

WORKERS OF ALL COUNTRIES, UNITE!

ENVER HOXHA

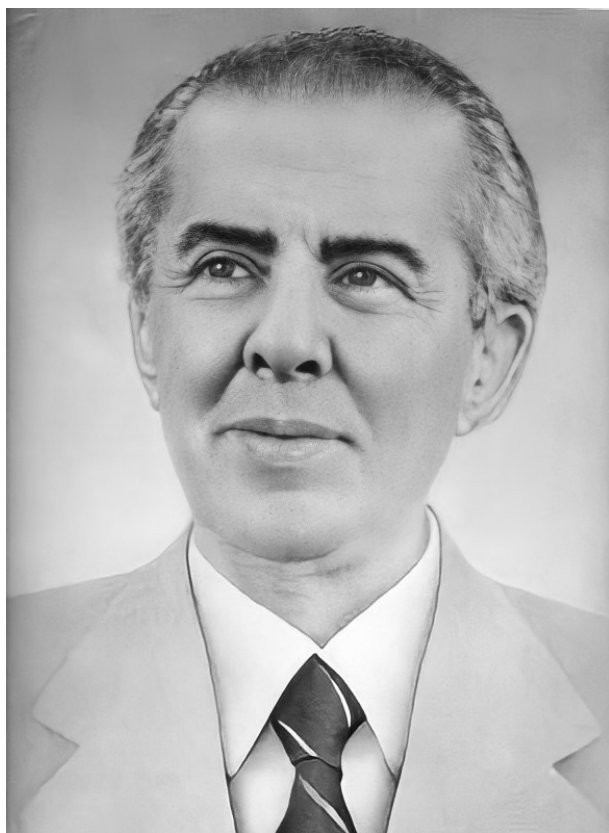
**STUDY MARXIST-
LENINIST THEORY
LINKING IT CLOSELY
WITH REVOLUTIONARY
PRACTICE**

*Speech delivered at the
meeting commemorating
the 25th anniversary of
the founding of the "V.I.
Lenin" Party School*

(November 8, 1970)

Publisher's Note

This edition of *Study Marxist-Leninist Theory Linking It Closely With Revolutionary Practice* is republished from the edition published by the “Naim Frashëri” Publishing House, Tirana 1971. The second item *The Marxist-Leninist Education of Members and Cadres of the Party and Party Propaganda* is republished from Vol. 2 of Enver Hoxha's *Select-ed Works*, “8 Nëntori” Publishing House, Tirana 1975.



ENVER HOXHA

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 November 8th, 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 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 revolution-

ary 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 Labour of Albania and the tens of thousands of communists, of our heroic working class and the broad masses of 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 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 workers, are called upon to be armed with two kinds of weapons: with firearms and the ideas of Marxism-Leninism. A revolution 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 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 religious doctrines, which supported the feudal-bourgeoisie of the country and the foreigners who oppressed us. The centuries of never-ceasing 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 crystallized 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 peasantry which has embraced collectivization. Even our intelligentsia is no longer the old one, neither as regards its numbers, origin, nor 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 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, people do not always have their aims, or the means and manner of attaining these aims, properly crystallized. 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. Therefore, in the historic process there are 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 countryside, between mental and manual labour, we encounter different interests, aspirations and

opinions, a series of contradictions, and so on.

There are communists who may have learned these ideas of Engels and Marxism-Leninism in books and at school, but when it comes to the point of analysing and confronting them with the sundry occurrences of life and 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,” which 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 discussions “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 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 three to four years. The same applies to all the problems of life, be they big or small, which are set before us to be solved and 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 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 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 de-

velop it on a still wider scale. This does not, in any way, lower the authority of an institution or 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 materialist 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 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, both in theory and practice, in order to affirm these major principles against the idealist, anti-Marxist philosophers, against the reactionary bourgeoisie, and against their various 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 the 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 non-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. Here-

in lies the source of capitalist exploitation, herein also lies the brilliant discovery of that “mysterious something” in the principal relations between the worker and 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 capitalist exploitation has been done away with and that the differentiation between the worker and 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, capitalist exploitation has been further intensified.

No matter what external change the cap-

italist 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 practicism or 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 and base ourselves on the scientific theory of Marxism-Leninism, penetrating from the external manifestations into their essence, discovering 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 materialist scientific basis, with the aim of ridding them of idealist 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 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 soci-

ety.

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 reflection 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 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 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 accompan-

ied by the re-examination 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 is also 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 transformation 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 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 beforehand 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, 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 so-

cial 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 idealist, 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, juridical forms, religious concepts, 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 the superstructure in general, rejecting any manifestation of fatalism and 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 state of the dictatorship of the proletariat, of the school and 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, 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 object-

ive 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 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 organization 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 “production 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 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 con-

clusions 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 and 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 landpoor peasants, the Party said that the private property of the labouring 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 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 it came in our country. As a result, small private property in land was transformed into collective property when the necessary economic and ideo-political conditions had been created for this.

Or let us take the question of the nationalization of land, 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, cannot 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 the collectivization 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 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 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 great-

er 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 analysing 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 labour, 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 all the Marxist-Leninist forces in the world, has been and is still waging a resolute struggle of principle against the 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 recognize 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 development, 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 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 its 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 everything is not solved with graduation from school. Every communist must learn continually, with willpower and persistence. He cannot advance without learning, and without learning seriously. He cannot be guided by practicism. Therefore, the Party instructs us: Never tire of learning, never interrupt your study! To continue studying follow-

ing graduation means to deepen and extend what you have learned at school further.

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 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!

THE MARXIST-LENINIST EDUCATION OF MEMBERS AND CADRES OF THE PARTY AND PARTY PROPAGANDA

*Excerpt from the Report to the
2nd Congress of the PLA*

March 31, 1952

*“To eliminate the political and ideological backwardness of our Party,” says the Resolution of the 1st Congress, “all the party organs and organizations must do systematic work to master the fundamentals of Marxism-Leninism, to consolidate the communist consciousness of the party members and to become acquainted with the laws of socio-economic development. The Party must consider the problem of the political and ideological uplift of its members as one of the most important problems that must be solved correctly and urgently.”**

On the basis of the decisions of the 1st Congress of the Party, the Central Committee studied and took decisions on the Marxist-Leninist education in the Party, defined the courses of education and prepared the curriculum for every course. The one-year Party School for the members of the district party committees and executive committees, as well as for the cadres working at the centre,

* “Principal Documents of the PLA,” vol. I, p. 463, 1st Alb. ed.

has been opened. The extracurricular two-year correspondence course, and the course of journalism attached to this school, have also been opened. In five district centres, three-month (now five-month) courses have been set up, mainly for the cadres of the apparatuses of the party committees and the executive committees of the districts. In 10 centres (now 20 centres), one-month (now two-month) courses have been organized under the party committees in the districts, chiefly for the secretaries of the basic organizations in the countryside and work centres. The Marxist-Leninist education among the masses of the Party is being carried out through political schools, study groups (in two categories) and individual study. The programs are based on the study of the short course on the *History of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (Bolsheviks)*, the History of our Party, the Constitution of the Party of Labour of Albania and the Constitution of our People's Republic.

To help the development of education in the Party, party cabinets* (16 cabinets) and libraries (5 libraries) have been set up under all the district party committees. One hundred and twenty-eight books of an ideological character totalling 2,084,000 copies have been translated and published. The translation and publication of Comrade Stalin's *Works* have begun, the 1st and 6th volumes have been published, and the 7th and 8th volumes will be put

* These are set up at the district party committees, deal with the education and qualification of the propagandists, and with lecture work.

out this year.

The political and ideological elevation of the Party is still not regarded as one of the most important problems, and is not properly guided by the party committees and basic organizations. Until some time ago, the Marxist-Leninist education of the party members and candidates was not properly taken care of and supervised by the basic organizations, and the party committees had undertaken to carry it on by means of propagandists only. This wrong practice has caused the party committees to confine their duties to the setting up of education courses in the Party and to employ the agitation-propaganda sections and the party cabinets to check on attendance, to take disciplinary measures, and so on. As a result of this wrong practice, their guidance has been weakened in the most important problems of the ideological work in the Party, as in improving the quality and method of propaganda, the work for the Marxist-Leninist education of the youth, which has been completely neglected, and in the work among the masses of the Party who have not taken part in these courses, among the non-party working people, the workers, the peasants and the intelligentsia.

It is very harmful to the Party if the lack of interest in, or underestimation of, the study of the Marxist-Leninist theory in many leading cadres of the Party and state, in the districts and at the centre, is not resolutely combatted. It is precisely individual study, in which the comrades with the best ideological training

take part, that is going worst and the results are poorest. What is the matter? Is it the unsuitable methods? On the contrary. The decisions of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (Bolsheviks) say: "The main method through which the cadres study Marxism-Leninism should be the method of individual study." But the problem, comrades, is in the underestimation of the study of Marxism-Leninism. Until a year ago, this situation, with a few exceptions, was also evident among the members of the Central Committee.

This underestimation is evident in the tendency of the party committees which are ready to send propagandists to the villages for weeks at a time for wholesale purchases or all sorts of campaigns, thus weakening the courses of party education. It shows up in the tendency of certain party and state cadres, of the economic enterprises and other institutions, as well as of the organs of the party committees, to send to the party schools and courses those who are "not so busy" and "not so indispensable," and not the most responsible, sound and promising cadres. We must put a stop to this short-sighted cadre policy.

There are pronounced defects and weaknesses in the quality of party propaganda. After the Congress, the Central Committee concentrated its attention on setting up the education system in the Party, but the work for training propagandists was utterly insufficient. Of course, the great need for the training and uplift of the propagandists was felt im-

mediately, and many seminars were held for this purpose during the summer, and an education system for the propagandists was set up during the school year. However, the work of the agitation and propaganda sections and the party cabinets in the districts, the attention of the party committees, and assistance from the Agitation and Propaganda Directorate of the Central Committee and the press, have been weak and deficient.

The Party faces an important problem: on the one hand, it must increase the number of propagandists in order to keep pace with the extension of the ideo-political education in the Party and among the masses, and on the other hand, it must be very careful to see that the quality of propaganda is not lowered.

The decisions of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (Bolsheviks) regard as improper practice the effort to draw as many communists as possible into the network of the party education courses at the expense of the quality of practical propaganda. We must rebuild the structure of party propaganda in such a way as to guarantee the raising of its quality and its ideological level, say these decisions.

With these teachings of the Bolshevik Party, and displaying great care in choosing, training and uplifting the propagandists, the political and ideological work will grow stronger and the level of party propaganda will be raised.

In the field of propaganda, there is formalism and a separation of theory from practice,

from the life and practical problems of the Party. Formalism in the political and ideological work is apparent in the way agitation and propaganda are carried out among the masses, with big words which are not understood, not linked closely with the needs of the people, unconvincing and lacking militancy. This is obvious in the party cabinets which, in their present state, are not yet powerful centres for spreading the ideas of Marxism-Leninism and the line of our Party, but beautiful expositions, devoid of life and activity.

Likewise, in the propaganda through the press and lectures, it is observed that matters are approached from a purely historical angle, and though the obsolete outlook and alien manifestations are exposed, there is no Marxist-Leninist analysis, and our new communist outlook, which must serve as a guide to action, is not opposed to the old one.

The role of the press in helping the party members in the study of Marxism-Leninism, in the analysis of many problems and the exchange of experience in the political and ideological work, has been utterly insufficient. The leading cadres of the Party, the members of the Central Committee, the party secretaries in districts, etc., have given very little help in this work.

An end must be put once and for all to indifference and the non-communist attitude adopted by many party members and responsible cadres towards the distribution, and even more so, towards the reading of the press and books. It is beyond comprehension how

a party organization which does not read the press can lead the work.

Comrade Stalin has said:

*“The press is a most powerful weapon by means of which the Party daily, hourly, speaks in its own language, the language it needs to use to the working class.”**

*“The point is that nowadays it is utterly impossible to lead without ‘trouble,’ let alone without newspapers.”***

In order to raise the propaganda of the Party (its political and ideological work) to a higher level, and to educate the party members and the leading cadres politically and ideologically as quickly and as well as possible, all these defects and weaknesses must be combatted, the decisions of the Central Committee must be carried out persistently, and the great and brilliant teachings of the Bolshevik Party of Lenin and Stalin must always be taken into account.

Recently, the Central Committee took important decisions on raising the educational and ideo-political level of the party and state cadres, in which it is envisaged that the Party School should extend its course to two years, that various courses, differing in content and duration, will be attached to it, that participation in higher education will become com-

* J.V. Stalin, *Works*, vol. 5, p. 198, Alb. ed.

** J.V. Stalin, *Works*, vol. 7, p. 128, Alb. ed.

pulsory for those in the party organs and the cadres of the press, and a series of seminars will be arranged to raise the level of the party cadres ideologically and professionally.

Comrades, the Party and government have created such conditions that the broad masses of the working people can emerge from the darkness and backwardness of the past. With great zeal and enthusiasm, the masses of the people in town and country are attending the classes against illiteracy and the various schools. The sons and daughters of the workers and peasants can be seen everywhere in teacher training, vocational and artistic schools, as well as in the schools of the Soviet Union and the people's democracies. Without this cultural and educational development of the masses, the development of the economy cannot even be thought of, much less achieved. And what is more, no advance can be made without the cultural and educational advancement of our Party, the vanguard of the masses. The masses of the Party must be at the head, in everything, everywhere and all the time. The situation of party education is not very satisfactory and it is improving very slowly...

This Congress must mark an important turning point in the rise of the political-ideological and educational-cultural level of the Party. Hence it is necessary for us to set about persistent study, so that not only a few, but the broad masses of the Party raise their educational and cultural level, unceasingly study Marxist-Leninist theory and put it into practice.

a) Strengthen the work of the Party in the ideo-political and cultural fields

In the conditions of the construction of socialism and the new society, especially in the conditions of the encirclement in which our country finds itself, the strengthening of the political and ideological work in the Party assumes increasing importance day by day. It assumes even greater importance if we consider that since Liberation our Party has increased from 5,266 to 44,418 members and candidate members. It is true that these thousands of party members and candidates are distinguished for their profound love for, and loyalty to, the Party, and their militant enthusiasm and fervour to build the new society. But we must not forget that they bring with them into the Party all the cultural and educational backwardness they have inherited from the past, all the influences of feudal-bourgeois ideology with which the old society has fed them.

Should we think that since we have a great deal to do right now, we should first get these things underway, and then begin to study and set about raising our cultural-educational and ideo-political level?

No, comrades, it is not permissible for us to think this way. Those comrades who think so should be warned that soon they stop with the job half done, because the impetuous development of our new society demands the uplift of its vanguard, of cadres to lead it. Whoever does not keep pace with them will tag

along for a while, but will be left behind eventually. This is a dialectical law that should be thoroughly understood. This is what the great Lenin and great Stalin teach us.

“Without a knowledge of Marxist-Leninist theory,” say the decisions of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (Bolsheviks), *“without mastering Bolshevism and overcoming their own theoretical backwardness, our cadres will be lame in both legs, because the task of giving correct leadership to all the branches of socialist construction requires mastery of the fundamentals of the Marxist-Leninist theory by the practical workers, requires knowledge so they can be guided by theory in solving questions of practical activity.”**

But if we are to study, some comrades might think, we should be relieved of many tasks, of worries over procurement, economic questions, and so on. Is this permissible for us? No, not in the least. The Party is at the head of the people’s state power, and it bears full and serious responsibility for leading the great and rapid transformations taking place in our country in the economic, cultural and social fields.

Then, what is the way out? Comrades, we, present-day communists, are fortunate because all the ways out have been illuminated

* “The CPSU in the resolutions and decisions of the congresses, conferences and plenums of the CC,” part III, pp. 318-319, 7th Rus. ed.

for us by Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin.

*“Of course, theory turns into something without an object,” Comrade Stalin says, “if it is not integrated with the revolutionary practice, just as practice becomes blind if its path is not illuminated by a revolutionary theory.”**

The more we take this lesson into account, the better and more correctly we shall respond to the tasks which the construction of socialism faces us with.

It should be pointed out that many cadres are very busy, tire themselves out, precisely because they do little study. There are many other comrades who, under the pretext of having too much work, hide their lack of courage and will to study persistently, to enter the tower of knowledge and science, to set about studying Marxist-Leninist science. There are also many communists, especially new rank-and-file party members, who remain far removed from the struggle against their old outlook, and they are not to blame for this, but because of the lack of extensive, systematic ideological work, these comrades fail to grasp the Marxist outlook about the things around them, and their Marxist awareness is at a low level. If they want to advance, all these comrades must always remember the teaching of Comrade Stalin:

“It must be accepted as an axiom that the

* J.V. Stalin, *Works*, vol. 6, p. 92, Alb. ed.

*higher the political level and the Marxist-Leninist knowledge of the workers in any branch of state or party work, the better and more fruitful will be the work itself and the more effective the results of the work; and vice versa, the lower the political level of the workers and the less they are imbued with the knowledge of Marxism-Leninism, the greater will be the likelihood of disruption and failure in the work...”**

Without thorough-going work for the Marxist-Leninist education of the mass of the party members, there will be continual distortions and deviations in the line of the Party, there will always be difficulties in solving economic problems, the communists will not be in a position to combat bourgeois ideology properly to ensure a higher level of ideology in education, culture, art and literature, and the influences of the feudal-bourgeois and reactionary ideology will constantly show up in the Party, thereby weakening its militant and revolutionary spirit.

b) For a close integration of theory and practice

This is urgent and indispensable for we are very backward, I again repeat it, we are backward, all of us, without exception. We must learn Marxist-Leninist philosophy, learn its method, which is dialectical materialism. It is absolutely necessary to study this philosophy

* J.V. Stalin, *Works*, vol. 14, p. 247, Alb. ed.

and this method, because only in this way will we understand Marxism-Leninism, which will arm us to squash and throw out the bourgeois theories and enable us to wage a general political struggle. Lenin teaches us:

*“Without revolutionary theory, there can be no revolutionary movement.”**

This means, in the first place, that theory must be integrated with practice. Practice means translating theory into reality. Industry and agriculture realize, that is to say, turn into reality, chemical, physical and biological knowledge. One can be practical, but then work in a mechanical way; one can be a theorist only, but then work out plans of things which are not realized. Hence, practice and theory must be closely integrated. Therefore, the working class and its vanguard, the communist or workers' party, need a correct method of analysis to achieve correct revolutionary deeds, a method which must not be a dogma, that is, to provide ready-made solutions, but a method which can size up facts and circumstances which are not always the same, a method which does not divorce theory from practice. And the Marxist-Leninist philosophy, dialectical materialism, teaches us this method.

The history of the Bolshevik Party teaches us that only the party which has mastered Marxist-Leninist theory can press forward

* V.I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, vol. 5, p. 434, Alb. ed.

confidently and lead the working class ahead.

The history of the Bolshevik Party teaches us that mastering the Marxist-Leninist theory does not mean learning the formulae and conclusions by rote, but means assimilating this theory as your own and learning how to use it to solve practical problems of the revolutionary movement in various conditions of the class struggle of the proletariat. Therefore, we must all study the short course of the *History of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (Bolsheviks)* and make this powerful weapon of Bolshevism, which sums up the experience of the Bolshevik Party, our own. Every communist must regard it as the most important means of discharging the task of mastering Bolshevism and equipping the party members with the Marxist-Leninist theory, that is, with the knowledge of the laws of social development and political struggle. The *History of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (Bolsheviks)* is the means of enhancing the Bolshevik political vigilance of the party and the non-party people, it is the means of raising the propaganda of Marxism-Leninism to the required theoretical level.

The short course of the *History of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (Bolsheviks)* must become an inseparable weapon of every communist and illuminate his path to action. The more and better the Party and all those who lead the political, economic, cultural and social life master it, the faster and more confidently our Party of Labour and our entire people will forge ahead.

We must strengthen leadership by the Party in the field of ideo-political and cultural work, fighting against any tendency to laziness or disparaging the work for mastering the fundamentals of Marxism-Leninism, as well as against the underestimation of general culture, for only in this way will we eliminate the defects in our work and carry the cultural revolution in our country constantly forward.



**THE NOVEMBER 8TH
PUBLISHING HOUSE**
Catalogue available at november8ph.ca

NEPH would be glad to have your comments on this book, its design, any corrections and suggestions you may have for future publications. Please send them to info@november8ph.ca