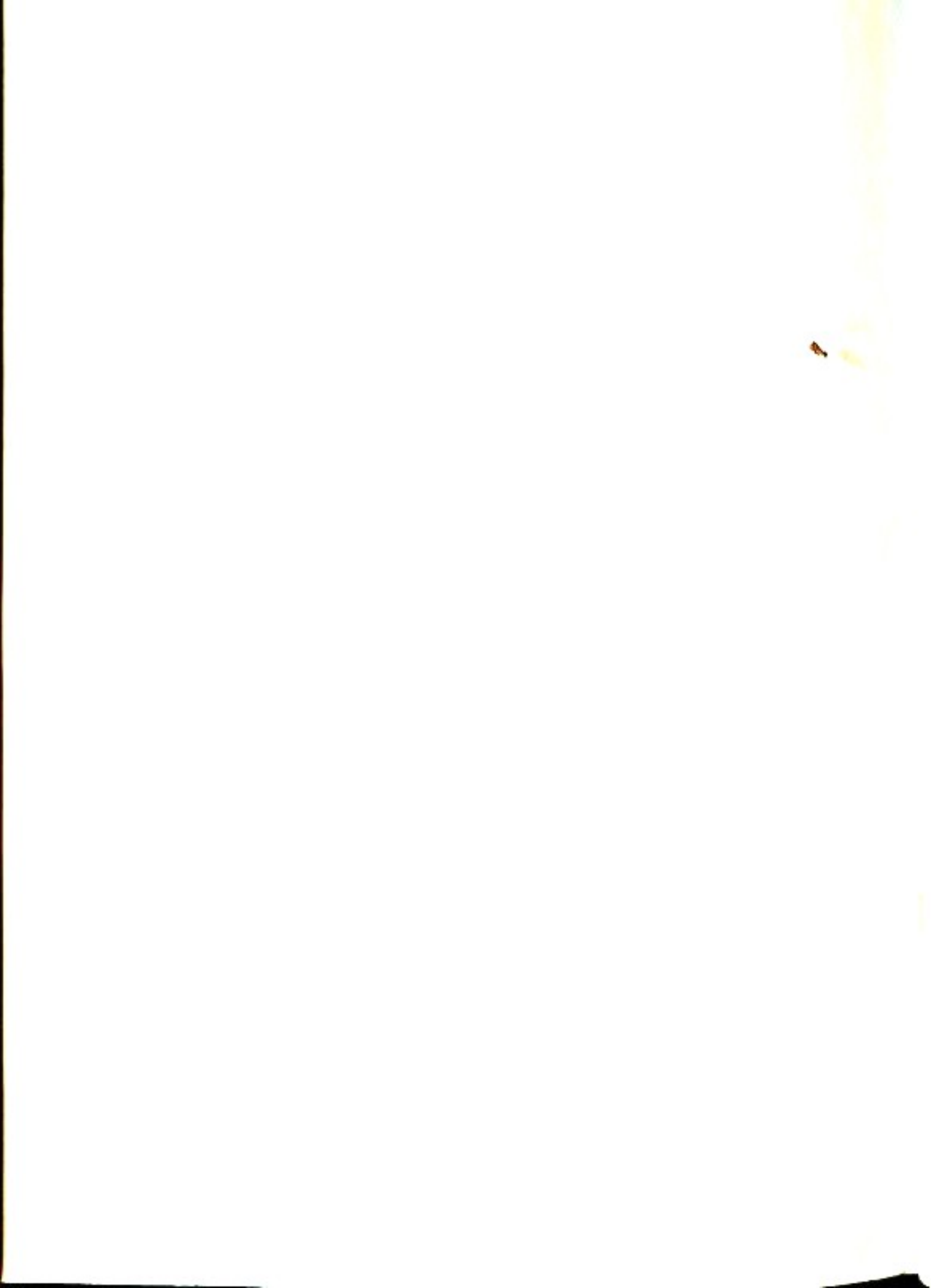


ENVER HOXHA

**First Secretary of the Central Committee
of the Party of Labor of Albania**

**STUDY MARXIST-LENINIST THEORY
LINKING IT CLOSELY WITH REVOLUTIONARY
PRACTICE**



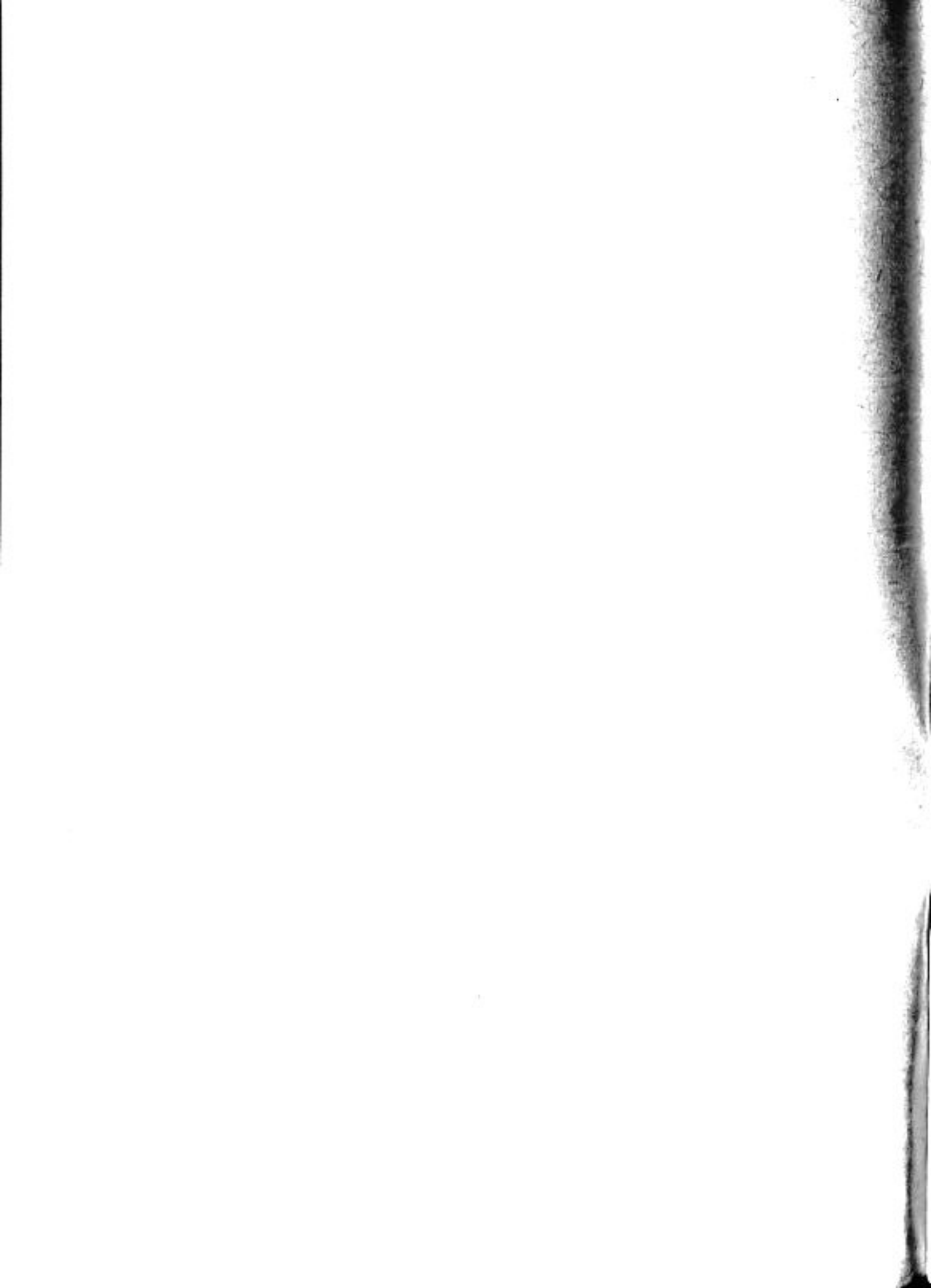
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*— Speech delivered at the Solemn Meeting
Commemorating the 25th Anniversary of the
Founding of the «V. I. Lenin» Party School*

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ENVER HOXHA

Dear Comrades, Students and Members
of the Faculty!

On behalf of the Central Committee and in my own name, I heartily congratulate you on the 25th anniversary of the founding of our Party School which bears the name of the great Lenin. This jubilant anniversary coincides with the present celebration of the 8th of November, a date of extraordinary importance for the Albanian people, because the glorious Communist Party of Albania was founded on this day, 29 years ago. We have many reasons to rejoice. Now we are adding to them the inauguration of the new and beautiful building of your school.

During these twenty five years, the Party School has become, and will continue to be, the fiery hearth for the education of the communists in the spirit of our glorious theory, Marxism-Leninism, of the vivid and life-giving teachings of our Party and of progressive revolutionary culture in general.

More than 7,000 Party cadres have sat at the desks of this school. This is a significant figure, not only as regards the number of cadres, but more so, as regards the great educational, theoretical, practical and revolutionary work, which they have done and are doing within the Party, in the affairs of our state of the dictatorship of the proletariat, in our economy and culture, and within the organizations of the masses. They have been and continue to be the best of educators, organizers and courageous men of action. They are the main pupils, instructors and assistants in the spreading of the Marxist-Leninist

theory of our Party among the masses of the people in breadth and depth.

Of course, the Party cadres, who have graduated from the «V. I. Lenin» school, have been characterized by their simplicity and they must always be unpretentious, they must struggle within themselves against intellectualism and must not assume, that by graduating from the school, they have become the «elite» of the Party, that the school has taught them everything, and consequently, that others should listen to and learn from them, whereas they themselves have nothing to listen to or learn from others. The opposite of these viewpoints is taught in our «V. I. Lenin» Party School through the mastering of Marxism-Leninism.

Here, in the Party School, a synthesis is made of the colossal and incalculable wealth of our doctrine, of the brilliant revolutionary activity of the Party of Labor of Albania, and of the

tens of thousands of the communists, of our heroic working class and of the broad masses of the working people. Therefore, this school should be regarded as an aid, as a means through which the Party further arms its people so that they can enter again, with renewed strength, into the waves of the revolution in which the happiness of the people of our socialist Homeland is forged.

This school advances from year to year, the level of the lessons given by the staff is raised, the teachers themselves rise to higher levels by mastering revolutionary theory and practice more profoundly, the students come very much better prepared than before, because now, not only are they not lacking in general culture, but they have a long experience of struggle and efforts in the work of the Party and the State. The development of the school, the more vivid linking of theory with practice

and the continuous revolutionization of the style and method of work have yielded, and will continue to yield good results. I congratulate you on the satisfactory results you have attained.

We, the communists, and all the workers, are called upon to be armed with two kinds of weapons: with fire arms, and with the ideas of Marxism-Leninism. A revolutionary needs both of these weapons to make revolution and carry it through to the end. Ever since those difficult but heroic days of the National-liberation War, when the destiny of our Homeland and of our people was decided, our Party has instructed the communists to learn with persistence not only how to handle the rifle but also how to master the ideological weapons, the ideas of Marxism-Leninism. And after the liberation of the country, while always keeping the rifle ready, our communists and working people, on whose shoulders fell the

heavy burden of destroying the old world and of building an entirely new society, socialism, set to work with even more persistence to master the basis of our infallible theory — Marxism-Leninism, as the guiding compass to lead them into action in the concrete conditions of our Homeland. This has been and remains a permanent task of first importance for everybody.

We, the Albanian Marxist-Leninists, came to the philosophy of Marx through our revolutionary practice, we fought with all our might against the feudals and the bourgeoisie, against their reactionary regime which oppressed the people, against the regime of the deepest ignorance, against the barbarous exploitation of mankind by a handful of people. We hated religion with all the power of our reason, because the revolutionary practice of our people had clearly brought to light the profoundly reactionary and anti-popular role of re-

religious doctrines, which supported the feudal-bourgeoisie of the country and the foreigners who oppressed us. The centuries of neverceasing revolutionary struggles had made our people a revolutionary people. They could conceive neither their existence as a people nor the positive changes in their social life except by way of war and revolution. Their uprisings have always had a pronounced anti-imperialist, anti-feudal, anti-bourgeois and anti-religious character. Certainly, here we cannot yet speak of any inspiration or guidance from the philosophy of Marx, which was properly crystalized among us only after the founding of the Party. But amongst the people, and amongst the small working class, still at its initial stage, our Party found a fertile field for radical transformations, for a great social revolution which was to overthrow the old social system of the feudal-bourgeoisie, and establish socialism.

Through their revolutionary activity, in the process of transforming their social conditions, the people transform themselves as well. Thus, we observe a great transformation in our working class and our peasantry which has embraced collectivization. Even our intelligentsia is no longer the old one, neither as regards its numbers, its origin, nor its cultural level. Not only has the ideological and political level of the working class been raised and tempered on the revolutionary road, but its class consciousness educates and leads the peasantry and the other strata of the population in our country. The educational and cultural level of our new man has been raised and is continuously on the rise, to respond to the needs and conditions created. All these revolutionary transformations of our people are the fruit of the transformations in the social conditions, which were brought about by the people's revolution. Thus,

our development proceeded along such lines because our Party faithfully applied the teachings of Marx, whose philosophy has always illuminated the road of our policy.

Engels teaches us, that up to our day history develops as a natural process, and, in general, is subject to the same laws of motion which act in nature, but with its own specific peculiarities, for here we have to do with the activity of conscious beings, men. People are always in movement and activity, they act to realize definite aims and desires, and history is nothing but all this activity of theirs. However, all the people do not always have their aims, or the means and manner of attaining these aims, properly crystalized. Besides this, the aims and desires of men are not identical, — this depends on the place man occupies in society, in conformity with the social relations existing in the historical period in question. Therefore,

history, as Engels has pointed out, is made in such a way that the final result always emerges from the conflicts, from a great number of individual conflicts, each of them conditioned by a host of conditions of existence. There are, therefore, in the historic process, innumerable forces which oppose one another, and from them there emerges a resultant which is the historical event.

Naturally, this is typical of the exploiting society, where private ownership divides men and classes, counterposes their interests and aims, where the law of blind spontaneity holds sway. But even in socialism, although in this stage private ownership has been eliminated and society is developed in a conscious way, even here, owing to the fact that people live and act under different conditions and circumstances, owing to the fact that there exist essential differentiations among friendly classes, between the town and the coun-

tryside, between mental and manual labour, we encounter different interests and aspirations and opinions, a series of contradictions, and so on.

There are communists who may have learned these ideas of Engels and of Marxism-Leninism in books and at school, but when it comes to the point of analyzing and confronting them with the sundry occurrences of life and of applying them in practice, then they get stuck, they do not see the problems correctly, they fail to understand that people have various ideas and desires, which very often clash with and oppose one another. These comrades think and demand that the «resultant», Engels speaks of, should be attained without the struggle of opposites, without the clash of opinions pro and con, that it should be attained in a dogmatic manner, with one stroke of the conductor's baton.

At various meetings it is noticed that some directors are afraid of discus-

sions «which are out of tune», which go beyond the stereotyped formulas. They think that everything should proceed smoothly. Such a method is the reason that opposing opinions are expressed outside the meeting. In this case, the alarm is sounded about something which is said to have been understood «theoretically», but which in fact, has been neither understood nor applied correctly. But, we are aware that it is difficult to stifle complaints. For instance, he who got his flat ceased to complain, and this contradiction was solved, whereas he who has been overcrowded for years on end will keep complaining. This contradiction impels us to think out ways of solving it as soon as possible, not by saying «hold your tongue, shut up» to the man whose needs have not yet been fulfilled, but by finding new forms of work and by mobilizing the masses in actions with concentrated blows to build many apartments and

build them as quickly as possible. Thus, by striving to overcome the difficulties and contradictions which emerge in the process of the work for the building of houses through actions with concentrated blows, we shall solve the housing problem in the towns within 3-4 years. The same applies to all the problems of life, be they big or small, which are set before us to be solved, and which comprise the great historical «resultants», the forward march along the road to the complete construction of socialist society and, eventually, of communist society. Listen how neatly and correctly a worker mechanic has expressed this dialectical law of the clash of opinions, as a great motive force of our society. «We mechanics», he said, «like these frictions, because when two metals are rubbed together they produce heat which is transformed into mechanical energy. Similarly, with ideas: the more ideas are thrashed out,...

the more heat and energy they will generate, and, as consequence, the production and the well-being of the workers will go ahead».

If we get a good grasp of our theory and know how to link it up with life, then many many things become clear. Even from the single example I mentioned we may see why we should not be afraid of discussions, of the clash of ideas, why we should not be afraid of criticism, and why we should not confine self-criticism to a few personal things, why we should develop it on a still wider scale. This does not, in any way, lower the authority of an institution or a department, but stirs them into action to solve the contradictions emerging from life correctly and promptly. This is an entire education which the Party is, and should be, carrying out among the ranks of its members and the people.

It is up to us, the communists, in

the first place, to understand our theory profoundly and then to teach it to the broad masses of the people. Questions of theory are not one-sided, nor is it enough that they should be known, understood, and applied only by a few; they should be understood and applied correctly by all the people, for all of them have their tasks and duties, and no one, old or young, can escape either from his personal responsibility, or from that of the collective.

When we study the revolutionary history of the Albanian people from ancient times up to the present day, we understand the magnificence of the materialistic dialectics of Marx and the futility of the attempted criticisms which have been and are directed against his immortal philosophy.

Dialectics is the theory of development. In working it out, Marx based himself on Hegel's dialectics, but he radically transformed it, turning it into

its opposite from a dialectics based from top to bottom on the development of the idea, to a dialectics with both feet planted on materialist concepts. In Marx's dialectics, the decisive and «active aspect» of development is not «the dynamism of spiritual activity», that is, the idea, but human practice, namely, the practical material activity of men for the transformation of nature and of society. This great historical formulation of Marxist-Leninist philosophy, which characterizes the materialist dialectics of Marx, as distinct from the idealist dialectics of Hegel, is known to all. We, the Marxist-Leninists, learn it thoroughly, for it is the basis of our philosophy. It took our great revolutionary thinkers decades on end to wage a great struggle, in theory and practice, in order to affirm these major principles against the idealist, anti-Marxist philosophers, against the reactionary bourgeoisie, and against their va-

rious political and ideological schools. The materialist development of world history, the revolutions during various historical periods, up to the proletarian revolution of our century, which brought the working class to power and established the dictatorship of the proletariat in many countries, verified the fundamental theses of Marxism-Leninism. Naturally, the struggle continues and will continue between revolutionaries and counter-revolutionaries, between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie, between the Marxist-Leninists and the anti-Marxist-Leninists.

In our times, the modern revisionists, with the Soviet revisionists at the head, while waging a fierce battle against Marxism-Leninism try to preserve the external appearances of the theoretical formulations of the Marxist-Leninist doctrine, obviously for the purpose of using them as a mask, but, on the other hand, they strive to deform

them, to deprive them of their revolutionary essence, in order to fight communism and revolution. By interpreting the materialist development of history in a falsified way, these enemies of Marxism, try to present the materialist dialectics of Marx upside down, and to set it on a new pedestal, transformed to that of the neo-Hegelians.

Upon us, the Marxist-Leninists, falls the great task of fighting in defence of our Marxist-Leninist theory against the new falsifiers, and in order to wage this struggle properly, we should not consider the theoretical formulations of our doctrine, which we learn at school or in books, just as correct historical observations, representing the revolutionary struggle of our great leaders in certain periods. On the contrary, every thought of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin should become for us the object of deep reflection, so that we may understand their essence and adapt them

correctly, in a creative and not in a dogmatic way, to the actual period in which we live and fight, to the specific historical conditions of our country, to our social development, to the problem which demands solution.

It is precisely in this complex struggle for our education with the theory of Marxism-Leninism, so that we apply it in a creative way, that we can never shut ourselves away and regard our duty as accomplished, if we fail to follow with vigilance the falsification of our theory by the modern revisionists and the other ideologists of capital, if we fail to wage a fierce, incessant ideological and political battle against them, countering them, at the same time, with our successes in the construction of socialism, attained by following the life-giving lessons of Marxism-Leninism.

The study of Marxist-Leninist science is the only road to enable us to

explain the phenomena and facts of life in a correct way, to clarify the present and illuminate the future. Its study arms people so that they are not satisfied to analyze facts and phenomena merely by their external appearances, by what appears on the surface, but by delving deeper into them, by discovering their content, their essence, the objective laws that guide their social development. For, it is not rare for it to happen that the external form of social processes and phenomena distorts the essence hidden below, so that it seems something new, normal, progressive, whereas in essence it is completely the opposite.

Let us take, for instance, one of the basic questions of social relations in capitalism. From their surface appearance they create the impression that relations of equality exist between the workers and the capitalist: «I give you as much as you give me», as though he pays the worker for all the work he has

done, as though the capitalist is the producer of capital. But this is not so. It is known that the capitalist pays the worker for only a part of his work, while, for the rest of the work he does not pay him, but appropriates it. It is precisely this unpaid part of the labour of the workers which produces and increases capital. Herein lies the source of capitalist exploitation, herein also lies the brilliant discovery of that «mysterious something» in the principal relations between the worker and the capitalist which Marx named surplus value.

Thus, it is the Marxist science which demonstrated that the laws regulating and directing production in capitalism are represented on the surface in such forms as to hide their real nature and to create the contrary impression among the people, that is, as though they are the most correct, most natural and ever lasting forms. The whole of this illusion is created by the

capitalists to mask their exploitation of the workers and the unavoidable contradictions which erode the capitalist order from within and lead it to the grave

Even at the present time, the apologists of capitalism and the modern revisionists, by speculating on some, new external manifestations such as the spread of state-monopoly capitalism, the creation of so-called «workers councils», which, allegedly, take part in the management of the capitalist enterprises, the Titoite revisionist theory of workers' self-administration, and so on and so forth, try to create the illusion that the capitalist exploitation has been done away with, and that the differentiation between the worker and the capitalist is being wiped out. Scientific Marxist-Leninist analysis of these phenomena completely exposes this new fraud and shows that far from being wiped out, the capitalist exploitation, has been further intensified.

No matter what external change the capitalist order may undergo, no matter what sort of mask it may put on, what «theory» it may create, — and it always creates such theories, adapting them to the circumstances which arise from the sharpening of the class struggle,—it remains an oppressive and exploiting order. This order must be destroyed and it will be destroyed through the proletarian revolution; the capitalist relations will be replaced, without fail, by the new socialist relations, the means of production will be taken from the hands of the capitalists and will be turned over to the ownership of the working class itself.

The opponents of Marxism try in vain to attack the theory of Marx on the pretext that it deals with abstract reasoning, with «the abstract quintessence» of processes and phenomena allegedly departing from facts and concrete data, from the historical reality.

This is a gross falsification. Whereas we, the Marxist-Leninists, draw the great lessons from the method used by Marx in the analysis of capitalism in his immortal work «Capital» that, in order to probe into the objective reality, it is not sufficient only to gather and present the facts, but it is necessary to make generalizations, to draw scientific conclusions and abstractions, it is necessary to discover the laws guiding the phenomena of social development. Otherwise, one remains on the surface of things, falls into practicicism, or into various other mistakes.

In socialism, too, owing to the fact that even here the old fights for survival often by clothing itself in the garb of the new, it may happen that the external appearance does not reflect the true essence of phenomena. Therefore, we should know how to avoid remaining on the surface, but base ourselves on the scientific theory of Marxism-Leni-

nism and penetrate from the external manifestations into their essence, to discover the deep causes which lie at the root of things, and the social laws which guide their development. Only in this way shall we be able to distinguish the new from the old, the progressive from the conservative and reactionary.

We should educate our men to judge the phenomena of social development on a materialistic scientific basis, with the aim of ridding them of idealistic viewpoints or hang-overs, of simplistic superficial ideas. According to the teachings of Marx, the working class is not and must not be utopian. It should not idealize the decrees and think that everything is done and performed by means of decrees and ordinances. It should know what the decrees are, what they serve, and what their origin is. In the first place — and this is important — our working class should have a clear idea of the essence of the problem, it

should be clear that its emancipation, its liberation from the shackles of capital, the development of the society which it has created and which develops continually towards perfection, was in no way done by decrees, but has passed and will continually pass through prolonged struggle, continuous historical strivings and processes, which bring about the transformation of society.

Therefore, the impression should not be created that the victories attained so far and the radical transformations which have taken place in our country, in our society and among our people, are the result of decrees and ordinances; on the contrary, the decrees and ordinances are the outcome of some problems which have emerged from the objective historical processes, from the struggle and efforts exerted for the all-round transformation of society and the people. Thus, the decree in itself cannot bring about social development, it is the re-

flection of this development, a norm which aims at adjusting and assisting this development. It is the objective development of society, which dictates the transformations, creates contradictions which demand solution. It comes into opposition, for instance, with the written and unwritten laws and customs of the old overthrown society, with a mode of life incompatible with the new development of the forces of production and of the new socialist relations in production. Here begins the making of a decree or ordinance, which is dictated by the necessity to overcome the contradictions created. Therefore, it is not the offspring of arbitrariness or of subjective fantasy.

Hence, our laws, decrees, and ordinances, should always emerge from a deep scientific materialist knowledge and analysis of the conditions of real life. Hence, also, as often as the objective conditions change, as often as development creates new contradictions and

problems, so often should this be accompanied by the reexamination and amendment of our decrees and ordinances. Any idealizing or making a fetish of what was decided yesterday under given conditions, becomes an obstacle to development and leads to bureaucracy when these conditions have changed.

The objective development of nature, like that of human society, is materialist and dialectical at the same time. Therefore, by reflecting the phenomena of the real world in a correct way our Marxist-Leninist science too is, materialist and dialectical at the same time.

There are people who, though posing as materialists, give priority to their ideas and consciousness; and there are others, also, who call themselves materialists, but according to whom, only economic development is important, economic development alone allegedly brings about the automatic trans-

formation of society as a whole, therefore, the subjective factor is entirely powerless and does not play the slightest active role in historical development. Naturally, both of these categories of people are mistaken and do not have as clear an understanding as they should of the fundamental principles of our philosophy, of the materialist dialectics.

In essence, social life is a material process, because it is based upon work. Man should be closely linked with work, he should like it and understand theoretically what work is. According to Karl Marx, work is a process carried out between man and the environment. Man himself acts upon matter as a natural force. Therefore, man cannot be thought of as detached from nature, it cannot be conceived that the elements of nature react upon him and he stays inactive before them, does not act as a creature who has, and should play, the part of a natural force. In order to live, man

needs to be fed, to set in motion all his physical and mental forces, his hands and feet and muscles, his body and brain, in short, he must work to discover, process, and construct the various things of nature, so that they may serve him in his life.

What occurs in this natural process? By acting upon the outside environment man transforms it, but in this process he also transforms himself at the same time, develops his own tastes and capacities. Therefore, the starting point for man, according to Marx, is his work, in that form which pertains exclusively to man, for there are animals that work, too, but their work differs from that of man. The results achieved by man exist before hand as ideas in the imagination of the worker, a thing which does not occur with the bee when it constructs its hive, Marx says. That is to say, man not only changes the form of natural things but, at the same time, he

realizes his own purpose, of which he is conscious, a purpose which defines as a law the way he is to act and to which he should subject his own will.

As a material process of the action of man on nature for the transformation of nature, of himself, and society as a whole, work is, in the first place and mainly, the activity of the broad working masses, of the workers and peasants. They are the decisive force which carries social life upon its shoulders and carries social development forward. Therefore, the intellectualist and bureaucratic concepts which overrate the role of men engaged in mental work and try to place them above the working class and the working masses, are completely idealistic, anti-scientific, and alien to our Marxist-Leninist ideology.

Engels explains that, in the last analysis, the most important factor, the decisive factor in history is the «production and reproduction» of material

existence. This should be understood, he teaches us, because the economy is the basis, but not the only determining factor, for there are also other elements in the superstructure, such as the political forms of the class struggle and their results, the constitutions established by the victorious classes, the juridical forms, the religious concepts, the various political theories, and so on. All of them exert their influence through their actions, and, naturally, leave their traces. «There are, therefore», Engels says, «action and reaction from all these factors», but from among them the economic factor comes into relief, stands out, and exerts its influence. This is the most important factor among all these other factors, which finally opens the way.

If the objective process of the development of our society is studied, it will be clearly seen on what basis the transformation of the people's consciousness was brought about and how the new

ideas which were created by the new social conditions flowed out. In order to have this process properly understood and not to permit vulgar conclusions, according to our dialectical method, all the transformations brought about by the development of our society should be studied as they arise, as they develop and advance, as they disappear, and finally, as they are transformed and replaced by new ones.

But the classics of Marxism-Leninism teach us that the role of ideas in social development cannot be denied. Engels attacks «economic materialism», that which pretends that only the development of the economic forces is important. «This is vulgar materialism», Engels says.

Nevertheless, it should be always borne in mind that ideas do not play the decisive role, and this is brilliantly explained by Marx. Ideas themselves are the product and the reflection of the

material development of society. By transforming the material conditions of society, men create a new consciousness, in the process of the social development they also create new ideas in conformity with the material situations created. Thus, it is the changes in the material development of society that are the basis from which new ideas and a new consciousness arise. Just as materialism in general explains consciousness from being, and not man from the idea, so also should social consciousness be explained by social being.

While fighting against the danger of idealist subjectivism which ignores the decisive role of the economic factor, at the same time, and in a Marxist-Leninist manner, our Party appreciates the great and active role of ideas and of the superstructure in general, rejecting any manifestation of fatalism and of bowing to spontaneity. The great process of the revolutionization of the

entire life of our country, of carrying our socialist revolution uninterruptedly ahead and of blocking the way to the danger of revisionism, and the return to capitalism, has to do, in the first place and above all, with the revolutionization of the socialist superstructure, of the Party and the State of the dictatorship of the proletariat, of the school and of culture, especially, with the revolutionization of the workers' consciousness. This is a practical application, a further concretization and development, of the teachings of Marxism-Leninism on the great and active role of the subjective factor in history.

The continuous development of our socialist society, which is carried out through the birth and overcoming of various contradictions, has led to the revolutionization of production, and together with this of the consciousness of the people, also. These material changes in the productive forces and in

the relations of production, create such conditions that people who take part vigorously in this uninterrupted revolution create new ideas, appropriate to the situation which has been created. And the ideas too, are tested in the development of the revolution. Those which are not in conformity with the situation and become restrictive are combatted, eliminated, and replaced. But it is not the struggle of ideas which causes the advance of the objective social development, but the latter is the basis which leads to the birth of new contradictions, and, consequently, to the birth of new progressive ideas in struggle with the old or reactionary ideas which die.

Therefore, the main thing is to know whether the people, the classes, act in harmony with the objective current of history or against it. The decisive question is, that by making objective analyses we must manage to

educate the working class, the most revolutionary class, and the other classes and strata — its natural allies — and make them march in conformity with the objective progressive current of history. Here emerges the great role of the revolutionary theory, which, as Marx says, «becomes a material force when it grips the masses».

In accordance with the objective social conditions under which they live, the people, the classes, have their interests, aspirations and aims. Their objective interests turn into consciousness and into revolutionary or reactionary action.

When we analyse the social development of our country, we see that the people and the classes (workers and peasants) desired a change in their deplorable social situation, a change in the old relations of production. This desire was the result of real sufferings, of their material social situation which

they felt on their own backs, it was the result of their recognition of this situation which brought about a change in their consciousness and ideas, which opened up to them the prospect of the organisation of forces to make material changes in our society, which was developing slowly. Thus it was the objective development which created the conditions for the spread of the new ideas, which were gradually concretized and launched the broad working masses into action. Thus, the action of the masses which made the history of our country, was subject to the laws of historic development, as the materialist philosophy, created by Karl Marx teaches us.

The profound understanding of our Marxist-Leninist doctrine shows how correctly our Party has viewed these cardinal problems of the development of our society, and, in the first place, the motive force of social development, the class struggle, as well as the «pro-

duction and reproduction» of material existence as the determining factor, naturally without forgetting the other factors. If the important materials published by the Party throughout the various periods of the historical development of our country after the liberation are perused with care, it will be seen how the economic problem opens the way by creating the material conditions for the solution of many problems of the superstructure. The conflicts, the clashes, «the action and reaction of all these factors» of which Engels speaks, are clearly apparent there.

He who does not understand the materialist dialectics of social development, who does not understand that this development is a relatively long process which proceeds through the struggle of opposites, he who draws conclusions about everything from ideas alone, is not in a position to understand the stages of development and the tasks and

problems pertaining to each of them. Such a person might very easily feel himself in a dilemma and ask: «Why didn't our Party, which is atheistic, maintain the stand which it maintains today towards religion, towards the church and the mosque, right at the start?» He cannot manage to understand that our Party has always upheld and consistently upholds its atheist, anti-idealist, materialist world outlook. But only at the present stage of development, when the necessary material conditions for this had been created, did the broad masses of our people become conscientious fighters against the religious world outlook, and kick out the churches, the mosques, and their dogmas.

Such a person has equally hazy ideas about the question of small private property and its elimination, especially, in the countryside. He cannot understand why, when the first steps of

our revolution were being taken, when the agrarian reform was taking the land by force from the beys and landowners, the usurers and rich peasants and distributed it among the landless and land-poor peasants, the Party said that the private property of the laboring peasant was not to be touched. But in this vital question for the future of socialism, the Party could not have proceeded imprudently and skipped the stages. It acted according to the teachings of Marx and Engels, who have said: «The proletariat should not speak at once of doing away with private property, the question should be approached in such a way as to bring the peasant to collectivization by the economic road». And this is the way he came in our country. As a result, small private property in land was transformed into collective property when the necessary economic and ideological conditions had been created for this.

Or, let us take the question of the nationalization of land, which is the principal means of production in agriculture. As it is known, this was not expressly done, and, due to the objective conditions and reasons of Albania at that time, the Party acted correctly. But all legal measures have been taken in our country to prevent the land from being used as individual property. Actually, this, too, can not be sold, rented, or inherited. This piece of land has been left for the personal use of the cooperativist family only.

Our people's revolution made laws which, in practice, nationalized the land. It carried out the agrarian reform and took over that property which exploited the work of others. Gradually, as he was convinced by following the economic road, as Marx and Engels advocated, our peasant approached collectivisation of the land and other means of production. He keeps only the small plot of land

which he tills personally. On the same «economic road» the peasant keeps reducing the size of this personal plot of land, until it will completely disappear as property for personal use and will be united with the collective property, which will eventually, after a still longer process, turn from the common property of the group into the property of the whole people. This will not be brought about by means of decrees but will be the historical «resultant» of a continuing process of the economic, social, ideo-political development of the whole country, and especially, of the countryside and of the cooperativist masses.

As you know, it was announced these days that the electrification of all the rural areas of our country has been successfully completed one year ahead of schedule. This is another great victory of our Party and people in their struggle to complete the construction of

our socialist society. The supply of the countryside with electric power is the first important step towards its thorough electrification, towards that great transformation of the means and the technology of agricultural production at which the Party aims, which will put our agriculture completely on the road of modern, intensive development. But, at the same time, the electrification of the countryside will give a new powerful impulse to the revolutionization of the consciousness of our cooperative peasant, to the dissemination and further implanting of socialist ideas and culture, of the new way of life. This new and brilliant victory was attained as a result of the revolutionary impetus of the masses, an impulse which did not burst out spontaneously, but as a direct result of the objective and subjective transformations in their life. The successful realization ahead of schedule of this great action, which is not only economic, but

also political, ideological and cultural, shows that the decision taken by the Party was correct and timely, because its implementation had been prepared by the whole development of the country. Thus, in this case, too, the Party acted in accord with the Marxist world outlook, which teaches us that every step in life must be taken after all the material and spiritual premises have been created for it.

Comrades,

We learn Marxism-Leninism at school not for the sake of satisfying our curiosity, or only to enrich or develop our intellects, but to be as useful as possible in life, to accomplish the tasks set by the Party as successfully as possible, to be conscious revolutionaries capable of promoting the cause of socialism and communism in our country. This is attained when the Marxist-Leninist theory is learned, not in an abstract

manner, academically, in a bookish way, but in close contact with life, with the revolutionary practice of the masses.

To master Marxism-Leninism means to master its fundamental principles and laws, its world outlook and methodology, the Marxist-Leninist way of interpreting things and solving problems. Learning the Marxist-Leninist definitions on this or that topic, on this or that law of Marxist philosophy or political economy, has its own importance. But what is of greater importance is to learn how to be guided by these laws in life, how to solve the concrete problems facing us on the basis of these laws. It is important to know the history of the Party, its glorious road, but it is of greater importance to get a thorough understanding of the starting point and the methods used by our Party in solving the problems under different circumstances, and from this to learn how to solve them today under new

historical conditions. The task of the Party School is not just to impart to these cadres of the Party some Marxist knowledge, but to arm them in such a way that they may orientate themselves in life, to form in them that Marxist manner of thinking and acting. Understood in this way, we say that Marxism-Leninism should serve us as a guiding compass.

Life is always in motion and development, it continually gives rise to new problems, the social conditions change incessantly. Let us take, for example, life in our country. We have entered a new stage of the development of our revolution and socialist construction. This stage has brought forth a series of new problems, such as the complete construction of the material and technological basis of socialism, the perfecting of the whole system of relations of production, the strengthening of the dictatorship of the proletariat and the

struggle against the danger of bureaucracy, the development of the technological and scientific revolution, the workers' control, and many others. Ready-made answers to such problems cannot be found and we must not look to other people to solve them. Therefore, the mastering of Marxism-Leninism should not be dogmatic but creative.

This implies that in the work of the school an important place should be occupied by the profound and all-round study of the reality of our time, of the great problems raised by life and put forward by the Party, by analyzing and interpreting them in the light of Marxist-Leninist theory.

From this point of view, the practice of sending students and teachers to the base for the study of various themes as well as their participation in productive labor, in military training, or in mass movements and undertakings, is something good, to be further developed and

perfected. Naturally, this should not be done to the detriment of mastering theory, which occupies and should occupy the principal place in the work of the school. On the contrary, these things should lead to a more profound, more active, and more tangible grasp of the theory.

Our Party, shoulder to shoulder with the Communist Party of China and with all the Marxist-Leninist forces in the world, has been and is still waging a resolute struggle of principle against revisionist betrayal. Marxism-Leninism has assumed and is assuming a new development in this struggle. In the process of this struggle we have gained a deeper grasp of the lessons of Marxism-Leninism, we have learned still better how to recognise friends and enemies, good and evil, the revolutionary and the counter-revolutionary. Thus, the law of the struggle of opposites, as the source of every movement and develop-

ment, finds full application in the development of Marxism-Leninism itself, too, as well as in the process of knowing and mastering it. Hence, an important task for the Party School, is to acquaint the cadres and communists with the history of this struggle and to teach them Marxism-Leninism not in a simple way, by presenting the Marxist theses, principles and conclusions «passively», but in struggle with the viewpoints and arguments of its ideological opponents, in the first place, of the modern revisionists. Only thus is it possible to master the ideas of Marxism-Leninism in a thorough and active way and to form lasting Marxist ideological convictions.

The revolutionary concept of study which should be implanted by the school in every cadre is that everyone should not merely read for the sake of reading, but that each should confront himself with what he reads, reflect on it, find out its good aspects and the positive

experience, find out where the weak points lie, and what tasks emerge from it.

The mission of our school is not merely to impart knowledge to people, but also to train them as revolutionaries; not only to give them a correct theoretical world outlook but also to cultivate lofty moral and political qualities among them.

The comrades completing the schools and courses of the Party should always bear in mind that every thing is not solved with graduation from school. Every communist must learn continually, with will-power and persistence. He cannot advance without learning, and without learning seriously. He cannot be guided by practiciness. Therefore, the Party instructs us: Never tire of learning, never interrupt your study! To continue studying following graduation means to deepen and extend further what you have learned at school.

The contribution of the Party School is great and this is evident everywhere. It is seen in all the successes which are being achieved by the Party, in the correct revolutionary stand of the cadres, in the great impetus of the Party for the revolutionization of the country, in the struggle of the masses for the application of its line, and so on, and here it is clearly seen how mature our cadres have become. This is so because they have mastered the Marxist-Leninist theory in the process of their work, as well as in the Party School.

Let us mobilize all our efforts, comrades, to master Marxism-Leninism, the ideology of our Party, which shines brilliantly and shows us the road to victory, the road to communism, the road to happiness!

Glory to Marxism-Leninism!

Glory to our Party!

Long live the 25th Anniversary of the Party School!



