

WORKERS OF ALL COUNTRIES, UNITE!

***THE GREAT
STALIN IS
IMMORTAL***

*Speeches and reports
from the commemorative
meeting and scientific
session on the occasion of
the centenary of the birth
of J.V. Stalin*

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THE CENTENARY OF THE BIRTH OF J.V. STALIN

The centenary of the birth of J.V. Stalin, the outstanding leader of the Russian and world proletariat, the great Marxist-Leninist thinker, the faithful disciple and continuer of the work of Marx, Engels, Lenin, the dearly beloved friend of the Albanian people, was solemnly celebrated in the People's Socialist Republic of Albania. Many and various activities such as talks, meetings, scientific sessions and commemorative meetings, cultural and artistic gatherings dedicated to J.V. Stalin's life and work were organized on this marked event in all the districts of the Republic, in work and production centres, in cultural and educational institutions, in army detachments and agricultural cooperatives.

In the afternoon of December 20, the Central Committee of the Party of Labour of Albania and the Party Committee of the Tirana District organized a commemorative meeting dedicated to the centenary of the birth of J.V. Stalin.

Present at this meeting were vanguard workers and cooperativists, members of the Central Committee of the Party, the Presidium of the People's Assembly and the government, leading cadres of the Party and state power in the districts, various ministries and institutions, veterans of war and work, armymen, representatives of the organizations of the masses, young men and women as well as other guests.

The meeting was also attended by the beloved leader of the Party and the Albanian people, Comrade Enver Hoxha, and other leaders of the Party

and state.

The meeting was declared open by the Member of the Political Bureau and the Secretary of the Central Committee of the PLA, Comrade He-kuran Isai, who, among other things, said:

“Today the Albanian communists and people, as all the communists and working people of the world, commemorate with deep respect and love the name of Stalin, for they hold dear his ideals and work, his revolutionary road and his great example.

“Stalin’s life and revolutionary work have been and are for all Marxist-Leninists and revolutionaries, for all the working people of the world, a banner of struggle for the cause of the revolution, in their fight against imperialism, social-imperialism and revisionism of all shades, for the unavoidable triumph of socialism and communism.”

The speech of the occasion was delivered by the Member of the Political Bureau and Secretary of the Central Committee of the PLA, Comrade Ramiz Alia.

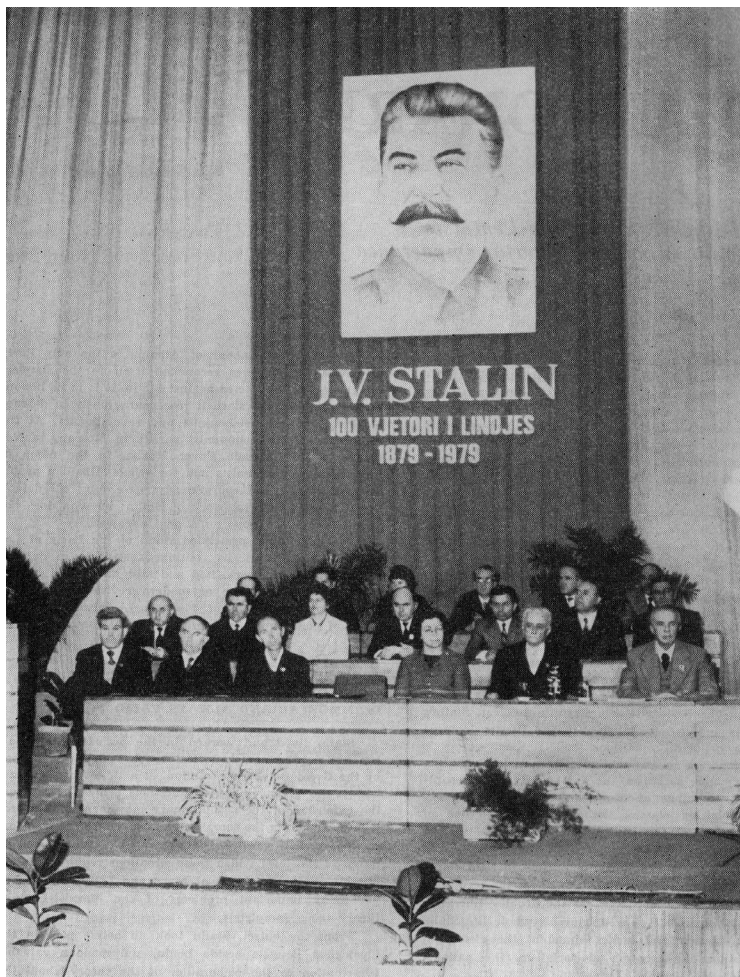
His speech was listened to with great attention and frequently punctuated with applause.

On December 21, the Institute of Marxist-Leninist Studies at the Central Committee of the PLA and the “V.I. Lenin” Party High School organized the jubilee session dedicated to the centenary of the birth of J.V. Stalin.

Present at the session were vanguard workers and cooperativists, members of the Central Committee of the Party, of the Presidium of the People’s Assembly and government, leading cadres of the

Party and the state power in the districts, of ministries, centres of work and production, scientific, educational, cultural and artistic institutions, of the organizations of the masses, of army detachments and schools and other guests. The opening speech was delivered by the Director of the Institute of Marxist-Leninist Studies at the CC of the PLA, Comrade Nexhmije Hoxha.

Eight papers were read at the session.



Comrade Enver Hoxha and other leaders of the Party and state in the presidium of the solemn meeting dedicated to the centenary of the birth of J.V. Stalin.

STALINI KA QENDE SHKREJET
NJE REVOLUCIONAR DHE
MARKSIST-LENINIST MADH

TRAYE MOKHA





The participants of the commemorative meeting of the centenary of the birth of J.V. Stalin listen with great attention and interest to the report.



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

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-Len-

inism, 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 Great 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 proletarian 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 revolution, 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 hegemony 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 construction, 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 parlia-

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

mentary majorities, by means of the spontaneous integration of capitalism into socialism, 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 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 dic-

* “Concerning Questions of Leninism,” p. 19, 1979 (Alb. ed.).

tatorship 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 combatted, 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 capitalist 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 blackening 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 incit-

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

ed 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 the 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 counter-revolution 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 relaxation of the class struggle, class conciliation.

The revisionist counter-revolution 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 cooperators 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 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

* “The Foundations of Leninism,” p. 105, 1979 (Alb. ed.).

has fallen from the demagogy of the modern revisionists about allegedly returning to Lenin, especially now when they, and the Euro-communist 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 Zedong 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 Tiananmen 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 Zedong, are inspired by hatred, because, as Zhou Enlai 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 transformations 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.

ing, 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 courageous 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, overall 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 overall 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 Zedong, 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 counter-revolution 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 counter-revolution, 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 counter-revolution 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 ti-

tanic 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 coun-

try. 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-sighted 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 the 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 Great 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 con-

tribution 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 analyse 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 independence 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 U.S. 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 exploita-

tion of the working people, hence there is the imperative need for the revolution. 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 opponents 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.

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

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 smash its warmongering plans and eliminate

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

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 combatted 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 wholeheartedly loved the Soviet Union of Lenin and Stalin, supported and defended it.

Stalin showed great interest in the prog-

ress 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 capitalism, 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 judgment, 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 sup-

port 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 Zedong 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 Guofeng 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 working men 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, independ-

ence 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!

**REPORTS FROM THE
SCIENTIFIC SESSION ON THE
CENTENARY OF THE BIRTH
OF J.V. STALIN**



The participants of the scientific session dedicated to the centenary of the birth of J.V. Stalin listen with great attention and interest to the opening speech and reports.





The Member of the CC of the PLA and Director of the Institute of Marxist-Leninist Studies at the CC of the PLA, Comrade Nexhmije Hoxha, opening the scientific session dedicated to the centenary of the birth of J.V. Stalin.

OPENING SPEECH BY COMRADE NEXHMIJE HOXHA

Comrades,

Joseph Stalin, one of the classics of Marxism-Leninism, a great leader of the Russian and world proletariat, the loyal and dear friend of the Albanian people, a respected figure dear to all the oppressed and freedom-loving peoples of the world, was born one hundred years ago, on December 21, 1879.

On this occasion, on decision of the Central Committee of the Party of Labour of Albania for the celebration of the centenary of the birth of J.V. Stalin, the Institute of Marxist-Leninist Studies and the "V.I. Lenin" High Party School organize this jubilee session dedicated to his brilliant work.

Stalin's work is the direct continuation of the work of Marx, Engels and Lenin. It embodies the defence, application in practice and the further development of Marxism-Leninism, constitutes the triumph of scientific socialism, shows all the oppressed and exploited that Marxist-Leninist socialism is real, is no utopia like pre-Marxist socialism, is no false doctrine like the pseudo-socialism of the social-democrats and revisionists, that Marxism-Leninism is the unerring science which leads the proletariat and the oppressed peoples in their liberation struggle to overthrow the decaying capitalist society, to destroy imperialism and to build the new, socialist society, "to set up 'the kingdom of work' on earth and

not in heaven,” as Stalin said.

The Party of Labour of Albania has never separated, nor will it ever separate Stalin from Marx, Engels and Lenin, as the revisionists do, who by attacking Stalin and his work think that they have found the most convenient way to denigrate and uncrown Marxism-Leninism, to defile genuine scientific socialism.

The correct stand of our Party which does not separate Stalin from the other great teachers and leaders of the proletariat is not a subjective desire, it is not based on sentimentalism. It is based on the objective reality. History has passed its judgement on Joseph Stalin as a classic of Marxism-Leninism, as an outstanding teacher and leader of the world proletariat, as a military strategist of genius, and there is no power which can impugn it. Stalin is such for his boundless loyalty to communism, to the ideas of Marx, Engels and Lenin, for his consistent struggle to implement these ideas, for his principled stand, for his extraordinary wisdom, maturity and intelligence in this struggle, for his ability to find his bearings in any situation, no matter how difficult and complicated, for his deep trust in and reliance on the people's masses, for his irreconcilable struggle against the bourgeoisie and the landlords, against imperialism and reaction, against opportunism and revisionism, for the historic victories achieved by the Bolshevik Party under his leadership. Stalin's name will go down in history as that of a great architect and political and military leader, especially in the construction of the first socialist society in

one sixth of the world and the victory over fascism achieved in his time during the Second World War.

The Party of Labour of Albania has defended and will always defend Stalin from all the attacks the various enemies of the revolution, socialism, the peoples made against him, for it is convinced that by defending Stalin, it defends Marxism-Leninism, it defends the great cause of the proletariat, the cause of communism.

The Party of Labour of Albania has implemented and will always apply the teachings of Joseph Stalin, because it is convinced that by applying these teachings, it applies the teachings and the great scientific principles of Marxism-Leninism. In his new book, "With Stalin," which was put into circulation these days, Comrade Enver Hoxha says: "We Albanian communists have successfully applied the teachings of Stalin in the first place, in order to have a strong steel-like party, always loyal to Marxism-Leninism... If we had not applied the teachings of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin faithfully, Albania would have sunk in the mire of modern revisionism, would no longer be independent and socialist, and we would no longer have the dictatorship of the proletariat, but slavery to the imperialist-revisionist powers."

Because we defend Stalin and apply his teachings, the international bourgeoisie and the modern revisionists, thinking that they are insulting us, call us "Stalinists." We consider it a great honour to be Stalinists, because only

by being such one can practically be a genuine Marxist-Leninist today.

The stand towards Stalin is a touchstone, a demarcation line between the genuine and the false Marxist-Leninists.

As Comrade Enver Hoxha says in his work dedicated to the "Centenary of the Birth of Stalin," today it is the time for profound reflection by honest people everywhere in the world, to judge correctly, as history itself has done, the great revolutionary work of Stalin, his glorious figure, in order to dispel from their minds the fog created by world capitalism and modern revisionism, to find the true road of salvation from the yoke of capital, imperialism and social-imperialism.

Our Party, which has always been clear about the gigantic role of Stalin, the very great value of his work, which has never allowed itself to be influenced by the slanders and attacks of the enemies of communism against Stalin, has considered and considers it its constant duty to make known the glorious role and work of this great Marxist-Leninist as much as possible.

The broad activity which was carried out in our country on the centenary of the birth of Joseph Vissarionovich Stalin serves this aim.

In particular this aim is served by Comrade Enver Hoxha's book of memoirs of his meetings with Stalin. When reading this book, we are ever more convinced how principled, how just, how modest, affectionate and attentive towards people, the cadres and his collaborators, what a consistent internation-

alist, what a great Marxist-Leninist leader and indomitable fighter Joseph Stalin was. On the other hand, we grow ever more convinced of the baseness and monstrosity of the slanders and accusations made by the international bourgeoisie and the Khrushchevite, Titoite, Maoist, “Eurocommunist” and other revisionist traitors.

The aim of making Stalin’s life and glorious work better known is also served by this jubilee session, at which nine reports will be read on some of the more important questions which have to do with Stalin’s work.

May Joseph Stalin’s glorious name and Marxist-Leninist work live through the centuries!

Glory to Marxism-Leninism!

J.V. STALIN — A DEFENDER OF MARXISM-LENINISM, RESOLUTE FIGHTER AGAINST OPPORTUNISM AND REVISIONISM

On the centenary of the birth of J.V. Stalin, according to the orientations of the PLA and Comrade Enver Hoxha, we Albanian communists consider the work of this great proletarian leader in its all-sidedness, with the aim of going as deeply as possible into his theoretical and practical legacy in order to inspire and guide ourselves by it in the present-day class battles, in the present-day revolutionary practice. And since in the life and work of J.V. Stalin a very important place is occupied by the struggle for the defence and development of Marxism-Leninism, his principled, resolute, courageous and consistent struggle against opportunism and revisionism, a struggle waged over the cardinal problems of the proletarian theory, over which the Marxist-Leninist fight against the modern revisionists even today, the purpose of this report will be precisely to represent this aspect of the activity of J.V. Stalin which, especially in the current conditions, assumes particular importance.

I — J.V. STALIN AND THE THREE MAJOR POLEMICS OF MARXISM-LENINISM AGAINST OPPORTUNISM AND REVISIONISM

The historical period and conditions in which J.V. Stalin lived and carried out his revolutionary activity (from the beginning to the middle of this century) are characterized by major class clashes, by powerful revolutionary storms. It is the stage of monopoly capitalism, of imperialism, the last stage of capitalism, the epoch of proletarian revolutions and the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat; it is the period of the triumph of the Great October Socialist Revolution; it is the period when international capitalism, in order to overcome the deep crises which have gripped it has twice thrown mankind into horrible shambles, world wars, and has ever more extensively employed its agents in the ranks of the working class and the communist movement — the opportunists and revisionists of all countries.

In these historical conditions, in order to carry out the revolution, to establish the dictatorship of the proletariat, to build socialism, the Marxist-Leninists had to engage in major polemics and struggles against the opportunists and revisionists. There are three such major polemics in the history of the communist movement. J.V. Stalin has been an active participant in all these polemics and fought blow for blow the dangerous enemies and traitors of Marxism-Leninism, the revolution and socialism, and always has emerged triumphant over them.

1. — Although in the beginning of his revolutionary activity he had no direct contact with V.I. Lenin, right from the first steps

of this activity, which he starts at the age of fifteen years, and continuously later on, J.V. Stalin stood always in Leninist positions, was an active participant in the great polemic waged by V.I. Lenin against the opportunists of the Second International and opportunism in Russia.

As a loyal disciple of V.I. Lenin, in the period of the first Russian revolution, J.V. Stalin became his powerful and capable supporter in his struggle against the various anti-Marxist trends in Russia — against the economists, the Mensheviks, the social-revolutionaries, the bourgeois nationalists and anarchists, and made an important contribution to the smashing of all anti-Bolshevik trends and factions. In a number of works written in this period he resolutely defended the ideological, organizational, tactical and theoretical bases of the party of the new type — the Leninist type, and energetically supported Lenin in his efforts for the creation of the revolutionary party of the proletariat, the Bolshevik party, quite unlike the parties of the Second International which had plunged themselves deep in the opportunist mire and were nothing other than “bourgeois parties of the working class,” counter-revolutionary parties. All the works written by Stalin in this time are a clear reflection of his revolutionary pathos in defence of the positions of Leninism, of his irreconcilable stand towards opportunism.

In the process of his revolutionary activity, the struggle of Stalin against right and “left” opportunism in Russia — which was insepar-

able from the entire struggle waged against the opportunists of the Second International because Russian opportunism was linked through a thousand threads with international opportunism, and the exposure of one served the exposure of the other — develops and becomes broader and deeper, richer and more fruitful, in the interests of the revolution and socialism.

2. After the October Socialist Revolution and especially following V.I. Lenin's death, as is known, the second major polemic of Marxism-Leninism against "left" opportunism — Trotskyism, and against right opportunism — Bukharinism, began in the CPSU(B), in the Comintern and its sections, where opportunist elements, right and "left," operated and infected the communist and workers' movement with all kind of dangerous anti-Marxist, anti-Leninist and anti-socialist views. In the frontline of this polemic, the second major polemic against opportunism, Stalin fought with revolutionary determination and with proletarian clarity and courage considering the struggle against Trotskyism and Bukharinism and all the elements who followed on their steps, the struggle for the defence of Leninism, to be decisive, for the fate of the revolution and the construction of socialism in the Soviet Union, for the fate of the revolutionary and liberation movement of the peoples, for the fate of world revolution.

In the polemics and struggle with the Trotskyites and Bukharinites Stalin made masterful use of Marxist dialectics in order to

defend the foundations of Leninism and develop Marxism-Leninism further, summing up the experience of the socialist construction in the Soviet Union and the new experience of the communist movement, as well as in order to uncover the essence of opportunist views, the conditions and causes of their emergence, their ideological sources and class roots.

In many of his works written at this time, J.V. Stalin analyses and shows with the rare strength of his compelling logic the danger of opportunism and revisionism to the international communist and workers' movement, to the cause of the revolution and socialism, to the communist parties of the various countries, and stresses the absolute necessity of a struggle carried with determination through to the end up till its full ideological and political defeat, against any deviation, right or "left." And Stalin saw the duty of the struggle against opportunism and any deviation not as a temporary objective connected with passing circumstances, but as a permanent task, without carrying out which not a single step forward could be taken.

The militant polemics J.V. Stalin carried out against Trotskyism and Bukharinism as well as against all the deviators and enemies of the Soviet Union, the Communist Party (Bolsheviks), the international communist movement, was as scathing and shattering to the ideological enemies of Marxism-Leninism as it was convincing to the Marxist-Leninist revolutionaries and any ordinary man who got acquainted with it. This was one of the reasons

why Stalin's struggle against Trotskyism and Bukharinism and all deviators became a great school for the whole world communist movement, for the preparation of the proletariat for the future class battles and the smashing of such anti-Marxist and anti-Leninist political and ideological trends.

3. — To J.V. Stalin goes the historic merit of having uncovered and exposed in its embryo Yugoslav revisionism, which is one of the earliest manifestations of modern revisionism and the first revisionism in power; of warning about the danger of this revisionism, of having stigmatized the betrayal of the Yugoslav revisionist leadership and warned of the counter-revolutionary role the Tito clique would play as an agency of imperialism to split the communist movement, to sabotage the revolution and to undermine the liberation struggle, as the Trojan horse in the midst of the communist movement and the socialist camp. Thus, J.V. Stalin became the initiator and leader of the third major polemic, the struggle of Marxism-Leninism against modern revisionism, which starts precisely with the exposure of Yugoslav revisionism. However, as is known, as long as Stalin was alive, modern revisionism could not reach major extensions, whereas after his death, with the emergence of Khrushchevite revisionism, it assumed international proportions. This is a fact which shows quite clearly the major role Stalin played in defence of Marxism-Leninism, the cause of the revolution and socialism against such dangerous traitors to the cause of

the proletariat, as the modern revisionists are.

This struggle, too, as well as the struggle of Stalin against Yugoslav revisionism, became a great school for the true Marxist-Leninists, for their preparation to start and wage their great principled struggle against all the variants of modern revisionism — Khrushchevite, Yugoslav, Chinese, “Eurocommunist,” with determination, courage and ideological and political clarity.

II. THE STRUGGLE OF J.V. STALIN AGAINST OPPORTUNISM AND REVISIONISM — A STRUGGLE IN DEFENCE OF MARXISM-LENINISM AND THE STRATEGY AND TACTICS OF THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNIST AND WORKERS’ MOVEMENT

J.V. Stalin’s struggle against opportunism was a component and indivisible part of his whole revolutionary activity in the interest of the proletariat and the cause of socialism in the Soviet Union, as well as in the ranks of the international communist and workers’ movement. This struggle was waged to defend the Leninist positions over such cardinal questions of Marxism-Leninism as the need for a party of the proletariat and the absolute necessity of its undivided leading role in the revolution and the construction of socialism, the hegemonic role of the proletariat in the revolution (in the conditions of imperialism, in the bourgeois-democratic revolution, too),

the question of the proletarian revolution and its motor forces, the question of the possibility of the triumph of the proletarian revolution and the possibility of the construction of socialism in one single country relying only on its own forces, the question of classes and class struggle in socialism, the question of the strategy and tactics in the international communist and workers' movement.

J.V. Stalin carried out a vast and many-sided, theoretical and practical activity in defence of these fundamental principles of Marxism-Leninism and in defence of socialism in the Soviet Union, in difficult situations when the international proletariat had lost its great leader — V.I. Lenin — when the old enemies of Leninism, Trotskyism and Bukharinism — which did everything to destroy the Bolshevik Party and the other communist parties, to restore capitalism in the Soviet Union, to split the revolutionary movement of the proletariat and the liberation movement of the oppressed peoples — became more active than ever in the CPSU(B) and in the communist parties of the capitalist countries.

1. — In the struggle for the defence of Leninism in this period, J.V. Stalin first concentrated the fire on Trotskyism and particularly on the Trotskyite “theory” of the “permanent revolution,” borrowed from Lassale, Parvus and other opportunists, a theory which constituted the ideological platform of Trotskyism and which, in essence, was a negation of the Leninist theory of the proletarian revolution and the dictatorship of the proletariat, a nega-

tion of the hegemonic role of the proletariat in the revolution and the construction of socialism, an expression of distrust in the forces and abilities of the proletariat to win the peasantry over to its side and to lead it in the revolution, a negation of the possibility of the triumph of the proletarian revolution in individual countries and of the possibility of the construction of socialism in one single country and with its own forces, an expression of the thesis that proletarian revolution is possible only as a revolution which is carried out simultaneously in all countries, as a world revolution. The Trotskyite "theory" of the "permanent revolution," thus, was a downright revision of the Leninist theory of the proletarian revolution. Hence, this anti-Leninist, counter-revolutionary "theory" had to be rejected in its entirety, and its true essence, its hidden aims, had to be uncovered.

Such a revolutionary task was carried out by Stalin who defended and worked out the Leninist theory of the proletarian revolution further, leaving to us a major theoretical patrimony on this most fundamental problem over which the genuine Marxist-Leninists even today wage their struggle against the opportunists and revisionists and against all the enemies of the cause of the proletariat.

In exposing the "theory" of the "permanent revolution," which Trotsky presented as a "development" of the ideas of Marx, in exposing Trotsky's thesis which denies the democratic stage of the revolution, J.V. Stalin proves with scientific argument that this thesis

is out-and-out anti-Marxist, that the idea of the uninterrupted revolution, that is, of the revolution in stages, was first formulated by Marx as early as the years 1840-1850, and was further developed in the conditions of imperialism by V.I. Lenin. J.V. Stalin resolutely defended the idea of the uninterrupted revolution from the "permanentists" and shows that the real content of the Trotskyite thesis, which "called" for the revolution "to begin directly with the state of the proletariat," absolutely and independently from the existing conditions, thus negating the democratic stage of the revolution, was a negation of the hegemony of the proletariat and underestimation of the role of the peasantry, as the ally of the proletariat in the revolution, hence meant the undermining of the proletarian revolution. This is, in fact, even today the content of the views of the neo-Trotskyites, under which "the struggle for democracy loses all significance" in the conditions of imperialism.

Basing himself on the Marxist-Leninist ideas of the uninterrupted revolution, in struggle against Trotskyism, J.V. Stalin worked out the theory of the revolutions in the capitalistically developed and undeveloped countries, stressing that the character of the revolution in various countries depended on the degree of development of capitalism in this or that country. And he explained that the triumph of the revolution in the developed capitalist countries would lead immediately to the dictatorship of the proletariat, in the countries where capitalism has reached an average de-

velopment, it is possible to begin the bourgeois-democratic revolution, which should be transformed into a socialist revolution, while the colonial countries face the task of carrying out anti-imperialist national liberation revolutions.

These ideas of J.V. Stalin's have great value and importance today as well, since even in the present-day conditions not all countries face the proletarian revolution. There are countries which face the proletarian revolution, but there are also countries which face the democratic, anti-imperialist, national liberation revolution. However, it is important to stress here that neither Stalin yesterday nor the true Marxist-Leninists today absolutize the necessity of going over to the second stage of the revolution immediately after carrying out its first stage. Marxist-Leninists consider that, under imperialism, objective possibilities are created for carrying out the two stages of the revolution, but they do not exclude the fact that, in special internal and international conditions, the proletariat of this or that country may breach the front of capital and establish its state power immediately, establish the dictatorship of the proletariat directly. But for the working class to succeed in realizing its aim, of course it is necessary for it to wage the struggle for democracy as well. And if it comes to pass that the proletariat establishes its dictatorship directly, by carrying out the combination of the two stages of the revolution — the democratic and the socialist stage, in the process of the revolution — in which it

has ensured its hegemonic role — then the socialist revolution, the state power of the proletariat, will carry out **without fail** the tasks of the democratic revolution.

The actual importance of the above theses of Stalin's becomes clear if we call in mind the fact that even today, by coming out against the struggle for democracy, the new Trotskyites sabotage and undermine the revolution both in the countries which face the democratic stage and in the countries where conditions exist for the proletariat to seize state power immediately. Meanwhile, the modern revisionists come out openly against the socialist stage of the revolution, against the Leninist theory of the proletarian revolution. Thus, the Chinese revisionists, taking up the positions of the treacherous chiefs of the Second International, have long been preaching the idea that between the democratic revolution and the socialist revolution there is a very long period of time fixed and, under the pretext of "not skipping over the stages," have crossed out the stage of the proletarian revolution, while, actually, declaring that in such developed capitalist countries as those of Western Europe "there exists no revolutionary situation," hence "the socialist revolution should not be carried out," and propagate the idea that the proletariat should give up the proletarian revolution, and meekly follow the bourgeoisie. On the other hand, the "Eurocommunists," with their "theory" of the "democratic road to socialism," absolutize the struggle for democracy and openly deny the necessity of the

socialist revolution.

Great importance for the fate of the revolution have Stalin's defence and further elaboration of the Leninist thesis on the possibility of the triumph of the proletarian revolution and the triumph of socialism even in one single country, even when this country is less developed from the capitalist viewpoint and at a time when capitalism continues to exist in other countries, even when these countries are more developed from the capitalist viewpoint. Through the defence of such Leninist theses, and by smashing the Trotskyite "theory" of the "permanent revolution," J.V. Stalin also refutes the views of the other opportunists who preached that the proletarian revolution could begin only in the industrially developed countries, there where the proletariat constituted the majority of the population, whereas they excluded the possibility of the triumph of socialism in one single country, especially if it was a less developed capitalist country, considered it absolutely impossible. In this way, Stalin argued that the "theory" of the "permanent revolution" was nothing other than a variant of the opportunist theoretical dogma of the Second International on this problem.

And time proved the correctness of the Leninist theory of the revolution on the possibility of the triumph of the proletarian revolution in one single country, which J.V. Stalin defended and developed further. The triumph of the October Revolution and other socialist revolutions in a series of countries after the

Second World War is the best confirmation of this theory in practice. If the construction of socialism was interrupted, the victories of the proletarian revolution were undermined in the countries where the socialist revolution triumphed, i.e., in the Soviet Union and in a number of other countries, apart from Albania, this does not in the least show the infirmness of the value of the Leninist theory of the proletarian revolution, but on the contrary proves the correctness of another Marxist-Leninist teaching, that on the great danger posed to the cause of the revolution and socialism by opportunism and revisionism, and the absolute necessity of a resolute and consistent struggle against them. Likewise, this fact proves the correctness of the conclusions J.V. Stalin drew as early as 1925 and 1927, when he said that **“as long as capitalist encirclement exists... there will also exist the danger of restoration, the danger of the re-establishment of capitalism...”*** that there exists also the danger, both probable and real, of the degeneration of the party, **“the danger of the decadence of the leadership of the party,”**** conclusions which life vindicated fully after Stalin’s death. In the Soviet Union what Stalin had foreseen happened when he said: **“Even the greatest party can be caught unawares, can perish..., if it does not forge the militant readiness of its**

* J.V. Stalin, Works, vol. 7, p. 119 (Alb. ed.).

** J.V. Stalin, Works, vol. 7, pp. 165-166 (Alb. ed.).

class more and more each passing day.”*

After the restoration of capitalism in the Soviet Union and other countries the PLA and Comrade Enver Hoxha drew important revolutionary conclusions from Stalin's ideas on the danger of the restoration of capitalism in a socialist country and on the danger of degeneration of a party, especially from the great tragedy which occurred with the Soviet Union, in order to bar all paths to the emergence of revisionism in our country, to defend and carry socialism always forward in Albania, to apply the Leninist teaching on the construction of socialism with our own forces. And the fact that Albania carries socialism forward in the conditions of the imperialist-revisionist encirclement, relying exclusively on its own forces, is a confirmation of the incontestable correctness of the Leninist theory of proletarian revolution which J.V. Stalin defended with strong scientific argument. **This fact most clearly shows that socialism can be built with one's own forces even in a small country like Albania, which in the past was a backward country in regard to its economic development, provided it stands loyal to Marxism-Leninism, provided in this country the hegemonic role is played by the working class which implements the lofty principle of alliance with the working peasantry, and provided a genuine Marxist-Leninist party, like the PLA, plays the leading and indivisible role in the system of the dictatorship of the prole-**

* J.V. Stalin, Works, vol. 11, p. 68 (Alb. ed.).

ariat in this country.

2. — The defence and development of the Marxist-Leninist theory on classes and class struggle in the period of the construction of socialism, the destruction of the Bukharinist “theory” of the peaceful integration of capitalism into socialism, in general the struggle against the right deviation and compromise with it in the ranks of the CPSU(B) as well as in the ranks of the other parties of the Comintern, occupies an important place in all the theoretical and practical activity of J.V. Stalin, constitutes his outstanding contribution to the treasury of Marxism-Leninism, a contribution of great value to the present struggle of the Marxist-Leninist revolutionaries against all the variants of modern revisionism.

As early as the first years of his revolutionary activity and his early writings, Stalin said that **“the tactical basis of scientific socialism is the doctrine of irreconcilable class struggle... The class struggle of the proletariat is the weapon with which it will seize political power and then will expropriate the bourgeoisie in order to establish socialism.”*** That was why when the CPSU(B) undertook the historic task of putting the many-million peasant masses of the Soviet Union on the road of socialism, and the enemies of the construction of socialism in the Soviet Union, Bukharin and the whole right deviation he led, came out with the non-Marxist theory of the integration of the kulaks into socialism, J.V. Stalin

* J.V. Stalin, Works, vol. 1, pp. 343-344 (Alb. ed.).

with strong Marxist logic exposed Bukharin's opportunist views showing that the theoretical basis of these views was the non-Marxist treatment of the question of the class struggle in socialism and of the mechanism of the class struggle in the conditions of the dictatorship of the proletariat, that the essence of the Bukharinite theory of the integration of the capitalists of the city and countryside into socialism was class conciliation, the harmony of class interests, the submission of the interests of the working class to the interests of the bourgeoisie, **and also** the negation of the dictatorship of the proletariat. **"Until now, we Marxist-Leninists were of the opinion that between the capitalists of the city and country, on the one hand, and the working class, on the other hand, there is an irreconcilable antagonism of interests. That is what the Marxist-theory of the class struggle rests on,"** wrote Stalin in that time. **"But now, according to Bukharin's theory of the capitalist peaceful growth into socialism, all this is turned upside down..."*** And, refuting the views of the Bukharinites, J.V. Stalin argues that the theory of the **peaceful integration** of the capitalists into socialism is directly opposed to the Marxist-Leninist doctrine of the dictatorship of the proletariat, is a departure from the Marxist theory of the class struggle. And he demonstrates that without a stern class struggle the capitalists cannot be eliminated and the roots of capitalism eradicated, that the aim of the theory and

* J.V. Stalin, Works, vol. 12, p. 29 (Alb. ed.).

practice of the integration of the capitalists into socialism was to perpetuate classes, that Bukharin's group, right opportunism, standing in the positions of bourgeois liberalism, intended to turn the Soviet Union back, to restore capitalism in the Soviet Union.

In fact, life proved that liberalism is one of the causes of the emergence and spread of revisionism, one of the causes of the restoration of capitalism, not only in the countries where the economic base of socialism has not yet been built, but also in the countries where this base has been built, even in the conditions in which the exploiting classes as such have been liquidated, as was the case with the Soviet Union where, after Stalin's death, the Khrushchevite revisionists restored capitalism.

Combatting the Bukharinist opportunist views on the dying out and liquidation of the class struggle in the conditions of the dictatorship of the proletariat, as a way to achieve the liquidation of the classes, J.V. Stalin argued that the dying out of the class struggle in no way leads to the disappearance of classes, that classes can disappear only through a stern class struggle. And he remarks that the absolute necessity for a stern class struggle in socialism stems not from accidental causes, as Bukharin and the right deviation in general claimed, but is explained with the fact that the successes of socialism enrage the defeated classes and the remnants of the smashed exploiting classes, which will not leave the stage of their free will and, as a consequence, will resort to the most desperate means of strug-

gle, the only means that remain to those who are destined to die out.

Emphasizing that to underestimate the strength of the enemies of the working class and to show softness towards them is a crime, is betrayal of the interests of the working class, and rejecting Bukharin's formula of the peaceful integration of capitalists into socialism, as early as in 1930, Stalin said: **"Development has proceeded, and is proceeding according to Lenin's formula 'Who will beat whom?' Either we vanquish and crush them, the exploiters, or they will vanquish and crush us, the workers and peasants of the USSR..."*** And seven years later he worked out the idea of the coordination of the internal front of the class struggle with the external front. **"It would be a mistake to think that the sphere of the class struggle is situated only inside the borders of the USSR,"** Stalin said at that time. **"Whereas one front of the class struggle operates inside the USSR, the other front extends inside the bourgeois states which surround us. The leftovers of the overthrown classes cannot possibly fail to know this. And precisely because they know this, they will continue in the future, too, their desperate attacks."****

In his lifetime, as a great Marxist revolutionary, J.V. Stalin instructed that the Bolshevik Party should wage a consistent class struggle, should wage a stern class struggle against the class enemies and carry it through to the

* J.V. Stalin, Works, vol. 12, p. 297 (Alb. ed.).

** J.V. Stalin, Works, vol. 14, p. 111 (Alb. ed.).

end in all fields, that it should follow an irreconcilable proletarian class policy. And he himself stood at the head of this gigantic class struggle, leading with proletarian mastery and determination the struggle against all the enemies of the CPSU(B), socialism and the revolution, both inside the country and on an international scale, defeating all the enemies as well as the nazi and fascist hordes that were unleashed against the socialist Soviet Union in order to gobble it up and set it in the orbit of world capitalism. And by following a revolutionary general line and waging a resolute and stern struggle against all enemies, internal and external, the CPSU(B), with J.V. Stalin at the head, carried constantly forward the cause of socialism in the USSR.

However, after the death of Stalin, as is known, the Khrushchevite revisionists, restored capitalism in the Soviet Union. **This fact, too, is clear evidence of the correctness of the teachings of Stalin on the absolute necessity of waging the class struggle in socialism and on the stern nature of this struggle. In reality, the “peaceful” counter-revolution which took place in the Soviet Union, the seizure of power by the new Soviet bourgeoisie, the overthrow of the dictatorship of the proletariat and the re-establishment of capitalism in the Soviet Union by it — all this is the expression of the fact that the struggle between the two roads — the socialist road and the capitalist road, grows very fierce over all the historical period of the transition from capitalism to communism, up till the triumph of commun-**

ism on a world scale. Therefore, when the new bourgeoisie of the former socialist countries carried out the “peaceful” counter-revolution in the Soviet Union and elsewhere, the international bourgeoisie hailed this action as a great victory, as an “evidence” of the “immortality” of the socialist order. However, this switch back from higher socio-economic order to a lower socio-economic order, is not a phenomenon which human society encounters for the first time. Indeed, even in the period of the transition from feudalism to capitalism, regardless of the same nature of these orders, which rely on private ownership of the means of production, a similar phenomenon has been observed: there have been temporary restorations of feudalism in Britain as well as in France, which proves that the classes struggling in the throes of death never have left the stage of history of their free will, and always have done their utmost to protect their existence and interests. Nonetheless, the higher socio-economic order has triumphed in the long run, and such restorations have been only a temporary set-back. This is how the question also stands with the switch back from socialism to capitalism which happened in the Soviet Union and in other former socialist countries: **This switch back is merely a retreat on the long road of the socialist revolution, which is an uninterrupted revolution, aimed at building the classless society, which as Lenin has said, is achieved only through “an extremely severe class struggle, in extremely**

severe forms...”*

The struggle which Stalin waged in defence of the theory of classes and the class struggle in socialism and against the right deviation — Bukharinism, has colossal importance for the struggle which is waged today by the Marxist-Leninists against all the variants of modern revisionism, because all the “theories” of the revisionists today, whether Soviet, Chinese, Yugoslav or “Eurocommunist” are as like as two drops of water to the Bukharinist theory of the peaceful integration of capitalism into socialism, the dying out of the class struggle in the conditions of the dictatorship of the proletariat. Right opportunism and the lulling of the working class to sleep with idle talk about the softening of the class struggle in socialism enabled the Khrushchevite revisionists to reestablish capitalism in the Soviet Union and elsewhere. Right opportunism lies at the source of the capitalist road followed by Yugoslavia, too. Right from the emergence of Yugoslav revisionism, J.V. Stalin stressed, **“The Communist Party of Yugoslavia is being lulled to sleep with the rotten opportunist theory of the peaceful integration of the capitalist elements into socialism, which has been borrowed from Bernstein, Vollmar and Bukharin.”**** The theory of the “peaceful” integration of capitalism into socialism lies, in fact, at the basis of all the revisionist theses of the

* V.I. Lenin, Collected Works, vol. 25, p. 488 (Alb. ed.).

** Letter of CC to the CC of the CPY — 1948, p. 9 (Alb. ed.)

“Eurocommunists.” The “democratic road” to socialism, which all the revisionist parties of the West advertise with so much noise, has its source in this notorious “theory.” The views and practices of the Chinese revisionists on the class struggle and their stand towards the bourgeoisie and all counter-revolutionaries, more than any other variant of revisionism, remind us of the “theories” and opportunist views of the right deviation — Bukharinism, which Stalin combatted and defeated. Indeed, it can be affirmed that with their views and practices and with their theses about the former factory-owners, the former capitalists and kulaks of the countryside integrating themselves into socialism, about the factory owners receiving rents, about the capitalist reactionaries being kept in the management of factories that were formerly their property, their statements that **“according to Mao Zedong, those former owners must be integrated into society, become part of society and be educated in society,”*** the Chinese revisionists have outdone even Bukharin.

3. — The struggle waged by Stalin against “left” and right opportunism, Trotskyism and Bukharinism, had decisive importance, not only for the construction of socialism in the Soviet Union, but also for the strengthening of the communist parties in various countries, for the development of the revolutionary and liberation movement in the world, for the defence and further development of Marx-

* Enver Hoxha, “Reflections on China,” vol. 2, p. 373 (Alb. ed.).

ism-Leninism.

In fact, the life and work of J.V. Stalin is closely connected with the entire revolutionary activity of the Comintern over almost a quarter of a century. At every stage of its activity, the Comintern closely felt Stalin's assistance which was of great importance for the ideological and organizational strengthening of the communist parties in the capitalist countries, for the definition of a revolutionary strategy and tactics on their part, and the defeat of the "left" and right deviations which emerged in their ranks.

Of great value is the analysis J.V. Stalin made as early as in 1925, in the conditions of a relatively peaceful period, of the causes which lead to the emergence of the right deviation and the threat this deviation posed to the cause of the revolution at that time. **"In itself and due to its very nature, the transition from a period of ascendancy to a period of calm increases the possibility of danger from the right... The period of calm... generates social-democratic and reformist illusions, creating the danger from the right as the main danger,"*** Stalin said at that time, thus also showing the historical conditions in which the right deviation, opportunism, is born, and the serious threat it poses to the cause of the proletariat — ideas which are valid even in the present situations, when the modern revisionists have parliamentarism and the "democratic road" to socialism as their "most favourite"

* J.V. Stalin, Works, vol. 7, p. 61 (Alb. ed.).

theses, thus standing in completely reformist social-democratic, counter-revolutionary positions. The Marxist-Leninists, on their part, do not consider the period of “calm” and ebb of the revolution to be the beginning of the end of the revolution, but only as a period of temporary retreat and relative calm, which is necessarily followed by a vigorous revolutionary tide. Apart from this, the period of “calm” is regarded by the Marxist-Leninists as a period of the formation and training of the proletarian armies for the revolution, the triumph of which never comes about spontaneously, but is achieved only through struggle and only under the leadership of a strong proletarian revolutionary party.

In this period J.V. Stalin also spoke about the immediate tasks of the communist parties in the capitalist countries: the necessity of strengthening and bolshevizing themselves, the tasks devolving on these parties for linking themselves closely with the trade unions in order to rally around themselves the working people of the non-proletarian classes, the inculcation of the spirit of the revolution and the dictatorship of the proletariat among the proletarians. And while he set such tasks (tasks which even today remain on the agenda for the genuine Marxist-Leninist parties of the capitalist countries), while he stressed the need for the struggle against the opportunist elements, the rightists, the “leftists” and the “ultra-leftists” in the ranks of these parties, opposing the stand of the Bukharinites who supported the right deviation in the com-

munist parties of the capitalist countries, J.V. Stalin said: **“I cannot imagine a situation in which the interests of our Soviet Republic should require deviations to the Right on the part of our brother parties... I cannot imagine that the interests of the USSR could require our brother parties to betray the interests of the working class, even for a single moment.”*** However, what a great proletarian internationalist, as Stalin was, could not even imagine is being done today by the revisionist chiefs of the capitalist Soviet Union and the revisionist leaders of China who persistently demand this from the revisionist parties of the other countries, which, for their part, have nothing in common with the genuine communist parties and have betrayed the interests of the working class in the countries where they operate, and those of international proletariat, long ago. However, this stand, both on the part of the Soviet revisionists and the Chinese revisionists, is fully understandable: Those who have abandoned all the Marxist-Leninist principles and who think like rabid chauvinists cannot fail to judge everything from non-proletarian and social-imperialist positions, cannot fail to act from their hegemonic interests on any occasion.

Stalin’s struggle against Bukharinism over the question of the character of the stabilization of capitalism had great importance in defining a revolutionary strategy and tactics for the international communist and workers’

* J.V. Stalin, Works, vol. 8, p. 111 (Alb. ed.).

movement. In opposition to the Bukharinist theses which considered "the stabilization of capitalism" to be permanent and unchangeable for all time, a thesis which led to the conclusion that the period of the proletarian revolutions had come to an end and, hence any revolutionary activity should be given up, an idea which is over zealously propagated by the Chinese revisionists today, J.V. Stalin regarded the stabilization of capitalism as temporary, incomplete, relative, and stressed that the stabilization of capitalism was not and never could be permanent, that it would be shaken by the development of events, due to the sharpening of the crisis of world capitalism. On this score, he considered the correct definition of the question of the character of capitalist stability to be of decisive importance for the sections of the Comintern. **"Is capitalist stabilization being shaken or is it becoming more secure? It is on this that the whole line of the communist parties in their day-to-day political work depends. Are we passing through a period of decline of the revolutionary movement..., or are we passing through a period when the conditions are maturing for a new revolutionary upsurge...? It is on this that the tactical line of the communist parties depends,"*** Stalin said at that time. And the conclusions which he reached from the Marxist analysis of the situation of the time, the perspectives he opened, his predictions about the creation of the conditions for a

* J.V. Stalin, Works, vol. 12, p. 21 (Alb. ed.).

new revolutionary upsurge, served the Comintern as a basis for the definition of a correct Marxist-Leninist strategy and tactics, served it to place the revolution at the centre of its strategy. In this manner, the Comintern became, as Comrade Enver Hoxha has said, “an indispensable organism which made a major contribution to the strengthening of the revolution and the victory of socialism.”*

Of great importance for the question of the building of a revolutionary strategy and tactics were J.V. Stalin’s instructions concerning the character of the Chinese revolutions, its driving forces, the tactics the CP of China should follow, especially his instructions bearing on the stand of the CP of China towards the Kuomintang while preserving its autonomy which was an **“essential condition for ensuring the hegemony of the proletariat in the bourgeois-democratic revolution,”**** as well as his instructions in connection with the character of the future state power in China and the necessity for the leading role of **a single party — the party of the communists.** However, all these instructions of capital importance for the cause of the Chinese revolution, for it to grow from a bourgeois-democratic revolution into a proletarian revolution — were disregarded by Mao Zedong who, as clearly emerges from the analysis Comrade Enver Hoxha has made of the situation of the CP of China, never was

* Enver Hoxha, “Report to the 7th Congress of the PLA,” p. 295 (Alb. ed.).

** J.V. Stalin, Works, vol. 9, p. 221 (Alb. ed.).

a Marxist-Leninist, and therefore always, at times openly and at other times in camouflaged manner, gave vent to his uncontainable hatred of such a great Marxist-Leninist as J.V. Stalin was.

III. THE STAND TOWARDS STALIN — A DEMARCATION LINE BETWEEN THE MARXIST-LENINISTS AND THE OPPORTUNISTS AND REVISIONISTS

Savage attacks have been and continue to be directed and all kind of slanders to be concocted against J.V. Stalin by the various enemies of the revolution and socialism, of freedom and independence of peoples both in the past and today. The reactionary bourgeoisie and the ideologists in its pay — the Trotskyites and anarchists, the social-democrats and Bukharinites, the Khrushchevite, Chinese, Yugoslav and “Eurocommunist” revisionists, all the reactionaries and counter-revolutionaries, everywhere they are, have left no slander unused against J.V. Stalin.

Even this single fact testifies to what Stalin represents for the cause of the proletariat, Stalin who, for his outstanding revolutionary thought and action, entered the ranks of the great classics of Marxism-Leninism. However, the hateful stand and the offensive slanders of the bourgeoisie, the opportunists and the revisionists against Stalin are not without precedent in the history of the international

communist movement. A similar stand has always been maintained by the enemies towards the great leaders of the proletariat. It is known that after the death of Marx and Engels, the opportunists of the Second International, in order to carry out their betrayal of Marxism, its revision, more “easily,” launched a fierce campaign against Lenin and slandered him in most unscrupulous manner. Trotsky, on his part, especially in 1924, came out openly and directly with all sorts of slanders against Lenin, shamelessly distorting Lenin’s ideas and views. All this, as Stalin writes, was designed for a definite aim: **Trotsky was making another attempt to create “the conditions for substituting Trotskyism for Leninism,” because “he needed to discredit Leninism in order to drag in Trotskyism as the ‘sole’ ‘proletarian’ ideology...”*** Later Trotsky and the other enemies of Marxism-Leninism changed tactics: the struggle against Leninism was masked with the attacks against Stalin, both over the questions of the construction of socialism in the Soviet Union and over international questions. Today this tactic is generally followed by the modern revisionists.

In point of fact, all the attacks and slanders against J.V. Stalin, both in the past and at present, have been used and continue to be used by the opportunists and the revisionists as a means to uncrown Marxism-Leninism. In the present-day conditions, when revisionism has grown extensively even as revisionism in

* J.V. Stalin, Works, vol. 6, p. 361 (Alb. ed.).

power and has become everywhere a component part of the capitalist superstructure, the revisionists of all variants, with their attacks and slanders against Stalin, intend to achieve several objectives simultaneously: to reject wholesale the revolutionary theory of the proletariat, all of scientific socialism; to justify their betrayal of Marxism-Leninism, the revolution and socialism; to conceal the process of degeneration of the former communist parties and their transformation into bourgeois, counter-revolutionary parties; to cover up the liquidation of the socialist order in the former socialist countries where the revisionists are in power, and the restoration of capitalism in those countries; to justify their policy of rapprochement and unity with world capitalism, to carry out with "less trouble" their service as spying agencies of the bourgeoisie, to "perpetuate" capitalism. The revisionists who come out more openly and without masks, the "Eurocommunists," directly attack not only Stalin, but also Lenin, in order to achieve these counter-revolutionary strategic aims.

As far as Stalin is concerned, the enemies of the revolution and socialism, both in the past and today, have attacked and still attack him from two main directions: on the one hand, they accuse Stalin of having revised Leninism, and on the other hand, of having usurped the leadership of the Comintern.

The fiercest attacks and most outrageous slanders against Stalin by the revisionists today as well as by the Trotskyites and the Bukharinites yesterday are made especially over

the question of the class struggle, the revolution, the dictatorship of the proletariat, the party and its role in the system of the dictatorship of the proletariat, under the pretention that J.V. Stalin has distorted the teachings of Lenin on these cardinal questions. That is why the present-day revisionists call the dictatorship of the proletariat in the Soviet Union in the time of Stalin “a bureaucratic Stalinist state,” and over the question of the role of the party they trump up slanders as though Stalin, unlike Lenin, absolutized the role of the party and belittled the role of the working class and the working masses.

We find unnecessary to mention here the correct, completely Marxist-Leninist positions in which Stalin stood, and what contribution he made to the defence of these major questions from the distortions and attacks of the enemies of Marxism-Leninism, and how absurd are the attempts to accuse the great Leninist, Stalin, of having “revised” the teachings of Lenin. However, it is quite true that in all these cardinal questions of Marxism-Leninism the position occupied by Stalin has always been diametrically opposed to that occupied by the modern revisionists, who have demolished the foundations of the Marxist-Leninist theory on classes and the class struggle, who preach class conciliation and class peace on a national and international scale; who negate the violent revolution and preach the peaceful and parliamentary road to socialism; who have openly given up the dictatorship of the proletariat and compare it with the fascist

dictatorship, or who consider it superfluous after the construction of the economic base of socialism; who have revised the Leninist theory on the party of the new type and have transformed their own parties into reformist parties “of social peace,” into bourgeois, counter-revolutionary parties. And precisely this fact proves the following, namely, **that J.V. Stalin was a great Marxist-Leninist leader, who put all his energies to the defence and further development of the proletarian ideology, whereas the modern revisionists are the greatest and most dangerous renegades from Marxism-Leninism among all the renegades that the history of the international communist and workers’ movement knows. This fact explains the uncontainable hatred of the modern revisionists against Stalin. Hence the great correctness of our Party when it stresses that defence of J.V. Stalin and his work is a “great question of principle. To defend the cause of J.V. Stalin means to defend Marxism-Leninism, the revolution, socialism, the dictatorship of the proletariat, to be a resolute fighter against imperialism, the international bourgeoisie and revisionism of every description, to defend the cause of the freedom and independence of the peoples, to hold high the banner of proletarian internationalism.”***

To J.V. Stalin happened what he had himself written as early as 1920, that “**In the ‘civilized’ countries (understand: capitalist — note**

* Decision of the CC of the PLA on celebrating the centenary of the birth of J.V. Stalin, “Zëri i popullit,” March 24, 1979.

is ours) it has become customary to speak of the terror and atrocities of the Bolsheviks,”* because the word “Bolshevik” horrifies and arouses the hatred of the bourgeoisie of all countries. Thus, in connection with the class struggle, the revisionists of all variants attacked and still attack Stalin most hatefully, from the right and from the “left.” At their ill-famed 20th Congress, in joint chorus with the reactionary bourgeoisie, the Khrushchevite revisionists brought the most monstrous charges against Stalin, calling him a “despot,” “criminal,” “murderer” and describing the period in which Stalin led the CPSU(B) and the Soviet state as a period of terror. Most vociferous in supporting it in this setting were the Togliattists and the Titoites, who “found” the cause of this “despotism” in the socialist system and the dictatorship of the proletariat in the Soviet Union. And all this denigrating noise and this mudthrowing at Stalin as well as at the dictatorship of the proletariat was done because Stalin and the dictatorship of the proletariat hit out strongly and liquidated all the internal enemies, from the Trotskyites to the Tukatchevskys and others, who wanted to restore capitalism in the Soviet Union. And all this because the stern class struggle in the interest of socialism, which J.V. Stalin waged at the head of the Bolshevik Party did not suit the Khrushchevites, or their predecessors, the Trotskyites, Bukharinites and all the scum of the Soviet society. On the other hand, the Chi-

* J.V. Stalin, Works, vol. 4, p. 249 (Alb. ed.).

nese revisionists, and Mao Zedong and Zhou Enlai themselves, who in the beginning had been in solidarity with and had hailed all the anti-Stalinist (i.e., anti-Marxist and anti-Leninist) stands of the Khrushchevites, later they, also, accused Stalin of having allegedly shown softness in the class struggle and, as Comrade Enver Hoxha points out, of “having allegedly made mistakes to the right, as though Stalin had said that the class struggle is over,”* “of having allegedly made mistakes in connection with the class struggle, while they themselves claim that in socialism the class struggle becomes gradually weaker.”**

In regard to the various slanders and concoctions of the modern revisionists, Chinese, Yugoslav, “Eurocommunists” and others, who accuse Stalin of having usurped the leadership of the Comintern and of having brutally interfered in the internal affairs of its sections, the various communist parties, it must be said that here too, hostile intentions of the most perfidious kind are hidden, and that in this direction, also, the modern revisionists totally lack originality. Before them, the hateful enemies of Marxism-Leninism and socialism such as Trotsky, Bukharin, Zinoviev and others, have accused Stalin and the Comintern of having interfered in the internal affairs of some communist parties, describing as interference the assistance and all-round

* Enver Hoxha, “Reflections on China,” vol. 1, p. 322 (Alb. ed).

** Enver Hoxha, “Reflections on China,” vol. 2, p. 374 (Alb. ed.).

contribution of Stalin to the strengthening of the communist parties of Germany, France, Czechoslovakia, Yugoslavia, Poland, Britain, China, etc., over the exposure and crushing of the opportunist trends, right, "left" and "ultra-left," as well as the elements who stood in centrist positions in these parties. However, to everyone who judges these questions objectively and without hostile afterthought, it is not difficult to understand that all the vituperations of the international bourgeoisie and modern revisionists to the effect that allegedly "the cult of the individual" of Stalin has dominated in the Comintern are intended, among other things, to sully the brilliant figure of J.V. Stalin about his role in the international communist movement, too.

This is the aim, for example, of the concoctions by the Yugoslav revisionists who declare that J.V. Stalin's continuous assistance to that Party was brutal interference in the affairs of the former Communist Party of Yugoslavia, a party which from its creation has been characterized by a fierce factional struggle in the leadership, by profoundly non-Marxist and non-Leninist stands also in connection with the national question, by such an opportunist activity that the idea had been formed in the Comintern about dismissing this party. Their slanders, as well as the great hatred of the Yugoslav revisionists against Stalin are explained especially with that particularly important role which he played in exposing this variant of revisionism in the international communist movement, and which was unani-

mously condemned by the international communist movement and the Information Bureau as betrayal of Marxism-Leninism and the cause of the proletariat, this being a fact which clearly vindicates that the struggle of J.V. Stalin against Yugoslav revisionism had a principled ideological character, that the divergencies were over great questions of Marxism-Leninism, which Stalin defended with resolution.

Very cynical and unscrupulous are the slanders and attacks against Stalin on the part of the Chinese revisionist leadership and Mao Zedong, which long ago have waged an unprincipled struggle against him, accusing Stalin as well as the Comintern of being the cause of the defeats of the Chinese revolution and of many other "sins," accusations which are completely rejected in the writings of Stalin himself 52 years ago, and refuted with the best scientific argument by Comrade Enver Hoxha in his work "Reflections on China."*

With the clarity and determination of a great proletarian leader, Comrade Enver Hoxha, exposing the sinister aims of the attacks and slanders by the Chinese revisionists, as well as the Soviet, Yugoslav, "Eurocommunist" and other revisionists, has always opposed them and has said: **"No, no! Stalin was a great man, a great revolutionary, a great Marxist-Leninist, and so will he remain**

* Enver Hoxha, "Reflections on China," vol. 2, see especially from pp. 750 to 757 (Alb. ed.).

through the centuries,”* “Stalin belongs to the entire communist world..., belongs to all the working people of the world...”**

This is the stand of the PLA towards the immortal Stalin, a stand which is based on the profound Marxist-Leninist analyses which our Party and Comrade Enver Hoxha have made of the revolutionary activity carried out by Joseph Stalin during all his life, for over 50 years in succession, in the interest of the revolution, socialism, the freedom and independence of the peoples.

* * *

The PLA has always said that the Marxist-Leninists cannot stand by indifferently and cannot reconcile themselves to the stand the bourgeoisie and the revisionists of all variants maintain towards J.V. Stalin's work.

On the centenary of his birth, our Party once again stressed that the question of the stand towards Stalin and his work has been and remains a great question of principle, which marks the demarcation line between the Marxist-Leninists and the revisionists and all the renegades, which distinguishes the revolutionaries from the counter-revolutionaries. This idea is also quite clearly expressed and emphasized in Comrade Enver Hoxha's memoirs "With Stalin," which were put in circulation recently. Therefore, follow-

* Enver Hoxha, "Reflections on China," vol. 1, p. 322 (Alb. ed.).

** Enver Hoxha, Works, vol. 19, p. 457 (Alb. ed.).

ing the teachings of the Party and Comrade Enver, the Albanian communists will always use the theoretical legacy which Stalin has bequeathed us as well as all the teachings of the other classics of Marxism-Leninism, namely, Marx, Engels and Lenin, as weapons of struggle against and victory over the world reactionary bourgeoisie, against the revisionists of all variants, against all the ideological and political enemies, with the complete conviction that **the future belongs to COMMUNISM.**

J.V. STALIN — AN INTERNATIONALIST FIGHTER AND CONSISTENT DEFENDER OF THE PRINCIPLE OF PROLETARIAN INTERNATIONALISM

In his whole life and activity J.V. Stalin has distinguished himself as an internationalist fighter and ardent and consistent defender of the principle of proletarian internationalism.

In the present time, when the struggle between Marxism-Leninism and revisionism has become more acute than ever and the revolution is a question put forward for solution, Stalin's teachings on and work for the defence of proletarian internationalism are an invaluable treasury and a weapon in the hands of the Marxist-Leninist parties for achieving victory the proletariat and the revolutionary peoples of the world in their heroic struggle against imperialism, social-imperialism and revisionism.

I. J.V. STALIN — AN UNFLINCHING AND CONSISTENT DEFENDER OF THE PRINCIPLE OF PROLETARIAN INTERNATIONALISM

The revolutionary theoretical and practical work of J.V. Stalin is living proof of the correctness and incontestable value of the internationalist ideology and policy. The principle of proletarian internationalism was put

forward for the first time by Marx and Engels. It is the principle of the solidarity and unity of the international proletariat which is summed up in the slogan "Workers of all countries, unite!" It is a component part of the scientific ideology of the proletariat — Marxism-Leninism. Stalin has the historic credit of having consistently defended this principle and fighting with rare determination to implement it in the new conditions created after the October Socialist Revolution.

Stalin proved with scientific argument that, especially in the conditions of imperialism, when the "internationalization" of capital takes place, when all contradictions are exacerbated and deepened and the revolution is put on the order of the day, proletarian internationalism assumes even greater importance. At the same time, he pointed out that the possibilities for the implementation of the principle of proletarian internationalism increase as well because the concentration of capital also brings in its wake the concentration of the proletariat, the extension of relations among various nations and countries, etc.

Defending the principle of proletarian internationalism from the attacks and distortions of the Trotskyites, Bukharinites and the opportunists of the Second International, Stalin pointed out that the revolutionary perspectives do not lower, but on the contrary raise the role of proletarian internationalism. True, the revolution cannot be exported, for it is an objective process, the product of the in-

ternal development of each country and of the exacerbation of all its contradictions, of the sharpening of the class struggle, etc., but this does not mean that it needs no internationalist support and assistance from the proletariat of other countries.

J.V. Stalin considered proletarian internationalism, on the one hand, an ideology, a system of views which reflects the unity of interests and aims of the proletariat of various countries, and, on the other hand, a revolutionary policy of the communist parties which stems from this ideology and which aims to achieve the union of the proletarians of all countries in the struggle for the triumph of the revolution, socialism and communism. Thus, he stressed, the common interests and aims lie on the basis of proletarian trust and solidarity, the need for the forces of the proletariat to unite on a world scale. The resolute stand in the positions of the consistent fighter against imperialism and the international bourgeoisie, against revisionism and pseudo-internationalism, J.V. Stalin considered to be the internationalist duty of all the Marxist-Leninist communist parties.

J.V. Stalin fought with determination against the formal understanding and treatment of the principle of proletarian internationalism, against acceptance of it in words and negation of it in practice. The most important feature of proletarian internationalism is, as Stalin emphasized, the struggle for the triumph of the revolution and socialism on a world scale. And, by analysing the dialectics

of the national and the international factor in the struggle of the proletariat, he defended the thesis that the implementation of the revolutionary task by the proletariat of each country has first-rate importance. He considered the strengthening of unity in the ranks of the proletariat of each country around its revolutionary vanguard — the communist party, the development of the class struggle inside the country, the preparation of the conditions for the outbreak and triumph of the revolution inside the country, etc. to be conditional on the implementation of the national and international duty of the proletariat at the same time. Hence the necessity of support for this struggle in the other countries as well. Stalin adhered resolutely to Lenin's teachings that true proletarian internationalism is one, and only one, it is the self-denying work for the development of the revolutionary movement and the revolutionary struggle in one's own country and support for such struggle, such a line, and only such in every country without exception.

In one of his early articles, which he entitled "Long live international fraternization!," he optimistically expressed his conviction that "the individual streams of the proletarian movement are merging in one general revolutionary flood."* Whereas in his article "On the Political Strategy and Tactic of the Russian Communists," Stalin pointed out that "the strategy and tactic of the commun-

* J.V. Stalin, Works, vol. 1, p. 83 (Alb. ed.)

ist party of each country can be correct only when they are not confined to the spheres of the interests of their 'own' country, of their 'own' homeland, of their 'own' proletariat — but, on the contrary, taking account of the conditions and situation of their own country, and placing the interest of the international proletariat above everything.”*

As the great proletarian internationalists they were, Lenin and Stalin always stressed the international character of the Great October Socialist Revolution.

In his theoretical synthesis of the experience of the October Revolution, Stalin demonstrated that the October Revolution opened a new epoch — the epoch of proletarian revolutions, the epoch of the liberation and anti-imperialist revolutions in the colonies and dependent countries, the epoch of destruction of capitalism and demise of social-democracy in the workers' movement.

As the internationalist he was, Stalin had absolute faith in the international proletarian revolution and saw the question of the construction of socialism in the Soviet Union organically linked with it. He stressed that “only in alliance with the world proletariat can socialism be built in our country,” that “the strength of our revolution and the strength of the revolutionary peoples in the capitalist countries consists in this mutual support and in this alliance of the proletariat of all coun-

* J.V. Stalin, Works, vol. 5, p. 77 (Alb. ed.)

tries,”* that is, that internationalist aid and support are mutual and an absolutely necessary condition for the revolution. On the other hand, he pointed out that “the triumph of socialism in one country is not an aim in itself, but only a means for the development and support of the revolution in other countries.”**

In fact, and this is another historic merit of J.V. Stalin’s, by smashing the hostile activity, the conspiracies and betrayal of the Trotskyite, Bukharinite, Zinovievite and other enemies inside the country, as well as the waves of the imperialist ocean that beset it from outside, the Soviet Union of the time of Stalin, as the first country of triumphant socialism, unhesitatingly followed a revolutionary internationalist policy, became the basis of the world proletarian revolution and the anti-imperialist liberation movement, became the bulwark where, during the Second World War, Hitlerite fascism broke its neck and was routed.

A brilliant expression of proletarian internationalism is J.V. Stalin’s world historic role in the war against fascism. More than once Stalin had warned the proletariat and the peoples of the danger of fascism — the offspring and weapon of imperialism in the stage of the deepening of its general crisis. In the ‘30s fascism came to power in Germany, Italy, Japan and other countries, and threatened

* J.V. Stalin, Works, vol. 9, pp. 135, 137 (Alb. ed.).

** J.V. Stalin, Works, vol. 7, p. 169 (Alb. ed.).

the world with the outbreak of a new world war. Stalin took a very active part in the proceedings of the 7th Congress of the Comintern which advanced the slogan of the popular front for the mobilization of the proletariat and the peoples of the world against fascism and war.

Stalin helped unreservedly and with all means the war of the Spanish people against fascism, in the course of which, as is known, communists and revolutionaries from the Soviet Union and many countries of the world, including our country, rushed to the assistance of the Spanish people. They fought with heroism in the ranks of the International Brigades under the banner of proletarian internationalism.

The peoples of Europe and the world will always be grateful to Stalin, who at the head of the Soviet state, made a decisive contribution in the war for the destruction of German and Japanese fascism. The victory over fascism in the Second World War not only liberated the peoples enslaved by fascism, but brought about important qualitative changes in the international arena and the ratio of forces in the world: it powerfully influenced the triumph of socialism in a number of countries of Europe and Asia, and the strengthening of the world socialist system, gave a powerful impulse to the liberation movement of the oppressed peoples in the colonies and opened the road to the liquidation of the inhuman colonial system, led to the further, unavoidable and incurable weakening of the entire imper-

ialist system, created new objective conditions favourable for new revolutionary outbursts.

As an internationalist revolutionary and loyal disciple of Lenin, Stalin had always powerfully supported the anti-imperialist national liberation war of the peoples. He has always held the view that the revolutionary movement of the proletariat in the West and the national liberation movement of the peoples of the East are two main forces which should constitute the one front in the struggle for the collapse of imperialism. As early as in 1921 he stressed that the Bolshevik Party, as a party of the international revolution, is duty-bound to spare no efforts and means to assist the proletarian revolution in the West and the national liberation movement in the East.*

On the other hand, Stalin considered the assistance to and support for the Soviet state to be absolutely necessary and appraised it very highly.

J.V. Stalin dedicated all his life and revolutionary activity to the unyielding struggle for the defence and triumph of the principle of proletarian internationalism both in multinational Russia and on an international scale to the struggle for the triumph of the proletarian revolution and the anti-imperialist liberation movement of the oppressed peoples, to the cause of communism.

Stalin's struggle for the defence and triumph of the principle of proletarian inter-

* J.V. Stalin, Works, vol. 5, pp. 106-107 (Alb. ed.).

nationalism, his theses and teachings on this question not only have enriched the Marxist-Leninist theory, but also are a powerful weapon in the hands of Marxist-Leninist parties, the proletariat and the revolutionary peoples of the world today. It is precisely over proletarian internationalism that a fierce struggle of great theoretical and practical importance is waged today between Marxism-Leninism, on the one hand, and the bourgeoisie and modern revisionism, on the other.

In order to protect its system of oppression and exploitation and to combat the proletarian revolution and socialism, the international bourgeoisie, both in the West and the East, while on one hand it sets up military, political and economic blocs like NATO, the Warsaw Treaty, the European Common Market and Comecon, intervenes directly or indirectly in various countries, on the other hand it mobilizes and sets in movement its "theoreticians" to attack Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism. The modern revisionists and the social-democrats, as loyal agents of the bourgeoisie in the ranks of the working classes, carry out a special task for and do great service to world imperialism in this field.

At present the bourgeois and revisionist "theoreticians" unscrupulously attack proletarian internationalism as an ideology and practice, spread all kinds of slanders and "theories," try to substitute idealism and metaphysics for dialectical and historical materialism, cosmopolitanism and nation-

alism for proletarian internationalism, the bourgeois ideology for the proletarian ideology. The apologists of NATO and the Common Market spread the "theory" of "supranational union" in the North Atlantic Pact or "United Europe." The Soviet revisionists preach "limited sovereignty" and claim that the touchstone for proletarian internationalism is the stand towards the so-called "socialist community," the social-imperialist Soviet Union in the first place. Precisely according to the theory of "limited sovereignty, to this kind of "internationalism" which is nothing other than social-imperialist chauvinism, the Soviet tanks invaded Czechoslovakia in August 1968. In the time of Lenin and Stalin the stand towards the Soviet Union was truly a touchstone for the revolutionaries, whereas now, as Comrade Enver Hoxha has defined, "a revolutionary and an internationalist is he who fights the Soviet revisionists, who exposes their betrayal, who opposes with all his forces their anti-Marxist and imperialist policy and line." With their reactionary theory of "three worlds," the Chinese revisionists not only negate the role of the class struggle and the proletariat as the driving force of history and rise against the proletarian revolution and the anti-imperialist liberation movements, but replace proletarian internationalism with their calls on the proletarians and the peoples to unite with the bourgeoisie and capital that oppresses them, with American imperialism and the other powers that enslave them, for this road complies with the strategy and inter-

ests of China in its bid to become a social-imperialist superpower. Likewise, the Yugoslav revisionists have long ago come out openly against proletarian internationalism and substitute the so-called “free-will socialist solidarity” for it.

To the Marxist-Leninists there are neither some internationalisms nor internationalism in general, but only proletarian internationalism. “Proletarian internationalism,” says Comrade Enver Hoxha, “as the ideology of the proletariat,... is an indivisible whole, and there are not several kinds of internationalism, one Soviet, one Italian, one Yugoslav, one French, etc., as the revisionists claim.”*

At their Berlin Conference in 1976, the modern revisionists of Europe in chorus discarded the very expression of proletarian internationalism and replaced it with the expression of “international solidarity,” allegedly to conform to the new conditions and not to scare “the other classes interested in the solution of the problems of the time.”

Thus, they invented a “new” internationalism from which they removed only one word — the word “proletarian,” in order to please the bourgeoisie. But, as Comrade Enver Hoxha points out, “In the phrase ‘proletarian internationalism’ only the term proletarian links internationalism indissolubly with the world proletariat, links it in unity of struggle against the capitalist bourgeoisie, against the trusts and monopolies, against imperialism

* E. Hoxha, Report to the 7th Congress of the PLA, p. 239 (Eng. ed.).

and social-imperialism.”*

The Party of Labour of Albania, just as the other Marxist-Leninist parties, proceeds from the theory and teachings of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin, and considers the struggle for the defence and strengthening of the principle of proletarian internationalism an imperative duty, and combats resolutely any bourgeois and revisionist distortion of this principle, because this is a component and indispensable part of the struggle against imperialism and revisionism for the defence and triumph of Marxism-Leninism and the proletarian revolution.

The work and example of J.V. Stalin teach us that in the present time a proletarian internationalist is he who unreservedly defends and implements Marxism-Leninism, who fights for the defence, consolidation and unity of the Marxist-Leninist parties, who defends the Marxist-Leninist movement, who fights to the end against world imperialism with American imperialism at the head, against Soviet social-imperialism and Chinese social-imperialism, against modern revisionism of all shades, who supports wholeheartedly and with every means the revolutionary movement of the proletariat and the anti-imperialist liberation wars of the oppressed peoples, who sacrifices everything to the struggle for the overthrow of capitalism and the triumph of socialism.

II. J.V. STALIN — AN

* E. Hoxha, Report to the 7th Congress of the PLA, p. 234 (Eng. ed.).

INTERNATIONALIST FIGHTER FOR THE UNITY AND STRENGTHENING OF THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNIST AND WORKERS' MOVEMENT

J.V. Stalin, as an outstanding leader of the international communist and workers' movement, has played a major role in the increase and growth of the ranks of the movement, in the strengthening of the unity of the movement, in the bolshevization of the communist parties. Side by side with Lenin, but more so after his death, Stalin made a major contribution to the activity of the Third Communist International — the Comintern, founded by Lenin in 1919. At this high forum of international communism, where he was among the most outstanding and authoritative leaders, Stalin defended and carried forward the immortal teachings and work of Lenin.

Stalin regarded the Comintern and its activity as the most meaningful expression of proletarian internationalism in the process of the revolutionary struggle of the working class in close alliance with the working masses of the city and the countryside, and the peoples fighting for freedom and national independence. "The theory and practice of the Comintern," Stalin wrote, "consists in the organization of the revolutionary movement of the masses against capitalism."*

The Comintern was set up as an historical

* J.V. Stalin, Works, vol. 7 p. 296, (Alb. ed.).

necessity in the new conditions created after the triumph of the Great October Socialist Revolution, when imperialism entered the road of its final and complete collapse and destruction, whereas the world proletariat and the oppressed and exploited peoples were rising in liberation and revolutionary wars.

Defending the historic work of the Comintern, Comrade Enver Hoxha has said that it was set up at a time when Marxism-Leninism, as a scientific theory, should absolutely enter deeply among the broad masses of the proletariat of the entire world and when it was necessary to eradicate the influences of the opportunist, social-democratic ideas of the Second International, which for years on end had sown confusion in and disorganized the workers' movement, when it was urgently necessary for the world proletariat to become politically conscious of the historic tasks awaiting it, for new independent parties of the working class to be created in order to lead the proletariat in the revolutionary struggle to overthrow imperialism.

Stalin made a major contribution in all these questions. In the time of the Comintern and, later, in the time of the Information Bureau, Stalin unsparingly assisted in the creation, tempering and bolshevization of the communist and workers' parties, the strengthening and training of revolutionary leaders, in working out a correct strategy and tactic of the international communist and workers' movement. If in October 1917 there was only one party of the new type with 400,000 mem-

bers, in 1935 there were 61 such parties with 1,860,000 members, whereas after the Second World War there were 70 such parties with more than 30,000,000 members.

In the work for the creation and Bolshevik tempering of these parties, Stalin proceeded from the thesis that the triumph of the revolution is called into question if the subjective factor is not carefully prepared, if the revolutionary leadership of the proletariat — the communist party, is not ensured.

He studied with great attention and a profound sense of responsibility the situation and the problems of the various parties which were sections of the Comintern, and took a direct part in the examination of these problems at the related commissions of the Comintern. The struggle he waged, among others, in the German, French, Czech, Yugoslav and Polish sections of the Comintern, where with incontrovertible scientific argument and in a revolutionary internationalist spirit he supported the revolutionary line and forces in these parties and struck the various deviators and opportunists who still carried the ills of the Second International, is publicly known. He stigmatized those political leaders who called for “mild methods” of struggle against the opposition, for “fine” and “delicate” tactics in order to keep the rightists in the party, and for “unity and peace” with them. Stalin advised that the political work of the parties of the West should be reorganized so that every step and action of theirs serve the revolutionary education of the masses, the effect-

ive preparation of the revolution, that it should be kept in mind that ready-made leaders never fall from heaven, but emerge only in the process of struggle.

Stalin was the first to uncover and expose the betrayal of the Yugoslav revisionist leadership, the first variant of revisionism in power. He saw and exposed the danger, its roots and aims — that is why he waged a principled ideological struggle against it. In the treatment of this extremely complex and delicate problem, as Comrade Enver Hoxha points out in his book “Reflections on China,” Stalin, as on any other problem, was very just, very prudent and always faithful to principles.

Refuting the imperialist and revisionist propaganda that the communist members of the Third International act on orders from Moscow, Stalin stressed: “There is nothing true in the words that allegedly the American communists act under orders from Moscow. You can never find such communists on earth who would accept to act ‘under orders’ from abroad, against their own convictions and in contradiction to the tasks the situation faces them with. But even if communists of this kind existed somewhere, they would not be worth a penny.”*

Great has been Stalin’s contribution in the affirmation and implementation of Marxist-Leninist norms which regulate relations among parties of the working class in various countries, whether in the framework of the

* J.V. Stalin, Works, vol. 10, p. 126 (Alb. ed.).

Comintern or outside it. In complete opposition to the opportunist practice of the Second International, in which the big parties ruled and some allegedly authoritative personalities gave the tone, whereas the other parties stood on inferior positions and could not make their voice heard, Stalin consistently defended the revolutionary Marxist-Leninist norms under which all the parties of the working class members of the Comintern are equal, that any party, whether big or small, has the right to have its say on the various problems of the international communist and workers' movement, that no party has the right to impose his views on the Comintern and the parties of other countries. These teachings of Stalin are of great importance today. They constitute a sharp weapon to expose the concepts the Soviet and Chinese revisionists have propagated on the "mother party" and the "daughter parties," their chauvinist attempts to bring the communist and Marxist-Leninist parties to their anti-Marxist and counter-revolutionary course, to transform them into appendages of their hegemonist policy and aims.

With his very great contribution Stalin helped the Comintern to carry out a colossal theoretical and practical activity to carry forward the cause of the revolution in all countries. Speaking on the eve of the 6th Congress of the Comintern in connection with the working out of a draft-program of the International, Stalin pointed out, "The draft is no program for a national communist party of this or that country, but for all the communist parties

taken together; it deals with what is general and fundamental for them. Hence its theoretical character of principle. "The draft-program," Stalin goes on, "takes into account all the nations of the world — the whites and the blacks, the metropolises and the colonies. Heren lies the source of its universal and profoundly international character."*

Stalin stood for open and sincere, principled and consistent discussions in the Comintern, but at the same time he fought with all his forces for the preservation of the character of the Comintern as the international forum of the communist parties, a profoundly revolutionary and militant organ, and for preventing it from turning into a club of idle-talkers, where endless discussions are made or someone tries to impose himself on the others. Therefore Stalin carried a struggle of principle against Trotsky and Zinoviev, Brandler and Thalheimer, Ruth Fischer and others who more than once tried to brutally impose their views on the Comintern.

Stalin devoted particular care to and followed with great patience the Chinese revolution because of its obviously great importance. He closely followed its developments, the struggle and vicissitudes of the Communist Party of China, studied the situations that arose, made Marxist-Leninist analysis and drew conclusions on its character, stages and perspectives, and gave it direct and unsparing internationalist assistance. But Mao

* J.V. Stalin, Works, vol. 11, pp. 200-201 (Alb. ed.).

Zedong and the leading group in the Communist Party of China, as Comrade Enver Hoxha has pointed out, were always in opposition to the Comintern and Stalin. As the chauvinist and anti-Marxist he was, Mao Zedong disregarded both the directives of the Comintern and Lenin and Stalin's teachings on the leadership of the working class in the anti-imperialist and democratic revolution, on the proletarian revolution and the dictatorship of the proletariat, he kept the Chinese revolution within the framework of the bourgeois-democratic revolution which never grew into a genuine socialist revolution.

Stalin has taken an active part in working out many programmatic documents of the Comintern, in laying down the political line of the Comintern at the different stages of the development of the revolutionary movement. The profound judgements, comprehensive analyses, the Leninist iron logic which found their expression in the theoretical summing-up of the revolutionary experience of the world proletariat and national liberation movements, are Stalin's outstanding contribution as a theoretician and consistent revolutionary to the creative development of the Marxist-Leninist doctrine in the new historical conditions in which the Comintern carried out its activity.

The unchallenged authority Stalin enjoyed in the ranks of the Comintern and, in general, in the international communist and workers' movement, as a staunch fighter, loyal disciple and consistent continuer of the work

of Marx, Engels and Lenin, was the result of his profoundly principled and internationalist stands, of his courageous and unflinching struggle against imperialism and its agents, the opportunists and revisionists of various descriptions.

The Leninist theses on the roads of the development of the world revolution, on the possibility of the construction of socialism in a single country, on the absolute necessity of the political and ideological destruction of opportunism and revisionism as a decisive condition for a steel unity in the international communist and workers' movement, on the united front of the revolutionary and democratic forces with the working class at the head, against the fascist danger, his outstanding theoretical contribution to the development of the socialist state and the roads of transition from capitalism to communism, which Stalin defended and developed, constitute a contribution of universal value to the treasury of Marxism-Leninism.

The bourgeoisie and the modern revisionists ceaselessly attack the Comintern and Stalin, and malign them precisely because they defended and spread the communist ideas, the Marxist-Leninist theory, proletarian internationalism, assisted the growth and consolidation of the communist parties as the organized vanguards of the proletariat, and helped strengthen the unity of the international communist and workers' movement. The attacks of the enemies cannot denigrate the heroic work of the Comintern and Stalin.

It will live on and will always inspire the Marxist-Leninists and the revolutionary proletariat.

The present situation in the international communist movement, as Comrade Enver Hoxha pointed out at the 7th Congress of the PLA, resembles the heroic period when Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin fought and worked. Like then, today too, proletarian internationalism is truly defended by those who stand in the position of Marxism-Leninism. Like then, today too, without necessarily recreating the Comintern, which, as Comrade Enver Hoxha has stressed and proved, is not expedient because times and historical conditions have changed, the world communist movement should be characterized by the revolutionary and militant spirit of the heroic times of Lenin and Stalin, of the Comintern, and the duty devolves on the Marxist-Leninist parties of continuously strengthening their collaboration and unity, each of them operating on the basis of the common ideology — Marxism-Leninism.

From this viewpoint Stalin's teachings and historic work for the bolshevization of the communist parties and their tempering as parties of revolutionary action, as well as for the strengthening of the militant unity of the international communist movement, assume especially great value today.

III. J.V. STALIN — RESOLUTE PARTISAN OF THE PRINCIPLE OF PROLETARIAN

INTERNATIONALISM IN INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

International relations constitute a broad and very important field in which the thought and activity of J.V. Stalin as a great proletarian internationalist stands out with great force. At any moments and situations he adhered resolutely to proletarian principles.

At the head of the Party and the Soviet state and in extremely difficult and complicated international conditions, carrying out and further developing Lenin's teachings and behest, J.V. Stalin worked out and implemented with proletarian determination and consistency a principled Marxist-Leninist and internationalist foreign policy which had the defence of the first socialist state in the world in unity with the supreme interests of the world revolutionary movement as its foundation.

It is known that the imperialist powers, the bourgeoisie and international reaction, in coalition and through barbarous aggression, tried to drown in blood the Great October Socialist Revolution, to nip it in the bud. The Bolshevik Party, under the leadership of Lenin and Stalin, roused the proletariat and the peoples of Soviet Russia, routed the aggressors and saved the first state of the dictatorship of the proletariat.

The first state of the dictatorship of the proletariat was born and developed in fierce and ceaseless struggle against world imperialism and in the conditions of a savage and ag-

gressive imperialist encirclement, in which the activity of the external enemy and the internal enemy were combined with and supported each other. The threat of a war from the imperialist camp against the Soviet state was always imminent, and it became a fact with the perfidious aggression of Hitlerite Germany on June 22, 1941.

Stalin's foreign policy aimed, in the first place and above all, at guaranteeing the security of the Soviet state and ensuring the necessary international conditions for the socialist construction of this country, which was at the same time the base of the world proletarian revolution. With a strong internal situation, the Bolshevik Party and Soviet diplomacy could operate with success in the international field, too. The activity of the new Soviet state in the diplomatic field has played a very important role in foiling the anti-Soviet plots of world imperialism.

The Brest-Litovsk agreement was Lenin's major victory in this field, it extricated Russia from the world imperialist war, and, at the same time, ensured peace with Germany, a peace which, in these conditions was absolutely necessary, in order to cope with the savage assault of 14 countries later.

In April 1922, at the Genoa Conference, with the Rapallo Agreement between Soviet Russia and Germany, which was reached on the basis of instructions from Lenin and Stalin, Soviet diplomacy foiled the attempts of the great imperialist powers to set up a united capitalist front against Soviet Rus-

sia. The Rapallo Agreement exploded like a bombshell in blue over the Genoa Conference. Lenin said on this occasion: "We must know to profit from the disagreements and contradictions among the imperialists. Had we not stuck to this principle, all of us would long be hanging, each on his tree, to the great joy of the imperialists."*

Following and developing Lenin's teachings on the exploitation of inter-imperialist contradictions on the revolutionary road and in the interest of the revolution, Stalin used with rare mastery the field of international relations and diplomacy in order to deepen the rifts in the imperialist camp and to weaken it further to the advantage of the defence and the building of socialism in the Soviet Union, to the advantage of the anti-imperialist revolutionary movements of the proletariat and the peoples of the world. Evidence and documents of this unshakable and, at the same time skilful and resilient, class stand of principle on this question are, among others, the Soviet-German Pact of 1939 and the Anglo-Soviet-American alliance in the Second World War.

Even after the Second World War, Stalin stood firm like granite rock in front of world imperialism, with American imperialism at the head. Neither pressure, the cold war, nor the atomic bomb could make him budge an inch from the correct revolutionary Marxist-Leninist line; on the contrary, it was Stalin

* V.I. Lenin, Collected Works, vol. 25, p. 499 (Alb. ed.).

who foiled all the manoeuvres of imperialism and inflicted fresh losses on it on all fronts. This occurred, among others, on the German and the Berlin problems, the American aggression in Korea, etc.

Under Stalin's leadership, Soviet diplomacy successfully combatted American and British imperialism at the Paris Peace Conference, in the UNO and at other international forums, in defence of the revolution and socialism, the liberation wars of the peoples against the colonial yoke, their legitimate aspirations and the cause of peace. At these and other forums Stalin also defended energetically the interests and undeniable rights of our Homeland in face of the aims and dangerous plots of the imperialist powers, the Greek chauvinist circles and Titoite Yugoslavia.

Stalin has always attached first-rate importance to problems of international and foreign policy. His are brilliant analyses and conclusions that stand out for their Marxist-Leninist spirit of principle and the force and clarity of revolutionary thinking. With his analyses of the international situation and problems, the perspectives of development of several developed capitalist countries such as Britain, France, Germany and the United States, or such colonial and semi-colonial countries as India and China, Stalin opened up broad political horizons to the communist parties and the peoples of these countries, helped them work out their own revolutionary strategy and tactics, taught them what method and forms of struggle they should use, how

they should grow theoretically and organizationally strong.

These analyses point out Stalin's broad horizon and his extraordinary ability not only to define clearly, in the prism of the class struggle, the content of socio-political agents and phenomena in these countries, but also to show the ways for the solution of problems and the perspectives.

Stalin persistently continued and developed the revolutionary foreign policy initiated by Lenin the day after the October Revolution with the publication and denunciation of the secret treaties of the imperialist powers on the division of the spheres of influence and with the systematic exposure of their policy of war and aggression. Stalin resolutely defended the right of all peoples to freedom and complete independence, the principle of true equality in relations and exchanges between countries, fought with all his forces for the defence of peace and the security of the peoples against fascism and imperialism.

J.V. Stalin made an outstanding contribution to the creation and strengthening of the socialist camp as well as to the building of relations of a new type, which the world had not known of before, among socialist countries. These relations, as Stalin conceived and implemented them, had the common ideology and aims of the socialist countries, the principles of complete equality, mutual fraternal aid and support without preconditions or strings attached as their basis, they were vivid expression of triumphant Marxism-Leninism and

proletarian internationalism. It is clear and understandable that, in the historical conditions of the development of the other socialist countries, it was these countries which were in more need of, which asked for, and were effectively accorded, the aid, support and experience of the Soviet Union in all fields. And this aid and support Stalin gave unsparingly in the field of socialist construction and defence of these countries, although the Soviet Union which had just emerged from the war, had many grave wounds to heal, as well as in the international field, against the plots, wreaking activity and aggressive plans of imperialism. Indeed, Stalin always pointed out that mutual aid and support among socialist countries was always a two-sided, mutual obligation. At the 19th Congress of the CPSU he said: "It would be a mistake to think that our Party, which has become a great force, needs no help any longer. This is not true. Our Party and our country have always needed and will need the trust, sympathy and support of the fraternal peoples of other countries..." These lofty internationalist principles he implemented with constant rigorosity.

The Soviet, Chinese, Yugoslav and other revisionists, together with the bourgeoisie and reaction, have invented all sorts of slanders about Stalin's allegedly having maintained a chauvinist stand in the relations with the other socialist countries and interfered in their internal affairs.

None of these slanders holds water, on the contrary, both in the relations among com-

munist parties and in the relations among socialist states, J.V. Stalin, as long as he lived, never allowed himself, or the party and the Soviet state privileges or stands of superiority in their relations with other parties and socialist countries; indeed, he assisted these parties and countries and advised them to respect always the principles of complete equality, non-interference, mutual fraternal aid in their relations, to solve all problems between them through fraternal talks, with communist justice, in the spirit of proletarian internationalism. The facts about all this are many and well known. Whereas, it is the Soviet revisionists themselves, with Khrushchev and Brezhnev at the head, the Chinese and Yugoslav revisionists, who have committed hateful anti-Marxist actions against the other parties and countries, ranging from their subversive and plotting activity against Albania to the armed aggression against Czechoslovakia and Vietnam. Precisely the departure from Stalin's internationalist line transformed the revisionist Soviet Union into an aggressive, expansionist and exploiting social-imperialist superpower, the same as American imperialism.

As long as Stalin was alive, the Soviet Union assisted the fraternal countries from correct internationalist positions. As long as Stalin was alive and stood at the head of the party and the Soviet state, the socialist camp and the international communist and workers' movement were one whole in complete unity of thought and action, strong and invin-

cible; the world revolutionary movement and the cause of socialism were on the rise whereas imperialism was in decline.

In these conditions, when the “ghost of communism” was rapidly and irresistibly sweeping all continents, American imperialism worked out a new strategy against communism and the revolution, the strategy of taking the citadel from within, by means of the revisionist cliques, first in Yugoslavia, then in the Soviet Union and the other former socialist countries. It cannot be denied that the revisionist betrayal caused great harm to the cause of socialism, the proletarian revolution and the anti-imperialist liberation movements, that temporarily it gave a new lease of life to the hated capitalist order, but it did not save and will not save imperialism and its offspring — modern revisionism, from their unavoidable, fatal end.

Stalin knew well that socialism and its proletarian policy were the mortal enemies to imperialism, that imperialism could be reconciled to socialism no more than fire could be reconciled to water. He said that one need be naive or go over to positions of bourgeois liberalism to think that international capital can permit a socialist country to build communism in peace, or be indifferent to its internationalist foreign policy.

Like Lenin, Stalin combatted world imperialism, with American imperialism at the head, blow for blow and on all fronts. He never wavered even in the most difficult times or before flattery and blackmail, or the potential

and threats of imperialism. He had unshaken confidence in the justice, strength and triumph of socialism, in the cause and internationalist support of the proletariat, the freedom-loving peoples, in the inevitability of the final defeat and overthrow of imperialism through the triumphant proletarian revolution.

Stalin fought constantly for the cause of peace and was convinced that the peoples constitute a colossal force. At all times he followed a policy of peace and peaceful relations with other countries, and worked with extreme patience, wisdom and far-sight to achieve this.

At the 18th Congress of the Party, when the Second World War had already begun and the imperialist powers did their utmost to pit Hitlerite Germany and the other fascist powers against the Soviet Union, Stalin laid down for the Party the following tasks in the field of foreign policy:

1. To follow, in the future, too, a policy of peace and of strengthening commercial relations with all countries;

2. To be prudent and not to allow the war provocateurs to draw our country into conflicts;

3. To enhance by all means the fighting potential of the Red Army and the Red Fleet;

4. To strengthen the international ties of friendship with the workers of all countries that are interested in maintaining peace and friendship among peoples.*

Later, in February 1951, when the war hys-

* J.V. Stalin, Works, vol. 14, pp. 211-212 (Alb. ed.).

teria of American imperialism and NATO for unleashing a new world war was at its highest and was seriously preoccupying the peoples of the world, Stalin made his famous statement that “peace will be maintained and strengthened if the peoples take the cause of peace into their hands and defend it through to the end.”

On this call of Stalin, scores of millions of people all over the world, including the United States of America, rose in defence of peace and the American imperialist aggressors did not dare to spread to other countries the fire of the war they had unleashed in Korea.

In this colossal mobilization of the peoples of the world against the aggressive policy of imperialism and defence of peace, the communist and workers’ parties played a major role.

At that time American imperialism had extended its unchallenged domination all over the capitalist countries, where it trampled underfoot their national independence and had set up thousands of military bases. The bourgeoisie and the social-democratic parties, out of the fear of the proletarian revolution, had reconciled themselves completely to the policy of submission to American imperialism, while the proletariat and the peoples fought with might and main against it.

In these conditions, at the 19th Congress of the CPSU, consistently following the Leninist policy of defending democracy and national independence, Stalin called on the communist parties of the capitalist countries

to raise the banner of democratic freedoms, independence and sovereignty from the mud where the bourgeoisie had spurned it, seize it and become the leading force of their nations in the struggle against imperialism and reaction.

These instructions which Stalin gave in the last years of his life, as well as all his valuable teachings and orientations, are always of great value for the Marxist-Leninist parties, the proletariat and the revolutionary peoples.

* * *

During all his life, to his last breath, J.V. Stalin worked and fought as a great internationalist revolutionary. The Albanian people had a close and very respected friend in him and will never forget his great assistance both in the construction of the bases of socialism in Albania and in the defence of the rights of our country in the international field.

The Party of Labour of Albania, with Comrade Enver Hoxha at the head, has stood and will always stand in defence of Stalin and his immortal work.

The work and teachings of Stalin today are more valid than ever. They are and will always be a banner of struggle and victory in the hands of the world proletariat, with the Marxist-Leninist parties at the head, and a cause of terror for imperialism and revisionism, for the enemies of socialism, the revolution and the dictatorship of the proletariat.

J.V. STALIN'S TEACHINGS ON THE DICTATORSHIP OF THE PROLETARIAT REMAIN ALWAYS VALID

J.V. Stalin's Marxist-Leninist teachings on the dictatorship of the proletariat occupy a central place in his vast revolutionary legacy. From this angle always he saw all the more important questions of the theory and practice of scientific socialism, the problems of the proletarian revolution, the class struggle, the construction and defence of socialism, the education and re-education of people in the spirit of socialism, etc.

J.V. Stalin defended with consummate mastery the revolutionary cause of the proletariat, the teachings of Marx, Engels and Lenin on the dictatorship of the proletariat. The defeat that the theorizings of the Second International suffered after the triumph of the October Revolution, which raised the dictatorship of the proletariat to an historic fact caused the enemies of Marxism-Leninism to step up their onslaught against the first proletarian state in the world, to fabricate and spread new slanders and speculations. "Around this torch," says Stalin "two fronts have formed: the front of the enemies of the proletarian dictatorship who are striving to discredit this torch, to upset and extinguish it, and the front of the friends of the dictatorship of the proletariat, who are striving to hold the

torch aloft and to fan its flame.”*

After the death of Lenin, the front of the enemies, which was comprised not only of the Trotskyites and the Bukharinites who acted in the midst of the CPSU(B), but also of the social-democrats, the Cadets, the Russian bourgeois emigrants, the opportunists who had emerged from the ranks of the communist parties of Germany, France, Britain and others, believed that the time had come to deal the decisive blow at the cause of the dictatorship of the proletariat. All the international bourgeoisie supported these enemies with all manner and means. In these circumstances, “the Bolshevik Party of Lenin and Stalin, and Stalin in particular,” Comrade Enver Hoxha says, “had to cope with this very difficult situation both on the national and international plane.”**

To J.V. Stalin goes the historic merit that in the name of the peoples of the Soviet Union and the world proletariat, in the concrete conditions created in his time, he not only defended the cause of the dictatorship of the proletariat in theory and practice, but also elaborated it further, by summing up the new historic experience on a number of important questions of the Marxist-Leninist doctrine on the dictatorship of the proletariat, which social practice and the ideological struggle had brought to the order of the day.

* J.V. Stalin, Works, vol. 9, p. 146 (Alb. ed.).

** E. Hoxha, “When the Present Rests on Steel Foundations the Future Is Secure,” 1978, p. 15 (Alb. ed.).

Stalin analysed and further substantiated **the organic link existing between the socialist revolution and the dictatorship of the proletariat on the one hand, and its historic mission, on the other.** The victories of the proletarian revolution as a revolution in which the seizure of power is only its initial stage and which covers an entire historical period are indissolubly linked with the dictatorship of the proletariat. On the basis of the historical experience of the revolutions carried out prior to and following the October Revolution and the experience of the struggle for the defence of its victories, Stalin proved with facts that the vigour and movement of the revolution, the construction and defence of socialism cannot for a moment be imagined without the dictatorship of the proletariat, which is the weapon of the proletarian revolution, its organ and its most important support. It is possible, Stalin said, that the revolution may achieve some victories at the initial stage, but if it does not lead to the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat it loses its vigour and not only is powerless to move further ahead but will inevitably go back on its course. The question of the dictatorship of the proletariat. Stalin argues, is a key question of the proletarian revolution. Therefore, he who renounces the dictatorship of the proletariat, which is the concrete expression and materialization of the leading role of the working class, renounces at the same time the proletarian revolution, socialism and communism.

Historical experience has completely cor-

roborated this Marxist-Leninist thesis. Thus, as long as the dictatorship of the proletariat operated in the Soviet Union, the revolution and the socialist construction there advanced always ahead, the Soviet Union turned into a powerful socialist state; whereas, after power was usurped by the revisionists and after the dictatorship of the proletariat was liquidated, the place of the revolution was taken up by the counter-revolution, the place of socialism was filled by capitalism which was restored in the Soviet Union and the country was transformed from the centre of the world revolution into a social-imperialist power.

Or, let us take the case of China, where, as is known, the bourgeois-democratic revolution, which objectively could have been transformed into a socialist revolution and set China on the road of socialism, was carried out. But that did not come to pass because the CP of China, which had “Mao Zedong thought” at its basis, was against the hegemony of the proletariat in the revolution and against the dictatorship of the proletariat, and, as Comrade Enver Hoxha argues in his works, “Imperialism and the Revolution” and “Reflections on China,” it was for a regime of “new democracy” relying on the alliance and collaboration with the bourgeoisie, the sharing of power with the bourgeois parties, the coexistence of opposite ideologies, the blossoming of a hundred flowers and the contention of a hundred schools, etc.

The experience of our country proves that the dictatorship of the proletariat which was

established 35 years ago as a result of the people's revolution has always been strong and remained unbreakable because our Party, as Comrade Enver Hoxha has said, "has carried out the teachings of Marxism-Leninism faithfully, has waged the class struggle correctly and has always maintained keen revolutionary vigilance. It has constantly strengthened and perfected the proletarian state and the defence of the country, and has consistently combatted all alien manifestations which lead to the peaceful degeneration of the socialist social and state order."*

Aware of the dialectical connection and interdependence between the question of the revolution and the dictatorship of the proletariat. Stalin also made an outstanding contribution of special importance to the practical realization of the dictatorship of the proletariat, the elaboration of and concrete solution to the problems of the construction of socialism, the state direction and organization, the role of the communist party and its levers in the entire system of the dictatorship of the proletariat, the elucidation and Marxist-Leninist understanding of the dialectical relationships between dictatorship and democracy, the most essential aspects of the historic mission of the dictatorship of the proletariat to carry the revolution ahead towards the realization of its final goal, etc.

The dictatorship of the proletariat, according to him, is not the rule of a "govern-

* E. Hoxha, "Report at the 7th Congress of the PLA," p. 21 (Alb. ed.).

ment elite,” or the “dictatorship of a party” either, but is the rule of the working class, is the alliance of the working class with the peasantry which is led by the working class and its vanguard, the communist party. Again, according to Stalin, the working class wields its power, exercises its leadership of the state and society, i.e., the dictatorship of the proletariat, “**First...** for the suppression of the exploiters, for the defence of the country, for the consolidation of the ties with the proletarians of other lands, and for the development and victory of the revolution in all countries. **Second...** in order to detach the labouring and exploited masses once and for all from the bourgeoisie, to consolidate the alliance of the proletariat with these masses, to draw these masses into the work of socialist construction, and to ensure the state leadership of these masses by the proletariat. And **finally...** for the organization of socialism, for the abolition of classes, for the transition to a society without classes, to a socialist society.”*

In this manner, Stalin regards the dictatorship of the proletariat as an organization of the working class into a ruling class, as a proletarian state, as a definite political system and a means without which the leading role of the working class, the construction of socialism and the transition to communism cannot be imagined.

This manner of understanding the dictatorship of the proletariat tallies completely

* J.V. Stalin, Works, vol. 8, p. 30-31 (Alb. ed.).

with the theses of the other classics of Marxism-Leninism. There is not a grain of truth in what Kardelj and the other revisionists allege, namely that Marx and Lenin regarded the dictatorship of the proletariat rather “a term of theoretical and social-historical significance than a notion of a concrete form of a political system” and that Stalin alone (“in analogy to the political system of bourgeois society”), according to Kardelj, allegedly understood the dictatorship of the proletariat as a notion shaping a political system.* In fact, however, there is not the slightest contradiction between the classics of Marxism-Leninism over this question. None of them understood the dictatorship of the proletariat as a theoretical notion only, but defined and assessed it as a state, i.e., “the proletariat organized as a ruling class” (Marx), the “state leadership of the policy on the part of the proletariat” (Lenin). It is precisely these definitions of the dictatorship of the proletariat as a proletarian state, which directly refute the opportunist views based on and the petty-bourgeois illusions about the “peaceful development of democracy,” that Stalin defended and further analysed. He made it quite clear that the dictatorship of the proletariat cannot exist and be materialized as a definite form of state, that the working class cannot lead without its own state and party, without a whole system of social organizations.

* E. Kardelj, “The Directions of the Development of the Political System of Socialist Self-Administration,” 1977, p. 107.

In opposition to these Marxist-Leninist theses, the Soviet, Yugoslav and other modern revisionists, divorcing the notion of state from the notion of the dictatorship and having a narrow understanding of the state, preach that the dictatorship of the proletariat should not be seen as a state, but merely as “domination of the interests of the working man,”* that according to the Soviet revisionists, the dictatorship of the proletariat, in the conditions of “developed socialism,” allegedly grows “into the leadership of the working class in the framework of the state of the entire people.”** In this way, according to them, the leadership of the working class must not be linked with the state leadership of society. On this basis, the Yugoslav revisionists accuse Stalin that allegedly he had no faith in the working class, considered it immature for socialism and therefore “thought that the state should lead it by the hand”!!

J.V. Stalin’s thesis on the essence of the relationships between the dictatorship of the proletariat as the state of a society led by the working class and the state in its narrow sense — the government, the state administration, which is an important lever for the realization of the political rule of the working class, has a particular importance today for refuting the above revisionist speculations. “Our state must be confused, and, hence, identified

* E. Kardelj, “Notes on Our Social Criticism,” 1977, p. 115.

** See Brezhnev, “Report to the 25th Congress,” *Voprosy Filozofii*, No. 9, 1979.

with our government,” Stalin said. “Our state is an organization of the proletarian class as the state power... Our government, however, is the top section of this state organization, its top leadership. The government may make mistakes, may commit blunders fraught with the danger of a temporary collapse of the dictatorship of the proletariat; but that would not mean that the proletarian dictatorship, as the principle of the structure of the state in the transition period, is wrong or mistaken.”*

Weaknesses that might emerge in the process of implementation of the dictatorship of the proletariat, weaknesses in administration, manifestations of bureaucracy and others, do not stem from the existence of the dictatorship of the proletariat and of its principles, but from the mistakes made by the administrative organs in their everyday activity, and these mistakes should be combatted systematically. For these phenomena to be liquidated and democracy to be developed the dictatorship of the proletariat should not be done away with, as the revisionists claim, but, on the contrary, it must be further strengthened and improved so that, as Stalin says, everything is done in harmony with the demands and principles of the dictatorship of the proletariat.

According to Stalin, all forms, the concrete roads and means of organization and direction, which may be different in different countries, must be seen as depending on “the content that will be poured into these moulds.”

* J.V. Stalin, Works, vol. 9, p. 177 (Alb. ed.).

Giving the soviets as an example, he says that this form of organization has been used both by the counter-revolutionaries and the revolutionaries, but “it is primarily a matter of the content of the work of the soviets; it is a matter of the character of the work of the soviets; it is a matter of who leads the soviets — revolutionaries or counter-revolutionaries.”*

This thesis has great value today because, now in particular, the revisionists of various colours and the other pseudo-revolutionaries have given circulation to all sorts of forms and speculate with terms revolutionary in appearance, or such as in the past may have had a true revolutionary content, such as “commune,” “soviets,” “red guard,” “revolutionary committee,” “proletarian vanguard,” “socialist self-administration,” etc.

The Soviet revisionists call their social-imperialist state “the state of the entire people,” and in form preserve the same institutions and names as those which existed in the time of Stalin, but in essence, as our Party and Comrade Enver Hoxha have demonstrated, the state which rules today in the Soviet Union is of an exploiting type, hence it has brought about a change in the content of all the social organizations and levers which now have become mere appendages to this state. This fully proves what Stalin said, namely, that the enemy, driven by its class instinct, understands that, in given conditions, it can take up a form or means, which used to serve the revolution

* J.V. Stalin, Works, vol. 13, p. 218 (Alb. ed.).

once, and direct it against the revolution or use it for the sake of demagogy. In this case, as Stalin said, the criterion is to determine in whose hands this form or means is and against whom it is directed.

Stalin points out that it is important not to confuse the peculiarities of the proletarian revolution and of the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat in different countries with the essence of the Marxist-Leninist theory on the dictatorship of the proletariat. Rejecting the theses of the opportunists — Kautsky, Bauer and others, he explained that the form of the dictatorship of the proletariat established by the October Revolution had its own specific features — it was established in a single country, in a little developed country from the capitalist viewpoint, it was set up on the basis of a definite alliance with the poor peasantry and other strata, but its essence was the expression of a law, of a doctrine, which was “compulsory for all countries.”

In opposition to this undeniable truth of Marxism-Leninism, which Stalin defended and developed further, the modern revisionists claim that “democracy with the state,” is valid only for the relatively undeveloped countries, “where such level of development of the forces of production must be created as to match up with that attained by the developed countries through their capitalist system.”* From this concept it derives that the working class in the developed capitalist countries need not

* E. Kardelj, “Notes on Our Social Criticism,” 1977, p. 153.

to fight for the dictatorship of the proletariat, whereas in the undeveloped countries which can embark on the road of socialism, the working class must give up the state and must "lead directly," after it has reached a certain degree of development itself.

In fact, the level of development of the forces of production, the traditions of the political organization of society and other factors may have their influence on the concrete state forms the dictatorship of the proletariat may assume, but not on its essence or its revolutionary historic mission. It is true that so far the dictatorship of the proletariat has been established mainly in little developed countries from the capitalist viewpoint, a thing which is explained with the circumstances in which the world revolutionary process has developed, as well as with the efforts of the bourgeoisie, especially in the developed capitalist countries, to tone down the effect of objective factors that lead society towards revolutionary explosions and impede the revolutions.

True, the world revolutionary process has its ebbs and tides, but, regardless of this, the transition to socialism through violent revolution and the dictatorship of the proletariat, as Lenin and Stalin have pointed out and historical experience proved, is an objective law. As long as capitalism, with all its contradictions which grow continually sharper and cannot by any means be solved by capitalism itself exists, there also exists the deepest cause for the revolution, for the violent overthrow of the bourgeoisie and the establishment of the

dictatorship of the proletariat. The merit of Stalin lies in it that he defended with determination and enriched with new theoretical and practical arguments this law discovered by Marx and Engels.

Proceeding from these Marxist-Leninist revolutionary positions, Stalin also treated the problem of the **period of the dictatorship of the proletariat and the future of the state**, which even today is one of the most acute problems of the struggle between Marxist-Leninists and the renegades from Marxism-Leninism — the modern revisionists. By defending and developing in a creative manner the theses of Marx, Engels and Lenin and summing up the new historical experience, Stalin put forward, for the first time in Marxist literature, a series of questions which further enriched the Marxist-Leninist doctrine of the state.

The socialist transformations, the liquidation of the exploited classes, of the antagonism between city and countryside, between physical and mental work, and, on this basis, the increased role of the new driving forces operating in socialist society — raised the problem of the stand towards the state, of its place and role in the future, of the assessment of the changes that its functions had undergone or would undergo in the future. Various opportunist elements, hidden behind Marxist phrases and quotations, began to cause great ideological confusion over the problem of the proletarian state. Bukharin preached that, in principle, the working class should maintain a hostile stand towards any state, the state of

the working class included. Others said that since the exploiting classes were liquidated, the class struggle should be toned down and the state in general cease to exist, that “the classless society is just round the corner.”

Stalin exposed and rejected with convincing argument these anti-Marxist views, stressing that “if this confusion of views and these non-Bolshevik sentiments obtained a hold over the majority of our party, the party would find itself demobilized and disarmed.”* At the same time, he coped with the problems emerging from the historical development of socialism, acting from positions of the Marxist-Leninist theory.

First, Stalin argues that, as a result of the changes occurring in the class structure of society, in the relations of production, in the spiritual life of society and other fields — notable changes also occur in the social base of the state and in its functions. Without denying the importance of the other functions of the proletarian state, he stresses that, as a result of the socialist transformations made so far, the economic-organizational and cultural-educational functions of the state assume further development and extension. It is logical that, in such circumstances, creative work for the construction, organization and direction of the socialist economy, for the education of the new man, etc., should occupy a greater place in the activity of the proletarian state. However, as our experience shows, these changes

* J.V. Stalin. Works, vol. 13, p. 338 (Alb. ed.).

do not in the least mean the cessation of the historical function of the dictatorship of the proletariat or the alteration of the class essence of the socialist state, or the superseding of the other not less important functions of the state. True, democracy keeps extending continuously the councils and other levers become ever more active, more and more people are drawn into state affairs, and as a result, the social base of the dictatorship of the proletariat is further extended. But do these changes affect the nature of the state power of the country? "No, they do not change it," Stalin replies. "Do they bring about such changes in the system of the dictatorship of the proletariat as to make it weaker? No, not at all."*

Stalin regarded the defence and strengthening of the proletarian state as an absolutely necessary condition for the complete construction of socialism and the transition to communism. "Naturally," he wrote, "a classless society cannot come of its own accord, as it were. It has to be achieved and built by the efforts of all working people, by strengthening the organs of the dictatorship of the proletariat, by intensifying the class struggle, by abolishing classes, by eliminating the remnants of the capitalist classes, and in battles with enemies, both internal and external."**

These theses are important and are still valid today. Although the Soviet revisionists have liquidated socialism in their coun-

* J.V. Stalin, Works, vol. 7, p. 187 (Alb. ed.).

** J.V. Stalin, Works, vol. 13, p. 337 (Alb. ed.).

try long ago, they continue to capitalize on the deep-going changes “the construction of socialism and the transition to communism bring about” with the intention of liquidating the historical mission of the dictatorship of the proletariat which Stalin allegedly maintained by force, as well as of justifying the so-called “state of the entire people.” Indeed, some Soviet revisionist theoreticians, absolutizing the economic-organizational function of the state, demand that it should no longer be considered an element of the superstructure but an element of the economic base. Their aim is that, on the one hand the revisioning of the Marxist-Leninist theory of the state should be carried out openly and through to the end, while, on the other hand, justifying the swelling of the military-bureaucratic machine of the exploiting state, which is so much needed by the new Soviet bourgeoisie and its social-imperialist policy.

Second, in the new historical conditions and in keeping with the recent historical experience, Stalin further elucidated the problem of the extinction of the state, which has been placed at the centre of the ideological struggle with the various opportunists and which remains such and strikes a current note even today.

The revolutionary practice in the time of Marx and Engels had raised as an urgent problem the question of the destruction of the exploiting state and the establishment of the proletarian state in its place. Marx and Engels raised the problem of the extinction of

the state to a more general plane, mainly in a world historic sense, in the sense of the state in general, which will die out when the conditions are created for this, "when administration of people will be replaced by administration of things." Lenin also speaks about this world historic sense of the extinction of the state, which effectively begins with the liquidation of the exploiting state, and describes the proletarian state a "half state," a "state not in the full sense of the word," a "state dying out," while, at the same time pointing out the basic premises necessary for the extinction of the state under communism.

Faithful to these teachings, Stalin raises this question in the conditions when socialism in the Soviet Union had on a whole been built and when there was unclarity and confusion about the problem of the extinction of the state, which was further increased by the anti-Marxist views spread by the opportunist elements inside and outside the party. The merit of J.V. Stalin lies precisely in it that, proceeding from the positions of a creative Marxist, he further developed the question of the extinction of the state in the concrete historical conditions. He did not dwell on the fate of the state in general, but raised and solved the question of the fate of the state in a concrete case, in that of the triumph of socialism in a single country.

While defending the Marxist-Leninist thesis of the state and its extinction under communism, he argues that it is absurd to call for the extinction of the state in the con-

ditions when the class struggle continues to be waged and the capitalist encirclement still exists, which must never “be considered as a mere geographical notion.”* On the basis of an all-round analysis of the experience of the socialist construction of the Soviet Union and in the conditions of the all-round pressure that was brought to bear on it by the capitalist encirclement, from which no abstraction can be made, Stalin reached the important Marxist-Leninist theoretical conclusion that unless the capitalist encirclement is liquidated, the proletarian state is absolutely necessary and should be preserved even if communism is achieved in one single country.**

In flagrant opposition to the historical truth and in an effort to oppose Stalin to the other classics of Marxism-Leninism, the modern revisionists accuse him that, unlike the classics of Marxism who speak about the extinction of the state, he allegedly negates it. In this manner, the Yugoslav revisionists present Lenin as an ordinary liberal who allegedly was in favour of the rapid transition to the system of self-administration and democracy without the state, whereas Stalin, whose train of thought allegedly goes in a direction opposite to that of Lenin, they present as the “main protagonist of statism and responsible for the preservation of a low phase of the socialist movement.”***

* J.V. Stalin, Works, vol. 12, p. 295 (Alb. ed.).

** J.V. Stalin, Works, vol. 14, p. 96 (Alb. ed.).

*** Cfr. the Yugoslav text of the “History of

In reality, there is no contradiction between Stalin and the other classics of Marxism-Leninism over this question. Like the other classics of Marxism-Leninism, Stalin, too, does not regard the proletarian state as an aim in itself, and does not demand its perpetuation, but considers it an indispensable means for the construction of socialism, a means which will become superfluous and die out only when the necessary economic, political and ideological premises are created.

At the same time, to Stalin goes the credit of having treated the problem of the dying out of the state as a dialectical process, which goes through various phases, a process which does not continuously grow weaker, but which grows continuously stronger and under which socialist democracy becomes more extensive. The revisionists describe this as a “contradiction of Stalinism” and an “inconsequence,” because they themselves distort and falsify the Marxist-Leninist meaning of the extinction of the state by replacing dialectics with metaphysics.

The Soviet revisionists preach that the liquidation of the dictatorship of the proletariat and its replacement with “the state of the entire people” is allegedly a stage towards the extinction of the state and the transition to the people’s self-administration.* On the other hand, according to the Yugoslav revisionists, the progress of the socialist relations

Marxism,” 1977, vol. 2, p. 89.

* The Construction of the USSR, 1977 edition.

allegedly demands that “the field of action of the state should gradually grow more and more narrow,” in order to cede its place to the so-called “worker’s administration,” “democracy without the state.”* No doubt, the aim of these anti-Marxist views is to attack the dictatorship of the proletariat because in practice the revisionists do not implement a policy of the extinction of their exploiting state, but on the contrary they call “for the continuous strengthening of the political institutions.”**

In firm opposition to such opportunist and anarchist views, which are similar to those preached by Bukharin and company, Stalin stresses that the dying out of the state is not carried out through decrees or by continuously weakening it. He defends the Marxist-Leninist thesis of the strengthening of the socialist state as the only way to create the premises necessary for the extinction of the state. The “extinction” of the state through its strengthening does not contain in itself any contradiction, because with the strengthening of the state Stalin does not understand swelling the state apparatus, but making it more simple and less costly, he means the enlivening of the soviets and social organizations, the broad attraction of the masses into the government, the raising of the best elements of the working

* E. Kardelj, “Notes on Our Social Criticism,” 1977, p. 19.

** Brezhnev, “Report to the 25th Congress of the CPSU,” and Tito, “Speech delivered in Prishtina,” October 1979.

class, of the peasantry and the intelligentsia to the administrative apparatuses, the education and re-education of all people with the spirit of discipline and organization, the creation of sound ties between the working people, and the raising of a barrier to the destructive influence of the petty-bourgeois elements and petty-bourgeois practices, etc.

Within this framework Stalin also treated the question of the struggle for the continuous purge of the state apparatus of bureaucracy, which he regarded as one of the “most serious impediments,” as “one of the most savage enemies” of the dictatorship of the proletariat and the progress of the socialist order. “The question of the state apparatus is a vital issue in all our constructive work...,” he wrote. “Is it progressing towards transition to a communist society in which there will be no state, or is it retrogressing towards the stagnant bureaucracy of the ordinary bourgeois state.”* This he regarded as a question of vital importance for the party and socialism. Therefore he attached special attention to the problems of the defence of the state, the party, the social organizations and cadres from the threat of bureaucracy and liberalism.

By going deeper into the teaching of Marx, Engels and Lenin on this question and relying on the concrete experience of the activity of the Soviet state, Stalin saw the essence of bureaucracy in the isolation of the state power, the party and the cadres from the

* J.V. Stalin, Works, vol. 6, p. 258-259 (Alb. ed.).

masses, in the lack of confidence in the forces of the party, in the tendency of the state apparatus to get out of the control of the party leadership, in the replacement of active and concrete leadership with formal and empty leadership, in the swelling of the apparatuses which brings about increased pressure on the party, and as a consequence, also the weakening of the leadership by the party.

In the question of the struggle against bureaucracy, Stalin wrote a number of important theses which are valid up to this day. It is important not to confuse the proletarian state as a new type of state, he wrote, with the remnants and manifestations of bureaucracy, the struggle against which “will always face us as long as the state power exists, as long as the state exists.”* The Trotskyites intentionally confused these two things and described the proletarian state (because of manifestations of bureaucracy in it) “to be worse than the bourgeois state” and preached that for bureaucracy to be fought against the state had to be liquidated. The Yugoslav revisionists are doing quite the same thing when they declare that any state is a “bureaucratic alienation of the government by the society” and that, in order to avoid this “statist” phenomenon, allegedly it is important that the state should cease to exist as soon as possible. In the course of his struggle against such Trotskyite and anarchic views, Stalin stressed that the struggle against bureaucracy is not aimed at the annihilation

* J.V. Stalin, Works, vol. 10, p. 310 (Alb. ed.).

or the extinction of the state, but at the “preservation and strengthening of the proletarian character of the socialist state.”

In accordance with this is also his definition of the roads that should be followed for the struggle against bureaucracy and the preservation of the “proletarian character of the socialist state.” Development of democracy for the masses, encouragement of the initiative of the masses through powerful emulation, reliance on their experience, development of self-criticism, organization of control over the implementation of tasks, continuous purge of apparatuses, continuous uplift of the cultural level of the working people and peasants, in order to create among the masses the possibility, the desire and the ability to control the state apparatus from below, and other factors, Stalin considered to be important directions of the struggle for uprooting bureaucracy. “It can be accepted as a rule,” he said, “that as long as the Bolsheviks preserve their links with the broad masses of the people, they will be invincible. And, on the contrary, if the Bolsheviks detach themselves from the masses and lose their ties with them, if they are ridden with the rust of bureaucracy, they will lose any power and will become utterly worthless.”*

This prediction has been completely proved by life. As long as Stalin was alive this problem was always on the order of the day, the imperialist aggression was coped

* J.V. Stalin, Works, vol. 14, p. 135-136 (Alb. ed.).

with success, dangerous manifestations of the bourgeois ideology and liberal stands towards them were uncovered and combatted, and the Soviet state retained its proletarian character. But, after the death of Stalin, the Khrushchevite revisionists, in their monstrous campaign of slander against him, describing the period of the dictatorship of the proletariat as a period of the domination of bureaucracy and terror, and the negation of democracy, etc., and came out openly in defence of all the enemies of the dictatorship of the proletariat — the opportunist and bureaucratic elements, the degenerate elements discontented with the socialist order, resorted to all means to encourage bureaucracy and liberalism, the isolation of the state power and the cadres from the masses, capitulated to the pressure of imperialism, opened all doors to the penetration of the bourgeois ideology and strove to liquidate the dictatorship of the proletariat. This proved that the revisionists everywhere, in the process of their struggle to usurp power in the socialist countries, or in the entire process of the complete degeneration of the socialist order and the restoration of capitalism, resort in a big way to the incitement of bureaucracy and liberalism, the detachment of the cadres from the masses and their degeneration.

As long as Stalin was alive, historical experience did not provide ample material to work out in theory the problem of the degeneration of the dictatorship of the proletariat from within, with revisionism as the main weapon of the “peaceful” counter-revolution.

This experience was created later, and special credit for summing it up from the positions of Marxism-Leninism goes to our Party and Comrade Enver Hoxha. Nevertheless, J.V. Stalin, as the great Marxist-Leninist he was, predicted many of the dangers threatening the dictatorship of the proletariat, among which, besides bureaucracy and the danger of liberalism, he foresaw the danger of encirclement by and capitulation to the pressure of imperialism, the liquidatory spirit and nationalism, the leftovers of the past in the conscience of people, spontaneity and the psychology of lethargy, the danger of the loss of vigilance and being caught by surprise, etc., and equipped the party and the masses with clear Marxist-Leninist concepts on the role of the party, the proletarian state and its levers in the period of socialism, on the absolute necessity for a protracted struggle to eradicate bureaucratic and liberal distortions, on the need for waging a stern class struggle inside and outside the country, etc.

However, all these teachings were betrayed and attacked in the most unscrupulous manner by the revisionists, because they constituted a great stumbling-block to the realization of their counter-revolutionary aims. It was clear, Comrade Enver Hoxha says, that the Soviet revisionists could not reject the dictatorship of the proletariat and transform it into a bourgeois-capitalist state without first negating the work of Stalin. And they made all imaginable accusations and slanders. Nevertheless they failed to denigrate and will never

denigrate Stalin's work, which has its worthy continuers in the PLA, the other Marxist-Leninist parties and all the genuine revolutionaries of the world, who appreciate the teachings of Stalin as a legacy of great theoretical and practical value and use them, along with the teachings of Marx, Engels and Lenin, as a guide for action.



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