

"KOMMUNIST" ARTICLE ON ALBANIAN DOGMATISM:

"THE DECISIVE, ANTI-MARXIST ACTIVITY

OF THE ALBANIAN LEADERS

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The world system of socialism and the growing international Communist movement is the greatest social and political force in the modern period determining the direction of the progressive development of all mankind. The source of the might of the commonwealth of socialist countries is their unity, based on the community of their socio-political and political system, on the community of interests and aims, the Marxist-Leninist ideology, the principles of proletarian internationalism.

An enormous role in strengthening the unity of the world socialist system and the entire Communist movement was played by the conferences of representatives of the Communist and Workers Parties in 1957 and 1960, the declaration and statement they unanimously adopted. The statement of November 1960 says: "A resolute defense of the unity of the international Communist movement on the basis of the principles of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism, of the inadmissibility of any actions that might undermine this unity, is an obligatory condition for victory in the struggle for national independence, democracy, and peace, for the successful resolution of the tasks of the socialist revolution, the construction of socialism and Communism. Any infringement of these principles would weaken the forces of Communism.

The 22nd CPSU Congress mapped out an all-out plan for the construction of a Communist society, considering the realization of this historic plan its principal international duty with regard to the international working class. The Congress took place under the sign of the struggle for the triumph of Communism and friendship among people, the struggle for the strengthening of the unity of the socialist camp, the unity of the Communist movement.

The divisive activity of the leaders of the Albanian Workers Party, who have violated the principles of Marxism-Leninism, the principles of proletarian internationalism, and are undermining the unity (Russian: *splochnost*) of the socialist countries and the international Communist movement, evoked a feeling of anxiety among the delegates at the 22nd CPSU Congress and the representatives of the fraternal Parties present at the Congress.

Hoxha, Shehu, and other leaders of the Albanian Workers Party are trying to undermine the unity of the socialist countries, to pour slander on the policy of the chief anti-imperialist force -- the Soviet Union -- and the other socialist states. Hoxha and other leaders of the Albanian Workers Party would do well to consider how the gentlemen imperialists evaluate their position. The US reactionary bourgeois newspaper, the "New York Post", wrote: "It is not important whether the Albanian leaders criticize the USSR from the left, or, as do the Yugoslav leaders, from the right -- this after all is a detail. It is important that they criticize the main force of the socialist camp -- the USSR -- that they are shaking, splitting, and weakening the socialist camp."

The methods the Albanian leaders have recourse to in this divisive activity is seen from the following: the Albanian leaders have been afraid to publish the full text of the CPSU program because it smashes to smithereens the slander heaped on the USSR, the CPSU, and its Leninist Central Committee. "It is clear to us", Nikita Sergeyevich Khrushchev stated at the 22nd Congress, "why the Albanian leaders are hiding the CPSU program from their Party and people. They fear the truth like fire, The program of the Party is our shrine -- it is our guiding star in the construction of Communism had they published it in full, the working people of Albania would have seen that the entire activity of our Party and all its plans correspond to the vital interests of the people, including the interests of the Albanian people friendly to us.

The position in Albania has gone to such lengths that Hoxha and Shehu are persecuting and arresting people simply because they have remained faithful to the friendship with the Soviet Union and the CPSU, faithful to the principles of proletarian internationalism.

The question arises: how and why has that evolution taken place in the leaders of the Albanian Workers Party?

Comrade Nikita Khrushchev, when answering the question of what are the main sources of the political and ideological evolution of the Albanian leaders at the 22nd Congress, and why they are now so furiously coming out against the Leninist line of the 20th CPSU Congress, stated:

The Albanian leaders primarily do not like the resolute condemnation of the cult of Stalin's personality and of its harmful effects -- they do not like it that we have resolutely condemned arbitrariness and the abuse of power, from which many inno-

cent people have suffered, including prominent representatives of the old guard who with Lenin had been helping build the world's first proletarian state. The Albanian leaders cannot speak without irritation and spite about the fact that an end had been put for good in our country to a state of affairs in which a single man can arbitrarily solve vital problems of our Party and our country.

The personality cult brought to our Party and country grave trials and great calamities. It is radically hostile to the spirit of the Marxist-Leninist outlook, socialist ideology, and the socialist system. The 20th CPSU Congress expressed the will of the whole Party and all the people by condemning the cult of Stalin's personality. This was supported by all Marxist Communist and Workers Parties. It was approved at the Third Congress of the Albanian Workers Party as well.

Under the pressure of circumstances, under conditions when the decisions of the 20th CPSU Congress and the criticism of the cult of Stalin's personality were warmly approved and supported by all fraternal Communist and Workers Parties, Hoxha was even forced to venture self-criticism. But, as subsequent developments have shown, that was no more than a maneuver, that this is so, is clear from the following:

After the 20th Congress of the CPSU many Albanian Communists insisted on taking measures to overcome the personality cult in Albania itself. The Albanian leaders, however, specifically Hoxha and Shehu, not only failed to support those demands but fell upon those Communists with a volley of reprisals. Being alien to Marxism-Leninism, their petit bourgeois nature prevailed, and several years after the Third Congress of the Albanian Workers Party they openly came out with a spurious criticism of the 20th CPSU Congress and demonstratively raised Stalin on their shield seeing in him an excuse for the cult of the own persons and a justification for lawlessness and arbitrariness in Albania. Hoxha and Shehu disavowed what had been said at the Third Congress of the Albanian Workers Party, what had been laid down in the resolutions of that Congress. What, indeed, do the decisions of a Congress of their own Party mean to people of that caliber? With the same uncereceremoniousness they also trample underfoot the declaration of 1957 and the statement of the Conference of representatives of Communist and Workers Parties of 1960.

The world Communist movement approves and supports the decisions of the 20th and 22nd CPSU Congresses, their theoretical propositions and political conclusions, the condemnation of the cult of Stalin's personality and its effects, the ideological and

organizational rout of the anti-Party group of Molotov, Kaganovich, Malenkov, and others. The fraternal Parties, in the speeches of their representatives at the 22nd CPSU Congress, have sharply and unconditionally condemned the anti-Leninist position and the divisive activities of the leaders of the Albanian Workers Party.

And since the 22nd CPSU Congress the fraternal Parties have unreservedly condemned in the press, in resolutions of their Central Committees, the trampling underfoot by the Albanian leaders of the principles of internationalism, their apostasy with regard to Marxism, their subversive and hate-inspired propaganda and their adventurism in politics. The condemnations of the divisive and anti-Marxist policy and propaganda of the Albanian leaders by the international Communist movement is unanimous.

The personality cult, which is alien to Marxism-Leninism and to the socialist system, is the principal -- though not the only -- cause and expression of the political and ideological fall of the Albanian leaders. One of the essential causes is their nationalism, their national limitations, their lack of the ability and skill to approach modern problems from the viewpoint of Leninist internationalism, the interests and tasks of the socialist camp and the world Communist movement as a whole. Hoxha and Shehu are interpreting in a most peculiar way the internationalist principle of fraternal cooperation and mutual assistance as the one-sided obligation of other socialist countries to meet all their economic requirements.

The consistent internationalist line consists in joint efforts to develop the national economy of each individual socialist country, efforts aimed at strengthening and widening economic cooperation and mutual assistance. Contrary to their noisy leftist phrases, Hoxha, Shehu, and persons who hold the same views are displaying nationalist narrowmindedness and egotism in voicing their discontent that the USSR and other socialist countries are aiding the underdeveloped states of Asia and Africa. They see therein no benefit, only harm to the cause of social progress. The narrowminded nationalism of the Albanian leaders prevents them from realizing that aid to those countries has an enormous historic significance for their independent development, and that it widens the anti-imperialist front. The Albanian leaders fail to understand the role of the neutral countries in the struggle for peace. To implant these nationalist feelings, which are alien to socialism in the Albanian people and to set them against the USSR, Hoxha is resorting to a monstrous slander -- namely, that

the USSR allegedly demanded that Albania unilaterally disarm. Hoxha, well knowing that his statement is a malicious and provocative invention time and again sets afoot impudent lies to the effect that the Soviet Government allegedly supports the territorial claims of Greek reactionary circles to south Albania -- a lie which was refuted long ago.

The bourgeois nationalism of the Albanian leaders finds expression also in their exaggerated extolling of their role in the fate of the socialist camp, in the struggle against imperialism, in the development of Marxist theory and the criticism of revisionism. Nationalist boasting and claims to exclusiveness have never been characteristics of Marxists-Leninists, only of the representatives of bourgeois nationalism. The Albanian leaders should have had the good sense to see that the path they had chosen -- one of bourgeois and petit bourgeois nationalism, national egotism -- turns its spearhead in the first place against the vital interests of the Albanian people.

But everything testifies to the fact that Hoxha, Shehu, and others are setting their narrow group interests above those of their people, above the interests of the socialist commonwealth, whose unity is being prejudiced by their nationalist policy. The leaders of the Albanian Workers Party are bogged down in the past and are trying to present their dogmatism, covered up by noisy leftist phrases, as revolutionary, they are coming out against the further creative development of Marxism.

Against which new propositions of creative Marxism-Leninism, then, do the "Marxists" Hoxha and Shehu struggle? It appears that they oppose the very important propositions of the 20th and 22nd CPSU Congresses, the declaration of 1957 and the statement of 1960, primarily the appraisal of the modern era given in these documents and in the CPSU program as an era whose basic content comprises a transition from capitalism to socialism, and the appraisal of the balance of forces in the world arena. Hoxha and his companions, in this question, cling to definitions and conclusions which correspond to the period before 1917, but life has gone forward. There now exists the mighty world socialist system. Its decisive influence on the course of world events is incontroverted, the trends of historic development are now no longer determined by imperialism but by socialism.

Hoxha tries to distort, to falsify the position of the 20th CPSU Congress, the declaration and statement of Communist Parties, on the question of the possibility of averting wars. He ascribes to the CPSU the most absurd and ridiculous view -- that in the decisions of the 20th Congress all hopes

in the struggle for peace are placed not on the strength of the socialist camp and the peoples of the whole world, but on the good intentions of the imperialists.

Comrade Nikita Khrushchev's report at the 22nd CPSU Congress says: it should be realized that it depends above all on the peoples themselves, on their resolution, vigorous actions, whether there will be peace on earth or whether mankind will be plunged into the catastrophe of a new world war. It is necessary to enhance the vigilance of the peoples against the intrigues of the imperialist warmongers. Active anti-war demonstrations of the peoples cannot be put off until the start of war, it is necessary to develop the struggle at once.

Hoxha and his myrmidons pay lipservice to the peaceful coexistence of states with different social systems, but even here contrive to slander the CPSU, to distort the foreign policy of the Soviet state and our Party, the policy of the socialist countries, and also to distort the documents of international forums of fraternal Parties on this most important question. For Hoxha and his confederates the Leninist principle of coexistence of states with different social systems is not a general line of foreign policy but merely a phrase, words which do not bind one, a clever tactical maneuver, this is what Hoxha said in his speech of 7 September 1961; we do not object to the principle of peaceful coexistence, but we do not agree with those who consider peaceful coexistence the general line of foreign policy of socialist countries.

Yes, the policy of peaceful coexistence is not for the CPSU and for the Communist Parties of other socialist countries, a tactical maneuver, as the ideologists and political leaders of the imperialism strive to portray it, but a general line of the foreign policy of the USSR and other socialist countries, profoundly elaborated by Lenin, creatively developed by our Party and Comrade Nikita Khrushchev.

This policy corresponds to the vital interests of all peoples, including the Albanian people, the vital interests of all mankind. This policy emanates from the very nature of the socialist system, from the letter and spirit of Marxism-Leninism.

Another falsification by Hoxha must be pointed out. It concerns the forms of transition to socialism in different countries, including the possibility of a peaceful transition -- a socialist revolution without a civil war -- by means of bringing into conformity both parliamentary and non-parliamentary forms of the class struggle of the proletariat. Distorting the decisions

of the 20th CPSU Congress, which indicate both peaceful and non-peaceful forms, Hoxha mendaciously alleges that the CPSU stands only for the peaceful form. Our Party, in the decisions of the 20th Congress, and in the reports by Comrade Khrushchev openly pointed out, as Lenin did, that the proletariat must create prevailing conditions. Such is the viewpoint of the CPSU. What can revisionists and hardened dogmatists offer instead of this revolutionary Leninist line? Nothing, except confusion and abuse.

Why and for whose benefit has Hoxha distorted the position taken by the 20th and 22nd CPSU Congresses on this issue? Only for the purpose of blackening the CPSU and the fraternal Parties, concealing his unseemly divisive activity and justifying his adventurism and departure from Leninism.

By retreating from the revolutionary teaching of Marx, Engels, and Lenin, the leaders of the Albanian Workers Party are trying to pose as fighters against revisionism. It must be said that the left-wing phrases with which Hoxha and Shehu are showing off can deceive no one. Our Party was the first to come out with a well-substantiated and extensive criticism of the program of the Yugoslav League of Communists. The new CPSU program, described by the fraternal Parties as the Communist manifesto of our era, is a powerful blow against revisionism and also dogmatism.

From the positions of dogmatism and sectarianism taken by the Albanian leaders, it is impossible to fight revisionism truly and consistently. It can be ideologically shattered and defeated only from the positions of creative Marxism-Leninism. This the CPSU in close unity with the other fraternal Parties, has done and is doing brilliantly in a Leninist manner, while the noisy abuse heaped on revisionists by Albanian leaders more often than not discredits the true and effective struggle against revisionism.

The example of the Albanian leaders confirms the principles set out in the declaration of the Conference of representatives of Communist and Workers Parties in 1960 that a struggle must be waged against revisionism as the principal danger and in addition also against dogmatism, which can become the principal danger in some Parties.

For the Albanian Workers Party the dogmatism of its leaders has now truly become its main danger. Hence it becomes clear that a relentless and principled fight must in the future

too be waged on two fronts -- against revisionism and against dogmatism and sectarianism, for the Marxist-Leninist line, for proletarian internationalism, for the unity of the socialist camp and the world Communist movement on the principled Marxist-Leninist basis.

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