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## IT IS IN THE PARTY-PEOPLE-STATE POWER UNITY THAT OUR STRENGTH LIES

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Speech delivered to the voters of the Tirana No 219 electoral district on September 18, 1970.

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ENVER HOXHA

Dear friends, Sisters and Brothers, Young men and young women,

Every meeting with the people is for me a very great joy, a real revolutionary school, for from the people we always learn great lessons, in their creative thought we find inexhaustible energies which give us new forces to fight and work. In particular, I am very glad to come to this electoral zone and meet my electors, because I come here not only as your son, as your brother, as your comrade, but also as the candidate for your representative to the highest organ of our People's Power.

I greatly appreciate the great honour you bestowed on me by nominating me candidate for deputy to the People's Assembly in this quarter of the capital with which unforgettable memories connect me for life. It is in this quarter that the Albanian Communist Party was founded, our great and wise mother that revived us, stretched us her hand and taught us how to fight and how to win over the enemies. The party was created under your protection, under your vigilant eyes, as you were guarding us against the persecutions of the spies.

of the militiamen and the fascists. Your homes were always open to us. Immortal revolutionaries like Gogo Nushi, Qemal Stafa, Misto Mame, Vasil Shanto, Vojo Kushi and many, many others, with whom I have fought together in this quarter and in the city of Tirana, have come to and gone from your plain rooms as if they were in their own homes.

Allow me, dear comrades, brothers and sisters, to thank you from the bottom of my heart and to express my deepest gratitude for the confidence you have shown by proposing me as a candidate for your representative to our People's Assembly. This ardent and sincere love expresses your attachment to our glorious Party of Labor, the heart and brain of our people, which brought me up, educated and taught me, just as you, how to think and work as a revolutionary undetached from our brave, hard-working and freedom-loving people.

On this occasion I want to assure you that, under the guidance of the Party, I will put all my efforts in order to deserve your confidence. I will always be the indomitable soldier of our Party, a loyal servant of the people for the happiness of our beloved Homeland, for the cause of socialism and communism, for the cause of Marxism-Leninism and the revolution.

It is for the seventh time that our people are most democratically electing their real representatives to the supreme organ, the People's Assembly. A common characteristic of all the election campaigns in our country has been the steel-like unity of the people around the Party. They have cast their votes, one and all, for the

candidates of the Democratic Front since they know that these are among their best sons and daughters and that, by casting their votes for them, they have voted for the building of socialism, for the freedom and independence of our Homeland, for its prosperity, for the Marxist-Leninist line of our Party. The Party is sure that this steel-like unity will still more excel in the September 20 elections, when our people, endowed with high revolutionary political awareness, with the maturity and wisdom which characterize them, will cast their votes for their State Power, which came to life through the barrel of the rifle of the people's struggle and which represents their will, wishes and aspirations, and for which we give, as the people say, «not only our votes but also our life if the need arises».

#### Comrades!

On September 20 all the people of socialist Albania without exception, men and women, young men and young women who have reached the voting age, will go to the polls and vote directly for the persons they wish to send to the People's Councils, to the People's Courts of Justice and to the People's Assembly.

This, in essence and procedure, from the point of view of the rights and obligations of man in an advanced and progressive society, represents the most democratic form of elections. This can happen, happens and is carried out only in a socialist country like ours, in a country of proletarian dictatorship where the people are in po-

wer and are guided by a Marxist-Leninist party like the Party of Labor of Albania.

The electoral campaign among us keeps assuming ever greater political proportions and massive expressions of popular joy and enthusiasm. Especially on this occasion, when the elections to all the stances of State Power, including the base and the People's Assembly, and to the People's Courts of Justice, are taking place at the same time, they constitute a major national event for many reasons.

The electoral campaign represents part of the rapid revolutionary political, economic and cultural activity of the entire people, of their Party which guides them, of the Democratic Front, of their People's Administration, of the organs of the dictatorship and of all the persons elected to them in the most democratic form by the people.

During the electoral campaign the working people, too, draw up a balance sheet of their creative work, point to the good and negative aspects of the work and persons, of the institutions, of the forms and methods of work, criticizing the weaknesses and shortcomings, adopting and upholding progress, promoting to government posts those devoted to ceaseless progress and revolution. The people do this in open, public and free meetings without the least obstacle and timidity. They have already won the political right and maturity to hold to account all those who err, to pass judgment on all culprits, to praise and encourage those who work well, and are conscious of the real force of the demo-

cracy of the majority, of our proletarian democracy.

The election campaign this year coincides with the ending of the 4th five-year plan which was decided upon by the 5th Party Congress. Party and people in unity are proud because the tasks set by the congress were successfully realized, and to this great victory there have contributed also the sweat, the maturity and sacrifices of those whom the people had elected to various state organs.

The election returns, which undoubtedly will be excellent, will fill the organs of our People's Power and our People's Courts with persons experienced in their jobs, as well as with young people who for the first time will set about work to carry out the new grandiose tasks of the 5th five-year plan which will be approved by the 6th Congress of the Party of Labor of Albania to be held in 1971.

The essentially democratic character of the elections in our country is a distinctive feature of our socialist regime. Different, quite different, is the case under the capitalist regime where, there too, they speak much of democracy and elections are held. There are capitalist countries which are called «advanced» and which claim that «democratic» elections take place in them. But in some of them women could but recently win the right to vote, in some others they still have not the right to vote. There are capitalist countries where this right is limited to those who have a given annual income, which means that there only the bourgeois vote, those who have large incomes; in some other countries soldiers do

not vote, but the election lists include also the dead. There are also countries where, as was the case with our country in Zog's time, elections are held through second voters. There exist also countries where the voting mechanism is arranged in such a way that it is not the candidate who has polled the majority of votes that wins, but the candidate of the parties representing the monopoly capital.

By these pseudo-democratic methods the monopoly capital aims at keeping the people in complete slavery, poverty and ignorance, and at the ruthless and most barbarous exploitation of the working masses. By these methods the capital aims to create and strengthen with every passing day various means and forms to disorientate, suppress and smash the resistance and struggle of the working masses against capitalist exploitation.

The management of the state, of economy, culture and army in capitalist countries is labelled as «democratic», but in fact there dominates the iron heel of the capital, its jungle law. There, «democracy» is for the rich, not for the poor. The latter have only to submit to the laws of this kind of «democracy» which, of course, seeks to create in them the impression that their «democracy», resting allegedly on the «popular» vote, which elects, for example, the senators in the United States of America, is «the most perfect democracy in the world». Reality, however, is quite different in that big capitalist country. None of the American senators, either of the «elephant» or of the «donkey» party, that is of the «Democratic» or «Republican» party, not

only do not come from the ranks of the working strata, but they do not come even from any faction of the middle bourgeoisie. They emerge from the factions of the monopoly high bourgeoisie which is trained in special universities in order to occupy the leading posts of the American capitalist state. This is the elite, the «de jure» and «de facto» aristocracy of the capital. The U.S. cabinet ministers and senators who are elected to the supreme state organs are at the same time directors or board members of the country's big consortiums and banks. Thus far no American statistics show any senator or minister having his origin, let alone from the working class, but even from the middle strata of the bourgeoisie. It is in this way that the whole body of the social pyramid, in all its directions, has been built there. So it can be easily understood of what regime and of what «democracy» and «free» elections can be spoken in that country.

In the other capitalist countries, the outside forms may not fully correspond to those of the United States of America, but they are the same in their content, in essence and in practice.

In the British parliament there are also Labourites who are representatives of the «trade unions». They pose as representatives of the British working class, but in reality they belong to the workers' aristocracy which is in full service of the British capital and imperialism. This «Labor Party», allegedly in opposition, comes also to power, but then it is not at all the working class that comes to power, for there it is always the British capital

which is in power, the Laborites being only subservient administrators of the British capital and stooges of British imperialism, a «stratum of political technocracy» in service of the monopoly capital.

The same thing happens in France and Italy as well, but in these two countries democracy allegedly takes more pronounced shapes. To the Italian and French parliaments come also «communists», «socialists», too, take part in the government, there are frequently formed coalition governments with all sorts of parties bearing «democratic» labels, but in reality they are all beurgeois capitalist parties. Now the French and Italian revisionists, who advocate the seizure of political power through parliamentary procedures, in a peaceful way and in coalition with the capitalist bourgeoisie, are seeking, they too, to enter the future governments in order to serve the capital. But despite all these changes, just as in the United States of America, in these countries, too, it is the monopoly capital that rules. Therefore, all these changes, which give the naives the impression of a certain «democracy», if the working class and the working masses of these countries do not delve deep into, do not analyze and do not fight with determination to extend them, they remain only vain illusions which, by throwing dust on the eyes of people, create the possibility and allow, up to a certain degree and at some key moments, to protract the domination of the capital.

It is clear that a wide gap divides our socialist world from the capitalist world. The Albanian people,

led by their Party in the heroic national-liberation struggle, against the nazi-fascist invaders and the local land-lords, crossed the capitalist abyss and entered the socialist society, which they built and continue to build with full success, again with struggle and efforts, with selfless work and with unstoppable revolutionary impetus, with maturity and science, daily tempering themselves politically and ideologically with the teachings of the Party and of our triumphant ideology, Marxism-Leninism.

When we cast a glance at the past, we are proud of our heroic people, of our glorious Party who surmounted so many campaigns and battles, so much suffering and misery, indescribable difficulties and obstacles, and came off victorious, not for a single moment discouraged and disheartened, displaying gigantic spiritual and physical strength in building a prosperous socialist society, the new Albania of the people, on the ruins of the society with antagonistic classes.

Many of you young men and young women, our children, who will go along with us to the polls to vote for the consolidation of our Republic and People's Power, had not yet seen the light of day when our Republic was founded. Today, not only you who are voting for the first time but also those who have not reached the voting age are rushing forth like a huge unrestrainable river to schools and to jobs in fields or factories, building railroads, combines and hydropower stations, laying the network of electric cables all over Albania, building schools and piercing mountains. All our people

are proud of you, of the younger generation of our country, since, while growing up, you are thinking, working and fighting ever better as true revolutionaries, you are the guarantee for a more prosperous development of our Homeland because you are creating this prosperity with your own work, sweat and wisdom, because the great cause of all our people is yours, because nowhere in the world has the problem of youth been grasped and solved so correctly as it has been grasped and solved by the Albanian people and their glorious Party of Labor.

But I wish to tell you one thing, that your children, our grandchildren, will be still more capable, still more learned and hard-working than we and you, since our Party is and will always be a steel-like revolutionary party which will imbue one generation after another with an iron character, with a major progressive culture. it will temper them in Marxist-Leninist ideology, making them tireless workers, trustworthy and open-hearted, freeing them of many encumbrances from which we suffer today, making them always indomitable fighters of our revolution, sharpening to the uttermost their vigilance and fighting spirit against the class enemies, be they internal or external ones. The beautiful and prosperous life which will continually flourish throughout Albania will bring joy to and prompt them to always forge ahead and not to rest upon their oars. The good work of the people must be continued, it must be perpetuated. It has been handed down to us by our heroes and the past generations. It is our primary duty to raise

this bequest higher and higher and to pass it from hand to hand, from heart to heart to the coming generations. This is what the people with their Party in the lead are contemplating.

### Comrades,

Four years ago, on the occasion of the elections of deputies to the People's Asssembly, the Party and the Democratic Front announced their election platform which contained the main objectives of the 4th five-year plan, the directives of which were approved by the Party's 5th Congress. They were hard and well-condensed tasks, for, as you all know, inspired from the call of the Party's Central Committee, the working masses fought until they succeeded in working out a real mobilizing and revolutionary plan.

And here today, on the eve of the new elections and of the closing of the 4th five-year plan, on behalf of the Party and of the Democratic Front and as your representative at the People's Assembly, reporting on the work accomplished, I declare that, as a whole, the targets of the 4th five-year plan for the development of national economy and culture have been fulfilled ahead of schedule, or are being successfully fulfilled, the 4th five-year plan for the total industrial production and for investments has been fulfilled in 4 year and 7 month; the plan for the construction and assembly work has been fulfilled in 4 years and 4 months. The production of food grains, the main task we set before our agriculture and

our national economy in general, during the 4 years 1966-1969, was realized according to plan, the tasks of reclaiming virging lands, the tasks concerning education and other tasks were overfulfilled.

All this shows that the revolutionary impetus of the masses, their conscious mobilization, make every expectation of ours, however bold it may seem, to be exceeded.

On this occasion, on behalf of the Central Committee of the Party, the Government and myself, I express unbounded gratitude to the heroic working class, the cooperative peasantry and the people's intelligentsia of our country for these historic achievements. In particular, I congratulate all the workers, peasants and intellectuals of the city and district of Tirana who, during the whole 4th five-year period, as always, mustered all their efforts and, in a high revolutionary spirit, honorably fulfilled the main tasks set by this plan before schedule.

There is no doubt that they have come up against many difficulties and obstacles along their way of accomplishing these tasks. One comes up against difficulties and obstacles when engaged in minor and simple jobs, let alone when one undertakes such a stupendous job as that of accomplishing the task of a five-year plan. But they have been successfully overcome thanks to the high revolutionary spirit, enthusiasm, devotion to work and great ability of our marvellous people, thanks to the consistent implementation of the line of the masses and to relying, above all, on our inexhaustible availabilities and efforts. A role of no insignificance in