

## Anti-Revisionism in Italy

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The National Committee for Reconstruction of the Communist Party of Italy (Marxist-Leninist)

# Enver Hoxha and the Great Ideological Battle of the Albanian Communists Against Revisionism

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The ideological struggle of the Albanian communists against revisionism began already in the postwar period, in a harsh confrontation with Tito's revisionist clique.

Winston Churchill, in his Memoirs, recalled how he was directly interested in placing Tito and his group in the service of the imperialist powers.

In May of 1944, he personally met Tito in Naples; in his Memoirs, Churchill wrote that Tito was ready to state publicly that "communism would not be established in Yugoslavia."

During the war there were 140,000 members of the Communist Party of Yugoslavia and another 360,000 before the middle of 1948. Tens of thousands of kulaks and bourgeois joined the party. The party did not have a normal internal life, it did not have internal political discussions, and the leaders were not elected but co-opted.

In June of 1948, Information Bureau of the Communist Parties (Cominform), which was made up of eight communist parties, published a resolution which criticized the Yugoslav party. The resolution states that, starting from a bourgeois nationalist position, The Yugoslav Party had split the united socialist front against imperialism. "Such a line cannot but lead to the degeneration of Yugoslavia into an ordinary bourgeois republic."

"Tito unleashed a mass purge. All the Marxist-Leninist elements were expelled from the Party. Two members of the Central Committee, Zujovic and Hebrang, were arrested in April of 1948. General Arso Jovanic, chief of the partisan army, was arrested and killed, as was General Slavo Rodic."<sup>1</sup>

The Times reported on numerous arrests of communists who supported the Cominform resolution and considered that the number of people imprisoned was between 100,000 and 200,000.

Even before the split with the Soviet Union and the countries of people's democracy had been completed, huge quantities of economic and military from the imperialist powers, particularly the United States, began to arrive in Yugoslavia. Between 1948 and 1970 the government of the United States invested \$7 billion in "socialist Yugoslavia."

In his work, *Imperialism and the Revolution*, the Secretary General of the Albanian Party of Labor, Enver Hoxha, stated: "This aid was supplied only on condition that the country would develop on the capitalist road. The imperialist bourgeoisie was not against Yugoslavia maintaining its outward socialist forms. On the contrary, it was greatly in its interest that Yugoslavia should keep its outward socialist color, because in this way it would serve as a more effective weapon in the struggle against socialism and the liberation movements."<sup>2</sup>

The future of Socialism-Communism cannot be separated from the teachings of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin!

Enver Hoxha recalled that in 1945, the Titoites entered the region that had been liberated by Albanian and Kosova fighters to eliminate the national liberation councils and to launch mass terror against the Albanians.

"These unprecedented reprisals of the Titoites quite rightly caused a great popular revolt which put the "new Yugoslavia" in doubt, because the people of Kosova were not seeing any difference from what they had suffered under the "old Yugoslavia...."

"The terror imposed on the Albanians steadily mounted. Masses of people were imprisoned, killed, tortured and thrown into the terrible concentration camps of Rankovic."<sup>3</sup>

Moreover, Tito had annexationist plans in the confrontation with Albania, which was to become – according to his protégés – the seventh Yugoslav republic.

To this end he was successful in infiltrating his agents into the Political Bureau of the Albanian Communist Party (which later took the name of Party of Labor of Albania). These agents presented a proposal of realizing "a economic and military union with Yugoslavia," of course under the leadership of Tito.

After the plot of the Titoites in Albania was thwarted, a meeting took place in Bucharest in which Enver Hoxha, in the presence of the representative of the Rumanian Communist Party, Dej, met the representative of the Bolshevik Party, Andrey Vyshinsky.

"While pointing out that behind the efforts for a "Balkan Federation" lurked the chauvinist aims of the Tito clique to dominate the Balkans, I outlined to the comrades the anti-Marxist chauvinist policy pursued by the Belgrade leadership towards Kosova and the other Albanian regions in Yugoslavia, both during and after the war..."

"In the meeting I made it quite clear to the comrades present that during this struggle our Party had very frequently found itself alone, and therefore, needed to be and should have been helped to a greater extent, more openly and with greater trust.

"As soon as I had finished, we took a break, after which Vyshinsky gave the conclusions of the meeting." Among other things, he said: "We are not mistaken in the estimation we have made of the activity of these renegades and draw conclusions that this is a protracted political and ideological struggle. The Bolshevik Party approves the correct actions and persistent struggle in defense of Marxism-Leninism by the Communist Party of Albania, its Central Committee and Comrade Enver Hoxha. We must bear in mind that this clique will go even further in its hostile actions against our socialist camp. The Titoites will commit... provocations to deceive opinion inside and outside Yugoslavia and to justify their policy of betrayal and links with the capitalist states."<sup>4</sup>

## The Struggle against Khrushchev Revisionism

In February of 1956 the infamous 20th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union took place in Moscow, the so-called congress of “de-Stalinization.”

Enver Hoxha commented on the coup d'état of the Khrushchevites:

“The ‘new’ leaders, who were the same as in the past, with the exception of Stalin, were posing as liberals in order to say to the people: ‘Breathe freely, you are free, you are in genuine democracy because the tyrant and the tyranny has been eliminated...”

“The cult of Khrushchev was being built up by the tricksters, the liberals, the careerists, the lickspittles and the flatterers. The great authority of Stalin, based on his immortal work, was undermined inside and outside the Soviet Union. His place and authority was usurped by that charlatan, clown and blackmailer.”<sup>5</sup>

Analyzing the cause that led to Nikita Khrushchev’s coup d'état, Enver Hoxha stated that: “After the Great Patriotic War some negative phenomena appeared in the Communist Party of the Soviet Union....

“This party had a great reputation, and had achieved colossal successes in the course of its work, but at the same time it had started to lose the revolutionary spirit and was becoming infected by bureaucracy and routine. The Leninist norms, the teachings of Lenin and Stalin, had been transformed by the apparatchiki into stale platitudes and hackneyed slogans devoid of operative worth....

“It was not the ‘wrong’ line of Stalin which held up the progress. On the contrary, this line was correct and Marxist-Leninist, but it was frequently applied badly and even distorted and sabotaged by enemy elements....

“These elements disorganized the revolution while organizing the counter-revolution, displayed ‘severity’ against internal enemies in order to spread fear and terror in the party, the state and the people....

“If a detailed analysis is made of the political, ideological and organizational directives of Stalin in the leadership and organization of the party, the war and the work, in general, mistakes of principle will not be found, but if we bear in mind how they were distorted by the enemies and applied in practice, we will see the dangerous consequences of these distortions and it will become obvious why the party began to become bureaucratic... The party became covered by a heavy layer of rust, by political apathy, thinking mistakenly that the head, the leadership, operates and solves everything on its own....

“The apparatus and the officials became ‘omnipotent’, ‘infallible’ and operated in bureaucratic ways under the slogan of democratic centralism.... There is no doubt that in this way the Bolshevik Party lost its former vitality. It lived on with correct slogans, but they were only slogans; it carried out orders, but did not act on its own initiative....

“Careerism, servility, charlatanism, unhealthy cronyism, anti-proletarian morality, etc., began to spread. These evils eroded the party from within, smothered the feelings of class struggle and sacrifice and encouraged seeking the ‘good life’, with comforts, with privileges, with personal gains and the least possible work and effort....

“Not only did the apparatuses misinform Stalin, and bureaucratically deform his correct directives, but they had created such a situation among the people and in the party that even when Stalin went among the masses of the party and the people, to the extent that his age and health permitted, they did not inform him about the shortcomings and mistakes which were occurring, because the apparatus had implanted the opinion amongst the communists and the masses that ‘we must not worry Stalin’.”<sup>6</sup>

Once in power, the Khrushchevites devoted themselves to consolidating that power not only in the USSR but also in the other socialist countries, where they were pre-occupied with clamping down on all those who would not openly line up with the new course.

Meanwhile, they were preparing the split in the international communist movement, attacking any party that had not embraced the revisionist platform of the 20th Congress. In 1960 some differences arose between the CPSU and the Chinese Communist Party, The CPSU proposed to hold a meeting in Bucharest of the parties of the socialist camp to fix a date and place for a future conference of all the communist parties.

Having received the invitation, the Party of Labor of Albania sent one of its leaders, Hysni Kapo, to Bucharest to discuss the date of the future conference and to participate, as had been agreed, in a free exchange of views on the problems of the international situation.

But the Khrushchevites really had in mind something very different; they intended to adopt a series of decisions in order to go “all united” to the conference, all united behind the Khrushchevites’ theses.

The meeting in Bucharest had been convened to fix a date but it had been transformed into a crusade. Khrushchev insisted that during the meeting they should discuss the differences between the USSR and China, in a manner that was convenient to him.

Khrushchev maintained that they should make a decision at that meeting and asked the other parties to take a position on the “grave mistakes of China.”

The Soviets quickly distributed voluminous material against China and resolved to convoke a meeting some hours later of all the parties to condemn the CPC as “anti-Marxist.”

The Party of Labor of Albania was firmly opposed to that manoeuvre.

“In the former meeting which was organized by Khrushchev, Comrade Hysni Kapo, in the name of the Party and on the basis of detailed directives, which we sent him every day and frequently twice a day, attacked Khrushchev and the others for their anti-Marxist aims and the conspiratorial methods which they used, defended the Communist Party of China and opposed the continuation of such a meeting.

“Khrushchev did not expect this. In the meetings which were held he talked all the time, stamping his feet and thumping his fist, became angry and spluttered with indignation. But Comrade Hysni Kapo..., with his characteristic coolness and courage, not only did not yield, but gave Khrushchev as good as he got with his cutting replies.”

In his many speeches, Khrushchev “always found the occasion to attack our Party and its representative....”

“We cannot agree at all with Mao Zedong and the Chinese, nor they with us. Do you want us to send you, Comrade Kapo, to reach agreement with them?’ Khrushchev asked Comrade Hysni on another occasion.

‘I do not take orders from you,’ replied Hysni, ‘I take orders only from my Party.’

“Nothing could make him budge from the courageous, revolutionary, principled stand of the Party. He never flickered an eyelash at the screams and the pressures of the charlatan Nikita Khrushchev.”<sup>7</sup>

After Bucharest, the Soviets through their ambassador in Tirana and their agents in the KGB, intensified their pressure and sabotage in the confrontation with Albania.

Violating all the agreements they had signed, they even tried to starve the Albanian people to force them to submit. They refused to furnish grains in a moment in which the reserves of bread in Albania were barely enough for 15 days.

Albania was forced to draw on its own hard currency reserves to buy grain from France.

The provocations became increasingly open.

The Soviet and Bulgarian ambassadors in Yugoslavia applauded Rancovic when, at a rally in Sremska Mitrova, called Albania “a hell enclosed with barbed wire”; the Bulgarians published a map of the Balkans in which “by mistake” Albania was included within the boundaries of Yugoslavia. In Warsaw, Gomulka’s men forced their way into the Albanian embassy and tried to kill the ambassador.

At the Moscow Conference, the battle began in the preparatory commission, which was to prepare the draft of the declaration of the Conference.

Suslov led the work, trying to have the theses of the 20th Congress included in the draft of the declaration.

The Albanian delegation particularly attacked Khrushchev’s thesis according to which imperialism had been tamed and that a world without war was now possible.

“To say that it is possible to build a world without wars today (Khrushchev’s thesis) when imperialism exists,” stressed Comrade Hysni Kapo, “is contrary to the teachings of Lenin.”

Before the Conference began, a document was distributed to all the participants that attacked China and Albania and said that they were “erased” from the group of socialist countries.

“The written indictment of China which was distributed was a dirty anti-Marxist document. With this the Khrushchevites had decided to continue in Moscow what they had not achieved in Bucharest.... The material cast a deep gloom over the participants in the meeting and would not be welcomed as the Khrushchevites expected. Splits would be created in the meeting.”<sup>8</sup>

By now, the split was inevitable. In his speech, Enver Hoxha severely attacked the line of the 20th Congress of the CPSU, stating among other things: “One must defend the work of Joseph Stalin. Whoever does not defend this is an opportunist and a scoundrel.”

After Enver Hoxha’s speech, the Albanian delegation left the residence to which the Soviets had assigned them and took up lodging in the Albanian embassy, where they remained for their whole stay in Moscow. When the Albanians left the residence assigned to them by the Soviets, a Soviet security officer told Hysni Kapo in confidence: Comrade Enver did well to go, because his life was in great danger here.”

The Khrushchevites were capable of anything and the Albanian delegation did not agree to go by air, because it was too easy for an “accident” to happen.

Thus the Khrushchevites provoked the split in the international communist movement and started a process which would lead to the destruction of the basis of socialism and to the restoration of capitalism in the USSR and the countries of Eastern Europe.

### Against Chinese Revisionism and the “Theory of the Three Worlds”

In the 1970s, when the Chinese Communist Party elaborated the so-called “theory of the three worlds,” Enver Hoxha denounced the anti-Marxist character of that theory, stating that it was a new variant of modern revisionism.

This means that – Enver Hoxha said – the call made by the Chinese is for the “third world” to unite in alliance with the “second world” to fight half of the “first world”?

Such a division of the world confuses the oligarchy with the oppressed and the people, their aspirations and their level of development, which are different and in struggle against that oligarchy.

“In its division of the world into three, the Communist Party of China is advocating class conciliation....

“In the first place, by juggling with the contradictions, the Chinese leaders are endeavouring to justify their stand towards US imperialism, to pave the way for their rapprochement and collaboration with it.

“The Chinese revisionists claim that there is only one contradiction in the world of today, and that this puts the ‘third world,’ the ‘second world’ and half of the ‘first world’ in confrontation with the Soviet Union. Proceeding from this thesis which unites the peoples with a group of imperialists, they advocate that all class contradictions must be set aside and that the only fight must be against Soviet social-imperialism.”<sup>9</sup>

“The Chinese revisionists continue to hold to their known standpoint of the fight only against Soviet social-imperialism... They relegate US imperialism to second place and stress that the United States of America ‘wants the status quo that it is in decline’. From this the Chinese revisionists arrive at the conclusion that an alliance with American imperialism against social-imperialism can and should be reached.

“US imperialism is not at all weakened or tamed, as the Chinese leaders claim. On the contrary, it is aggressive, savage and powerful, like Soviet social-imperialism....

The very posing of the question that one imperialism is stronger and the other weaker, one is aggressive and the other tamed, is not Marxist-Leninist. The presentation of the question in this manner is a reflection of a reactionary view which leads the Chinese revisionists into alliance with the United States of America, NATO and the European Common Market, with the King of Spain, the Shah of Iran, Pinochet of Chile and all the fascist dictators.

“We Marxist-Leninists cannot defend the various reactionaries, the clique around Strauss or Schmidt in Germany, the British Conservative or Labourite leaders, simply because they have contradictions with Soviet social-imperialism. Were we to do so and support the preaching of the Chinese to the

effect that 'the capitalist states of Europe should unite in the Common Market', that 'United Europe' should be strengthened so as to be able to face Soviet social-imperialism, that would mean our agreeing to sacrifice the struggle and efforts of the proletariat of these countries to break the chains of enslavement."<sup>10</sup>

Enver Hoxha recalled that in the 1960s, the Chinese Communist Party had quoted the well-known Marxist-Leninist theses and principles.

In the document entitled "A Proposal Concerning the General Line of the International Communist Movement, published by the Central Committee of the CPC in 1963, it stated: "These or those necessary compromises between socialist and imperialist countries do not require that the oppressed peoples and nations also make compromises with imperialism and its stooges." And further: "Never should anybody, under the pretext of peaceful coexistence, demand that the oppressed peoples and nations renounce the revolutionary struggle".

Today – stated Enver Hoxha – it is the Chinese leadership that is preaching to the peoples, the revolutionaries, the Marxist-Leninist parties and the proletariat of the whole world the necessity of allying with the imperialist or capitalist countries, of allying with the bourgeoisie and all reactionaries against Soviet social-imperialism.

"Such vacillations and 180° turns have nothing to do with the principled Marxist-Leninist policy. They are characteristic of the pragmatic policy followed by all revisionists."<sup>11</sup>

Enver Hoxha denounced the support of the Chinese government to the worst reactionary regimes.

"China defends Mobutu and the clique around him in Zaire. Through its propaganda China is trying to create the impression that it is allegedly defending the people of that country against an invasion of mercenaries engineered by the Soviet Union, but in reality it is defending the reactionary Mobutu regime. The Mobutu clique is an agency in the service of US imperialism. Through its propaganda and 'pro-Zaire' stand, China is defending Mobutu's alliance with US imperialism, with neo-colonialism, and striving to prevent any change in the status quo of that country."<sup>12</sup>

"The Chinese 'third world' and the Yugoslav 'non-aligned world' are almost one and the same thing....

"As Tito's visit to China and Hua Kuo-feng's visit to Yugoslavia showed, the Yugoslav revisionists are lavishing praises and cunning flattery on China.... Although they do not renounce their theory of the 'third world', the Chinese revisionist leaders, headed by Hua Kuo-feng and Teng Hsiao-ping, have come out in open support of the Titoite theory of the 'non-aligned world'. They have demonstrated that they want to work closely with the Yugoslav revisionists along the same lines, on two parallel rails, with the anti-Marxist aim of deceiving the peoples of the 'third world' ...

"During Tito's visit to Peking, the Chinese leaders half admitted that the League of Communists of Yugoslavia was a Marxist-Leninist party and that genuine socialism was being built in Yugoslavia. When Hua Kuo-feng went to Belgrade, they stated this completely and officially."<sup>13</sup>

"History shows that every big capitalist country aims to become a great world power, to overtake and surpass the other great powers, and compete with them for world domination....

"In order to become a superpower, China will have to go through two main phases: first, it must seek credits and investments from US imperialism and the other developed capitalist countries, purchase new technology in order to exploit its local wealth, a great part of which will go as dividends for the creditors. Second, it will invest the surplus extracted at the expense of the Chinese

people in states of various continents, just as the US imperialists and Soviet social-imperialists are doing today....

“Nikita Khrushchev and the modern revisionists elaborated the ill-famed theory of Khrushchevite ‘peaceful coexistence’, which advocated ‘social peace’, ‘peaceful competition’, ‘the peaceful road’ of the revolution, ‘a world without arms and without wars’. It was intended to weaken the class struggle....

“The Communist Party of China has been following a policy like that of Khrushchev since the time when Mao Tsetung was alive. This policy, too, calls on both sides, the proletariat and the bourgeoisie, the peoples and their rulers, to cease the class struggle, to unite against Soviet social-imperialism only, and forget about American imperialism.”<sup>14</sup>

All these statements of Enver Hoxha have been confirmed by facts, by the complete degeneration of the Chinese Communist Party into a bourgeois party which has restored capitalism.

In the history of the international communist movement, the great ideological battle of the Albanian communists against all forms of revisionism and opportunism constitutes an exemplary page.

In spite of capitalist and revisionist encirclement, the threats of military intervention on the part of the imperialists, of the Warsaw pact and of the Titoites, small socialist Albania has never bowed its head; it has never renounced the defense of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism.

While building socialism in their country, Enver Hoxha and the Albanian communists have unmasked all the variants of modern revisionism, Khrushchevite revisions, Titoite revisionism, Chinese revisionism, so-called Eurocommunism, etc. They have emphasized the clearness of Marxist-Leninist analysis, they have rejected any compromise that goes against the interests of the proletariat and the oppressed peoples, they have applied Leninist principles to the new reality represented by the domination of the two main imperialist superpowers, they have used revolutionary boldness to confront the Khrushchevite revisionist gang and smash it in its own lair, in front of 81 delegations of communist parties.

For the Italian Marxist-Leninists, the PLA led by Comrade Enver Hoxha has always been a fundamental point of reference, and an example of how the genuine communists – in the most difficult conditions of imperialist and revisionist encirclement and provocations – were able to hold high the banner of proletarian revolution and of the dictatorship of the proletariat.

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#### FOOTNOTES

1) James Klugmann, *From Trotsky to Tito*, Lawrence & Wishart, London, 1951, p 11. Re-translated from the Italian.

2) Enver Hoxha, *Imperialism and the Revolution*, “8 Nentori” Publishing House, Tirana, 1979, English edition, p. 55.



- 3) Enver Hoxha, The Titoites, "8 Nentori" Publishing House, Tirana, 1982. English edition, pp. 213, 288.
- 4) Enver Hoxha, *ibid.*, pp. 533, 534-535.
- 5) Enver Hoxha, The Khrushchevites, "8 Nentori" Publishing House, Tirana, 1980, English edition, pp. 59-60.
- 6) Enver Hoxha, *ibid.*, pp. 42-49.
- 7) Enver Hoxha, *ibid.*, pp. 401-403.
- 8) Enver Hoxha, *ibid.*, pp. 436-437.
- 9) Enver Hoxha, Imperialism and the Revolution, "8 Nentori" Publishing House, Tirana, 1979, English edition, p. 270, 278.
- 10) Enver Hoxha, *ibid.*, p 282, 291, 296
- 11) Enver Hoxha, *ibid.*, p. 305.
- 12) Enver Hoxha, *ibid.*, p. 319.
- 13) Enver Hoxha, *ibid.*, pp. 325, 332-334.
- 14) Enver Hoxha, *ibid.*, pp. 368-369, 369-370.

(Translated from original Italian to English, by the Comrades at North Star Compass)

Besoshvili @ September 11, 2009