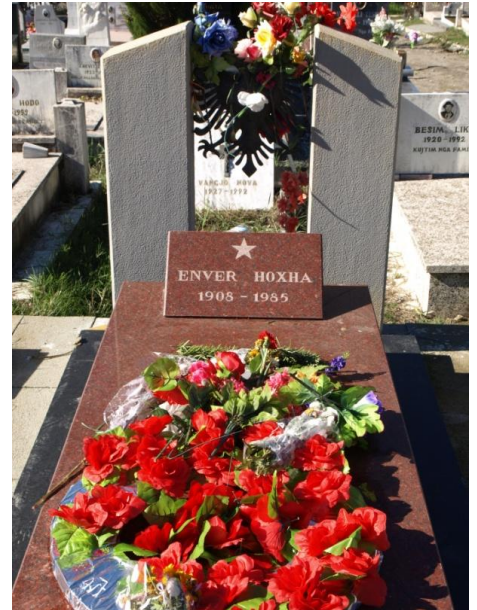


## After Enver

On April 9, 1985, Enver Hoxha suffered a cardiac arrest; the doctors were able to revive his heart, but he was deprived of consciousness. Enver Hoxha died 11th April 1985 in Tirana, Albania.

In the 1980s Enver Hoxha's state of health had worsened, he suffered from diabetes and in 1983 he was stricken with a cerebral ischemia, and again in 1984. He withdrew into semiretirement, turning over most state functions to Ramiz Alia, who succeeded him upon his death.

This succession had been achieved partly by eliminating Mehmet Shehu, Hoxha's righthand man since 1948, who was prime minister and minister of the interior. In 1981 it was announced that Mehmet Shehu had suffered a nervous breakdown and committed suicide. The official (highly improbably) story was that he had been spying for the Americans, the British and the Vatican. His wife was sentenced to 20 years in a labour camp (where she died in 1988) and the state security was purged of his supporters.



After his death on 11th April 1985 Enver Hoxha was buried next to the Mother Albania statue in the Martyr's Cemetery overlooking Tirana. However, the counter-revolution that took place in 1990 allowed his political enemies to take their revenge and Enver's remains were moved to the public cemetery in Kombinat in April 1992.

### ***Unified Communist Party of Albania, Political Developments in Albania since the Death of Enver Hoxha 'ISML', No. 7, 2000, pp. 5-11.***

The death of Enver Hoxha in April 1985 marked the beginning of a process of liberal-bureaucratisation of the Party and the state, which eventually led to the overthrow of people's power (the dictatorship of the proletariat). The first step was the promotion of endless discussion, eulogies and boasting. On 16 September 1982, at a meeting to commemorate the Conference of Peza (the 60th anniversary of the organisation of the people without distinction of religion, district or outlook, to fight the Italian fascist occupiers), Comrade Enver Hoxha effectively handed over to his 'comrade-in-arms' Ramiz Alia. From this moment Ramiz Alia began a tour of all the regions of the country to familiarise himself with the concerns and demands of the people, to assess the links of the Party with the people and to evaluate the cadres.

The most obvious phenomenon was the great interest of the workers and peasants in Enver Hoxha. The lesson was clear, and Alia toured Albania singing the praises of Enver, seeking to demonstrate that he was a loyal disciple of Enver, and so a worthy replacement. The years ahead would show that in this way Alia was seeking to gain the people's confidence as a faithful son of the Party, who would lead the Party along Enver's road.

The interminable meetings on the cooperative farms, in the enterprises, and in the state institutions, together with the mass actions organised during the working week, could not but have an adverse

effect on production. The resulting chaos and significant fall in production gradually created an unfavourable climate for any progress.

Devoted communists, veterans used to sacrifices, vanguard workers and peasants and revolutionary intellectuals concerned with the destiny of socialism, these opposed the notorious programme of 'Self-financing' (in fact, Self-administration) which was presented as a programme 'to break out of the shell' and give the economy 'a great leap forward.' But their voices of protest were not heard. Instead of taking the measures necessary to continue the revolutionisation of the Party and the state, Alia released another trial balloon in the shape of 'the campaign against mediocrity', by means of which he aimed to unite discontented careerists around himself.

In 1989 Alia proclaimed an amnesty for saboteurs, diversionists and agents of foreign intelligence services, despite their conviction by the courts. This encouraged the counter-revolutionary forces to initiate other campaigns, even though they did not yet feel able to come out openly with demands to take power from the workers and peasants. At their head were careerists, charlatans, hypocrites, the most privileged social strata (who aimed to increase their privileges under the new system they were preparing), bureaucrats and liberals who had been dismissed from their posts for defects of character, and people who had been expelled from the Party.

Through 'political and economic reforms' Alia caused work to be disrupted, worsening from day to day the provision to the people of basic products such as milk, eggs, meat, butter, cheese, vegetables, and even bread. Housing, transport, social services and even sanitation underwent a significant decline as a result of the degeneration of labour discipline. Instead of utilising the revolutionary experience of the broad strata of the population, the renegade Alia blamed the 'prolonged drought', and under the slogan of 'democratisation' brought the Party and the People's Power to the verge of total destruction.

The leaders of the Party were tied up with endless and useless meetings, in this way losing their links with the masses, not to mention their confidence. For its part, the press became a hotbed of misinformation and opportunism, which glorified European, Japanese, American, Nordic, etc., 'socialism'.

All this greatly revolted honest communists, workers and peasants, who expressed their opposition to this openly revisionist path. With them stood even part of the intelligence service, but in vain. The descent into passivity of broad strata of the population, who became more and more discontented, gave the counter-revolutionary forces the opportunity to come out on the streets of the towns where injustice and negligence were greatest.

The embassies' affair was the most serious event, since it followed a detailed Western plan directed against Socialist Albania and against Albanians throughout the world. On 2 July international attention was drawn to the Meeting of Kacanik, which (because of the national oppression exercised by the chauvinist Serbian regime) formed an event of major importance for Kosovars on the road of separation from the Federation. More than 5,000 people were encouraged to leave the country, stimulating new exoduses. Kadare demanded political exile in France, after damning the embassy emigrants with banal words. The Tirana meeting gave the correct signal to the counter-revolutionary forces, and it was precisely because these failed to take advantage of this that the Party began to revolutionise itself. But it was too late; degeneration had gone too far. Alia's actions bear witness to what he later admitted in his memoirs — that his actions were consciously aimed at the liquidation of socialism and the restoration of a capitalist system.

The real balance of forces was demonstrated in February 1991, when the statue of Enver Hoxha in the central square of Tirana was pulled down. The anger of the people at this act of scandalous vandalism was expressed in mass demonstrations throughout Albania, at which Alia was openly denounced as a traitor. The demonstrators chanted in unison: 'The president is a traitor!' 'The president to the gallows!' 'Long live Enver Hoxha!' In fact, more than two-thirds of the people wished to continue to

march along the road of socialism – a figure confirmed in the elections of 31 March of the same year. The counter-revolution was compelled to retreat temporarily, but at its 10th Congress Alia gave the signal to destroy the Party of Labour of Albania completely.

This moment marked a mobilisation of the counter-revolutionary forces to take power. On the other hand, the revolutionary members and supporters of the PLA, denounced Alia as a renegade from Marxism-Leninism.

On 23 November 1991 (14 days after the approval of the Ministry of Justice) Milloshi violated the principles of the Party by declaring himself its leader. The representative of the Gjirokastra district immediately denounced this action as 'A dangerous putsch against the Party' and demanded the formation of a Commission of Initiative (now called, after its formation, the Organising Commission) to decide the matter. The compromise motion 'a unified party' was the pretext for this adventurer to sabotage systematically the publication of the Party's press, its participation in the (proportional representation) elections of March 1992 and all the affairs of the Party.

On 2 May he went to Korea to sign an opportunist declaration that he accepted the existence of world socialism (meaning Korea, China, Cuba, etc.), in return for which he received some cars, funds and foodstuffs as the price of intervening in the affairs of the communists. This was denounced at the first meeting of the Central Organising Committee of the Communist Party of Albania after his arrival in Korea, together with statements such as 'Kim Il Sung is a notable Marxist-Leninist', and 'Korea is constructing genuine socialism'. The delegates from Gjirokastra voted with the majority. For his deviationist and sabotaging activity, Milloshi was summoned to Gjirokastra to clarify his position. From this moment he broke off all relations with the communists of this district, and took the same attitude towards the majority COC of the CPA.

On 16 July 1992, on the advice of William Ryerson, the US Ambassador in Tirana, several decisions of a fascist character were taken by Parliament, such as:

- the banning of the CPA;
- the dismissal of all communists from their jobs;
- the disarming of all ex-servicemen;
- the cancellation of Liberation Day as a national holiday,
- the disinterment of the Heroes of the People – Enver Hoxha, Hysni Kapo and Myslim Peza from the Cemetery of the Martyrs of the Nation;
- the arrest of the widow of Enver Hoxha, Nexhmije Hoxha, and later of her son Ilir Hoxha;
- the arrest of the leader of the Socialist Party, Fatos Nano, on charges of having embezzled food aid (a charge unproved to the present day);
- the adoption of a policy of subservience to imperialism along the path initiated by Alia; etc.

The trials of political opponents on repugnant fabricated charges took place at all levels. All progressive intellectuals, particularly journalists, came under fire. Many communists were imprisoned and tortured under conditions as bad as those under the Italian and Hitlerite occupations. Many of them died in solitary confinement. The white terror imposed by Berisha's police was every bit as vicious as that of the Serbian police in Kosova.

The destruction of the national economy was one of the gravest national crimes, making the country entirely dependent upon the Western imperialist powers. This increased unemployment to scandalous levels, while more than 5,000 Albanians were compelled to wander the roads of the world to seek

their bread. Even more tragic was the fate of the youth, especially that of the 30,000 girls deported by the Mafia to work as prostitutes in Western Europe.

By the dirtiest means Berisha created a class of rich bourgeois just as Alia and Nano had created a class of petty and middle bourgeoisie through the privatisation of small shops and workshops at nominal prices.

Under the programme of the Democratic Party the justice system has suffered grave blows. Over the course of three to six months, new Democratic Party magistrates were 'trained', but proved incapable of resolving even the simplest of cases. Corruption, contraband and all other kinds of illegal trafficking quickly flowered and aroused the envy even of Western businessmen. Berisha's appeal to 'sow the most profitable plants' encouraged people to sow *Cannabis sativa* an extremely profitable narcotic. Life became extremely difficult for those who had worked and struggled wholeheartedly for the freedom and construction of Albania for more than fifty years. The ridiculous pensions were insufficient even for bread and coffee, and the absurd salaries of doctors and teachers created massive discontent. The secret police became an instrument of terrorism by which Berisha sought to intimidate his opponents by assassinations and the kidnapping of children.

Particularly damnable acts of Berisha were the neglect of the national language, the widening of the gap between North and South, the humiliation of heroes and martyrs, the weakening of the army and the state, the creation of pyramidal companies, the destruction of cultural, educational and scientific institutions, and the corruption of the youth.

Out of all this developed the risings of 1997, which struck a severe blow at the fascist dictatorship. The new bourgeoisie, in collaboration with the Western powers sought to manipulate these without entirely achieving their objectives. The communists, in spite of their undeniable role in the raising of the anti-fascist consciousness of the people, were unable to play the leading role in this movement of the people since they were divided and confused. Thus the risings quickly degenerated into anarchy with unfortunate consequences for the destiny of the country. Berisha aimed to provoke a dangerous civil war, but was unable to do so since 'the army was as soft as a water melon' (words attributed to Zhulali, Minister of Defence at this time). In fact, the army consisted of men with green uniforms and a red heart, since it was impossible to replace at once all the soldiers trained in love of the people and the motherland.

The elections of June 1997 struck a great blow at the Democratic Party, in spite of the help given to Berisha by his new ally Milloshi. Berisha tried by every means in his power up to the coup of 14 September 1998 to destabilise Albania. Milloshi's declaration of March 1998 calling for 'agreement between the Serbs and the Kosovars' at the same time as the Drenica district was being reduced to ashes by genocide, demonstrates that Milloshi had embarked on the road of revisionism, a road which aims at the extinction of wars of liberation and the submission of the peoples to imperialist powers.

The events of 1997 showed that on 26 May 1997 Berisha had stolen the votes of the people in collaboration with bandits and criminals. His European supporters aimed at the complete subjection of Albania to a neo-Nazi policy (such was the policy of the Democratic Party headed by Berisha). This behaviour of Europe and the United States – sometimes in confrontation and at other times in agreement – showed that they had a great interest in Albania and were struggling hard to decide which of them should dominate. The Western governments during the darkest years of Berisha's fascist terror never ceased from glorifying this type of government, a policy which reached its climax at the beginning of 1997 (the first moments of revolt) when they said 'we support Albania, which must continue its reforms'.

The coming to office of the Socialist Party changed the situation materially — above all in the defascisation of internal life. The law banning the Communist Party from political life was annulled, some concessions were made as regards the press and journalists, and the activities of the secret

police were curtailed. However, the Nano government left the Berisha regime untouched at the highest level and with it the possibility of a rapid fall of the government — not as yet realised owing to the fact that the Berisha-Rugova-Bukoshi coup d'etat did not have the support of the people.

Over more than two years young criminals have formed dangerous gangs who have terrified the towns and travelers, and created great insecurity. The economy destroyed by the anti-national police of Berisha has not been able to recover, but has continued to decline, while the hatred of the people for the new class of bourgeois politicians has grown. Each day it cannot but recall the glorious period of socialism, and particularly the enormous transformations in agriculture, industry, education and science under Enver Hoxha. This cannot now be denied by anyone with the slightest sense of realism. According to a poll on the ten most celebrated figures of the nation carried out by the independent journal 'Our Time', Hoxha was second only to Ismail Qemali (who proclaimed independence in 1912).

Education, health, the environment, have suffered enormous losses during the last decade. Illiteracy, infectious diseases, mass burning of fruit trees and vines, are appalling phenomena. AIDS, malaria, cholera, tuberculosis, poliomyelitis, epidemics caused by polluted water, car accidents, random shootings — all these form a new page in Albanian statistics. Hundreds of people cannot obtain the minimum nourishment necessary for life, without mentioning those who have died in poverty abroad. In this polluted atmosphere, in an environment without trees or flowers, crime, poverty and prostitution flourish alongside a ruling class with astronomical incomes, a class which includes deputies, diplomats, ministers and chiefs of police. Simple people, revolted by this reality, ask: 'When will we and you take back the power we have lost?'

But the communist movement remains below the level needed for this, and the Fifth Column has played its part in this. Greedy careerist elements often obstruct the purging of spurious communists from our ranks. Nevertheless, time is on our side. Capitalism is destined for destruction, taking with it its revisionist servitors. This will be realised when our party becomes truly Marxist-Leninist, when its members become leaders of the masses in word and deed, when they are ready to give even their life for their class, the proletariat.

We aim to construct such a party and we shall certainly succeed since we are able to build on the experience of Marx, Engels, Lenin, Stalin and Enver.

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Following the fall of the Communist government in Albania in 1991 there were those who re-evaluated the historical experience coming to varying and contradictory conclusions.

The Danish Marxist-Leninist leader Klaus Riis used a letter to *Revolutionary Democracy* to argue a defensive loyalist line that comrades were:

“mistaken, when you state, that the struggle against Soviet revisionism on the part of Comrade Enver and the Party of Labour did not start until 1960. It is true that it did not reach its full scope before that time, that it was indirect, and often hidden by criticism of titoism and the revisionist rapprochement with titoite Yugoslavia. The PLA later stated that in this period not everything was clear to them, and that they had hopes that the Soviet leadership would mend its ways. I think, though, that Comrade Enver's report On the International Situation and the Tasks of the Party, published in the *Zeri i Popullit* of February 17th 1957, must be considered a major document in the struggle against the revisionist line of the 20th Congress. In retrospect I do not think that the stand of the PLA at the Moscow

meeting, including signing the joint document of 81 parties, that indeed praise the 20th Congress, is to be reproached in any way. Later on, maoism was unmasked. From Comrade Enver's Political Diary, his *Reflections on China*, you can see the protracted process of solving the Chinese enigma, as he called it."<sup>1</sup>

Long-time allies in New Zealand came to a surprising conclusion: "Enver Hoxha had been an incomplete Marxist" was the assertion the Communist Party of New Zealand (CPNZ) put forward. At first in the Sino-Albanian dispute the CPNZ declared itself for the socialist Albania under the leadership of the PLA with Enver Hoxha and after the collapse of Albania the CPNZ rejected that judgement. They published their views in the 400-page book "*Albania's Slide into Capitalism*" published in April 1991. The CPNZ Central Committee considers that Alia & Co have adopted an openly anti-communist position in every field, including the theoretical principles of communism, the nature of the Albanian state, the role of the working class, the role of the communist party, the defence of Stalin, the political economy of socialism and the foreign relations of a socialist state.

"Until fairly recent times, comradely relations existed for many decades between the PLA and the CPNZ. The revisionist course of Alia & Co, however, has unilaterally destroyed these comradely relations. The CPNZ has been a strong defender of the principles of communism ever since its formation in 1921 and therefore cannot co-exist peacefully with the revisionists engineering a capitalist counter-revolution in Albania."<sup>2</sup>

Equally surprising was the distancing of long-time allies in the Communist Party of Brazil as veteran Communist leader, Joao Amazonas, came to the conclusion that adherence to the Albania position was no longer tenable. His party had identified early and strongly with the Albanian criticism of "Three World Theory" but following the end of socialism in Albania argued that

"The Communist Party of Brazil (Pcdob) has decided to seek, without prejudice, contacts with all forces that fight contemporary revisionism, trying to open the road for the unity of the world's proletarian movement....[we], today, tries to better understand what happened in China, what is the real situation in this country. We do this aiming for friendship."<sup>3</sup>

These reversals did not deter efforts to retain and develop the international contact between Hoxahist organisations. In the absence of state sponsorship or co-ordination, there emerged from the early 1980s, a number of initiatives at establishing an international framework of contact and co-ordination involving rival groupings who identified themselves with the positions of the former ruling Albanian party. Absent from this re-groupment was the constellation of organisations around the internationalist trend led by Hardial Bains' CPC (ML) which seemed to regard itself as a self-sufficient "internationale" and maintained its own sectarian existence aloof from those it once shared Tirana's hospitality.

- International Conference of Marxist–Leninist Parties and Organizations

After some initial contacts like the Meetings of "Europe" November 1993, the larger grouping of what emerged as the International Conference of Marxist–Leninist Parties and Organizations (ICMLPO) was

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<sup>1</sup> Revolutionary Democracy Vol. V, No. 1, April 1999

<sup>2</sup> 14.2.91 Letter from CPNZ Central Committee to the Editorial Board of Zeri i Popullit, organ of the PLA Central Committee. See <http://www.marxists.org/history/erol/new-zealand/cpnz-albania/index.htm>

<sup>3</sup> Amazonas 1992:4

maintained through a shared publication *Unity and Struggle* and co-ordinating organisation around an international conference.

The first conference/meeting in Quito, Ecuador in 1994, established an ideological and political basis and formed minimum organisational means through a coordination committee, a journal, *Unity and Struggle*). This gathering unequivocally upholds the PLA as having been a socialist party and the PRSA as a socialist state. As such it has on the face of it a leading role in the formation of a Marxism-Leninist international. That this is the goal of the groups is made quite explicit:

We invite other Marxism-Leninist parties and organisations which for various reasons are absent from this meeting, to take part in this world and to join with us soon for a general conference of the Marxism-Leninist international communist movement.<sup>4</sup>

The Quito meeting of August 1994 proclaimed the "**Communist Call to the Workers and Peoples**", which was published in a journal "**Unity and Struggle- Organ of the International Conference of Marxism-Leninist parties and Organisations**", July 1995.



<http://www.cipoml.info/index.php/en/>

In the **Quito Declaration** it is stated that:

“Revolution requires unity of action from the working class and the peoples. We communists must create this unity. Conception and practice are interlinked. Alliances are necessary. In establishing such alliances we need above all to rely on our own strength, come together with others and practice unity with revolutionary objectives. We ... can form alliances which do not lead us to concessions in principles. Such alliances and actions should however, never lead us to forget that the class struggle must be carried through with force to the end.”<sup>5</sup>

The pro-Hoxha grouping was known as the International Conference of Marxist–Leninist Parties and Organizations (Unity & Struggle)/ ICMLPO to distinguish it from the organization of the same name which espouses Maoism, the International Conference of Marxist-Leninist Parties and Organizations (International Newsletter). In Spanish it was CIPOML. The ICMLPO has a general meeting once per year. Additionally, there are regional meetings in Europe and Latin America every year.

Conferences followed in Paris, in 1995 that saw a tendency defeated that wanted the conference only to be a discussion club without the capacity of taking decisions. These parties which were in a small minority but left when not getting their way in this matter.

Venues altered between Europe and South America 1996, held in the Dominican Republic 1996, Germany 1997. The 1998 conference which was held in Venezuela more particularly dealt with the question of imperialist globalisation. In 2000 the conference focused on two concrete experiences: the Revolutionary Communist Party of Volta and that of the Marxist-Leninist Communist Party of Ecuador. These parties gave expositions of the direction of their work in the revolutionary process in their

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<sup>4</sup> Reprinted Communist League International Supplement March 1994; p.2.

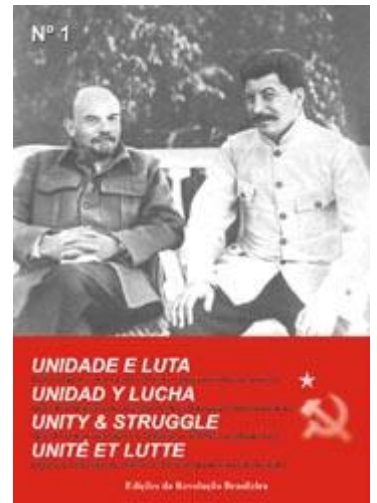
<sup>5</sup> "Communist Call"; in "Unity & Struggle"; July 1995

respective countries. It also discussed a joint text of the Communist Organisation 'October' of Spain and the Communist Workers' Party of France on the war in Yugoslavia.

The conference of 2001, in Mexico, was marked by the death of Comrade Sergio, secretary of the fraternal party of Mexico, at the close of this conference.

In 2002, the conference held in Denmark, saw several parties there in their polemics strongly opposed the Venezuelan *Partido Bandera Roja* "for its position regarding the current process in its country."

"This polemic took on a greater breadth at the conference of 2003 which was held in the Dominican Republic. To the disagreements founded on the evaluation of the characterisation of the regime of H. Chavez were added the older disagreements, now exacerbated, of Partido Bandera Roja with the very nature of the conference." They were expelled in 2005 from the international network.<sup>6</sup> There are regularly regional meeting of the Marxist-Leninist parties and organizations in South America and in Europe such as that held in Paris 2015 attended by eight organisations, evidence that the international association stabilised. The International Conference of Marxist-Leninist Parties and Organizations celebrated over 20 years passing political resolutions and over 31 issue of its multi-language edition journal *Unity & Struggle* that carries reports and analysis from its 22 constituent parties.<sup>7</sup>



No mistaking its political allegiance

- "INTERNATIONAL STRUGGLE- Marxist-Leninist"

It should be apparent why it is that the ISML was formed - it was formed, in part, because some pro-Hoxhaite parties were absent, others would claim excluded from the Quito grouping. It acted as an alternative pole of attraction in what was a divided and disintegrated tendency, without the centre organisations were set adrift to form their own bi-lateral associations.

"INTERNATIONAL STRUGGLE- Marxist-Leninist" was formed at a Conference held in Ischia in December 1995 honouring the Centenary of the death of Fredrick Engels, convened by "L'UGUAGLIANZA" ["Equality"] of Italy. At this meeting, representatives of parties and groups from eleven countries committed to assist in the eventual formation of a new Marxist-Leninist International. Subsequently suggested a path towards a new communist, Marxist Leninist international in ALLIANCE 19; APRIL 1996<sup>8</sup>

Indeed ISML argues that "Unity & Struggle" nurtured "splitter groups", which struggle against Marxist-Leninist organisations - ISML members- in their own country. Some brother parties (members of the "Unity & Struggle" group), who cultivated for decades good relations with the KPD/ML, broke their connections after the party split in 1985. They maintained contact with the group KPD-Stuttgart (Roter

<sup>6</sup> Communist Workers' Party of France 'La Forge', No. 448, Paris, January 2005.

<sup>7</sup> See : <http://www.revolutionarydemocracy.org/icmlpo/index.htm>

<sup>8</sup> <http://www.alliancempl.com/>



Morgen) - called the "Möller-KPD" - (which itself, split in 2002 and formed "Polifka-KPD"). This example is not an individual case: "the neo-revisionist Turkish splitter-organisation TDKP", which still struggles against the Marxist-Leninists in Turkey with the support of the "Unity & Struggle" group.

"Many recent meetings of Marxist-Leninists have recognised the need for a New International. Yet, despite the urgent need and desire of an International, the truth is that the communist movement is divided into many contradictory camps, which are incapable of discussing and debating. Sectarianism not only divides the movement but acts as a brake for the theoretical development of the movement. The main enemy we must fight and defeat, that Marx and Engels had to fight against, is still revisionism. Revisionism is born and spread from capitalism, and the bourgeois culture of egoism and individualism. Unfortunately revisionism has survived inside the communist movement, and this has caused the defeat of the first experience of Socialism."<sup>9</sup>

So the goal of ISML to be an alternative pole of attraction for pro-Hoxha groups was made quite unequivocally clear:

"The Editorial Board of "INTERNATIONAL STRUGGLE - Marxist-Leninist", holds that without ... a firm theoretical and historical clarity, it will be impossible to form a principled "United" International. At a critical stage in the development of the Russian Communist movement, Comrade Lenin called for "LINES OF DEMARCATION":

"We declare that before we can unite and in order that we may unite we MUST first of all draw firm and definite lines of demarcation as Iskra demands".<sup>10</sup>

"These "Lines of Demarcation" are required now, more than ever before. These lines can only be drawn by a scientific and clear debate aimed at answering the questions above.

The answers to these central questions will undoubtedly assist us in taking up the challenges of all the theoretical questions thrown up by the world today. These theoretical questions include the development of global finance capital, which has taken advantage of the weakness of the world proletariat in the wake of the victory of the world revisionist movement."

Furthermore ISML states that the following is essential:

"Defence and consistent upright acknowledgement of Marx, Engels, Lenin, and Stalin's thoughts and works, and of the consistent contribution to the theory and strategy of Marxism-Leninism by other Marxist-Leninist leaders."

But there were disputed issues between the erstwhile comrades in "International Struggle Marxist-Leninist" (ISML). Besides the contradictions inside ISML Editorial Board on the attitude towards the Yugoslav war, many Italian members of the Circolo Lenin/ Lenin Committee / LC(M-L) did not agree with views – "which we consider historically groundless, wrong and absurd" - publicly expressed on some matters by political groups who were inside ISML Editorial Board: Dimitrov as an agent of nazism after the conclusion of his Leipzig trial; Stalin a minority in the Bolshevik Party leadership since the thirties; the Communist International in the hands, since those years, of a majority of revisionists." These views were associated with two organisations that harboured grave misgivings about the

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<sup>9</sup> Founding Principles of ISML state at the web-site of ISML

<sup>10</sup> Lenin, Works Vol 5; Moscow 1977; p.367

Comintern from 1928 onwards<sup>11</sup> - the UK-based Communist League led by William Bland and North American "Alliance" organisation. They argued that the source of modern revision lay within the Dimitrov-led Comintern in Stalin's time, an ideological heresy within the pro-Albanian, staunchly uncritical Stalinist orthodoxy espoused by the late Enver Hoxha.

It is true that these views were never put in the pages of ISML, but the majority of comrades inside the Lenin Committee considered it not possible to go on co-operating with political groups of other countries who have publicly supported them. By January 2001, the ISML executive was simply informed that the Lenin Committee was dissolving.

The issue, as Vijay Singh<sup>12</sup> pointed out had contemporary relevance and he criticised the heretical views of Alliance and Communist League. Vijay Singh, was the editor of "Revolutionary Democracy", a half-yearly theoretical and political journal published in April and September from India. This first appeared in April 1995, acting a sounding board for the pro-Stalin movement although it provided coverage of the mainstream Hoxhist gathering International Conference of Marxist–Leninist Parties and Organizations rather than its critics.

*"At the root of the errors of Bland was the failure to understand that the rise of fascism necessitated new tactics. Following from this was the construction of a fictional theory that revisionists had gained control of the CPSU (b) and the Comintern from the 1920s. Needless to say Blandist doctrine was not based on facts but flimsy distortions and downright gossip. Their author demanded of the communist movement that it refute his assertion that Dimitrov was a Nazi agent.*

*While the absurdities of Blandism have never had any significant influence on the communist movement they have had a certain role in acting as an obstacle to the Marxist comprehension of the history of the international communist movement on the question of the United and Popular Front, New Democracy and People's Democracy. It is for this reason that the polemic below has a certain relevance today."*

Bill Bland had remain steadfast in his support for Enver Hoxha, supporting Albania whilst condemning the Chinese leadership from 1968 onwards, and regardless of the known written views of Stalin who supported the promotion of the Popular Front adopted at the Communist International at its 7th Congress, Singh charged him with regarding the new tactics of United Front and Popular Front of Stalin in the period when a defensive United Front was required against the rising forces of Fascism with the line of 'peaceful transition' which was advocated by revisionism after the Second World War. However regardless of the lack of evidence, they suggest the 'theory' that Stalin was in a minority in the period 1929-53 i.e. almost the entire Stalin period. The archival sources in Moscow and Sofia do not refer to Stalin being in a minority but on the contrary indicate that Stalin supported Dimitrov at every step in the preparations for the 7th Congress and the establishment of the new line.

- Comintern (Stalinists-Hoxhaists)

On the fringes of the movement, from origins in the once significant KPD/ML, there was further evidence of the fractured nature within the pro-Albanian tendency. Wolfgang Eggers of the Communist Party Germany (ML) (originally a member of ISML) spurn ISML on the grounds that ISML

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<sup>11</sup> <http://www.marxistsfr.org/history/erol/uk.firstwave/mlob-mr.pdf>

<sup>12</sup> Revolutionary Democracy Vol. XIII, No. 2, September 2007

had the temerity to re-approach the KPD (Roter Morgen) - affiliated to Quito. Instead, fabricating a different international gathering, there was the cyber existence of the Communist International Marxists-Leninists, a German-based internet network organised by KPD/ML member Wolfgang Eggers.

When the pro-Albanian Kommunistische Partei Deutschlands/ KPD ML split in 1986, two organisations emerged: the first, Kommunistische Partei Deutschlands /Roter Morgen [Red Morning] affiliated to ICMLPO; the other, Kommunistische Partei Deutschlands/Marxisten-Leninisten [Red Star] went onto merged into a single organization with members of the Organization for the Construction of the Communist Workers Party of Germany (Arbeit Zukunft) in 2012.<sup>13</sup>

Wolfgang Eggers led a breakaway from KPD/[Red Star] in 1995 and formed the Kommunistische Partei Deutschlands/Marxisten-Leninisten [Roter Morgen]. This organisation maintained homage to the Stalinist traditions of Ernst Aust and Enver Hoxha.

It established the Comintern [Marxist-Leninist] in December 2000. This attracted the attention of the New Workers Party, Marxists-Leninists (Opbouworganisatie van de Nieuwe Arbeiderspartij - Marxisten Leninisten, NAP-ML (Opbouworganisatie), Netherlands. The Dutch group published a fortnightly newspaper (de Rode Tribune) and operated out of Bookshop Theun, Strevelsweg 44b, 3075 AK Rotterdam-Netherlands.<sup>14</sup>

There was the unsustainable relationship with **The** New Workers Party of Netherlands (Marxist-Leninists) who asked to join Comintern/ML in Jan 2003. The relationship faltered and the Comintern remain an organisation of one component part. This set-back was overcome: it evolved from an "Enver Fan club" promoting the work and memory of the Albanian leader, to incorporating Enver as the fifth in a pantheon of Communist leaders, and attempted to revive the tradition of the Comintern of Lenin and Stalin and to propagate the ideas of communism *throughout the world*. Since November 7th 2009, the Comintern / Marxist-Leninists henceforth called itself Comintern (Stalinists-Hoxhaists), and has drawn up a programme *The Strategy and Tactics of the Socialist World Revolution*<sup>15</sup>

Its "Declaration of War against ICMLPO" was the main ideological text produced in 2015. These former comrades in Envers' time are now bitter opponents and Comintern (SH) believed "The neo-revisionist organisations of today are the 5th column within the world revolution. Our enemies try to do everything possible to inflict damage on our party."<sup>16</sup>

In its world programmatic declaration, the Comintern (SH) stated,

"Already before the conference in Quito there were obvious tendencies by its organisers, to reduce our Marxist-Leninist struggle against modern revisionism. However the declaration of Quito itself became a document of anti-revisionist capitulation. The whole revolutionary spirit of comrade Enver

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<sup>13</sup> Comintern (SH) commented on this merge: "The merging of both the social-fascist, neo-revisionist German organization "Arbeit Zukunft" and the "Red Star" is an attack against the true KPD/ML of comrade Ernst Aust, against the Comintern (SH) - German Section, and against all the true communists in Germany and all over the world. The leader of the "Red Star" was a liquidator of our illegal Section in the GDR (STASI-AGENT !!!) and the "Arbeit Zukunft" was a liquidatory organization of our party in the Western part of Germany whose leaders attack us as "sectarians" - since 1985."

<sup>14</sup> <http://cimpl.250x.com/news/NAPML.html>

<sup>15</sup> <http://cimpl.250x.com/eg8.html>

<sup>16</sup> See: 15th anniversary of the Comintern (SH)

Hoxha was buried in the declaration of Quito. Many years have gone since the declaration of Quito and it turned out to be an open door for reconciliation between revisionism and Marxism-Leninism.”

Wolfgang Eggers shared the view that the destruction of the Comintern lay with the “enemies within” rather than the *real politik* of Stalin’s decision to reassure his allies in the struggle against Germany and her allies:

And it is a matter of fact that the VII World Congress, under the leadership of Dimitrov paved the way to the dissolution of the Comintern, to the seizure of power of the modern revisionists (who mostly emanated definitely from the Dimitrov-Clique in the Comintern!), to the establishment of social-fascist rule, and last not least to the main hindrance for the re-construction of the Comintern as the unchallengeable leader of the communist world movement.<sup>17</sup>

This pro-Hoxha faction maintains the “absolute rejection of the opportunist decisions of the 7<sup>th</sup> Congress of the Comintern” yet this does not mean Comintern (SH) were in agreement with Bill Bland’s position,

“It is true that Bill Bland criticized revisionism of Dimitrov, however his criticism of Dimitrov is not based on Marxist-Leninist criticism. We draw this demarcation-line ..... Bill Bland's criticism aims hiddenly against Stalin and the VI Congress of the Comintern, against the Comintern Programme and Stalinist "Third Period" that is criticized by Bill Bland as "sectarianism".”<sup>18</sup>

The 7th World Congress was already infested with the right opportunism, fighting "against sectarianism" served to discredit the correct line of the Comintern of Lenin and Stalin. However, this faction of the movement does have a flaw in its fidelity to Hoxhist thought, as Wolfgang Eggers acknowledged “Admittedly, comrade Enver Hoxha had not openly criticized Dimitrov, but in practice, comrade Enver Hoxha followed Stalin and not Dimitrov.”

It wants to fulfill the programme of the Comintern - 1928. It has adopted its own 21 Conditions of Admission to the Communist International (Stalinist-Hoxhaists) adopted in August 6, 2015.<sup>19</sup> Its political analysis is published in the internet theoretical publication firstly through *World Revolution* then replaced by the ["Path of the World Party"](#). At its heart is the belief that the communist world movement must always be guided solely by the teachings of the 5 Classics of Marxism-Leninism – Marx, Engels, Lenin, Stalin and Hoxha. It now places Enver Hoxha as the architect of the revolutionary struggle in the modern world. As it explained,

The Stalinist-Hoxhaist World Movement evolved from the urgently necessary process of renewal of the old glorious Marxist-Leninist World Movement of Comrade Enver Hoxha. We want to liberate it from opportunistic elements to keep it alive and to uphold its revolutionary spirit.<sup>20</sup>

Comintern (SH) maintains an extensive multi-language website to promote its analysis that (in its view) when Maoism split the anti-revisionist world camp, Hoxhaism was and remains the only ideology that defended the principles of Marxism-Leninism-Stalinism and further developed them against the

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<sup>17</sup> Answer from the COMINTERN (SH) to the attack from the Spanish neo-revisionist website “BITÁCORA ML” August 21, 2015

<sup>18</sup> See - 80th anniversary of the betrayal by the VII World Congress of the Comintern.

<sup>19</sup> [http://ciml.250x.com/to/what\\_does\\_the\\_comintern\\_sh\\_want.html](http://ciml.250x.com/to/what_does_the_comintern_sh_want.html)

<sup>20</sup> [http://ciml.250x.com/platform\\_comintern\\_sh.html](http://ciml.250x.com/platform_comintern_sh.html)

cleavage by the Titoists, by the Soviet revisionists and by the Maoists. It fought them victoriously and thus the unity of the Marxist-Leninist world movement was restored again. But since the death of Enver there was a new division. There are new enemies: The new revisionists are those who are trying to soften the demarcation line to the old revisionists, they are the ones who want to vary in the fight against revisionism and ultimately reach their cooperation. That was also the "anti-revisionist attitude" of the Chinese revisionists against the Soviet revisionism.

Today , Comintern (SH) claims its singular vanguard role, it has taken the old orthodox metaphor and applied it on an international stage : “the Stalinist-Hoxhaist party of new type is not an umbrella organization of separate, independent Communist Parties of individual countries (as it was the case with the Comintern), but a unique, one and only monolithic Bolshevik world party - equipped with its own global system of democratic centralism and *global party structure* (from the party cell to the ECCI).” Its rhetoric raises grandiose and unsubstantiated claims:

“We are the pioneers and builders of the first "WORLD COMMUNE"!

The Comintern (SH) is not only the leading organization for the liberation of the world proletariat. We are also the leading organization for the construction of the World Commune.”<sup>21</sup>

However, when it talks about the mass organizations of the Comintern (SH) there are few examples it can use. It does advertise, beside the obvious German sections, other international constituents: the Georgian Section of the Comintern (SH) (established November 2011) that maintains a website holding 80 foreign language editions of the Communist Manifesto.<sup>22</sup> The Portuguese section (November 2011), Albanian (November 2014) and Serbian (founded on 8th of November 2011 - dissolved on 8th of November 2013); although “On January 1, 2015 we have re-opened the website because we have fortunately received support from a new comrade”. Furthermore in its spirit of returning to a golden age, “We renamed this website: "Yugoslav Section": The Comintern (SH) struggles for a Stalinist-Hoxhaist Yugoslavia” as part of the world revolution.<sup>23</sup>

The legacy of diverse networks of anti-revisionist parties that stem from the initiatives and intervention of the Party of Labour led by Enver Hoxha seems a momentous effort in proletarian internationalism and the political mutation of that internationalist spirit may not be recognisable to the pro-Albanian parties of the last century, but in terms of fringe sectarianism it has its ‘unique characteristics’ that are from an all too familiar fringe messianic myopia.

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<sup>21</sup> [http://cimpl.250x.com/to/what\\_does\\_the\\_comintern\\_sh\\_want.html](http://cimpl.250x.com/to/what_does_the_comintern_sh_want.html)

<sup>22</sup> [http://www.joseph-stalin.net/5\\_classics\\_of\\_marxism/marx\\_engels/marx\\_engels.html](http://www.joseph-stalin.net/5_classics_of_marxism/marx_engels/marx_engels.html)

<sup>23</sup> [http://cimpl.250x.com/sections/serbian\\_section/index.html](http://cimpl.250x.com/sections/serbian_section/index.html)