

RAMIZ ALIA

**STALIN AND HIS WORK -
A BANNER OF STRUGGLE FOR
ALL REVOLUTIONARIES**

RAMIZ ALIA

**STALIN AND HIS WORK —
A BANNER OF STRUGGLE FOR ALL
REVOLUTIONARIES**

*Speech delivered on the 20th December 1979
at the commemorative meeting on the occasion
of the centenary of the birth of J. V. Stalin*

THE «8 NËNTORI» PUBLISHING HOUSE
TIRANA, 1979



RAMIZ ALIA

Dear comrades,

December 21 is the one hundredth anniversary of the birth of J.V. Stalin, the outstanding leader of the proletariat of Russia and the world, the great Marxist-Leninist thinker and loyal pupil and continuer of the work of Marx, Engels and Lenin. The communists and people of Albania, the revolutionaries and peoples of the whole world honour the work of this great revolutionary with profound respect and admiration, and are inspired by his example and teachings in the struggle for the triumph of the revolution and the cause of communism.

The name and the work of Stalin are immortal and will live through the ages. As the comrade and co-fighter of V. I. Lenin, Stalin fought for the strengthening of the Bolshevik Party, for the triumph of the Great October Socialist Revolution, for the founding and construction of the first state of peasants and workers in the world.

At the head of the Soviet Party and state for nearly 30 years, Stalin guided a whole process of achievements, transformations and victories, as a result of which the Soviet Union was turned into a powerful socialist state.

During this period, as difficult as it was heroic, Stalin's unwavering faith in the party and the people, his adherence to principle and iron will to defend the purity of Marxism-Leninism, his rare ability as an organizer, and his wisdom and foresight as a great proletarian leader were displayed with their full force.

Stalin was a great politician and outstanding statesman, who, for more than a quarter of a century, dominated the political scene and events in the world. He was a fearless fighter against imperialism and all world reaction. As a great strategist, he led the Patriotic War of the Soviet people, which was crowned with the important historic victory over fascism and the liberation of enslaved peoples.

Stalin was a great internationalist fighter and the outstanding leader of the world communist movement. He played a role of

historic importance in the elaboration of a correct revolutionary strategy and tactics, which led to the growth of the world communist movement, to the creation and strengthening of the socialist camp and to the development of the peoples' anti-imperialist and liberation movement.

Throughout his glorious life Stalin defended the teachings of Marxism-Leninism with rare mastery and determination, enriched them and developed them further in a creative way, in the new historical conditions. Through his work as an outstanding thinker and great revolutionary leader, J.V. Stalin ranked himself beside the great classics of the world proletariat, Marx, Engels and Lenin.

The enemies of communism, the bourgeois and revisionist ideologists have tried to discredit the name and work of Stalin. However, as Comrade Enver Hoxha has said, **«The historic merits of Stalin are undeniable. These merits constitute his fundamental characteristic as a great leader and revolutionary. The revisionists' slanders against Stalin**

cannot in the least obscure his outstanding figure and monumental work, which will remain brilliant through the ages and will always serve as a great and inspiring example and a banner of struggle for all the Marxist-Leninists of the world.»

The attitude towards Stalin and his work has been, and still is, a clear line of demarcation between Marxist-Leninists and modern revisionists. This is not just an issue of bygone history, but constitutes a current problem of major importance. In the present situation, when the revolutionary tide of the proletariat is rising in many countries of the world, when the peoples' anti-imperialist liberation movements are extending on all the continents, when the all-round crisis of capitalism is making all the contradictions of the bourgeois and revisionist society more acute, the teachings and work of Stalin show the proletarians and the peoples the correct and reliable road to their liberation from the capitalist and imperialist yoke, the road of the triumph of freedom, democracy and socialism.

Loyal to the Marxist-Leninist doctrine, to the historical truth and the spirit of prolet-

arian internationalism, the Party of Labour of Albania consistently defends the great figure and work of Stalin. This is not a question of mere sympathy towards him personally, but a profoundly important issue of principle.

The question is quite clear-cut: to defend or to negate Stalin, means to defend or to negate Marxism-Leninism, because Stalin's whole life was devoted to the defence and development of Marxism-Leninism. The «Stalinism» which the modern revisionists try to oppose to Leninism does not exist as a separate doctrine. Stalin's work is the application of Leninism and its development in the new historical conditions.

To defend or to negate Stalin, means to defend or to negate genuine socialism, the new society built according to the teachings of Marx and Lenin, the society without exploiting classes, without the exploitation of man by man. Stalin worked and fought for this society, and he made this society a reality in the Soviet Union.

To defend or to negate Stalin, means to fight imperialism or to reconcile oneself to it, to be for the revolution or against the rev-

olution, to be for the peoples' liberation movement or against it. Throughout his whole life Stalin pursued a strategy and tactics aimed at the victory of the revolution, the triumph of socialism, the national liberation of the peoples.

The Party of Labour of Albania is the only Party in power which never reconciled itself to the slanders the revisionists concocted against Stalin. It is to its honour that, right from the start, it rose courageously in defence of this great Marxist-Leninist and revolutionary. At the conference of the communist parties in Moscow, in November 1960, Comrade Enver Hoxha, in the name of the Albanian communists and the whole Albanian people declared firmly and courageously: **«We must all defend the fine and immortal work of Stalin; he who does not defend him is an opportunist and a coward.»**

The unyielding, principled stand of the Party of Labour of Albania, all its continuous struggle in defence of Stalin and his work, had and still have great importance for the exposure of modern revisionists, for the defence of the purity of Marxism-Leninism, the

great cause of communism and proletarian internationalism.

The great and all-sided theoretical work of Stalin is immortal and always valid

Stalin lived and worked in the period of imperialism and in the new historical epoch which was opened by the Great October Revolution, at a time when answers had to be given to major questions which arose from the extension of the revolutionary movement of the proletariat and from the complicated tasks which the transformation of backward Russia presented. Stalin proved to be up to the level which these situations required. Basing himself on the teachings of Marx and Lenin, he worked out many important problems of the Marxist-Leninist theory more completely.

From the outset, Stalin took an active part in the ideological struggle beside Lenin, and made a valuable contribution to the elaboration of the theory about the party of the new type, the role of socialist consciousness in the workers' movement and the hege-

mony of the proletariat in the revolution. In particular, he defended and developed Lenin's ideas on the national question. Lenin considered Stalin's work, «Marxism and the National Question,» the finest work of Marxism on this problem.

After the death of Lenin, when the enemies of the October Revolution, the Trotskyites and the other opportunists, tried to separate Leninism from Marxism, to distort it and to replace it with Trotskyism, Stalin in a series of outstanding works, such as «The Foundations of Leninism» and «Concerning Questions of Leninism», defended the theoretical heritage from Lenin with mastery and courage, proved that Leninism is the further development of Marxism, that it is Marxism of the epoch of imperialism and the proletarian revolution, **«it is the theory and tactics of the proletarian revolution in general, the theory and tactics of the dictatorship of the proletariat in particular».**

Stalin's theoretical thinking was displayed with all the force of his dialectical Marxist logic in the working out of major problems of the construction of socialism, and in defining the ways to carry out this construc-

tion, such as those of the organization and management of the socialist economy, the creation of the new multi-national, socialist state, the development of the ideological, educational and cultural revolution, and the organization of the army and other organs of the dictatorship of the proletariat. These problems were presented in a scientifically argued and convincing form in the Stalin Constitution, in the History of the Bolshevik Party, and in many other works of Stalin in that period.

There is no field of Marxist thought to which Stalin has not made his valuable contribution. Such outstanding works as «Dialectical and Historical Materialism», «The Economic Problems of Socialism in the Soviet Union», «Marxism and Problems of Linguistics», etc., represent a further development of Marxist philosophy and the political economy of socialism.

Stalin's wealth of theoretical works retains its great value today and serves as an unerring guide in the struggles of the proletariat and the peoples for the cause of the revolution and socialism. This is why the revisionists attack the work of Stalin, especially

on those cardinal questions of the theory and practice of socialism over which a fierce ideological struggle is being waged today.

One of the most fundamental questions of Marxism, to which Stalin made a major contribution, is the question of the revolution. Since the publication of the «Communist Manifesto», the attitude towards the proletarian revolution has divided the revolutionaries from the bourgeois reformists. Marx and Engels proved with scientific arguments that the revolution is the only way to the overthrow of the old bourgeois order of exploitation, that the revolution with violence is a universal law of every genuine revolution. Lenin defended and further developed these ideas of Marxism. He elaborated a complete theory of the revolution in the conditions of imperialism which he applied successfully in the Great October Socialist Revolution.

Stalin, as one of the main leaders of the October Revolution, summed up the lessons from it, about the hegemony of the proletariat, about the violent overthrow of the bourgeoisie, about the smashing of the military-bureaucratic apparatus of the capitalist

state, and about the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat, and defended the Leninist thesis that the general laws of this revolution have a universal character. «**The October Revolution,**» said Stalin, «**is a model of the application of the Leninist theory on the proletarian revolution,**» This revolution «**proved completely that the Leninist theory of the proletarian revolution is correct,**» that this theory «**is not simply a Russian theory, but a theory which is valid for all countries,**».*

Stalin's consistent line in defence of the Leninist theory of the revolution, which the opportunists and Trotskyites attacked in the past, is now being attacked by the modern revisionists. They accuse Stalin of having clung to the scheme of the October Revolution which, they allege, occurred in certain specific historical conditions which cannot be repeated. According to the revisionists, the situation in the world today has changed so much that the transition to socialism has become possible by means of votes and parliamentary majorities, by means of the spontaneous integration of capitalism into social-

* J. V. Stalin, Selected Works, pp. 135-136. (Alb. ed.).

ism, by means of reforms, education and collaboration with the bourgeoisie and its parties, etc. Stalin exposed such views with special force when he said, «**To think that the revolution can be carried out in a peaceful way, in the framework of bourgeois democracy, which is adapted to the domination of the bourgeoisie, means either that you have gone out of your mind and lost your normal human judgement, or you have brutally and openly rejected the proletarian revolution.**»*

Life has shown that the communist parties which adopted the Khrushchevite line of the 20th Congress have not only failed to realize any kind of transformation of capitalist society on the peaceful road, but by following this line, they have ended up in the lap of the bourgeoisie and have turned into social-democratic and labour parties of class peace and class collaboration, while the Soviet Union has been transformed into an aggressive, imperialist power.

The revolution, said Stalin, can overthrow the bourgeoisie and its state, but it

* «Concerning Questions of Leninism» p. 19, 1979 (Alb. ed.).

cannot safeguard its victory and carry it through to the end without establishing the dictatorship of the proletariat, which constitutes its main support.

It is the historical merit of Stalin that he not only argued theoretically, but he also demonstrated in practice that without the dictatorship of the proletariat, the resistance of the exploiting classes cannot be broken and the revolution cannot be defended from the inevitable intervention of imperialism, the capitalist tendencies of the petty bourgeoisie cannot be combated, the broad masses of the peasantry cannot be drawn on to the road of socialism and the socialist transformation of society cannot be carried out.

These teachings of Stalin's were put into practice in the Soviet Union. The state of the dictatorship of the proletariat became the main weapon in the hands of the working class and the toiling masses, to successfully withstand the united attack of the White Guards and world capital, the desperate resistance of the overthrown bourgeois classes and the great treachery of the Trotskyites, the blockade and hostility of the whole capital-

ist world. The Soviet state power was that irreplaceable force, which led the radical transformations, which turned the poor, war-devastated Russia into an advanced industrial state with great economic and military potential. Without the dictatorship of the proletariat such majestic victories would have been unthinkable.

The Khrushchevite revisionists accused Stalin of being a tyrant and presented the whole period when Stalin was at the head of the proletarian state as allegedly a period in which violations of the law, despotism, violence, terror and oppression reigned.

However, Stalin was neither a tyrant nor a murderer. The dictatorship of the proletariat and Stalin were principled and just. True they were severe, but severe with the enemies, with the traitors, with the saboteurs, with the agents of imperialism. Stalin was a great proletarian leader, an ardent champion of revolutionary justice, of the vital interests of the Soviet peoples, of the democratic freedoms and rights which the October Revolution gave the broad masses of the working people.

By throwing mud at Stalin and blacken-

ing the majestic victories achieved by the Bolshevik Party and the Soviet peoples under Stalin's leadership, Khrushchev and company were expressing their hatred of the dictatorship of the proletariat. This became quite clear when the Soviet revisionists described the dictatorship of the proletariat as a thing of the past and replaced it with the so-called «state of the whole people», behind which lurks the savage dictatorship of the new bourgeois class which is ruling today in the Soviet Union. The other revisionists such as Marchais, Carrillo and company have gone even further. They have gone so far as to compare the dictatorship of the proletariat to the fascist dictatorships of Mussolini and Franco.

Despite the attacks of the bourgeoisie and the revisionists, the idea of the dictatorship of the proletariat, which Stalin ardently defended, cannot be eradicated from the minds and consciousness of the proletarians and the working masses. As long as capitalist oppression and exploitation exist, the desire and aspirations of the peoples for the destruction of the bourgeois order and the construction of the new, classless society will exist,

too. But this cannot be realized without the dictatorship of the proletariat. The proletarian revolution and socialism are inseparable from the dictatorship of the proletariat.

Stalin consistently adhered to the line of the class struggle, which he applied resolutely at all stages of the revolution and socialist construction. He considered the class struggle of the proletariat a fundamental condition for the construction of socialism and to withstand the all-round pressure of the capitalist encirclement.

Stalin pointed out that with the progress of the country on the road of socialism, the class enemies do not give up their counter-revolutionary aims to overthrow the proletarian state, but on the contrary, they try to act and wage a fierce struggle with all their means to achieve this aim. He stressed with force that **«We must condemn and reject the rotten theory which says that, after every step forward we take, the class struggle in our country allegedly diminishes, that with our increasing successes the class enemy allegedly becomes ever more docile. This theory is not only rotten,»** continues Stalin, **«but also dangerous, because it puts**

our people to sleep, leads them into a trap, while it gives the class enemy the possibility to recover itself in order to fight against the Soviet power.»*

The Khrushchevites savagely attacked Stalin's line of the class struggle and accused him of having allegedly exacerbated and incited this struggle artificially. This is a slander, a distortion of the truth. Stalin never artificially incited the class struggle but waged it in a correct and principled way.

The revisionists oppose Stalin's correct thesis about the continuation of the class struggle in socialism with their view of the disappearance of the class struggle from the life of socialist society. In this way the Khrushchevites sought to blunt the vigilance of the Soviet communists and working masses towards the counterrevolution that they were carrying out, to convince them that there was no longer any internal danger to socialism. In the case of the Khrushchevite revisionists too, it was confirmed that the basis of every kind of opportunism in the workers' movement has been and still is the

* J. V. Stalin, Works, vol. 14, pp. 110-111 (Alb. ed.).

relaxation of the class struggle, class conciliation.

The revisionist counterrevolution and the seizure of power by the Khrushchevite clique in the Soviet Union is the most convincing proof of the correctness of Stalin's thesis that the class struggle does not die out in socialism, that if vigilance is reduced and the struggle against class enemies weakened, the very existence of the dictatorship of the proletariat and the socialist system is endangered.

The experience of our Party and country also confirms the correctness of Stalin's thesis. If the enemies have been unable to make any headway in Albania and if the revisionist tragedy did not occur here as it did in the Soviet Union and elsewhere, but, instead, the cause of socialism has always gone ahead without interruption, this is explained with the fact that our Party has always been vigilant, has consistently adhered to the line of the class struggle and has applied it resolutely and correctly in practice.

Stalin made a major contribution to the defence and further development of the

Leninist doctrine on the party of the working class. Stalin showed that the undivided leading role of the party of the proletariat stems from the fact that the working class has a single revolutionary ideology — Marxism-Leninism, which defines the objectives and illuminates the road to achieve them. The bearer of this ideology, the leadership of the working class in the revolution and the construction of the new society can be only one party, the communist party.

These teachings are a weapon in the hands of the Marxist-Leninists to combat anti-Leninist theories which deny the leading role of the party, such as those of the Khrushchevite revisionists on «the party of the whole people» and those of the Yugoslav, Chinese and Eurocommunist revisionists who advocate political and ideological pluralism and independence from the party and class neutrality of the organizations of the masses. Stalin criticized such theorizing long ago. He said: «**The opportunist theory of the 'independence' and 'neutrality' of non-party organizations, the theory which spawns independent members of parliament and publicists**

separate from the party, narrow-minded trade unionists and bourgeois co-operators cannot be reconciled in any way with the theory and practice of Leninism».*

Stalin fought for a vanguard party of the working class, an organized party with proletarian discipline and ideology, a strong party with unity of thought and action, a Leninist party of the new type. Only such parties are capable of leading the complicated struggle of the proletariat and the working people for the seizure of state power successfully. The others, in which liberalism, factionalism and two lines prevail, cannot be parties of the revolution but are reformist parties, which, as Stalin said, are merely an electoral apparatus suitable for parliamentary elections and parliamentary struggle.

The betrayal by the modern revisionists, which led to the degeneration of communist parties, long ago raised the great historical need for the creation and strengthening of new Marxist-Leninist parties. At a time

* «The Foundations of Leninism», p. 105, 1979 (Alb. ed.).

when the revolution is on the order of the day and is demanding solution, the proletariat of no country can carry out its mission while retaining revisionist and social-democratic parties as its leadership. The situation is such that they must have genuine Leninist parties, as Stalin demanded.

All the activity of the modern revisionists proves clearly that in rising against Stalin and his work, their aim was not to defend socialism against the so-called Stalinist dogmatism, but to reject the whole of Marxism-Leninism, both in theory and in practice. The disguise has fallen from the demagogy of the modern revisionists about allegedly returning to Lenin, especially now when they, and the Eurocommunist current in particular, have begun to attack Lenin and Leninism openly and to remove any reference to Marxism-Leninism from the constitutions and programs of their parties.

The Chinese revisionists, too, have not lagged behind in their attacks upon Stalin. Mao Tsetung divided the work of Stalin into the seven blessings and three evils. But while the seven blessings go no further

than displaying Stalin's portrait on Tien An Men Square, the three evils have been extended to an unprincipled criticism which leaves out none of the slanders that Khrushchev and all the anti-communist chorus concocted against Stalin.

Apart from motives which inspire the whole of modern revisionist reaction, the Chinese and their criticism of Stalin are inspired by specific causes, by their accumulated dissatisfaction over the direct criticism which he and the Comintern made of the Communist Party of China and Mao Tsetung, are inspired by hatred, because, as Chou En-lai himself admitted, Stalin suspected that the Chinese leadership was pro-American and would follow the Yugoslav road. Time has proved that Stalin was absolutely correct. His estimation of the Chinese leadership and its line turned out exact.

The efforts of the revisionists to overthrow Stalin, to negate his teachings and work will fail, just as all the attacks of the bourgeoisie and opportunists on the great teachers of communism — Marx, Engels, Lenin, have failed. Stalin is inseparable from

Marxism-Leninism. And just as Marxism-Leninism is immortal, Stalin is immortal, too.

There is only one socialism and it is built on the basis of Marxism-Leninism

On Stalin, at the head of the Bolshevik Party and the first Soviet state, devolved the great historic burden of discovering and trying the previously unknown roads to the construction of the new society, of working out the new laws of socialism theoretically and putting them into practice.

The new world which was built in the Soviet Union under Stalin's leadership was the world advocated by Marx and Lenin, the world dreamed of by whole generations of proletarian revolutionaries, for which hundreds of thousands of fighters for the glorious communist ideas had fought and fallen on the fields of class battles. This new socialist world was the greatest challenge to the system of oppression and exploitation ever known in the history of mankind. Socialism defeated the bourgeoisie in all directions. The radical political, ideological and social transforma-

tions which took place in the Soviet Union, under the leadership of Stalin, enlightening the minds of men on all continents, gave them heart and made their prospect clear. It was proved that capitalism was not everlasting, that the exploitation of man by man could be eliminated, that the worker could become master of the factory and the people master of their country.

The experience of the construction of socialism in the Soviet Union under the leadership of the Bolshevik Party and Stalin, is a rich experience of universal value, a priceless heritage for all genuine Marxist-Leninists and revolutionaries, which neither the slanders of the bourgeoisie, the attacks of revisionists, nor the betrayal of the Khrushchevites can sully or obscure.

In the first years of Soviet power, when all the enemies of the revolution and socialism, especially the Trotskyites, spread great ideological confusion and considered the triumph of socialism in backward Russia, without the support of the socialist revolution in the West, completely impossible, Stalin supported with theoretical argument and carried out in practice the Leninist thesis on

the possibility of the construction of socialism in one country.

The construction of socialism in the Soviet Union under the leadership of Stalin, was carried out by relying on the material and human resources of the country, without any economic aid or credit from abroad. This was an inspiring example which gave the proletarians and peoples of other countries greater confidence that they, too, could carry out the revolution and build socialism in their countries by relying on their own forces.

The Party of Labour and the Albanian people, also, proceeded on this road opened by Stalin and triumphed. Socialist Albania provides another example, showing that socialism can be built on the basis of self-reliance, not only in a big country, but also in a small country, with relatively fewer possibilities and resources and surrounded by the ocean of the capitalist-revisionist world. This has been possible because our people are united, conscious and determined to fight to the end, because they have at their head a Marxist-Leninist party, loyal to the interests of the people and closely linked with them, politically and ideologically clear, bold and coura-

geous in the fight with the enemies and with any difficulty, because they have the Party of Labour of Albania, founded and led with wisdom and foresight by Comrade Enver Hoxha.

Of great value are the Marxist-Leninist teachings of Stalin about the ways and methods of carrying out the socialist industrialization of the country, the collectivization of agriculture, and the development of the revolution in the field of ideology and culture. The socialism built in the Soviet Union, under the leadership of the Bolshevik Party with Stalin at the head, was genuine socialism, in which the working class was in power and its communist party exercised undivided leadership, in which there was dictatorship for the enemies and the most extensive, most complete and real democracy for the working masses. This was the new society in which the socialist state and kolkhozian ownership over the means of production had been fully established, in which the socialist principle of pay according to work done was rigorously applied, in which the whole economy was run with a unified, over-all plan by the socialist state and developed in favour of the

working masses for the ever better fulfilment of their increasing demands.

The universal laws and features of socialism formulated and defended by Stalin, remain a sharp weapon in the struggle against revisionist concepts about the numerous «models» of socialism, «models» which have nothing in common with genuine socialism. In order to justify these «models», the revisionists say that the many variants of socialism result from the many variants of Marxism, which they allege, are a reflection of the specific conditions of each country. Therefore, according to them, to speak about the universal laws and features of socialism is allegedly «Stalinist dogmatism», the imposition of a single, fossilized model of socialism. On this basis each different current of modern revisionism has invented a special variant of «socialism» into which they introduced an eclectic, bourgeois, nationalist and even religious content, which apart from the resounding name «socialist» has nothing to do with socialism. The aim of the revisionists is not to build some better socialism, but to avoid building any kind of socialism and to preserve capitalism.

Historical experience shows that there are not and cannot be many models of socialism, just as there are not and cannot be a multiplicity of variants of Marxism-Leninism. Irrespective of the special features which the construction of socialism in different countries may have, and these the Marxist-Leninists in no way ignore, socialism is an expression of a number of universal laws essential for all the countries which set out on this road.

Stalin defended and applied in practice the Leninist teaching that the socialist economy, which is based on the social ownership of the means of production, absolutely demands a unified over-all planning and a single centre from which it is run. It cannot be left to spontaneity and many centres, as the modern revisionists advocate, because this would open the way to anarchy, the misuse of the wealth of the country, the emergence of major disproportions and differences, etc. In the conditions of socialist society, in which class distinctions still exist and the class struggle continues, both within the country and on a world scale, this single centre for the organization and management of the economy

cannot be anything other than the socialist state.

The enemies have always tried to attribute to genuine socialism characteristics and features which do not belong to it. They claim that if the main means of production are transformed into state property and run by the state in a planned and centralized manner, this automatically gives birth to bureaucracy and transforms the state into a force which stands above society, which eliminates the democracy and strangles the initiative of the masses, etc.

The socialist system does not give birth to bureaucracy. The socialist state is a state of free workers and peasants who take part actively in the government of the country and the management of the economy. Naturally, the socialist state is not immune to the danger of bureaucracy, just as the whole socialist society is not immune to bourgeois degeneration. But this is not inevitable, it is not decreed by fate. Socialism can be defended and the dangers averted if the party of the working class in power remains unwaveringly in the principled positions of

Marxism-Leninism, if a resolute struggle is waged against bureaucracy and liberalism and if democratic centralism is rigorously respected. It can be defended and can advance if the principle of pay according to work done is applied correctly and the creation of privileged strata is not permitted, if the class struggle is waged consistently.

When the revisionists and the bourgeoisie slander Stalin and accuse the socialist system of being anti-democratic, their aim is not to defend that genuine democracy for the broad masses of the people which only socialism ensures. They want freedom and democracy for the enemies of socialism. They want to open all the roads to liberalism and to use this as a means to bring about the degeneration of the socialist society.

Stalin never reconciled himself to any manifestation or form of liberalism. He hit hard at any conciliatory or opportunist stand towards class enemies and their ideologies. This resolute, principled struggle constitutes a merit which raises high the figure of Stalin as a principled revolutionary and great fighter for the cause of communism.

The Chinese followers of Mao Tsetung, with evil intent, blame Stalin for the birth of revisionism in the Soviet Union, but this is unfounded. Stalin cannot be made the culprit for what occurred in the Soviet Union. On the contrary, his whole life was one continual struggle against revisionism, against attempts of various enemies to undermine and sabotage the socialist order in the Soviet Union. Stalin took the appropriate measures and fought successfully against the danger of the restoration of capitalism as a result of the ideological pressure and military aggression of imperialism, just as he fought unceasingly against the danger of the counterrevolution from the remnants of the exploiting classes and their agents in the party.

Also well known is Stalin's unrelenting struggle and stand against the peaceful degeneration of the socialist order which comes from the emergence of new bourgeois elements. The fact is that the Bolshevik Party and Stalin did not remain idle in the face of negative phenomena which appeared in the life of Soviet society, especially in the period after the Second World War. At that time, under the leadership of Stalin a frontal

attack was launched against the pressure of bourgeois ideology, against obeisance to foreign things and ideas and against bourgeois degeneration. The decisions of the CC of the Bolshevik Party on questions of art and literature and the major discussions on the problems of philosophy, political economy, linguistics, etc., belong to this period. But the people who surrounded Stalin, like Khrushchev and his associates, were not in favour of extending and deepening this struggle and carrying it through to the end. They did not think or work to consolidate and defend the victories of the revolution, but strove in every way to open the road to and incite the counterrevolution, to strangle socialism and create the conditions for the restoration of capitalism. Mikoyan, one of the chiefs of the Khrushchevite clique, told Comrade Enver Hoxha openly that the Khrushchevite group had thought of killing Stalin, because they considered him as the main obstacle in their way. It is logical that such people, conspirators who schemed to commit crimes, would sabotage every decision, directive, or instruction of the Party and Stalin which was intended to defend the Party and the Soviet

state, to protect them from disintegration and degeneration.

The revisionist counterrevolution which took place in the Soviet Union and elsewhere, faced all Marxist-Leninists with the great problem: why did this phenomenon occur and what must be done to prevent it? The solution can be found only by relying on Marxism-Leninism, on the teachings and struggle of Lenin and Stalin, on their dialectical method in the analysis of social phenomena and the drawing of correct conclusions.

The Party of Labour of Albania with Comrade Enver Hoxha at the head proved up to the tasks which the existing situations required of them. It not only undertook a titanic struggle for the exposure of the betrayal by Khrushchevite revisionism and in defence of Marxism-Leninism, but also worked out a whole program of measures of a political, economic, ideological and organizational character, to avoid the danger of bourgeois-revisionist degeneration and to ensure the successful continuation of the revolution so that Albania will always remain an impregnable socialist fortress.

At this decisive period for the fate of

socialism and the revolution, the Marxist-Leninist maturity, the strength of the scientific analysis and the creative ability of the Party of Labour of Albania and its leader, Comrade Enver Hoxha, their revolutionary courage and determination to overcome every difficulty and to lead the Albanian people always to victory, were expressed in the clearest and most complete way.

Just as they have done up till now, the communists and people of Albania will fight and work tirelessly for the defence and progress of socialism in their country, for the defence of Marxism-Leninism and the cause of the revolution in the world. Comrade Enver Hoxha has said, «**Our Marxist-Leninist comrades can be quite sure that socialist Albania will always hold high and unsullied the banner of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin, that glorious Marxist-Leninist, that great proletarian revolutionary who is honoured and respected by all the peoples and the progressive world, with the enemies of socialism the only exception.**»

Stalin's indomitable struggle against imperialism inspires the peoples to wipe out any kind of oppression and exploitation

With the triumph of the October Revolution and the creation of the state of workers and peasants, a new contradiction on a world scale emerged, that between socialism and capitalism. This contradiction, as Lenin defined, was now to become one of the fundamental contradictions of the era. Proceeding from this Leninist thesis, Stalin explained and argued the great dangers which threatened the socialist Soviet Union from imperialism and the international bourgeoisie. He stressed that the capitalist encirclement was not simply a geographical notion, but a savage, hostile encirclement, that the bourgeoisie and international reaction would never reconcile themselves to the triumph of socialism in the Soviet Union and would try with all their means to destroy it.

And it is a fact that the whole strategy of world imperialism, after the October Revolution was spearheaded against socialism

in the Soviet Union. At first the armed intervention in which 14 states took part was organized and later the «cordon sanitaire» was established in order to blockade and strangle the Republic of the Soviets. With the coming to power of German fascism, world imperialism made every effort to hurl it against the first socialist country. Stalin, at the head of the Soviet party and people, waged a great struggle to oppose and defeat these plans.

To Stalin belongs the great merit that he defined the class nature of fascism, its war-like, aggressive character and exposed its enslaving aims towards the people. Under the leadership of Stalin and the Comintern a broad, popular democratic movement for resistance to and struggle against fascism was developed. The policy of Stalin and the Comintern to create a broad popular front against fascism within each country and a great anti-fascist alliance on an international scale, was a policy which responded to the interests not only of the defence of socialism in the Soviet Union but also of the whole of mankind.

Stalin was a keen-minded and far-sight-

ed politician, who always vigilantly followed the aggressive activity of imperialist powers and world capitalism. He warned that the policy of capitulation to Hitler and appeasement, which the Western powers followed and which was sealed at Munich, led to war. Stalin took all political, diplomatic, economic and military measures to cope with the grave international situation created, and to strengthen the defences of the Soviet Union.

Under the leadership of Stalin, a powerful military industry and a powerful rear were built in the Soviet Union, a great army equipped with all the necessary means was created and that great unity of the peoples of the Soviet Union which proved its strength and vitality in the years of the Patriotic War was formed. That is why, in face of the undeniable historical facts, the accusations which the Soviet revisionists levelled at Stalin, alleging that he left the country unprepared to face the fascist assault of Hitlerite Germany, are utterly baseless and quite absurd.

During the years of the Second World War the figure of Stalin stood out in all its majesty. There was no one in the world who

did not know and honour the glorious Supreme Commander of the Red Army. The name of Stalin became a symbol of resistance to fascism, a battle flag for liberation from slavery. Not only the Soviet fighters, but also the Albanian, Yugoslav, Greek, French and Italian partisans, hurled themselves into the flames and gave their lives for freedom with the name of Stalin on their lips.

The slanders of Khrushchev, Brezhnev and others cannot in any way defile the work of Stalin as a great strategist and military leader and his decisive role in the triumphant waging of the Second World War. In order to defame Stalin these traitors go so far as to utter such absurdities as that, «he followed the military operations on a school globe». But no revisionist concoction can wipe out what history has signed and sealed.

Stalin led the Patriotic War of the Soviet peoples directly and proved himself an outstanding strategist. He directed the greatest military battles known to history with complete success and created the Stalinist military art, based on the Marxist-Leninist theory. No other single person made a contribution to the defeat of fascism as great as that

Stalin made. These undeniable merits of his have been recognized even by such personalities as Churchill, Roosevelt, Eden, Montgomery etc., who cannot be said to have had any special sympathy for Stalin and the Soviet Union.

As a great tactician, Stalin was able to analyze the situations correctly and to exploit the inter-imperialist contradictions wisely. He played a decisive role in the creation of the Anglo-American-Soviet anti-fascist alliance which became an important factor in the defeat of the Axis powers. At the Tehran, Crimea, and Postdam conferences he defended the interests of the Soviet Union and other peoples without making any concession in principle. Stalin never saw the anti-fascist alliance and the outcome of these conferences as events which marked the opening of the era of collaboration and class peace between socialism and capitalism, between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie, as Browder, social-democracy and other revisionist elements began to propagate.

The analogy which the Chinese revisionists make between the anti-fascist alliance of the Second World War and the present-day

alliance and collaboration of China with world imperialism, especially with American imperialism, is completely false. The former was historically justified, because it served the defeat of fascism, the strengthening of socialism and the peoples' revolutionary struggle, while the latter serves to strengthen the positions of imperialism, and undermines the revolution and the peoples' liberation struggles. It is an utterly reactionary alliance.

The victory over fascism, to the defeat of which the Soviet peoples under Stalin's leadership made a decisive contribution, created conditions favourable for a series of countries of Europe and Asia to set out on the road of socialism. On this basis the socialist camp was created and this brought a radical change in the ratio of strength between socialism and capitalism.

The defeat of German fascism and Japanese militarism, the weakening of the colonial powers and the creation of the socialist camp, gave an unprecedented impulse to the national liberation movement of oppressed peoples, which led to the disintegration of the old colonial system of capitalism. Many peoples won their national freedom and inde-

pendence for the first time. All these changes are linked, to a large degree, with the name of Stalin and his role in the recent history of the world.

As a consistent, principled fighter, unyielding towards imperialism and its aggressive policy, Stalin maintained a clear, resolute stand when, after the war, American imperialism emerged on the scene with pretensions to world domination. He quickly understood and forcefully exposed the counter-revolutionary global strategy of American imperialism and warned that this dangerous new strategy was intended to take over the spheres of domination of the old colonial empires, to establish complete control over its Western allies, to strangle the revolution and destroy socialism. Stalin unmasked the Truman Doctrine, the Marshall Plan, NATO, the whole notorious policy of the cold war, which was quickly transformed into a hot war in Korea, Vietnam and elsewhere, etc.

In face of the new aggressive plans of American imperialism, Stalin defined a correct political course. He resolutely rejected

its pressures and threats, never made it any concession or retreated before it. He worked and struggled untiringly for the all-round strengthening of the Soviet Union and the unity of the socialist camp. Stalin called on the peoples of the whole world to rise against the warmongering plans of imperialism, with US imperialism at the head, and in defence of peace. Even today his famous words, that war can be avoided if the peoples take the cause of peace in their own hands and defend it to the end, retain their full validity and inspiration. Stalin's thesis about war and peace is an optimistic, revolutionary Marxist-Leninist thesis. Even today, Stalin's call is a rallying cry to the peoples to step up their vigilance and to mobilize themselves with confidence in the future, to smash the warmongering plans of imperialists, whether American, Soviet or Chinese.

Contrary to the opportunist preachings of the social-democrats, Stalin stressed that the nature of imperialism does not change, that as long as imperialism exists, there is the danger of wars, there is oppression and exploitation of the working people, hence there is the imperative need for the revolu-

tion. Imperialism, he underlined, cannot stop the rise of the world revolutionary process and the triumph of socialism.

These thoughts and conclusions of Stalin's assume special importance in our time, when the profound economic, political and spiritual crisis which has swept the present-day capitalist world, both bourgeois and revisionist, has made the situation of the working masses even more grave, has further increased their discontent under oppression and exploitation. In his outstanding work, «Imperialism and the Revolution», Comrade Enver Hoxha has shown all-sidedly that the revolution remains on the order of the day and the world can be changed only through revolution.

Of course, the world revolutionary process today has its own special features. It is developing in conditions when revisionist betrayals have occurred one after the other, when the international bourgeoisie is making every effort to diminish the influence of objective factors which lead to revolutionary outbursts, when the whole of reaction is on the offensive and coordinating its actions in order to strangle the revolution and preserve the status quo.

The Marxist-Leninists take account of these special features but they do not make them afraid, nor in the least pessimistic. They see clearly that, as Stalin taught, **«usually the revolution does not develop in a straight line upwards, rising and growing continuously, but through zigzags, through attacks and retreats, through ebbs and flows, which, in the course of their development, forge the forces of the revolution and prepare its final victory»**.*

Stalin, like Lenin, saw the revolutionary process as a whole which includes all the revolutionary currents and movements of the time. He pointed out the great importance for the crushing of imperialism, of the close unity of the forces of socialism, the revolutionary movement of the proletariat and the peoples' democratic and liberation movements. He advised the communists that they must stand in the forefront of the struggle for the liberation of the working class, for the freedom and independence of the peoples, for the democratic rights of the working people, that they should be resolute oppon-

* J. V. Stalin, Works, vol. 7, p. 94 (Alb. ed.).

ents of the aggressive and expansionist policy of imperialism, and of any oppression and exploitation. At the 19th Congress, Stalin made his famous call to the communist parties to take up the banner of democratic freedoms, national independence and sovereignty, and as genuine patriots, to become the leading force of the nation.

The emergence of Soviet and Chinese social-imperialism with pretensions to world hegemony and domination, the abandonment of the interests of the working class and the peoples by the revisionist parties, give this call of Stalin's great importance today. It constitutes a program of work and struggle for all genuine Marxist-Leninists on their road to the triumph of the revolution and socialism.

Loyal to the Bolshevik tradition, Stalin was an opponent to any kind of spontaneity and anarchy in the workers' revolutionary movement. Pointing out the great role of the conscious factor, of the theory and revolutionary party of the proletariat, Stalin stressed: **«The victory of the revolution never comes about automatically. It must be prepared and achieved through struggle. And only a**

strong revolutionary proletarian party can prepare it and take it through struggle. There are moments when the situation is revolutionary, when the power of the bourgeoisie is shaken to its foundations, but nevertheless the victory of the revolution does not come about, because there is no revolutionary party of the proletariat, a party with sufficient strength and authority to draw the masses on to its course and to take power in its own hands.»*

These teachings inspire the genuine Marxist-Leninist parties to unmask the various voluntarist, anarchist, revisionist and bourgeois views and mobilize these parties to strengthen their ranks, to raise the level of consciousness of the working class and the other working masses, to organize and lead them in the revolutionary struggle.

The resolute and indomitable struggle of Stalin against imperialism, his unwavering confidence in the victory of the peoples and the revolution give all revolutionary fighters courage to dare to oppose imperialism, to

* J. V. Stalin, Works, vol. 13, pp. 287-288 (Alb. ed.)

smash its wormongering plans and eliminate any kind of oppression and exploitation.

**Proletarian internationalism - a powerful
weapon in struggle against imperialism,
reaction and revisionism**

Ardent proletarian internationalism constitutes one of the most outstanding and distinctive features of the life and work of Stalin. He worked tirelessly to build up and strengthen the international communist and workers' movement and resolutely combated any symptom of bourgeois nationalism and great state chauvinism, opportunism and revisionism. As a consistent internationalist, Stalin spared no effort to put into practice the great slogan of the «Communist Manifesto»: «Proletarians of all countries unite!»

Under the leadership of Stalin, the Soviet Union became a powerful base and support for the revolution, a powerful source of inspiration for the proletarians and peoples of the world in their liberation struggle. Adhering to the instructions of Lenin, he gave the revolutionary movements and peoples'

liberation struggles all his internationalist support, with propaganda, sympathy and material aid. This was the reason that the proletarians and peoples of all countries sincerely and whole-heartedly loved the Soviet Union of Lenin and Stalin, supported and defended it.

Stalin showed great interest in the progress of communist parties in different countries and played a special role in their revolutionary tempering and in strengthening the unity of the communist movement. He wanted and worked for a unity based on loyalty to Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism, in struggle with every kind of opportunism and revisionism. After the death of Lenin, Stalin was the most outstanding figure in the Communist International. His name is closely linked with the activity of the Comintern and its most glorious period.

Stalin has a great historic merit that he was the first to discern and expose the deviation from Marxism-Leninism of the leadership of the Communist Party of Yugoslavia. The struggle against Titoism, as a theory and practice of the restoration of capital-

ism, as an agency of the bourgeoisie and imperialism to split the socialist camp, had very great importance for the strengthening of the world communist and revolutionary movement. The evolution of the Yugoslav revisionists and the capitalist reality of present-day Yugoslavia testify to the correctness of Stalin's judgement, his foresight and adherence to Marxist-Leninist principles.

In practice Stalin provided the finest example of the internationalist stand in relations between sister parties. Arrogance, chauvinism and dictate, or lack of respect for the other parties, were alien to him. In every instance he rigorously safeguarded and applied the Marxist-Leninist norms and the proletarian spirit and considered mutual aid and support as a need and a duty for all.

Stalin made a major contribution to the construction of new relations among socialist countries. The creation of the socialist camp was a new phenomenon which required relations of a new type amongst its members. Stalin fought to ensure that these relations were based on equality, mutual fraternal aid, close and sincere collaboration, non-interference in internal affairs and respect for sovereignty.

The relations of our Party and our country with the Bolshevik Party and the Soviet Union of the time of Stalin are a convincing and incontrovertible argument which refute the slanders and accusations of Khrushchev, Tito, Mao Tsetung and other revisionists, that Stalin allegedly tried to impose his own views and desires on others. Stalin always treated our small Party and country from the positions of equality and mutual respect and never interfered in their internal affairs. In his new book, «With Stalin», Comrade Enver Hoxha writes, **«in all the talks with him, one marvellous feature of his, above all others, remains engraved in my memory: he never gave orders, never imposed his opinion. He spoke, gave advice, made various proposals, but always added: 'this is my opinion, this is what we think. You comrades must consider and decide yourselves, according to the concrete situation and on the basis of your conditions.'»**

As a great friend of the new Albania, Stalin, at the time when the imperialist powers and other enemies were exerting pressure and blackmail on us, resolutely supported and defended the rights of our country

in the international arena, generously assisted our people in an internationalist spirit to overcome the post-war difficulties and develop the country on the road of socialism.

When our people were threatened with starvation in 1945, Stalin ordered the ships carrying grain to the Soviet Union to change course and sent them to Albania. He gave our country unsparing aid for the socialist industrialization, for the development of agriculture, for the progress of education and culture, for the training of new cadres and the strengthening of the defences of the Homeland.

Both in theory and in practice, the Soviet revisionists replaced the correct relations established by Stalin between communist parties and socialist countries with relations of domination and subjection. They made the concept of the «mother party» and the «great state» the basis of these relations. Moreover, in order to establish their hegemony and subjugate their partners, the Brezhnev and Hua Kuo-feng cliques have even invented theories like that of «limited sovereignty», or of «teaching them a lesson». Justifying themselves with these theories, they

have even undertaken fascist armed aggressions against Czechoslovakia and Vietnam, although they call them «fraternal socialist countries».

Stalin never did such things. He sternly criticized and exposed the Yugoslav leadership as betraying Marxism-Leninism, waged a resolute, irreconcilable ideological struggle against it. But it is a fact that Stalin did not use the armed forces and did not send the tanks to Belgrade.

Stalin has left us a rich heritage in theory and practice, on how the unity of the communist movement, and all the revolutionary forces can be achieved and strengthened, how correct relations can be built between communist parties, how the principles of genuine proletarian internationalism should be defended and applied. Basing themselves on this great heritage, the Marxist-Leninist parties work and struggle to strengthen the links, unity and international collaboration amongst them, fully conscious that these things constitute the powerful weapon in the common struggle against imperialism, reaction and modern revisionism.

Comrades,

A quarter of a century has passed since Stalin died and the same time since the Khrushchevite revisionists began their campaign of slanders against his work and his person. Nevertheless, J.V. Stalin is remembered with honour and special respect by the genuine communists, progressive individuals and the peoples. The more time goes by, the higher his figure rises as a colossus of Marxist-Leninist thought, as a dauntless revolutionary who dedicated his whole life to the revolution, to liberation of the workingmen and the oppressed peoples, the cause of socialism. Stalin has remained and will remain throughout history, a great proletarian leader who, with his teachings and work, showed the working masses their road to liberation and inspired them with faith in victory.

The enemies of communism frequently call us Albanians «Stalinists». Enslaved by their own slanders and fabrications against Stalin, they think that by describing us in this way, they are abusing and insulting us. But it is an honour to us Albanians that we uphold the teachings of Stalin, which are the

teachings of Marxism-Leninism, that we are working and struggling for socialism and communism with that determination and courage with which Stalin worked and struggled. To the communists and people of Albania, Stalin was and is inseparable from the triumphant doctrine of the proletariat which has lit the way to the achievement of all our victories.

Led by its Party of Labour and armed with the ideas of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin, our people fought and triumphed over the occupiers, liberated Albania from the foreigners and traitors, achieved genuine freedom and independence and became the sovereign masters of their own country. With the banner of Marxism-Leninism in the forefront, our people fought and worked heroically for the construction of new socialist Albania. Under this banner, they resisted and defeated the attacks and blackmail of imperialists, crushed the plots and intrigues of the Yugoslav, Khrushchevite, and Chinese revisionists, withstood and smashed the hostile, imperialist and revisionist blockades. Today socialist Albania is honoured and respected everywhere in the world, its voice is

listened to with interest and its friends and admirers are increasing and multiplying in all continents, because its example reflects the correct and concrete practical application of Marxism-Leninism, because its foreign policy is guided by the principles of proletarian internationalism. The Albanian people look to the future full of confidence and optimism, because they have Marxism-Leninism as their unerring guide and are led wisely by their heroic Party of Labour with Comrade Enver Hoxha at the head.

The Albanian communists and our whole people honour Stalin with great respect and gratitude, because all these victories are based on his teachings and aid and the experience of his struggle and work.

In celebrating the centenary of the birth of Stalin, we honour his immortal work and glorious struggle for the good of mankind, his invaluable contribution to the great cause of communism. This anniversary is an event which must inspire all honest democrats and progressives, everywhere in the world, to liberate themselves from that unrestrained, evil-intentioned, lying propaganda which the bourgeoisie and revisionism have spread to

blacken the brilliant figure of Stalin. It must help them find the right road which leads to the triumph of their ideals. What is more, this outstanding date must make the workers, collective farmers, intellectuals and all the working people of the Soviet Union reflect on that great crime, which Khrushchev, Brezhnev and their associates committed, in which, by negating Stalin, they renounced and spurned the deed of Great October, the blood and sacrifices of the Soviet peoples, and turned the Homeland of Lenin into a chauvinist imperialist power which is threatening and endangering the world. Commemorating the centenary of the birth of Stalin, in his book «With Stalin», Comrade Enver Hoxha addresses these words to the Soviet peoples: **«You must not delay in reflecting deeply about your future and the future of mankind. The time has come when you should become what you were when Lenin and Stalin were alive — glorious participants in the proletarian revolution, therefore you must not remain under the yoke of enemies of the revolution and the peoples, enemies of the freedom and independence of**

states. You must never become the tools of an imperialism which seeks to enslave the peoples, using Leninism as a mask.»

The Stalin centenary is not only a date to commemorate a great thinker, an exemplary revolutionary and an outstanding statesman. It is a date which calls on all the genuine revolutionaries to stand loyal to the end to Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism as Stalin did; to be stern and irreconcilable with the class enemies, revisionists and betrayers of the interests of the peoples and communism, as Stalin was; to fight with abnegation for the cause of the revolution and socialism as Stalin worked and fought; to be valiant fighters for the freedom, independence and rights of the peoples, as Stalin was; to oppose with all their strength any foreign oppression or capitalist exploitation just as Stalin did; to fight courageously against imperialism and world reaction as Stalin fought.

Glory through the ages to the great Stalin!

Glory to Marxism-Leninism!

14

Lekë 1.50