against the invaders of the country.

We are proud of our people of our national revival because they were the standard-bearers of freedom, the embodiment of the highest interests of the people and of the Fatherland, because they frustrated the numerous intrigues and plots of our foes and raised the consciousness of the people to the height of the great historic task of overthrowing the yoke of foreigners by force, because they pointed out to the people the road to freedom and independence, the road which they illuminated with their lofty, inspiring, patriotic and warlike example.

The writings and ideas of our great men of the Renaissance are permeated throughout with an ardent love for country, for people, for freedom, for the ancestral and beautiful Albanian tongue, for the highly cherished qualities of fidelity, hospitality, valor and lofty patriotism of the Albanians, they are permeated with hatred towards every enemy of Albania and with the determination to face every danger and foe.

The shots fired against the Turkish invading army by the fighting bands of our men of the renaissance under the leadership of Çerçis Topulli, Mihal Grameno, Themistokli Gërmenji, Spiro Belkameni, Ded Gjo Luli, Isa Buletini, Bajram Curri, Sali Butka and many others sounded the call to arms for all the people against the Turkish yoke for the freedom of the Fatherland.

The patriotic exploits of our men of the renaissance will stand forth as a majestic monument of the history of our people, an inexhaustable spring of inspiration for us and for the coming generations to safeguard freedom, to bring about happiness and prosperity to the people.

The historic significance of the Proclamation of our Na-

tional Independence rests on the fact that on November 28, 1912 the Albanian people came off victorious from their age long struggle and showed the world that even a people few in numbers like the Albanians can face the hardships of life, that they can protect and preserve intact their best customs and habits, and lofty virtues, their mother tongue, their honor and their individuality as a people and as a nation, that they can come off triumphant and win their freedom if they are dead set on fighting to the last for their own freedom even when their enemies and invaders are superior in numbers and more powerful. November 28, 1912 wrote in golden letters on the pages of history: «Bondage, oppression and tyranny come and dwindle away like dew, but this insuperable people will never, never pass away!».

The Proclamation of National Independence fully half a century ago, was, in truth, the greatest historic victory of the Albanian people up to that time, but it did not put an end to the hazards our newly-born Albanian State had to face. It had to face the intrigues, snares and plots of the imperialist great powers and the chauvinist rulers of the neighboring states. Great injustice was done to Albania when the imperialist great powers settled its territorial boundaries in 1913. To satiate the chauvinistic cravings of Serbia and Greece the Great Powers left half of the Albanian territory and people on the other side of the boundaries of our Fatherland: Kosova and other regions which they offered as a gift to Serbia and Çameria which they presented to Greece. And through their 1915 Secret Treaty of London the imperialist big powers decided to partition Albania among Serbia, Greece and Italy. Finally Albania was run over during the First World War by the great warring powers.

But the Albanian people did not lay down their weapons, they kept up their traditional warlike struggle in defense of their liberty and their very existence. The 50-year period from the proclamation of national independence to this day is the richest period of historical events of the destiny of our people.

The Sun of Liberty pierced the black clouds of the gloomy sky of the First World War and shone over all mankind on November 7, 1917, the Great October Socialist Revolution triumphed and the first socialist state of the world was founded by the Great Lenin. This event marked a turn in the history of mankind, shook the world imperialist system from its roots and opened the road to the triumph of socialism and of communism in the world. The rays of the Great October Sun warmed the hearts of all the oppressed peoples of the world, they reached as far as our mountains and warmed the hearts of the Albanian people, Lenin became the first great and loyal friend of the Albanian people right after the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat in Russia, he drew out of the czarist archives and published the secret rapacious Treaty of the Great Powers of 1915 on the partition of Albania, unmasked the imperialist plans against Albania and raised his voice in defense of the rights of the Albanian people. Great patriots like Bajram Curri, Avni Rustemi and others saw in Lenin's person the savior of the Albanian people. Lenin is the Father of the true internationalist friendship between the Soviet and the Albanian peoples. Our Party set up and guided by Great Lenin's immortal teachings wrought this friendship in Lenin's way and became a warranty to keep it intact and perpetual.

The Battle of Vlorë in 1920 is a brilliant epic of the patriotic peasantry of Vlorë and Kurvelesh, of Tepelena and Mallakstra, of all the Albanian people who turned Vlorë into a grave-pit for the Italian army and liberated the country as a whole. The Italians were reluctant to withdraw from Vlorë and Tepelena, they intended to keep a bridgehead for the occupation of the whole Albania. Victor Emanuel and his General Staff coveting the land and resources of others, eager to swallow up Vlorë and the whole of Albania, squatted square down on our land and took it for granted that the «shepherds» of Albania, as they called us then, would be an easy prey and would acquiesce to the Italian yoke. This is the mistake that all aggressors and invaders of Albania make when

they have been reluctant to learn their lesson from history. But history is a cruel judge for those who make light of it.

In 1920 the Albanian patriots under the example set by Selam Musai and Dule Dajlani, Zigur Lelo and Mulla Halimi, Çauš Mehmeti and Hodo Zeqiri and by hundreds of other heroes, pounced upon the barbed wires and Italian trenches, «seized the cannon by the nozzle» and fought with «dry bread in their knapsacks», with «hatchets and poniards», with «rifles tied to a string» until they drove the foe headlong into the sea.

Bourgeois Europe wondered how it could be possible that the Albanians, lacking weapons, untrained for modern warfare, not enrolled in a regular army, without commanders graduated from academies and tens of times fewer in numbers than the regular Italian army, armed to the teeth, should fight and beat the Italians. The victory of the Albanian people at Vlorë was further proof of the vitality of the people, of the stimulus of patriotism. It showed that there is no force of arms or of armies that can down people who are determined to defend their freedom to the last. Therefore Selam Musa's fist was more irresistible than the Italian's cannon, 70-year old Zyber Bejto Kudhesjoti's staff was stronger than the enemy's machine gun which he seized by the nozzle; therefore «the Albanians charged and Piacentini turned to his heels».

As a result of our victory at the battle of Vlorë Albania got again rid of foreign invaders.

Our people have fought not only against foreign invaders but also against the oppressive and exploiting classes of the country. The democratic uprising of our people in 1924 showed the political maturity of our working masses, their revolutionary pluck, their determination to rid themselves of feudal exploitation and to safeguard the freedom and sovereignty of their Fatherland from imperialist intrusion. It had a revolutionary, democratic, anti-feudal and anti-imperialist character.

But the 1924 revolution was suppressed by feudal chief-

tain Ahmed Zogu at the head of Wrangel's army which the Servian monarch had placed at his disposal and the all round assistance of the big imperialist powers.

Ahmed Zogu's ascendancy to power showed the Albanian people that the exploiting classes would rather sell their country off to any foreign imperialist and reactionary power than risk the overthrow of their regime by the working masses. Ahmed Zogu sold the interests of Albania, paved the way to the Italian fascists and plunged Albania into the tragedy of April 7, 1939 when Albania was overrun by Mussolini's troops.

Although betrayed and disarmed, deprived of protection and of leadership, the Albanian people fought against the fascist divisions «with grip and teeth». The volley of Mujo Ulçinaku's machine gun on the Durres quay against Mussolini's cruiser on April 7, 1939 sounded the battlecry for the Albanian people to rise up in arms against the fascist invaders, it initiated the most glorious epic of our people, the war for national liberation which burst forth with increasing fervor throughout Albania till the complete liberation of the country from the fascist yoke.

The occupation of the country by fascist Italy was fraught with extreme danger for the Albanian people, for Italian fascism intended to exterminate us from the face of the globe as a people and nation. That is why our people fought against fascist invaders with might and main.

History had taught our people a great lesson: in order to crown their struggle with real and lasting victory the people had first to set up from their own ranks a revolutionary leadership that would stand for the interests of the people to the end, and the real National Independence can only exist when the state machinery of the exploiting classes is crushed and the working masses establish their own democratic and revolutionary regime.

The founding of our Party by the Albanian communists under the leadership of Comrade Enver Hoxha on November 8, 1941 marked a decisive turn for the destiny of our people.

Our glorious Party born not in the cushioned divans of glittering halls but in the darkness of illegality under the thunder of partisan shots against the Italian fascist invaders, led on its ever correct marxist - leninist line by its Central Committee with Comrade Enver at the head, grew up from its infancy with rifle in hand, wrestled with the enemy right from the start, was tempered in hard battles with numerous and ruthless foes, became the Party that secured the Albanian people three historic victories: the victory in the War for National Liberation, the victory in socialist reconstruction under capitalist encirclement and the victory in the struggle against modern revisionism. It is a great luck for our people and Party that the latter, is headed by Comrade Enver, its founder and leader, right from the beginning.

Our Party took firm hold of the banner of Scanderbeg and of our men of national revival right at the start, rallied the people around it in the armed National - Liberation war against the fascist invaders and the traitors to the country in defense of the freedom and independence of the Fatherland, for a people's democratic Albania.

Under the guidance of the Albanian Communist Party our war for national liberation brought to the fore as never before the lofty virtues of our people: their fiery patriotism and steel-like will power, their age-long valor and highly militant spirit, their irreproachable conscience and political maturity, their unbounded love for the country and passion for freedom, their hatred for the enemy and the military skill to down them and score a victory over them.

At the call of our Party the national - liberation war burst forth like a volcano all over Albania, all the people, young and old, women and pioneers, workers and peasants, all joined in without exception. It is hard to find a highway or a pass, a hill or a mountain, a plain or a valley, a village or a town or even a foot of Albanian soil which has not been ravaged by the war, which has not been stained with the innocent and sacred blood of the legendary partisans who silenced Mussolini's machine gun fire with their breasts, who

knocked down Hitler's tanks with their fists. Our partisans, giants of liberty, fought with unparalleled heroism against the picked divisions of fascist Italy and nazi Germany and routed the enemy to free the Fatherland, just as Scander did, just as Naim wished, just as Selam fought for, just as the Party led. With the hard earth as their «bed», with the boulders as their «pillow», with the open sky as their «blanket», with gunpowder as their «bread», with the fist as their weapon, with Stalin as their friend, the heroic partizans pounced upon the enemy like lions, snatched the weapons away from him, raised aloft the banner of Scanderbeg and Ismail Qemali, brightened every cottage and house, kindled the hearts of the Albanian people with the rays of the star of freedom, of socialism and of communism, followed in the wake of the heroism of Qemal Stafa and Vojo Kushi, Perlat Rexhepi and Vaso Kadia, of Misto Mame and Koci Bako and of thousands of other heroes who laid down their lives in the field of battle until they brought death to fascism and freedom to the people on November 29, 1944.

We paid dearly for the war of national liberation: about 8% of the population were killed or wounded, about one-fourth of the number of houses of the peasants were razed to the ground, in addition to the havoc raised in the cities, all the lines and means of communication were totally destroyed, over one-third of the livestock perished and the entire economy of the country was put out of gear. Albania was filled with graves and ruins.

But the blood shed during the war for national liberation was not shed in vain. On November 29, 1944 the Albanian people scored final victory over their enemies from abroad and at home, Albania became a fully independent State, the oppressed and exploited classes became the ruling class and the people became masters of their own destiny and the people's regime was established on the ruins of the regime of the fascist invaders and the home reactionaries. This marked the great turn in the history of our people, it

opened the broad road to socialism and communism for our people.

The historic triumph of the glorious Soviet Army over the Hitlerite armies in the Second World War was the decisive outer factor that made the victory of our national liberation war possible. By aligning our national liberation war with the great patriotic war of the Soviet Union our Party laid the cornerstone to the firm and lasting friendship between the Albanian and the Soviet peoples. The blood shed by millions of Soviet people and by thousands of sons and daughters of Albania in the joint struggle against the common enemy can never turn to water and the lasting militant friendship between our people and the glorious people of Lenin and Stalin can never be harmed, not even by Nikita Khrushchev's high treason nor by any force in the world.

Dear Comrades!

Thanks to the correct marxist - leninist leadership of our Party during 18 years of the existence of the people's regime, the Albanian people, have achieved great progress. We healed the wounds of war, patched up our economy shattered by the war, overcame the resistance of the exploiting classes and the plots of foreign foes, built up a new industry which is making speedy progress, reorganized agriculture on socialist lines and are leading it toward intensive farming, set up the new people's intelligentsia, did away with the exploiting classes and the exploitation of man by man, established the economic basis of socialism and are now well on the way to establishing full socialist society in our country.

Our industry today turns out 27 times as much and, in 1965, will be turning out 38 times as much as it did in 1938, while agricultural production today is 125 per cent and in 1965 will be 217% as much as in 1938. Today we boast of over 15 times as many cadres of higher training and 11 times as many cadres of middle school training as in 1938,

in addition to a whole army of qualified workers. Today 20% of the population of the Republic attend school. Everything done in our socialist Fatherland is done for the good and welfare of the people. The great achievements attained in building socialism are making daily the life of the people more beautiful, more flourishing, happier and more cheerful. With us the Party does what the people want and the people do what the Party says. Our socialist revolution is marching ahead in triumph in all the fields of the life of our people.

The progress made by our people in building up socialism is due to the tireless self-sacrificing efforts of the people themselves and to the aid given by the fraternal peoples of the socialist countries. We are thankful for life to the great Soviet peoples for helping us to build socialism regardless of the fact that Nikita Khrushchev and his group have betrayed marxism - leninism and proletarian internationalism and behave towards socialist Albania in the same way as John Kennedy behaves towards revolutionary Cuba. We are thankful for life to the great Chinese people, to the great Chinese Communist Party and great Comrade Mao Tse Tung for the all round internationalist aid they have rendered and continue to render to us, especially today under the conditions of an hostile blockade.

Our magnificent achievements in all the fields of our life, the radical socialist transformations made during these 18 years of popular rule, are the finest monuments of the correct revolutionary and marxist - leninist line of our Party, the concrete results of the creative application of the teachings of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin by our Party, the real and concrete expression of the genius of our diligent and peaceloving people.

We are compelled to build socialism being encircled with the imperialist front in the van and the revisionist front in the rear. The experience of life, especially during these last years, has proven that neither the ponderance and the plots of the imperialists nor the ponderance and plots of the revisionists can down a people, however few in numbers,

like the Albanian people, when those people are led by a consistent marxist-leninist Party like the Albanian Party of Labor, and when Party and people are well informed politically and ideologically, when they are united as one body dead set on building socialism and on fighting to the end against any foe.

We are successfully fulfilling the tasks of the 3d five year plan set forth by the IVth historic Congress of our Party and we are successfully warding off all attempts of the enemy. Through the efforts, struggle and correct, marxist - leninist, consistent and manly stand of our Party and our people, the star of the People's Republic of Albania shines ever so bright, strikes our enemies blind and fills our friends with joy. Thanks to the correct leadership of the Party, to the determination of the people and to proletarian internationalism, the People's Republic of Albania has become an insuperable fortress of socialism on whose bulwarks both the imperialists and the revisionists have broken and will continue to break their necks. Whatever billows and storms may swirl over us the banner of marxism-leninism will never be downed nor stained here in socialist Albania, no imperialists nor revisionists will ever pass here, the star of our People's Republic and of our glorious Party will shine ever so brightly.

Dear Brothers and Sisters!

We are celebrating our great festivities under conditions of grave tension in the international situation, at a time when world peace is seriously menaced by the aggressive acts of the United States of America and their imperialist and reactionary friends. Assisted by the activities of the renegates of marxism - leninism, the modern revisionists, the imperialists and especially the American imperialists, are becoming ever more aggressive, ever more of a menace to socialism and peace.

Events of the recent weeks on the Caribbean Sea around socialist Cuba show the extent of imperialist brutality and menace, show that President Kennedy, on whom Nikita

Khrushchev based great hopes of finding a «peace-lover» and on whose formal promises he lays great trust even to this day, is far more dangerous and warmongering than Eisenhower. But these events show at the same time the utter weakness of imperialism, they show their dread not so much on account of the strategic defense weapons stationed in Cuba but rather because of the influence of the Cuban revolution, of the force of revolutionary ideas which strategic weapons can never down, for heroic revolutionary Cuba of Fidel Castro has become the first socialist state in the American continent, it has become the center of revolutionary gravity and beacon light for the people of Latin America, it sets them a great example of the revolutionary road to liberation from the yoke of capital.

President Kennedy took it for granted that he would be able to down heroic Cuba and to smother the Cuban revolution by one sudden stroke of plotting.

The military blockade of Cuba by the American military and naval fleet, Kennedy's humiliating ultimatum to withdraw the strategic defensive weapons from Cuba and the American military preparations to attack Cuba revealed the true nature of American imperialism as a threatening aggressor, as enemy Nr. 1 of peace and socialism, of people's freedom and progress.

As every one is aware, Nikita Khrushchev accepted with lightning speed the demands of Kennedy's ultimatum to withdraw the soviet weapons for strategic defense from Cuba under the supervision of the United Nations Organization as against President Kennedy's «solemn pledge» «not to attack» Cuba, and «assured» Kennedy that he need not be alarmed as the Soviet rockets in Cuba were «in sure hands», in the hands of Soviet officers.

Experience in history has borne out the fact when one is intimidated by the imperialists they become more arrogant, the further one backs before their pressure and blackmail the more covetous they become for fresh concessions, for aggressiveness, for armed hostilities. Our people have a saying

that the wolf can tell whether the shepherd is a coward or a brave man by his voice and when the shepherd is a coward the wolf assails the flock and if, on the contrary, the shepherd is courageous it turns to its heels.

Experience in history has borne out the fact that people and marxist - leninists should not lend credit to the words and «pledges» of the imperialists be they ever so «solemn» if they do not want to risk peace and the interests of the people. Hitler, too, «promised» at Munich in 1938, that he would «not attack» Czechoslovakia of Benes and Chamberlain and Daladier with all their reactionary followers trusted Hitler's words and hailed the betrayal at Munich as «a triumph for peace». Every body knows how true to his word Hitler was! Can Kennedy be a better man than Hitler?! People and marxist - leninists are convinced, and the Cuban events have made them more certain, that Kennedy is not «more sincere» and «more peace-loving» than Hitler. Whereas there are people in the world who trust Kennedy's word: these are the modern revisionists, the short - sighted pacifists and cowards. As far as marxist - leninists are concerned, the danger of imperialist aggression against Cuba exists even though Kennedy lifted the blockade. Kennedy's appetite has been whetted.

But President Kennedy had made some miscalculation about Cuba. As a leading marxist - leninist revolutionary Fidel Castro expressed the highest interests of the Cuban people, of socialism and peace through his historic and famous Declaration of five points which will enter into the annals of Cuba and of all mankind as a very important document defining the just and determined stand of a heroic people like the Cubans and their great leader, Comrade Fidel, in critical and decisive moments of the destiny of the Cuban revolution.

All the people of the world rose up to denounce the American aggression against Cuba, to hail the manly stand of the Cuban people, to uphold Fidel Castro's Declaration of five points to protect Cuba from the impending danger of American aggression.

The Albanian people, young and old, our Party and our Government denounce the aggressive acts of the American imperialists against Cuba, express their full solidarity with and second to the end the five points of Fidel Castro's historic Declaration. We fully uphold likewise, the recent statement of the leaders of the United Revolutionary Organizations and of the Government of Cuba on the crisis in the Caribbean.

We are firmly confident that the cause of the Cuban people will triumph, because their cause is a just one, because the revolutionary determination of the Cuban people and the force of their solidarity with the revolutionary Government and their great leader, Comrade Fidel Castro, is unbreakable and far stronger than any strategic weapon in the world, and because Cuba enjoys the support of all the people of the socialist countries and of all the peaceful forces of the world. The Albanian people speak in the revolutionary terms as the Cuban people: «Cuba-Yes, Yankee-No!», «Fatherland or death!», «Cuba will win!».

A new dangerous hotbed of war was set ablaze in Asia along the Chinese - Indian border, in recent times. The People's Republic of China has long since tried to settle the border dispute with India through peaceful ways. But the Indian reactionaries with Nehru at the head, for somber reasons of their own and urged and assisted by the American imperialists chose the way of military aggression against the border guards of the People's Republic of China.

Our people, Party and Government condemn the Indian aggression violating the territorial integrity of the People's Republic of China. We have fully upheld the proposals of the Government of the People's Republic of China of October 24 of the current year to settle the Chinese Indian border conflict in a peaceful way. We hail particularly the statement of the Government of the People's Republic of China on November 21 of this year on the unilateral cease - fire action of the Chinese - Indian border units on all fronts to withdraw as soon as possible 20 km behind the line of con-

trol that had existed between China and India on November 7, 1959. The implementation of the steps contained in this very important statement on the part of People's China is a clear indication of the consistent peaceful policy of the People's Republic of China, its desire to settle this conflict in a peaceful way. Unilateral cease fire by the Chinese border units and the other measures mentioned in the statement constitute a great contribution for peace and an unexpected heavy blow for the aggressive policy of the Indian reactionary government, for the aggressive plans of the imperialists and the wily aspirations of the revisionists.

Nehru's Government appealed to the imperialists to furnish it with arms to use against the People's Republic of China abandoning in this manner its position of «neutrality» of «non-participation in blocks» as it has always pretended. In fact, no sooner had Kennedy's Government secured the withdrawal of Soviet rockets from Cuba than it started to furnish Nehru with arms and ammunition to use against China. The English and French imperialists have acted in the same way. The Indian Government tries in this manner to turn the Chinese - Indian border conflict provoked by it, into an undeclared war against People's China. It is clear why events have taken this turn: the imperialists want to move the center of tension and of war to the Far East so that they may draw a circle of fire around People's China from the China - India borderline, South Vietnam, Taiwan and South Korea. Apparently the Indian reactionaries and Nehru have succumbed to pulling the chestnuts out of the fire for the American imperialists. But they have forgotten that the fire will burn their fingers, especially when it is a Chinese fire!

Nehru's Government are up to creating a psychosis of enmity and war against People's China, it is preparing for war against People's China, and it is being furnished with arms by the imperialists and the reactionaries. They are imprisoning sworn communists and they are leading their country on the road to submission to the American imperialists.

Under present conditions when a socialist State like the People's Republic of China, is compelled to protect itself by force of arms against a military aggression deliberately provoked by Indian reaction against its territorial integrity it behooves the marxist-leninists of the whole world to take a stand, to uphold the correct attitude of People's China and to condemn the Indian reactionaries. Whoever maintains an openly hostile attitude against People's China like the revisionist faction of the leadership of the Indian Communist Party and the Yugoslav revisionists, slides into the positions of the Indian reactionaries. Whoever maintain an attitude of «neutrality» embolden, in fact, the Indian reactionaries and whoever send arms and factories to produce arms to be used against People's China, align, in fact, with the imperialists, with the world reactionaries against peace and socialism.

We are convinced that the hopes and aims of the imperialists, of the Indian reactionaries and of their friends, the modern revisionists, will never be realized. There is no force in the world capable of downing the great Chinese people of 700 millions with its great Army and its great and glorious Mao Tse Tung's Party. We hope and wish that the Indian Government give a positive response to the Chinese statement of November 21 and that the Chinese - Indian border issue be settled in a peaceful way as suggested and acted upon by the Government of People's China.

Great Stalins' words that «peace will be preserved and strengthened if peoples take the cause of safeguarding peace into their own hands and guard it to the end» sound today as true as ever before. There is no other way to defend peace. To set off «the solemn pledges» of the imperialists «for peace» to the struggle of peoples to safeguard peace would mean to undermine peace and to open the way to the imperialists to launch a war. To disarm friends «in order to calm down enemies», to enter into negotiations with the imperialists for the sovereignty of free peoples «for the

sake of peace» would mean to become an accomplice of the imperialists against the interests of peoples.

The war against imperialism and in defense of peace can only be successful if the modern revisionists, the Tito - Khrushchev group and their followers who play the role of a «Trojan horse» in the communist movement and who, in fact, assist the imperialists, undermine the unity of the socialist camp and smother the revolutionary spirit of peoples, are mercilessly exposed.

But imperialism today is not the imperialism of 50 years or even 10 years ago. Imperialism is decaying, it is tottering to its fall, it is meeting with its inevitable doom and its offspring, modern revisionism, will likewise meet its inevitable doom with it, and the day will certainly dawn when the banner of socialism will be flying triumphant over all the world.

Comrades!

The People's Republic of Albania has pursued and will always pursue a consistent peaceful foreign policy. The bedrock of our foreign policy has been and will always continue to be that of fraternal collaboration and mutual assistance in our relations with other socialist countries, that of consolidating the unbreakable friendship between our country and the other socialist countries, that of strengthening the unity of the socialist camp; we have been and always are in favor of upholding and supporting without reserve the national liberation and anti-colonial struggle of oppressed countries; we have been and always are in favor of peaceful coexistence in relations among nations of different social systems. We are particularly interested in maintaining peace in the Balkans, therefore we will continue as heretofore to do our best to establish good neighborly relations with the neighboring states on the basis of the principles of peaceful coexistence. We are in favor of general and total disarmament, of settling all pending international issues by peace-

ful ways always with the proviso that the interests of socialism and of peoples are not impaired.

The events of the times are bearing daily evidence of the correctness of the marxist - leninist line of our Party. We are successfully building socialism under very difficult conditions. Our struggle against our foreign foes on two fronts is long, hard and complicated. We have embarked on the most heroic stage of the history of our people. The need arises today more than ever for courage, pluck, confidence in the line of the Party and in the strength of the people, confidence in the strength of marxism - leninism and its final triumph, confidence in our loyal and numerous friends.

The Albanian Party of Labor and the People's Republic of Albania have become an important factor in the international communist movement in defense of marxism - leninism and of peace in the world. 50 years after the Proclamation of National Independence we find ourselves in the front line of the battle where history has thrust us, face to face with the imperialist front and face to face with the revisionist front. Our Party and our people have so far not been abashed, we have not and we pledge our word of honor that we will never put Lenin and Stalin, our ancestors, our men of the renaissance, our heroes and fallen fighters, to shame.

Our Party has become a faithful heir to the highest virtues of our ancestors, of our men of the renaissance, it has illumined them with the rays of marxism - leninism and uses them as a powerful weapon in the struggle to build the new life and in fighting the enemy. Our Party and our people will pursue their way to the end, will carry to the end their sacred mission in defense of the Fatherland and of the cause of marxism - leninism in the first line of the battle front.

We will muster all our energy together in order to carry out with success the task of building socialism, we will center all our efforts to defending peace. We are fully aware of the sinister intentions of our enemies towards socialist Albania, that is why we are always on the alert and ready

to defend our Fatherland. And if our foreign foes will one day dare to violate the boundaries of our Fatherland let them take note that there will be bloodshed here, that history will repeat itself, for, in that case, under the call to arms and the leadership of our heroic Party, of its Central Committee and of our beloved leader, Comrade Enver, we will repeat to a much higher scale the epic of Scanderbeg and of our men of the renaissance, the epic of our war for national liberation and we will turn our land into a grave-pit for the enemy and we will hold ever aloft the banner of the people, of marxism - leninism, till our final and certain victory. With the people and the Party we have, there is no obstacle, no hardship that we will not overcome, there is no wave or storm that we cannot brave and there is no force in the world to stop our triumphal march onward on the glorious path to socialism and communism.

Long live our free, diligent, valiant and peaceloving people!

Long live our heroic Party and its Central Committee with Comrade Enver in the lead!

Praise to marxism - leninism!

Long live peace in the world!

ENVER HOXHA

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

**SPEECH DELIVERED AT A BANQUET IN VLORA ON
THE OCCASION OF THE 50th ANNIVERSARY OF
INDEPENDENCE AND THE 18th ANNIVERSARY OF
LIBERATION OF THE COUNTRY**

Dear Comrades, Friends and Guests!

Today, young and old in Albania are festive. The hearts of the working masses are filled with joy commemorating the 50th historical anniversary of the proclamation of independence and the 18th glorious anniversary of the liberation of our Fatherland. We see these two unforgettable dates, which our ancestors and the fighting partisans wrote in blood, carved in everything surrounding us today in our powerful socialist Republic, in the magnificent works of our people guided by our heroic Party of Labor, in new and resplendent Vlora, in the cheerful faces of the workers, of the peasants and of the intellectuals, in the gay voices of children and in the revolutionary songs of the young generation.

Would that we had here with us today great patriot venerable wise man Ismail Qemal and all his glorious predecessors and successors beginning with the immortal Scanderbeg up to the martyr who fell in combat with the Titoite and monarchic-fascist diversionists, their eyes would sparkle and their hearts would be buoyant with joy to see that their blood

was not shed in vain, that their legacy had been fulfilled and their dreams had come true.

We, Albanians, have a right to be glad and proud of the road we have pursued to come to these memorable days for this was not a road of least resistance, a road of double dealing and servility, of subjugation and abject fear of the stronger, but a road of clashes with fierce foreign and internal enemies, open or disguised, a road which our people have braved with their chests, with great political sagacity and maturity, by pen and sword, by blood and numerous sacrifices. And it is for this reason that we honor and bow with great respect before the memory of all those who dedicated their lives to Albania, it is for this reason that we value so high our freedom and all our achievements, that we safeguard them as the ball of our eyes and that we will preserve and consolidate them for ages to come.

The Ottoman hordes tried their hardest to wipe away our nation, the name of Albanian from the face of the globe. Nor were the attempts of the big imperialist powers and of the chauvinist neighboring states less intensive in this direction during the last century and the half-century following it. But all their attempts came to naught because Albania was, just as it is more so now and will be in the endless years to come, such a rock that no one can shake or obliterate.

When the black clouds of Ottoman enslavement covered the whole sky of our Fatherland, the mountains of Albania, from north to south, resounded with the din of fighting of our heroic, unvanquished people. From the death of our legendary hero, Scanderbeg, and onward, although everything seemed lost, our forefathers never slackened their fighting for freedom. Our forefathers never fell into the trap of the so-called Turkish reforms. Therefore, they rose up in arms and fought for more than thirty years in the latter half of the past century under the leadership of the heroes of the rank and file of the population, of Gjoleka and Rrapo Hekali, of Sokol Alia and Sokol Arami, they fought.

the Turkish invaders and their reforms of the Tanzimat. In the dark days of slavery and as an offspring of the age long armed struggle of the people, as a continuation of their traditions of fighting for freedom and independence, as a result of the political, economic and social development of those days, the Albanian sky was brightened by those rays which would kindle a more blazing fire in the hearts of the masses craving for freedom, the great thinkers and fighters of the period of our national revival who made the supreme sacrifice for the cause of the people. Like true sons of the people, inspired by their most sacred sentiments and aspirations, they gave the movement for freedom a clear political platform, a broad ideological basis. The line of political thought and the ever spreading revolutionary exploits whose objective was the freedom of the Fatherland, its complete independence and its territorial integrity, run through the writings of Naum Veqilharxhi and of the Arbereshi, the economic and political demands of Zef Jubani, the League of Prizren, the work of Sami Frasheri «Albania, its past, its present and its future», the fiery poetry of Naim Frasheri, the wise and daring acts of Ismail Qemal and his companions as well as the armed glorious bands of Themistokli Gerneni, Spiro Belkameni, Çerçis Topulli, Ded Gjo Luli, Isa Buletini, Abdi Toptani, Hoxh Vokri, Kamo Sejdimi and others. Our men of the period of national revival were revolutionaries, optimists, realists, stouthearted, men who did what they said - marvelous characteristics of all our people at all times and under all circumstances.

The leaders of our national revival were great scholars, men of learning, writers and capable diplomats, people of an advanced philosophy and of correct understanding of the war and of political exploits. This is the reason they managed to raise the people to fight for freedom and independence, under very difficult circumstances and extremely grave conditions both in the country and abroad, when terror and age-long ignorance reigned supreme, when they were cruelly persecuted by foes and their agents inside

the country, when the diabolical policy of «split and rule» was the order of the day, when the imperialist powers trifled with the destiny of smaller states, when the Turkish invaders themselves were the target of diplomatic and military blows of all the big European powers. Under such hazardous conditions and circumstances they acted on the basis of a clear and just line of action and they carried this line of action into execution without hesitation and unmindful of death. The principal great idea of the men of our national revival, closely connected with the armed struggle for the liberation of the people and the independence of our Fatherland was the unification of the people and the militant establishment of their moral and political unity by promoting in this way their age long traditions and raising them to a higher level, to a political emancipatory platform. In this union without religious or local discrimination they saw the only basis of the war for liberation of Albania. To attain this objective they picked as a main link, the spreading of their common Albanian language, which is the first element of the nation and propagation of knowledge, side by side with the political and the armed struggle. The written word would be that important transmission belt to the masses through which the emancipatory ideas and the unquenched fire of the most advanced men of the time would flow like streams. It would scatter away darkness and would sow learning, would arouse and sharpen national sentiments in the hearts of the Albanians, would lift the masses and bring them closer together and it would lead them to the fight for freedom. Veqilharxhi and Jani Vreto, Kristoforidhi and Pashko Vasa, Jeronim de Rada and Sami Frasheri, Koto Hoxhi and Thimi Mitko, the Nightingale of Albania, Naim Frasheri and the tireless teacher Petro Nini Luarasi, Luigj Gurakuqi and Mihal Grameno and many and many others took up the Albanian language with passion, brought to light its richness, sang praises to it and through it to mother Albania, propagated and spread the writing of Albanian far and wide. Under conditions of Ottoman

oppression it was not an easy thing to do what they did, to write, publish and smuggle into Albania thousands of primaries and other books, to open the first Albanian school in the country in 1887, to organize a whole Congress like that of Monastir to unify the Albanian alphabet. And all of these, of course had their great repercussions which were best reflected in the rapid growth of the revolutionary movement and the armed uprisings.

But by fighting for the liberty of Albania our men of the period of revival fought, at the same time, for its territorial unification. For they were well aware how dangerous in this respect were the territorial covetousness and the brutal chauvinistic acts of neighboring Greeks, Servians, Montenegrans and Italians as well as the attempts of the major European powers to partition their Fatherland, attempts which continue without interruption to this day. Precisely for this reason and at a very critical moment the historic Prizren League came into being under the leadership of Abdyl Frasheri in 1878 to uphold the liberty and territorial unity of the country and as a reaction to the plots of the Berlin Congress. Unforgettable will be the legendary battles which the Albanians waged for three years in succession to defend with their breasts Plava and Gucia, Hoti, Gruda and Ulqin, offering an unparalleled challenge to the western powers which had decided to wrest these regions from Albania. Our patriots had also a hard time of it in this connection. Therefore they made use of all means in their power, from a clash of arms to sagacious diplomatic acts in order to maintain the security of their Fatherland. They used the latter methods in the most diverse cases, so that they might be able to adapt them to the situation created, to find allies, to utilize the contradictions among various powers in the downfall of Turkey, to frustrate the plots of foreign powers against Albania and to secure its complete emancipation. Ismail Qemal was one of the most distinguished persons to understand these contradictions and to utilize them as best as he could under the circumstances. But he did not trust that the major European

powers would uphold the cause of Albania to the end. And later experience proved that he was fully justified. And so the liberation of Albania had again to depend after all solely and entirely on the unity and the armed struggle of the Albanian people themselves to the end.

The intention of our men of revival to align the struggle of our people with that of the neighboring people against the common enemy, their internationalism, is an important feature of the majesty, of the broad harmony and deep revolutionary nature of our national movement. This was often stressed in the writings of Sami, Naim and Ismail Qemal, as well as in the memorandums of those who had risen up in arms. The Albanians strove to achieve this more than once and by the blood they shed during the Kosova uprisings in the 70's, during the Balkan crisis and those of later years as well as during the movement of the Young Turks, through which they played an important role and dealt repeated blows to the Ottoman Empire, to this true jail of peoples. But perfidy lay always hidden behind the backs of the great Albanian fighters. The Servian and Montenegrin chauvinist reaction of the czars and others, designed to chop up Albania by foul means, and it finally managed to wrest and subjugate Kosova and Metohia. And now listen to this cynicism of the «modern» Titoite czars: Some days ago Radio - Belgrade quoted Naim Frasheri's internationalist appeals for collaboration and friendship with the neighboring Balkan peoples against the Turks with evil intentions against our people and with a view to waylay the heroic Albanian people of Kosova and Metohia and to set them off against us. But Radio - Belgrade forgot to say how these noble sentiments and ardent appeals of Naim and of all the Albanians were perfidiously and brutally rejected by the Servian and Montenegrin chauvinists who massacred and enslaved the Kosovari and chopped up Albania. And this is not done unintentionally, they are reluctant to say it, for the Titoites themselves are the worthy successors of the czars. While our partisans, true to the noble sentiments of many a Naim, and

with the instructions of the Albanian Communist Party in their hearts, went and shed their blood, as a token of friendship and lofty internationalism, to liberate the peoples of Jugoslavia from the fascist yoke. Our Party and our people preserve this marvelous tradition inherited from our predecessors with fidelity, and they have raised it to a higher level, to that of marxist-leninist proletarian internationalism.

Armed uprising, as every body knows, is the highest form of war of the masses against whatever kind of oppression. The better organized and the more conscientious they are, the more chances there are for their success. Our national movement has had an uninterrupted process of growth - from spontaneous to well organized uprisings with a program, from sporadic uprisings to those of the broadest masses winding up with the general revolution. The active participation of the broad masses of the peasantry in them has always given these uprisings a character of social emancipation. These uprisings acted as depth bombs in the rear of the Ottoman Empire which together with other factors brought about its gradual downfall.

As early as 1905 these uprisings kept gradually growing in number and intensity until they were combined in the spring of 1912 and were turned into a powerful armed movement led by the great patriots Bajram Curri, Hasan Prishtina, Luigj Gurakuqi, Themistokli Gërmenji and others.

Fifty years ago in the rainy and stormy days of November the venerable old man, Ismail Qemal, was braving his way through paths and by-paths, through mud and slush to the city of Vlora. His hair was gray and his beard as white as snow, but his heart was that of a lion, his mind that of a sage and his gait was as lively as that of a young man for he bore in his bosom all the ardent hopes and the lofty aspirations of the Albanians, the dream of our forefathers and the destiny and future of the young generations of Albania. Based on the powerful general armed uprising and the determination of the delegates from all corners of Albania, venerable old man Ismail Qemal accomplished the brilliant his-

toric task of hoisting the national flag in the heroic city of Vlora on November 28, 1912 and of proclaiming the full independence of Albania.

November 28, whose 50th anniversary we are commemorating today is the most outstanding event after nearly five centuries of enslavement, the culmination of the struggle of our predecessors for emancipation from the cruel and odious Ottoman rule. The hoisting of the flag in 1912 wound up the gigantic struggle of the Albanian people, it showed the Albanians that their armed strife, their solid union for a great purpose, in defense of their motherland, of their honor, of their customs, of their mother tongue and of their noble traditions, overpowered all obstacles, overpowered their sworn, cruel and shrewd enemies. The Albanian people proved to be unconquerable, undaunted, wise, rigorous and fair, therefore they came off triumphant and will win through centuries over everybody however numerous and strong he may be if he tries to encroach upon their sovereign rights. The act of Ismail Qemal and of the other patriots is a glorious historical act that will remain unforgotten through time. It showed the entire world that Albania, which contributed so energetically in liberating the Balkan peoples, was not only up and going, a thing which the enemies had tried to deny, but it was now free and independent and that it would develop as an independent state with its own government. Let us emphasize that if our predecessors had not fought with that fury and had not accomplished that act during those critical times when the imperialist beasts were about starting the slaughterhouse of the First World War, it would have been hard indeed to maintain our independence and probably graver tragedies would have been in store for our Fatherland.

But, of course, this was not enough; the proclamation of independence had not yet accomplished all; further persistent strife and fresher victories were needed to consolidate this victory. The basis for a strife of this kind rested in the popular masses, in the colossal force which the movement of

the broad masses of the country represents and therefore it is on them above all that they had to depend. But the feudal turn-coats in collaboration with the imperialist powers, with those powers that chopped up Albania at the 1913 London Conference, undermined the Vlorë Government and black clouds covered the sky of Albania which fell a prey to the imperialists who launched the First World War.

Everybody knows that both the internal and external foes did their utmost to utilize the achievements of our people for their own good. Everybody is aware of the imperialist army expeditions to our newly emancipated country during the First World War as well as of their shameful transactions sanctioned by the London Secret Treaty on chopping up Albania as a whole. But in spite of their dangerous consecutive traps, they always made their accounts without consulting the proprietor. It is for this reason that the struggle to consolidate our independence and to safeguard our territorial integrity continued to grow without interruption and to assume a more and more emphatic revolutionary and massive character. The Lushnja Congress forcefully rejected the secret London agreement denounced by great Lenin, while the revolutionary peasants of Vlorë led by such heroes as Selam Musa, drove the Italian invaders into the sea.

The Great October Socialist Revolution that shook the world, exerted a ponderous influence in this as well as in subsequent events. Its echo spread like lightning among us as well. You all know the great value Bajram Curri, Mihal Grameno, Avni Rustemi and our press of that time placed on the Revolution and on Lenin. The ideas of the Revolution and of Lenin began to spread through the masses. Therefore the people's movement born under the internal conditions and influenced by those ideas, rose to newer heights until it reached its culmination in the exploits of the bourgeois - democratic revolutionaries, led by Avni Rustem and in the bourgeois - democratic Revolution of 1924. These patriots dealt their blows to the flag vendors, to the feudal lords

and chieftains, headed by Zogu, who were plotting with the foreign foes, on one hand, and oppressed and mercilessly exploited the working people, on the other.

But still it did not fall to the people's lot to enjoy happy days as early as at that time onward. Imperialist agent feudal chieftain Ahmed Zogu suppressed the bourgeois - democratic revolution with help from abroad. He suppressed it because the revolution failed to fill the mission it had assigned to itself and it was undermined by the so called «patriotic» feudal chieftains. Dark days of Zogolian terror, of poverty, of hunger, of pestilence and of the whip, years of nasty of negotiations with Italian fascists that paved the way of their occupation on April 7, 1939, followed thereafter.

Our people never reconciled themselves with Zogu's regime of tyranny. And this is why this petty autocrat was continually annoyed by strikes, demonstrations and uprisings, by the activity of the revolutionaries of the country. That is why communist groups sprang up among the ranks of the long-suffering people and of the working class however small in number the latter was. Although sold out by the traitor king, the people took up arms and offered heroic resistance to the Italian invaders. They were received by armed fire and the people rose up as a body and fought their hardest and most glorious battles with them.

The longed for day soon dawned for our people. In the heaviest days of Italian occupation and the people's resistance to it, when fascism had plunged mankind into the Second World War and the Hitlerites had launched their perfidious attack on the great land of the Soviets, when Stalin's call to bury the fascist hordes into their graves resounded with force from Red Square, the Albanian communists founded the glorious Albanian Communist Party. What the people had been lacking for centuries had now been born, the glorious consistent revolutionary leadership, armed with the most scientific and advanced doctrine, the heir of the noblest traditions of our people, the leadership that would raise them up to arms, that would organize them for war and

would lead them to victory, had now come to life. We are all witnesses of the heroic years of our National Liberation War, of that most glorious period of the history of our people which brought about the complete liberation of our Fatherland and the establishment of the people's rule.

The brave partizans of the National - Liberation Army performed feats of unheard-of heroism. Barefooted and famished they betook themselves in bands to the mountains and rocks, turning them to strongholds and with the weapons they had snatched away from the fascists and traitors dealt them deadly blows. Later on, when they had organized themselves into brigades, divisions and army corps they fell on the enemy hordes like eagles and routed them, driving them away from each hamlet, town or city to beyond the borders of the country. Every foot of our land was bathed in the blood of our fallen heroes, every corner of our country became an eye-witness of the legendary valor of the sons of the people who pounced upon the machine guns, the cannons and tanks of the enemy with their bare chests. It was the correct line and the leadership of the Party that aroused a whole people to action, that inspired them to perform such heroic deeds, it was this line and leadership that enabled them to face very critical situations created by powerful and wily foes, to wage an irreconcilable war against them and to march non-stop ahead to definite objectives, to their victory over invaders and oppressors, to their brilliant future. The correct marxist - leninist line of the Party withstood the most critical tests of time and came off triumphant as it will always come off triumphant.

The blood shed by the sons of Albania for centuries at a stretch was not shed in vain, the pains and innumerable privations of our people were not endured in vain, an end was put to the groans of the oppressed and to the wails of those who were tortured by old and «modern» professional cut-throats. The blood of those who fell for our nation, of the glorious heroes of the National - Liberation War became the torch-light and revived our beloved Fatherland. It was

the first time that the Albanians did smile wholeheartedly and they will keep on smiling for life. November 29, 1944, initiated the new epoch of our brilliant history, that of true liberty and of the happy socialist future.

The achievements of these years are magnificent and unmatched, splendid is the work of our Party in the service of the people. From an entirely backward feudal and bourgeois country, with unparelled poverty, misery and ignorance reigning supreme, Albania has become a powerful socialist country, where the economic basis of socialism has been built and the material technical basis of socialism is under way, it has become a country with an advanced industry and a collectivized agriculture in which the people produce no end of material values for their own happiness and wellbeing. A rapid cultural revolution took place and continues to develop since the liberation, rooting out illiteracy, filling the Fatherland with schools, cultural homes and hearths, promoting the arts and sciences, opening all the doors of knowledge to the working masses. Through tireless efforts the Party has reared a young generation of sturdy and healthy people, politically and ideologically enlightened, a worthy heir and successor of their fathers and forefathers, a powerful support of the Party and of the people. Or better cast your eyes on Vlora, this noted hearth of the war for freedom and socialism, where resounds the echo of the call of the venerable old man and the voice of many a Selam of Laberia, whose streets, hills and mountains resounded with the din of battle of the communists and partizans against the foes of the Party and of the people, see how Vlora is filled with centers of industry and cooperatives, with schools and stately buildings, with flourishing parks, gardens and boulevards! Formerly barefooted, the people of this region now enjoy the fruits of their endeavors, their prosperity and their new life. This is our Albania in miniature which is forging ahead under the leadership of our Party of Labor to the brilliant heights of communism with no obstacle strong enough to halt its march. This road of the last 18 years has

not been an easy one nor will it be any easier in the days to come. But just as the forge tempers iron so has our Party tempered in battle and hardships a new type of man, such a type of man that no storm or fury can curb or halt in his right line of action. Albania has never resembled the swamps of sleeping water but the rushing streams of mountains in which it has poured the rivers of blood and perspiration of its people.

Marvelous opportunities lie in store for our people. An ever happier and more brilliant future awaits them. Albania will make further rapid strides ahead: industry, agriculture, education and culture will advance; our Fatherland will be filled with new factories, combines and mines which will produce more, better and cheaper commodities; our fields and hillsides will be covered with still more wheat, cotton, tobacco, sugarbeets, fruit trees, vineyards etc; there will be more schools, theaters, movies, books, laboratories. The Party has resolved to do these and more and they will surely be done. They will be set up and created by our praiseworthy people, under the guidance of the Party, and they will enjoy them themselves.

The Party itself was tempered in these struggles and gigantic endeavors. It amassed a great deal of revolutionary experience, it faced innumerable obstacles and hardships, it smashed brutal enemies, whether open or in disguise, who tried to sidetrack it from the correct marxist - leninist line, it reacted with firmness to every outrage and plot of theirs to force it to its knees and make short work of it, and it raised itself higher and higher until it became a powerful shock brigade, that marches at the head of its people towards the heights of socialism and communism.

Our Party wages a struggle of self-denial and heroism for the marxist-leninist unity and fraternal friendship with the countries of the socialist camp which the Khrushchev-Tito revisionist group try to undermine. It is convinced and the entire people are convinced and resolved that they will overcome all the obstacles laid in their way by the modern

revisionists in this respect, for they have precious friends for life among the glorious people of the Soviet Union and of the other socialist countries. Our Party and our people wage a determined war for peace, liberty, democracy and socialism, against the imperialists, the principal enemies of mankind, against the new colonialists, the fascists, the revisionists, open and disguised enemies of mankind.

We are now a socialist country, a member with equal rights of the camp of socialism and of peace, which includes one third of mankind. Moreover, we are situated in one of the most important outposts of this camp face to face with imperialism and geographically encircled by its vassals and allies. Our People's Republic, a European socialist state of a brilliant past, with a 50-year long existence as an independent and sovereign state, cannot very easily become, as formerly, a commercial commodity of the imperialist powers and of certain chauvinist states, which still nurture absurd claims on parts of its territory. Albania knows how to defend itself, has the whatwithal to defend itself from hungry jackals that have not yet learned their lesson. There is gainsaying the fact that there are people who dream and act towards our country in the same way as Elefterios Venizelos did in the past, although Elefterios Venizelos at his time had many imperialist friends and well-wishers, although he was a slavish lackey of the Cannon King Basil Zacharov, yet Albania was too hard of a nut to be cracked by him. Therefore, there is much food for thought in these facts for Venizelos's sons and grandsons and their friends if they want to be more realistic and keep step with the times. The heirs of the Servian czars and the new fascists of Italy should draw the same lesson. If they guess they can freely caper to a dance on the back of little Albania let it be brought home to them that they will have to dance to the tune of rifle shots. If they take it for granted that Albania is isolated from the moral and material assistance of the friendly and allied peoples and that the alliance of the Albanian people is based on slips of paper which groups of turncoats can

trample upon or turn to the disadvantage of Albania, both parties are gravely mistaken and will find themselves with their backs against the wall in due time. Therefore no one can waylay or intimidate the Albanian people and their Party of Labor. Our country and our inviolable boundaries have more than once become the stumbling block for open or disguised subversive bands of the imperialists and their offspring, the modern revisionists, an insuperable obstacle for them to carry out their diabolic designs against our Republic and the cause of socialism. Take heroic Vlora for an example. As everybody knows, the imperialists have more than once got to know it and bear memories of it which they cannot easily forget. This became a special target for the 6th American Fleet, the Titoites, the monarchical fascists and certain turncoats but Vlora and the entire Albania was a hard lump for them to swallow. But Vlora became also known to the revisionists of Nikita Khrushchev's group who thought that, by robbing it of a part of its military defensive means, by violating every official act and agreement, they had left it disarmed and at the mercy of imperialist wolves and took it for granted that that was the end of Vlora and of Albania as a whole. But Vlora and Albania as a whole is up and doing, they stand firm like a granitic rock which no storm or blizzard can shake for it is under the hawk-eyed vigilance of the people guided by their heroic Party of Labor who have lived unconquered for thousands of years and will live so for hundreds of thousands of years to come.

We Albanians are as warlike as we are diligent and peace-loving. But people should fight with all their energies and means to defend peace. That is what the Albanian people do. We must fight for an honorable, democratic and lasting peace. Peace of this kind has two brutal foes in its way: world imperialism and its nasty agent, modern revisionism. The peoples of the world with the communists and the progressive people at the head should disarm and do away with these ruthless and wily enemies. This sacred struggle

is not any too easy a job to carry out, but it must be carried out and it will eventually be carried out. The struggle of the Albanian people, which is in line with the correct far-sighted marxist-leninist policy of the Party, is known by all. The stand of our Party and our Government on all the issues that preoccupy the country, humanity and the world at large, are also publicly known both at home and in the international arena. This stand has been and will always be of a revolutionary nature, that is why it has conquered the hearts of the revolutionaries throughout the world, and the capitalists and the revisionists are waging a frantic but unsuccessful war against it. The truth which our Party stands for is breaking through all traps, encirclements and blockades. The black clouds which American warmongering imperialists and their curs of all shape are spreading over the world do not intimidate us. The warmongering imperialists are today opposed by a gigantic force of millions and billions of people including the builders of socialism and communism and the proletarians of the capitalist countries, the fighters for freedom and independence of the newly emancipated oppressed countries and the partisans of peace throughout the world. History is unpytting and neither imperialists nor revisionists can turn its wheel backward.

Recent events have once again proved the correctness of the line of our Party, its just conclusions. These events have imparted many a lesson to the people of the entire world. The plot against Cuba laid bare the brutality of American imperialism in a very clear manner, just as it laid bare the danger of speculating with the destiny of peoples. It showed, at the same time, not the insuperable power of the imperialists and their collaborators who are so scared of them as to fall on their knees and kiss their feet, encouraging them for further aggression, but their weakness and the weakness of their collaborators who, in their agony, are throwing off all masks of «peace lovers» and «freedom lovers» and are showing their true nature. Fidel Castro's heroic Cuba cannot become a Munich commodity, it will never give way before

aggression, blockades or plots because it stands for «Fatherland or Death!». See for yourselves, comrades, what force springs from marxism-leninism, from confidence in your people and from proletarian internationalism of all peoples, from consciousness of human dignity and from the will to live with head erect.

Even the nasty game played by the imperialists, indian reactionaries and the opportunists of all shapes at the Sino-Indian border, will not be less inglorious as that of Cuba. Nehru and those who picked on India as a «counter-blast» to the Chinese socialist giant, threw the stone and are trying to hide the hand that threw it. The reactionaries met the appeal of the Government of the People's Republic of China to settle the conflict through peaceful talks, with aggression. They attacked the People's Republic of China, amassed arms from the United States, England, the German Federal Republic and other places and called upon the people to fight to the last even if this fighting lasted for years. The revisionists have proclaimed their «neutrality» before these dangerous deeds, although they furnish the aggressor with arms, airplanes and even horses etc. or encourage it by slandering against the People's Republic of China or by posing as «angels». But as you all know, all these schemes are meeting with failure and they will most certainly fail to the end. The People's Republic of China frustrated the plans of the aggressors and of their accomplices. The Declaration of the Chinese Government to cease hostilities on a unilateral basis and to end the Sino-Indian conflict peacefully, showed the whole world again who is in favor of peace and who is the aggressor. Great socialist China has striven and always strives with determination to preserve peace and friendship among peoples. The glorious Communist Party with Comrade Mao Tse Tung at the head has become a beacon light for all the peoples of the world in their fight to safeguard marxism-leninism; the 700 million people of China inspire all peoples in their struggle against oppression and slavery, for freedom, democracy and socialism. It is precisely on this

account that our people consider the People's Republic of China, their Communist Party and Comrade Mao Tse Tung, their Chairman, as their precious friends and determined comrades-in-arms just as they have in our fraternal Party and people their comrades-in-arms for life.

The war against modern revisionism cannot be severed from the war against imperialism.

The modern revisionists represented by the Khrushchev-Tito group, are working openly, in all fields and by all methods and means, to distort marxism-leninism, to discredit socialism and communism, to undermine the achievements of the international proletariat, to split the unity of the socialist camp and of the international and workers communist movement, to set up cliques to weaken those communist parties where the revolutionary spirit is not yet at its height. In foreign affairs the modern revisionists follow in the tracks of world imperialism which they assist by making anti-leninist and risky concessions in most crucial issues. They are doing this not without intention but to help establish the world hegemony of capitalism. They are trying to camouflage these acts behind most demagogical phrases trying to speculate and trifle with the cause of peace which is so dear to all mankind. As a matter of fact they are encouraging the imperialist aggressors with the Americans in the lead, and are seriously prejudicing peace by their deeds. That is why the communists of the various countries aware of the danger coming from the modern revisionists, are fighting against them with a vengeance from day to day. The struggle of the communists of the world to expose and smash modern revisionism, this primary menace of the international communist and workers movement, is growing more intensive from day to day. Our communists and our people are proud of the fact that the Albanian Party of Labor has rendered, is rendering and will always render its contribution in this sacred struggle.

We, comrades, are living in the most glorious epoch, in that of the substantiation of the finest dreams of mankind,

when socialism is irresistably forging ahead, upsetting all obstacles and setting up the new world. Just as heretofore, the Albanians will not default history. New socialist Albania, empowered as never before by the consciousness of being right, by the life-giving energy of marxism-leninism, by the crystal clear line of its glorious Party of Labor, marches ever ahead with head erect and will never turn back! We have but one goal, that pointed out by Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin, the brilliant future of our people and of all mankind, communism.

Let the unbreakable unity of people and Party, the mainspring of all our achievements be further strengthened, let our revolutionary alertness be further consolidated in order to continue to frustrate all designs and plots of our enemies, let the impetus and creative enthusiasm at work of our working masses be raised to a higher pitch in order to attain all the indices of the state plan, in order to achieve fresh victories on the various fronts of socialist reconstruction in order to make our Fatherland more powerful and more prosperous. Let us carry out with honor our patriotic and internationalist duties so that our Republic may stand as an unconquerable castle of socialism and of peace on the Adriatic seashore; let us fight for the triumph of marxism-leninism so long as our hearts beat.

Let young and old rejoice over the festivities of the 50th anniversary of the independence and the 18th anniversary of the liberation of the Fatherland, let November 28 and 29 live for ages, let us keep on working and striving under the leadership of the Party so that the fruit of our endeavors may be enjoyed by the people, by our sons and grandsons who would be proud of the achievements of their predecessors!

Raising this toast to the glory of our heroic and patriotic people, to the glory of the heroes and arch-heroes who fought throughout the centuries and fell in the field of honor for our Fatherland, to the glory of the workers and peasants, of

scholars, of philosophers, writers, poets, statesmen of prominence of the Albanian people, to the achievements of our people in the days to come, to our socialist Fatherland and to its happiness and prosperity. I invite you to raise our voices in unison:

Long live our People's Republic!

Long live the glorious Party of Labor of Albania!

Praise to victorious marxism-leninism!