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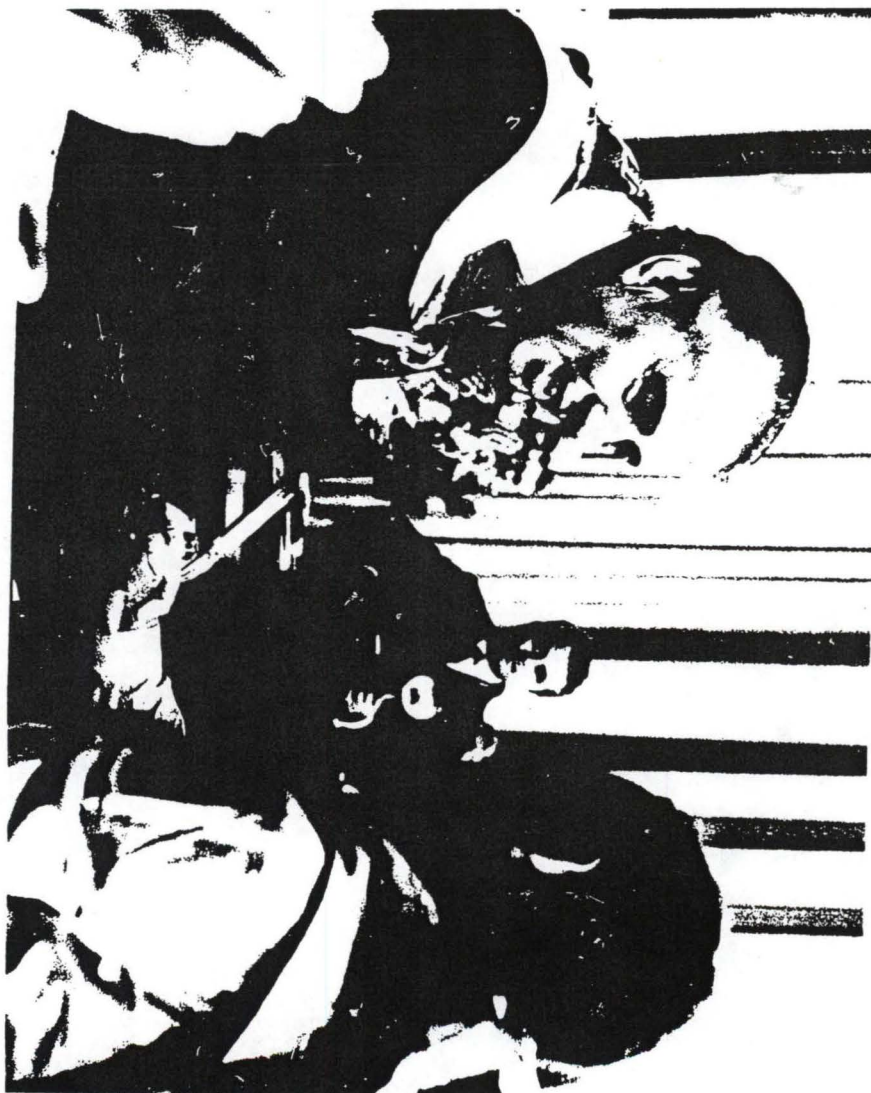
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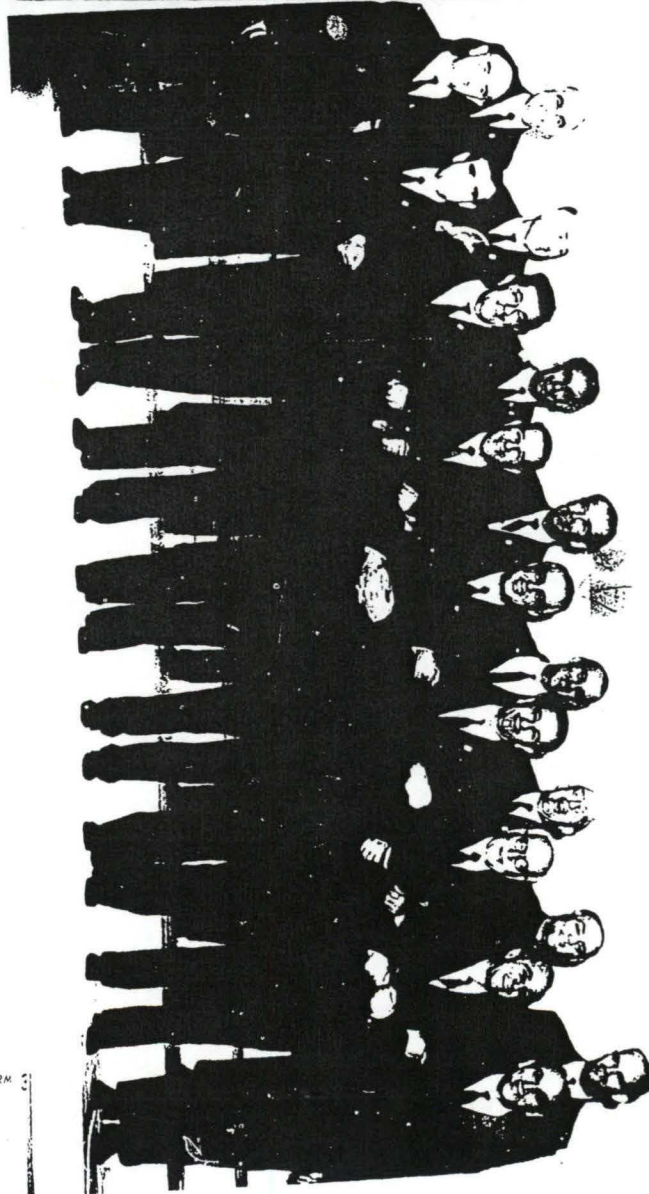
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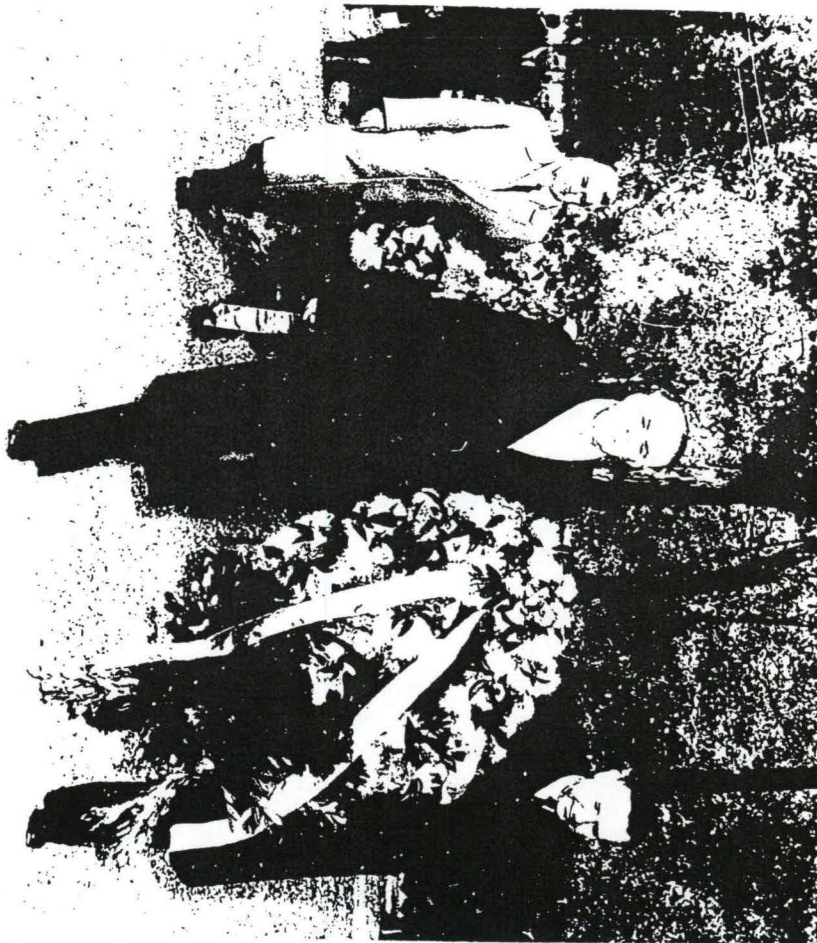
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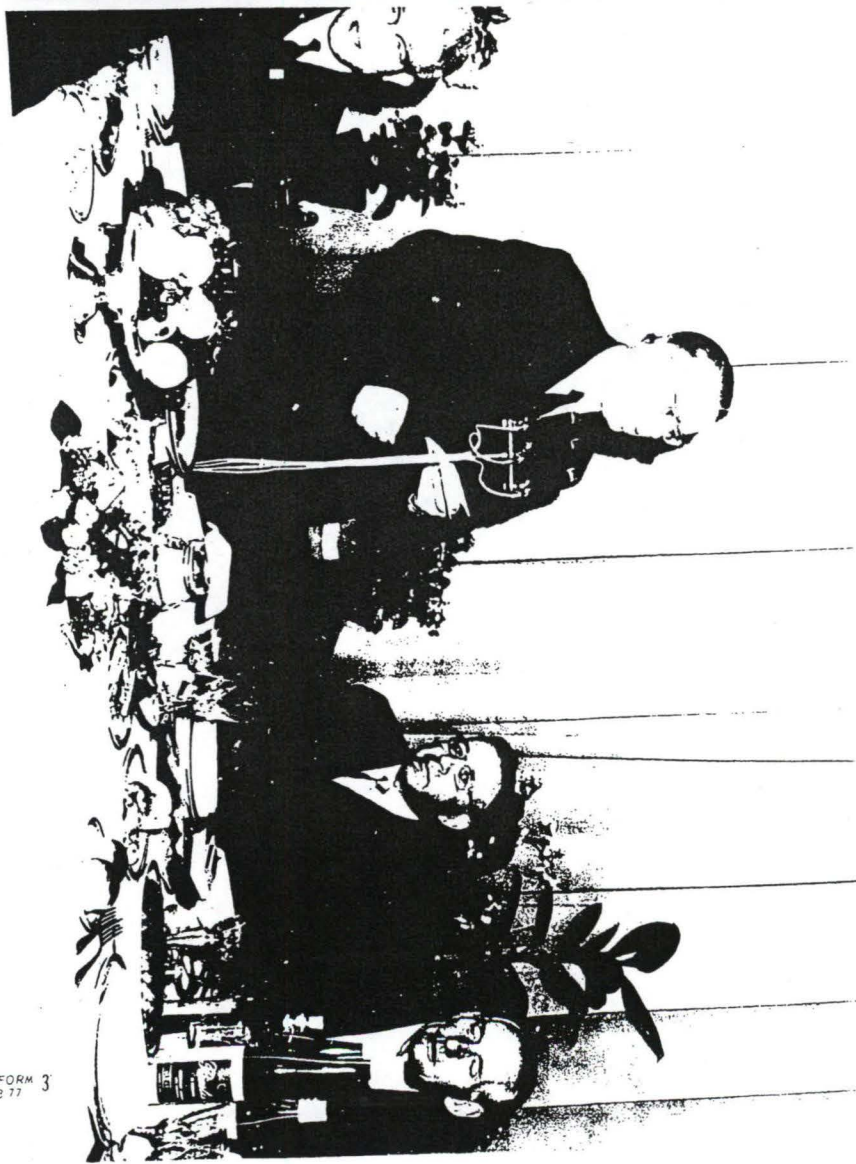
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# Enver Hoxha

By Joachim Joesten

## Naughty Boy Of The Balkans

FOR A COUNTRY about the size of Vermont, with a population of just over a million, Albania has made a remarkable amount of news lately—and most of its comes under the heading of "trouble." Indeed, Albania has given the postwar world more trouble than all of Europe's other "balkan" states put together: The United States, Great Britain, Greece, Italy, the Vatican, all have had cause for complaint at one time or another since the Albanian "People's Republic" was born little more than a year ago.

At the head of this cocky little country stands a young man who combines in his hands the offices of Premier, Defense Minister and commander in chief of the 50,000-man Albanian army: 38-year-old Col. Gen. Enver Hoxha. The youngest chief of government in Europe, he has already acquired a reputation as the "enfant terrible" of statecraft.

HOKHA'S LIFE story reads like a Horatio Alger tale, Balkan style. He was born in 1908 at Gjirokastra (Argyrokastron) in the Epirus, the son of a cotton factory worker. His father had been employed for some time at a plant in Bielefeld, Me.

Despite the modest station of his parents, young Enver received a good education. After passing through elementary school in his home town, he attended one of the country's few secondary schools at Korcha (Koriza). He was such a good student that, upon graduation, the government awarded him a scholarship enabling him to continue his studies at French and Belgian universities. However, before Hoxha could complete his college education abroad, the funds ran out in Tirana and his scholarship was discontinued. He then took a job as secretary at the Albanian Legation in Belgium, where he stayed for several years.

In 1937 he returned to Albania, ostensibly to become a professor of French at the Korcha High School, but probably also for political reasons. At any rate, he immediately joined the opposition which plotted for the downfall of King Zog. The latter, a king by his own grace, had lost whatever popularity he once may have possessed through his intrigues and shady dealings with Mussolini. Ironically, however, when Zog eventually was ousted on April 7, 1939, it was not by his enemies at home, but by his former friend and protector, Il Duce.

and on December 2, Hoxha, who in the meantime had appointed himself a colonel-general, triumphantly entered Tirana, which his bands had captured a few days earlier in a bloody house-to-house struggle. He took up residence in former King Zog's palace, which had survived years of fighting and bombings only slightly the worse for wear.

POSTWAR developments in Albania have closely followed the well known pattern set by Yugoslavia. In domestic policies as in foreign affairs, the "Two Titos" have kept step so consistently that it is generally believed a Balkan federation, with perhaps Dimitrov's Bulgaria as the third partner, will eventually spring from their brotherly union under Soviet auspices.

Unlike his friends and neighbors Tito and Dimitrov, Hoxha is not a party-line Communist with Comintern training. He is very definitely a "fellow-traveler," though. The one-ticket "elections" of December 2, 1945, at which Hoxha's "Democratic Front" polled 95 per cent of the votes and got all the seats in Parliament; the police state set up now existing in Albania, and the radical economic reform measures carried out in the past two years all bespeak communistic tendencies. Since January 11, 1946, when the Albanian "People's Republic" was formally proclaimed, Hoxha has ruled his country with the same finality, and in the same style, as Stalin, Tito, and Dimitrov are ruling theirs.

Perhaps even more than his bigger brothers elsewhere in the Soviet orbit, Hoxha has followed his road with unyielding stubbornness and a sovereign disregard of other people's interests. Trained diplomat that he is, he seems to take a boyish pleasure in exchanging brickbats instead of notes. He has had several run-ins with the United States, a standing feud with Greece, a bitter dispute with Britain over the tragic Corfu incident, and a running fight with the Vatican over the persecution of the Catholic clergy in Albania (Hoxha is a Moslem by upbringing, but he now professes indifference in religious matters). His efforts to bring his country into the United Nations came to naught last fall in the face of widespread and determined opposition, for which he had only himself to thank.

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Hoxha, who by that time had already advanced far on the road toward communism, did not like the Italian invasion any better than the German. He resigned his job in the post office, according to other sources, was dismissed by the British administration and moved to the capital, Tirana, where he set himself up as a tobacco dealer on one of the city's main streets. For the next few years he led the exciting and hazardous double life of the typical conspirator. In the daytime he sold cigarettes and olive oil to the Italian officers and soldiers that crowded his store; at night, he held secret conferences with the leaders of the guerilla bands which waged a merciless war on the Italians from their hideouts in the wild mountains.

Hoxha's influence among the Albanian Partisans rose steadily, especially after he had openly joined their ranks in the summer of 1942. When, in September of that year, the "National Liberation Movement" was launched at a conference of guerilla leaders, Hoxha was picked as the chief. For the next two years, at the head of his ragged but spirited army of mountaineers, he relentlessly battled Germans and Italians, in close political and military alliance with Tito's Partisans in neighboring Yugoslavia.

In the fall of 1944, the Nazi empire in the Balkans crumbled

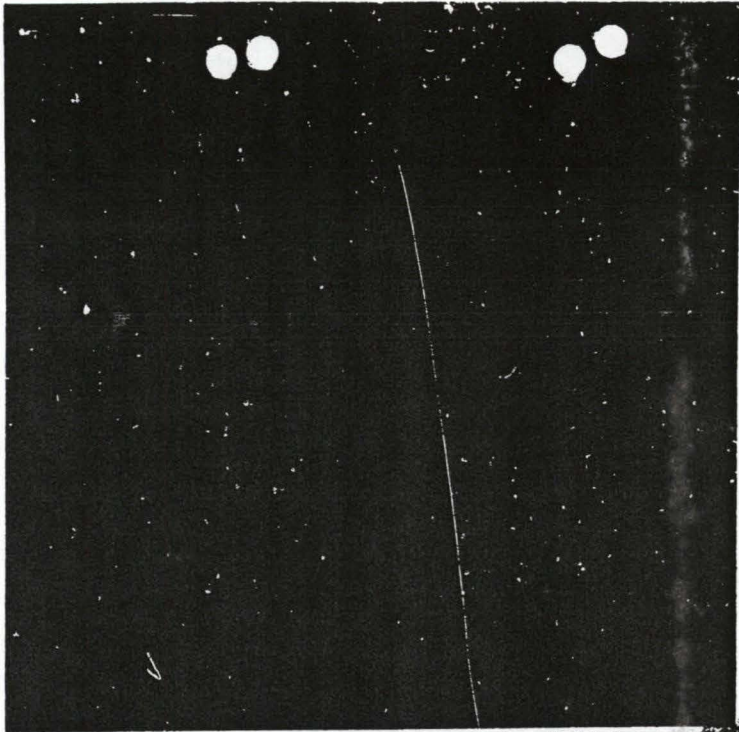
Hoxha's bravadoes on the international scene are not matched by his personal demeanor. Those who knew him well agree that he is quite a likable fellow, well-bred and affable, but also rather high-strung. He is apt to have some pretty bad fits of temper.

Physically, he is a fine figure of a man. In any beauty contest of prime ministers, he would stand an excellent chance of taking the prize. Tall (6 feet), well-proportioned and athletic, he is perhaps a little on the hefty side (he weighs 180 pounds). His round, boyish face is strikingly handsome, in the lady-killing Alan Ladd manner. His eyes are clear and bold; his well-formed head is crowned by a thick shock of dark hair.

Like most Communist dignitaries, Hoxha goes in for a great deal of ostentation and parade. His Russian-style uniform, gray or khaki, is heavy with gold braid, ribbons, stars and medals when he reviews his troops—as he frequently does,—it is always a great show, with plenty of flags (showing a black two-headed eagle on a red ground), flowers, cheers, and huge banners with slogans in the Soviet fashion.

In his dramatic fight for national liberation, Hoxha found romance as well as power. He fell in love with his pretty secretary, a former school teacher like himself, who had played a leading role in the women's Partisan movement. They were married in January 1945.





**ENVER HOXHA:  
ALBANIAN DICTATOR.**

**T**HE Cominform's offensive against Tito, the ominous question of Macedonia and current events in Yugoslavia and Greece have once again focused the spotlight on Albania—poorest and smallest of the Soviet satellites and Europe's Forgotten Country. A key position in the complex pattern of Balkan politics but cut off from the rest of the world by natural and man-made barriers, Albania has been for some time past in the grip of an acute political and economic crisis which in the light of recent developments assumes only added importance. Those of an older generation may remember her as one of the imperial "headaches" of the pre-1914 Great Powers. To Stalin and the Cominform present-day Albania forms the most westerly "promontory" of the Iron Curtain, and a vital base for action in the Adriatic and Central Mediterranean. Her history is a record of fearful oppression, ruthless exploitation and a prolonged struggle for national independence. After the death of Skanderberg in 1467, under whom the Albanians had gallantly fought Turkish domination for twenty-five years, Albania passed under Turkish suzerainty and thus remained until 1912. On December 17th, 1912, the London Conference of Ambassadors acknowledged the principle of

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Albanian autonomy, and on July 29th, 1913, declared Albania an independent sovereign state. From 1920 to 1925, Albania was a Republic, and from 1925 to 1939 a Kingdom under Ahmed Zogu, better known as King Zog I. With an area of 10,629 square miles—nearly the size of Belgium—the population totals 1,120,522, of whom 69 per cent. are Moslems, 20 per cent. Orthodox Christians, followers of the Albanian Orthodox Church, and 10 per cent. Roman Catholics. Another estimated 900,000 Albanians live outside their country's frontiers, particularly in Greece (Epirus) and Yugoslavia (Kosovo).

The lack of communications has largely conditioned the history of the country and the character of its people. The Albanians are still mainly mountain folks occupying the hilly interior rather than the coastal lowlands. History and geography combined are responsible for the wide assortment of types and communities, and their division into two principal language groups—the Ghegs (in the north) and the Tosks (in the south). The Turkish domination, too, has left a lasting imprint on the national character, as did the English colonial period upon the United States of North America. The aloofness of the land as a whole, and of its centres of settlement in particular, accounts for Albania being one of the least-known parts of Europe, a land where the ultra-modern and the primitive are much in evidence side by side.

Since January 1946 she has been in form and substance a People's Democracy—the mild post-war euphemism to denote a Soviet colony—with the ubiquitous Enver Hoxha (pronounced Hodja) as Premier, War and Foreign Minister and Supreme Commander. The post of Head of the State is not exactly a sinecure. Many were called for it but, having been chosen, very few survived. Prominent among the unhappy candidates was the German Prince zu Wied, who became "Mbret" (King) of Albania in March 1914, when but for British arbitration an Albanian "crisis" threatened to precipitate a world war. The French, with characteristic Gallic wit, labelled him "Le Prince du Vide," and the nickname was, if nothing else, only too apt. Six months later he relinquished the position, quite happy to return to the peace and privacy of his Rhineland estate. But—other days other ways. The present holder of this rather dangerous dignity seems to have been far more successful, at least, until further notice, for—"you never can tell" in a well-regulated New Democracy.

Enver Hoxha has been his country's Chief Executive since October 1944—an unparalleled record for Albania, where in the past Presidents and Premiers succeeded one another with startling frequency. A Soviet nominee, Moscow-inspired and absolutely reliable, Enver has served his masters well. What is more, he has even contrived to render his country great service without reaping the ignominious reward of Tito or other "deviationists" from the thorny straight and narrow path of Marxism-Leninism. His own choice of a profession would have been that of a school teacher. It was only through a combination of circumstances that he became Albania's one-man Government and Moscow's watchdog on the Mediterranean. A leader by virtue of intellect, with the power of explaining profound dogmatic ideas in simple terms to the most simple-minded people, Hoxha is in his forty-first year, but looks much younger. When in plain clothes, sturdy and handsome, Enver could easily be mistaken for some affable beau-about-town. But as Colonel-General Enver Hoxha he is a different man altogether—flamboyant, self-assertive, and full of picturesque idiosyncrasies (some of them strangely reminiscent of

Danilo in *The Merry Widow*). He shares with Goering the doubtful distinction of possessing a wide collection of uniforms and a perpetual desire to wear them. Like his German prototype he, too, has carefully built up his personality on the Prussian model of Führer worship. Yet, in defence of the man and his work, it must be admitted that he is no mere theorist or *poseur*, but a resourceful organizer who can think in terms of planning and development. He leapt into prominence in a world war unique in its magnitude and complexity, owing his success as much to his acute grasp of realities as to an excellent insight into the nature of his fellow-men. Whether one approves of him or not, the fact remains that he is a force to reckon with. Compared with other Balkan star performers he is perhaps imperfectly educated in an academic sense, but his character has qualities which no university could have taught him in a lifetime. Whether he thinks of himself as standing in symbolic relation to his age is not known. What is evident, however, is his determination to endow poor primitive Albania with a New Deal. That and that alone is certainly the most praiseworthy feature of his dynamic personality.

Enver is admirably suited to the troubled times in which we live. Born in Gjinokaster (Argyrocastro) in 1908, scion of a Moslem middle-class family, his early childhood was one of misery and want. Small wonder that after finishing his studies at the French Lycée at Korcha (Koritza) he longed to escape from his dreary environment, and improve his knowledge by travel abroad. History is full of examples of men like him whose unhappy adolescence drove them into a search for learning and culminated in the attainment of genius. None is more eloquent than the life story of another Moslem youth, Mustapha Kemal, who worked his way up from the slums of Salonika to the glory of Kemal Ataturk. In 1930 Enver left for France to study natural science at Montpellier University. A year later occurred the episode which was to have a decisive influence on his whole outlook: the Albanian Government stopped his scholarship, leaving him high and dry in France. Forced to earn his living, Enver proceeded to Paris. There he made the acquaintance of Vaillant-Couturier, chief editor of the Communist daily, *L'Humanité* (the French Daily Worker), who commissioned him to write a series of articles on Albania. Presently, Enver went to Brussels as Secretary of the Albanian Legation. Precisely how he embraced a diplomatic career perhaps even he could hardly explain. In addition to his official duties he took a law course at Brussels University, while contributing several more articles to *L'Humanité*, all highly critical of his Government's administration. His appointment was abruptly terminated when the home authorities discovered that the Legation Secretary had somehow overstepped the bounds of diplomacy. Hoxha was recalled, dismissed and forced to take a post of professor of French at the Korcha "Lycée." There, untamed and undeterred, he combined "French without tears" with political agitation—a dual occupation which ended with his arrest in January 1939 on a charge of conspiracy, followed by a brief spell in prison.

Then occurred the second most important event in his life, and the first that revealed his true vocation—the Fascist invasion of Albania on April 7th, 1939. For years past Mussolini, in quest of an easy but spectacular victory, had coveted Albania's territory and natural resources. His military conquest had long been prepared by a systematic extension of Italian control over Albania's army, finances,

customs and trade monopolies. After Hitler's rape of Czechoslovakia, the Duce felt his hour had come. Early on Good Friday, Italian sea and air forces attacked the hapless little country, overcoming its gallant resistance after a few days' bitter fighting. The Italians set up a puppet Government headed by the Quisling Shefret Bey-Verlaci, and for the next five years Albania became part of the ramshackle Roman Empire. But the matter did not end there. The initial stupor of defeat soon gave way to a grim determination to oppose the unsolicited "Empire-builders" and their hateful minions. A nationwide movement of guerilla and Resistance groups came into being, gathering momentum as time went on. In September 1942 a convention of patriots met at Peza to co-ordinate and unify the activities of all Resistance groups throughout the country. Eventually three main bodies emerged: the Nationalist "Balli Kombetar," the Royalist "Legality Movement," and the Communist-dominated "National Liberation Front," or F.N.C. (Fronti Nacional Clirimtare), of which Hoxha became one of the principal organisers. The amateur revolutionary had at last found his soul.

The Italian invasion had surprised him at Korcha. Well-known for his anti-Fascist views, he was soon dismissed by the new educational authorities. Leaving for Tirana, he set to work organising clandestine resistance to the Fascist New Order. Thereafter, his rise was rapid. He became Political Secretary of the illegal Communist Party, and chief editor of its paper, *Zeri I Popullit* ("The Voice of the People"). His activities attracted the attention of the Italians, who sentenced him to death *in absentia*, and put a price on his head. In July 1943 followed his appointment as military and political head of the F.N.C. Partisans. He directed military operations from a secret H.Q. in the mountains. British and U.S. liaison officers were attached to his troops, who waged intensive warfare on the Italians and—after the Germans had taken over Albania in September 1943—against the Nazis. Though Communist in character, the "National Liberation Front" was often supported by Nationalist Resistance groups. Side by side with military unification, a civil and political organisation grew up which provided the framework of Albania's post-war administration. In October 1944 a Provisional Government was formed, Hoxha being elected Premier and C.-in-C., with the rank of full General. A month later, the Government was transferred to Tirana. On December 4th Hoxha announced that the last Germans had been driven out of Albania. The hecatomb was over. The "National Liberation Front" controlled the whole country. It had carried on the struggle for national independence to its victorious conclusion. The original ill-armed guerillas had changed beyond recognition. December 1944 found Hoxha Supreme Commander of a seasoned, well-disciplined army of 70,000 men equipped mainly from British and U.S. sources. Presently, two Albanian divisions were sent to Yugoslavia, and played a notable part in Tito's liberation of Bosnia and Herzegovina. For Albania the wheel had come full circle. On November 10th, 1945, the Provisional Government was recognised by Britain, the U.S.A., the U.S.S.R. and France, on the understanding that it would hold elections free of intimidation and police state practices. A General Election took place on December 2nd, at which the "National Liberation Front" secured an overwhelming majority. Full recognition by the Big Four followed on January 5th, 1946. Six days later the Constituent Assembly proclaimed Albania a "People's Democracy."

Hoxha's beginnings as a post-war Premier were tough. Albania had paid a heavy toll in human life and treasure as a price for her liberation; 28,000 of her citizens had been killed, 1,600 villages wrecked or destroyed, transport and administrative services had broken down, and large sections of the population were threatened with starvation. To cope with its appalling difficulties Hoxha's Government applied desperate remedies to a desperate situation. Mines, industries and factories were nationalised, an agrarian reform was adopted, an intensive anti-illiteracy drive initiated, and a beginning made with the reconstruction of roads, bridges and public utilities. With Yugoslavia Hoxha signed a 30-year economic treaty, providing for joint State planning in both countries, a Customs Union, Yugoslav technical and financial aid, and monetary equality between the Yugoslav dinar and the Albanian lek. Yugoslavia also undertook to represent Albanian interests in countries where no Albanian diplomats were accredited. Close economic co-operation was maintained until Tito's quarrel with the Cominform, when Hoxha—at Moscow's behest—broke off all trade relations with Yugoslavia in July 1948. Tito retaliated with a "counter-blockade." Yugoslav deliveries and technical aid ceased, experts and engineers were recalled, and Yugoslav diplomats stopped representing Albania abroad. Deprived of his principal supplier, Hoxha turned to the U.S.S.R. and the Cominform countries for badly needed food and consumer goods. Considerable numbers of Soviet experts, technicians and "advisers" have since reached Albania to replace the expelled Yugoslavs, the result being that Albania is now almost exclusively dependent on Soviet Russia, and more isolated from the rest of Europe than any other country. Hoxha's visit to Moscow a fortnight ago was therefore of particular importance. It was generally believed to have been closely connected with Albania's economic plight and increasing difficulties.

Since the liberation significant changes have also taken place in Hoxha's home and foreign policy. The Communist Party, masquerading as a "National Liberation Front," had won the General Election in December 1945. But, as in all "New Democracies," the national unity motive served as a façade behind which effective power was retained by the Communists, who controlled the police, Press and propaganda. Once firmly established they immediately set to work to build up the one-party State. This process was not completed without the familiar purges, arrests and total liquidation of real and potential opposition elements. Nor was this all. Tito's excommunication by the Cominform was marked by far-reaching repercussions in Albania. On instructions from Moscow, Hoxha began to purge his own party of all "unreliable" followers. A ruthless nation-wide "heresy-hunt" was staged, culminating in the dismissal of Koci Xoxe (pronounced Djodje), the Vice-Premier, and Pandi Christo, Minister and chairman of the State Planning Board, in October 1948. Xoxe's dismissal was nothing short of sensational. Considered Albania's Communist No. 2, he was among the "first of the few" of the Albanian Communist party, had a distinguished war record, and was until his sudden "treachery" the second most powerful man in the country. A month later, Xoxe, Christo and scores of others were arrested as "deviationists" and "enemies of the people."

The pattern of Hoxha's foreign policy became abundantly clear in the spring of 1946, when his relations with Britain and the U.S.

rapidly deteriorated. The British Military Mission in Tirana became the target for violent attacks in the Albanian Press, and every manner of obstacle was put in its way. The British War Graves Commission was expelled. On April 4th, 1946, it was announced in London that "owing to the unfriendly and unco-operative attitude of the Albanian Government, the British Minister-designate, Mr. T. C. Rapp, would not proceed to Tirana, nor would an Albanian diplomatic representative be received in London at this stage." Five months later occurred the incident which made the breach complete. On October 22nd, 1946, two British destroyers, H.M.S. *Saumarez* and H.M.S. *Volage*, struck mines in the Corfu Channel, with the consequent loss of 44 lives and considerable damage to both ships. Britain brought the matter before the U.N. Security Council, which recommended to both Governments to submit it to the Hague International Court. On April 9th, 1949, the Court decided by 11 votes to 5 that Albania was responsible for the mines. U.S. relations with Hoxha were broken off in November 1946, when his Cabinet refused to confirm the validity of treaties in force between the two countries on April 7th, 1939—date of the Italian invasion. Since the Cominform quarrel with Tito, Hoxha has been honoured with the invidious task of abusing the Belgrade Government with unabated violence bordering on hysteria. Shrill denunciatory tirades are poured forth non-stop from the Tirana wireless, synchronised with savage attacks in the official newspapers *Bashkimi* and *Luftitari*. But Hoxha's democrats never do things by halves. Britain, too, has come in for some vilification. A recent editorial in *Zeri I Popullit* entitled "The British Lion under the Whip of Wall Street Maniacs" regaled its readers with lurid accounts of life in a Britain dominated by mass unemployment, scanty food rations and a low standard of living.

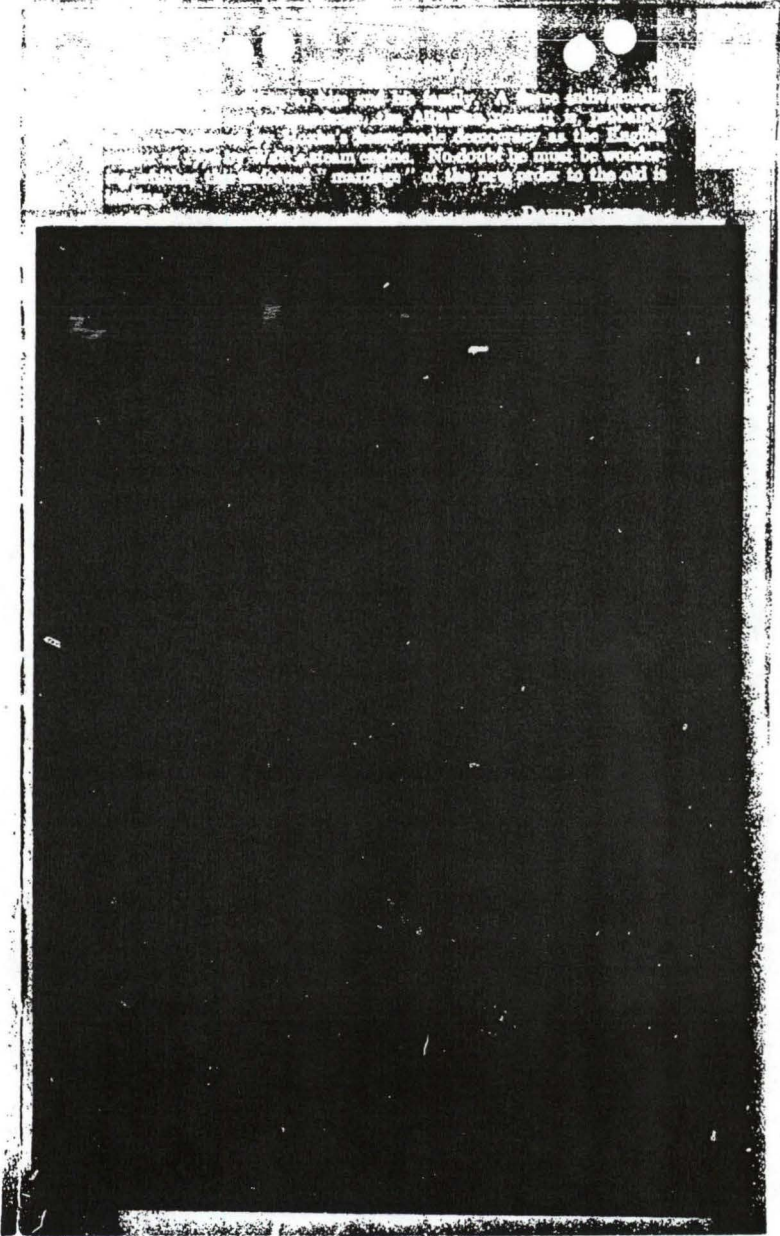
Hoxha's personal feelings for his war-time Allies were most eloquently expressed at the Communist Party's congress in Tirana on November 8th, 1948. The congress itself was an outstanding performance in mud-slinging, self-criticism and vitriolic denunciations by Hoxha and a bevy of leading lights, against men who had been their close friends and political co-religionists. Apart from the usual "unanimity," characteristic of every Communist convention, this one was marked by nothing more sensational than a "unanimous" decision to change the name of the Albanian Communist Party to "Albanian Labour Party." The rest of the time was spent in endless disquisitions on Marxist-Leninist "scientific" theories. Hoxha himself spoke for three days running on his Government's stewardship, and fiercely attacked Albania's enemies—Anglo-American Imperialists, King Zog, the Anglo-Iranian Oil Co., etc., etc. Singled out for particularly harsh treatment were Sir Robert Hodgson, the British Minister to Albania (1928-36), who, according to Hoxha, "had together with King Zog sold Albania to the Italians," and the British and U.S. Military Missions.

The latter he described as "agencies for espionage, sabotage and conspiracies," and "rally-points for all enemies of the people—reactionaries, war criminals, prostitutes and the dregs of the country." Next, he stigmatised pre-war British Imperialism, which "had used King Zog as a jail, whip and scaffold with which to crush all popular movements in Albania," and post-war Anglo-American Imperialism, which "had sought to turn Albania into another Greece." But his hardest hammerblows were reserved for Tito, whom he accused of

having planned the annexation of Albania, and of innumerable other crimes. On November 14th he announced that the Central Committee of his Communist Party had asked the U.S.S.R. for military experts and technicians, "to train the Albanian army in the spirit of the Red Army and Stalinist strategy." Two days later, Touk Yakova, Secretary of this Central Committee, summed up the party's aims thus: "Ours is the party of the People's Revolution, social and economic reforms, and constant struggle against Yugoslav Trotskyism, based on the sound and solid foundation of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin."

Albania to-day has a planned economy. Hoxha's Two-Year Plan for the economic development of the country is a comprehensive and ambitious document, designed to transform backward and undeveloped Albania into a modern industrialised "going concern." Its emphasis is on industrialisation—factories, power stations, public utility projects, and further development of basic industries old and new. In 1949 about 80 per cent. of all investments are to be allotted for industrial and building purposes. Provision has also been made for national education. Primary schools are to be increased to 311 per cent., and secondary schools to 913 per cent. of the 1938 level. Targets for agriculture aim at a 10 per cent. increase in the 1948 total of cultivated land, which was already 19 per cent. higher than in 1938. Precisely how well this planned economy is working out in practice is difficult to assess. Official statistics in the *New Democracies* are issued for the benefit of the gullible and the converted. According to Hoxha's propaganda, the nationalisation of mines and factories has resulted in an increase of 220 per cent. in industrial production and 134 per cent. in mining output compared with the 1938 figures. Stakhanovite methods are being used to intensify the turnover in goods in State-managed concerns. A co-operative movement on the Soviet pattern has been developed both in industry and agriculture, and is playing an ever-increasing part in the national economy. Much has also been done to stimulate production in the oil wells, and the chrome, copper and coal mines. A new oil refinery is to be built, which, it is hoped, will ensure Albania's requirements in fuel and motor fuel. In 1945 the Albanian trade union movement had 25,000 members. In 1948 the figure had risen to 57,000. Education has followed apace. Up to now 109,000 people have been taught to read and write. In agriculture Albania has still a long way to go before reaching anything like peak production. Before the war, only six per cent. of the total area of 2,700,000 hectares was under cultivation of field crops. Since the liberation, various measures have been taken to intensify agricultural output. But that is only half the problem. In industry and agriculture alike Albania is hampered by a desperate shortage of modern equipment, which must be obtained from abroad, and the lack of technicians and skilled workers. If the Two-Year Plan is to succeed, Hoxha will have to find the experts, capital goods and machinery from somewhere.

Hoxha rules Albania from Tirana, but Tirana is not Albania. The capital is a mixture of east and west, and regarded by the more conservative countryside as something of a snob. In the villages the Albanian "People's Democracy" is measured with a different yardstick. The Albanian peasant—the strongest force in the country's life—cares little for the subtleties of Marxism-Leninism or the theories on class struggles. His own struggle for self-preservation is at present





HOXHA General Enver

Career

born 1908, Gjinokasteb Married Moslem, Bektashi Sect.  
University studies in France and Belgium  
languages: French, some Italian, reads English

Decorations: Yugoslav Partisan Star, 1945; Albanian Partisan Star, first grade; Order of the Flag (Albanian); Memorial medal (Alb) 1945; etc

associations: Yugoslav-Albanian Cultural Society, 1945; Honorary President, Russian Albanian Cultural Society, 1946.

Comm. Party member

1924 Delegate to Congress of Balkan Communist Parties, Vienna  
1936 Secretary, Consulate, Brussels  
1936 professor, Korce Lyceum  
1937 resigned after Italian invasion  
1939 operated cigarette kiosk in Tirana  
1941 led demonstration against fascism and Italian influence  
condemned to death in absentia  
fled to mountains to continue opposition activities  
1942 leading figure at ~~summit~~ of Peza which organized resistance to occupation conference

lx

x

x  
1944-46 prime minister, first democratic government of Albania  
1945-date (?) president, executive committee, democratic front  
1946 head Albanian delegation, Yugoslavia July  
head " " Paris peace conf. July-Oct  
etc

1952 at CPSU cong. led delegation of the Albanian workers party

OO report - W-24232, dist 7 Oct 1952 Tells that H has the support of Moscow, but that he needs the support of his strong arm man, Mahmet Shehu (struggle for power between the two) GOOD

said that while ~~with~~ sec of Alb embassy in Brussels lived an adventurous life. represented self as scion of a princely family

NAZI WAR CRIMES DISCLOSURE ACT

Declassified and Approved for Release  
by the Central Intelligence Agency  
Date: 2005

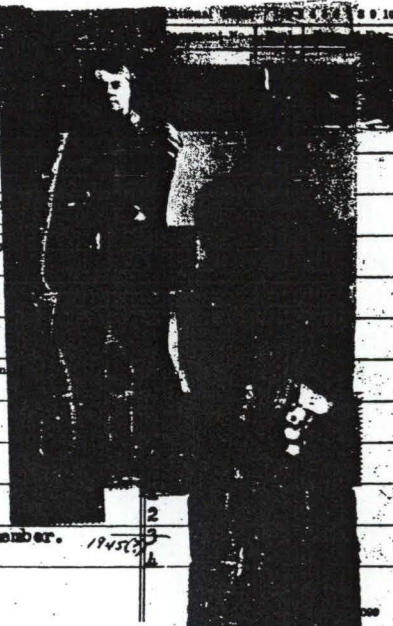
- and member of Party CC
- 9 May 1963 (Deputy Pres - Alb / Sov  
friendship Society) attended  
evening mtg - (Tirava) // #
- 9 May 1962 ditto (Tirava)
- 29 Apr 62 Present (Tirava) at ceremony  
during which "prizes of the Republic"  
for 59-60 & 61 were presented.
- 20 Mar 62 Member Party CC - attended a  
mtg org by Min of Educ & Culture  
in Tirava to discuss problems  
concerning coop of artists and  
composers w/ film industry.
- 16 Nov 61 Member Party CC attd mtg to celebrate  
17 anniversary of lib of Tirava.
- 10 Nov 61 mtg celebrating 10th anni of est  
of Stalin textile combine in Tirava.
- 4 Nov 61 Conference of art amateurs,  
1 Aug 61 Director of the Directorate of Educ and Culture of the Party  
CC,
- 21 Feb 61 Elected member Party CC by 4th  
Party Congress.

NAZI WAR CRIMES DISCLOSURE ACT

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Date: 2005

July 61 listed (as of 1960) as VP of Alb/Sov  
Friendship Assoc.

HOXH, River					
NAME:	Last	First	Middle		
ALIAS				Albar	
BUSINESS ADDRESS:	Street	City		Country	
LOCAL ADDRESS:	Street	City		Country	
LEGAL ADDRESS:	Street	City		Country	
PASSPORT and IDENTITY PAPERS					
DESCRIPTION:	Date & Birth	Birthplace		Nationality	
Sex	Height	Weight	Hair	Eyes	Complexion
Distinguishing Features					
Languages					
IMC General Staff member.					
Profession Capable man.					
Political comissar.					
Miscellaneous Information: President, APCNL; communist party member.					
Colonel-General.					
SECRET					



1. A 17134  
Reliable  
11/14/43
2. R and A  
1175/62  
6/3/44
3. R and A  
1175/64  
6/17/44
4. A 31331  
B-3  
6/2/44
5. F 6253, 5/6/46. See document for info on subject's representative in Rome.
6. JZX-3010  
Aug. 1945. Leader of the Extreme Leftist Party. Now Gen of the Army  
President of the Council of Ministers, Commander of the  
Armed Forces, and Secretary of the Communist Party.
7. 15760-531, 5/31/46.

See info card.

### NAZI WAR CRIMES DISCLOSURE ACT

- EXEMPTIONS Section 3(b)
- (2)(A) Privacy
  - (2)(B) Methods/Sources
  - (2)(G) Foreign Relations

Declassified and Approved for Release  
by the Central Intelligence Agency  
Date: 2005

HOAHA, Eaver

p. 2

ALBANIA

Lt. Gen. and Prime Minister of Albania. Head of Communist-controlled Resistance Gov't under Germans. Previously employed as private official at cigarette factory of Ibrahim Bey BICAKCIU. Beg 46 gave orders for execution of father-in-law, Bahri OMARI, who had been Foreign Minister in MITROVICA Gov't.

FSRO-524  
JEX-2033  
Oct 15, 46

Opened proceeding at Convention of Democratic Front 8 Oct with long review of Albanian internal and foreign policy. Relations with US and UK. See document.

PIR-176, 23/10/46  
Fortnightly I.  
Summary #18

Stated Albanians sincere allies of Yug Federated Democracy. Exchange of good-will envoys sponsored by USSR.

PIR-253  
15 Nov 46

Subject on 13 January sent telegram to Foreign Ministers of U.S., Russia and Britain demanding representation at Moscow Conference on German Peace treaty.

IN 47183  
15 Jan. 47

Bahri OMARI(qv) is brother-in-law of Subject.

OSS Reports  
21 March 1946

JZX 7651

Yugoslav backlog.

AG Communist Commissioner Liaison Committee with TITO.  
Commander in Chief-General of ANLA. Premier of Albania.

711X, 3/30/45

BIOG Sketch: 39, Col Gen., Prime Min. of Albania, Min of Nat. Defense, Comm.-in - chief of Army, Min. of For. Affairs; was a French teacher at Tirana and Korca until Italian occupation in 1939. Became prominent agitator against Fascism and King ZOG. Commanded Nat. ~~King's~~ Army of Lib. June 1944 despite complete lack of military training. Skilful organizer and politician. Has become puppet of USSR. Political influence: Communist control of Albanian Army through DMP(QV), anti-American and British and pro-soviet.

WAR DEPT.  
SID. 72275  
11/2/47

Bio. info. given confirms that above with few exceptions--age 35, and additions - did not participate in resistance against Italians until Russia entered war; became henchman for MILADINI, Serb organizer of Albanian Communist Party, who appointed him Political Commissar of Communist General Staff. Later he appointed himself Supreme Cmdr. and assumed rank of Col. Gen. At Communist Congress held in Permeti

PIR-1124  
Jan. 47

HQXRA, Enver

p. 8

ALBANIA

was elected head of Provisional Gov. of Permeti. At present he is President of Council of Ministers, For. Affairs Min. and Supreme Cadr. (actual powers is held by Koci XODIE (qv) and Sejfulla MALE-SHOVA (qv) )

PIR-1124  
Jan 47

Source reports Subject is not really in charge of Albania but that affairs are actually directed by a committee composed of 4 Russians, 2 Yugos, and 2 Albanians. Koco ZOZO (probably Gen Komhi XHOXHE) is one of members.

MA TURKEY  
69910  
7/3/47

Subject presently in Moscow. Reportedly there by Stalin to sound out possibility of granting Northern Epirus to the Free Greek Gov.

IN 18299  
16/7/47  
C 1 C-0

Received order of SUVOROV. STATE 151700A 15/8/47.

Returned Albania. PIR-368, Sept 46

Is believed that 1 month ago, KARAGJANI & Hapi REKAP(qv), Alb. IS agents, submitted rpt to Italian Central Communist Com. declaring that Subj. had approached elements of British IS to obtain aid and advice as to possibilities of overthrowing Soviet domination in Albania.

MASA-874(encl 32) dtd Nov '51; (from CIC 430th Det./Austria, r pt dtd 23 Aug 1948; inform- and Austrian businessmen recently in Rome.

In recent speech Subject clearly defines Albania in role of Yugo. satellite.

IN 25091  
3 Oct 47  
L 1

See Albanian Personalities for extracts of speeches made by Subject.

IN 1117 1  
10/10/47

See Doc. for complete OIR biog. data on Subject. Doc. filed in Albanian Personalities dossier.

OIR-4556  
12/1/48

Reports death of Enver XODIE.

IN 11350  
10/10/47

Spec that Subject has sought asylum on American ship.

IN 1117 1  
10/10/47

Elected member of the Central Committee of the Albanian Workers' Party (new name of the Albanian CP) following the party's first congress on 8 Nov. Subject is also Secretary General of the party and member of the Politburo. As of 28 Nov. Subject was Prime Minister, Minister of National Defense and Minister of Foreign Affairs.

OIR  
OIR Information Note No. 500-3  
8 Dec. 1948

HOXHA, Enver

COM Page 4

ALBANIA

A 33785

B-3

7/11/44

Major purpose now seems to be to destroy Nationalist organizations (BK, Movement of Legitimacy, ZOGISTS), war against Germans gradually assuming secondary importance.

kk

Apologized for his threat to British liaison officers attached to Abas KUPI whom he condemns as a collaborator; claims he had been forced to make such a gesture, because his constant efforts to have the Allied mission to KUPI withdrawn had failed. Explained that he never actually considered placing British officers on military trial, added that further documentary proof of KUPI's collaboration had instigated his threat.

R & A

#76

9/9/44

sk

Prime Minister.

A-54334 GB-4534

Z, 4/10/45

Albania (B-2)

SC

As of March 22, 1946, subject is now Prime Minister, Minister of National Defense, and Minister of Foreign Affairs.

15760-405

5 April

1946.

Met TCHUVAKIN (qv) at airport 10 Jan 46 with NISHANA and XHOXHE

JRX-3445

6 Jun 46

Commander of the National Liberation Army.

JZX-7940

20 April 1946.

On 18 March, subject handed in his Government's resignation and was requested to form a new one.

JRX-1345

March 20, 1946.

DIMITROV's agent in Albania. Subject is negotiating the formation of a Federation which would include his country.

JZX-6340

2 March 1946.

Subject in speech before the General Council of the Democratic Front explaining his country's progressive foreign policy based upon the policy of the National Liberation Front and friendship with USSR.

FBIS-CIG

No. 205

15 Oct. 1946

Subject left Paris on 16 Sept. 46 and denounced the conference.

State Dept. Sit. Report

No.1175.150 20 Sept.46

Prime Minister, Commander-in-Chief of the Army, and Sec'y-General of the Communist Party.

---ma

Subject is 41 years of age and comes from Gjinokaster. In 1944 he married Nexhmije SANKHAKTARI. He resigned from his teaching job in 1940 to open a book and stationery store in Tirana. From his stationery store, Subject directed "anarchist" activity. The first group of Albanian Communists consisted of Koci XOXE, Ymer DISHNICA, Gogo Nushi, and Enver HOXHA, all having been trained in Communism in France.

PGA-4010

☐    ☐

C-3

25 May 1949

After the German attack on the Soviet Union, the various bands of Albanian Communists (because there was no Party then) united under the leadership of two Yugoslav Communists assigned to them by the Communist Party of Yugoslavia. The names of the Yugoslavs were DOEGAN and MILIADIN. The leadership of the Party thus formed was temporarily assigned to Enver HOXHA, and this was definitely confirmed at the First Plenary Congress in October, 1941 in Liembinoti (Elbasan).

Subject was also assigned the military command of the struggle of the Partisans. On 24 May 1944, the Meeting of the Supreme Council of the National Liberation Front, held in Premeti, appointed Subject President of the first provisional Government and Commander-in-Chief of the National Liberation Army. He was given the rank of Colonel-General.

Since 1945, Subject has had the position of Minister of Foreign Affairs, as well as Prime Minister. The First Congress of the Party elected him Secretary-General and member of the Politburo (November, 1948).

arm

According to the French Minister in Tirana, CHARTIER(qv), Subject left Tirana for Moscow via a USSR plane on 14 Nov., accompanied by a Soviet general. CHARTIER believes that Subject was summoned to discuss latest Kremlin strategy against TITO. Subject's trip was separately reported by another hitherto reliable source, who claimed that Subject was asked to go to Moscow after the Yugoslav note of 2 Nov. to discuss the deteriorating internal Albanian situation and seek public and immediate manifestation of USSR interest in the Albanian province after note of 12 Nov., repeated demand and received Moscow approval for an immediate trip. Subject is said to be seeking credits and industrial equipment and goods from five European countries and will inform the Kremlin that Albania is unable to meet foreign trade commitments because of rapidly decreasing output in minerals, foodstuffs.

7838

Am. Embassy

Belgrade

1200

15 Nov. 1949

fc

25 Nov. '49

Albania's Premier Enver Hoxha has been promoted from Colonel General to Moscow Newspaper the rank of General of the Army Moscow papers announced today. The press also announced the arrival of the new Albanian Minister to the Soviet Union.

-----el



HOKHA, Enver

p. 6

FBI Daily Report  
No. 243-1949  
19 Dec. 1949

(AFP, French Press Service, 17 Dec. 1949)

"Belgrade -- It is learned from a good source that Mr. Enver HOKHA, Albanian Premier, returned on December 15 to Tirana after a stay of about one month in Moscow. According to well informed circles, the Albanian Premier studied with the Russian leaders the situation resulting from the liquidation of the civil war in Greece, which now...Albania from the other satellites, as well as the consequences of Yugoslavia's denunciation on November 12 of the friendship treaty between the two countries. Finally, according to certain persons, it is possible that Mr. HOKHA, who was accompanied in his trip by the Soviet Minister to Tirana, asked for increased aid from Russia."

fc

The Am. Embassy, Moscow, has not been able to confirm the rumored Moscow visit of HOKHA. The Soviet press reported that Mrs. HOKHA (qv) represented Albania at a session of the WIDE council just held in Moscow. It is also possible that, though no mention of it has been made, HOKHA may have attended the Cominform meeting in Hungary.

Control-12119  
Am. Embassy, Moscow  
# 2974, dated 30 Nov. 49

The French Ambassador (who together with the Italian Ambassador last night attended a dinner given by the new Albanian Minister in Moscow) says he is sure HOKHA has not been in

Moscow.

HOKHA's new military title (General of the Army) may be preparatory to sending a high-ranking Red Army officer to Albania something a la ROZCOVSKY in a precautionary move aimed at increasing Soviet control over the country and discouraging any action by TIA or the West against this small, exposed satellite. The French Ambassador thinks this very likely.

fc

General Hoxha granted a farewell audience to Hungarian Minister on 18 Dec. 49.

FBI 243  
19 Dec. 49

dlc

The French Embassy reports the return of HOKHA to Tirana on 16 Dec. The continuous absence of HOKHA since 16 Nov. is partly confirmed by the fact that HOKHA signed no ministerial decrees in the interim period.

Control-8333  
Am. Embassy, Belgrade  
No. 1301  
20 Dec. 1949

fc

Subject returned to Tirana from Moscow with two special advisors for military and political affairs. No political changes are evident but a military reorganization is underway.

TS IN-12895  
VIEN-3560  
3 Jan. 1950

fc

(qv)  
Shyqeri CUCIT's aunt, who is resident in Albania, is the mother of ~~xxx~~ Subject.

PIR-6472  
dt inf March 1950

ab

HOXHA, Enver.

P. 7

OO-W-6806/49  
"To Vima"  
30 Oct. 1949

A dispatch from London in the Greek newspaper "To Vima" states the following: It has been reliably reported that Subject is negotiating with the Yugoslavs to abandon the Cominform camp and to reanimate his former friendship with Tito.

A dispatch from Paris in the Greek newspaper "Acropolis" of 13 Nov. 1949 states the following: The Cominform has accused Subject of Titoism. This accusation brings astonishment because Subject has been considered the affectionate child of the Kremlin. Indignation against Moscow, however, is manifest in Albania. Subject, despite his curses on TITO, is now considered wayward. Subject's first warning from Moscow came when he was asked to reinforce MARKOS' guerrillas and was accused of negligence and "narrow-mindedness" in his mission for the first time in his life. Later, Subject received another and more serious warning. He was ordered to appear before the leaders of the Cominform in Moscow. However, for the first time Subject disobeyed the Kremlin's orders. Furthermore, he accepted an invitation from TITO to come to Yugoslavia to discuss matters concerning the purchase of lead, manganese, and phosphorus.

Only a few days ago Subject met with Mose PIJADE. PIJADE arrived in Tirana bearing definite proposals from TITO. At this meeting PIJADE proposed:

- a) Reopening of the Albanian-Yugoslav borders;
- b) resumption of trade relations between Albania and Yugoslavia;
- c) a TITO-HOXHA meeting at a point on the Albanian-Yugoslav border.

When Moscow was informed of these Yugoslav proposals, VISHINSKY, who was in New York at the UN General Assembly, met privately with KARDELJ, the Yugoslav representative and Minister of Foreign Affairs. The next day, the fireworks began. A telegram was dispatched from Moscow to Tirana. The Kremlin accused Subject of being a traitor to Communism. Subject was asked to resign immediately from his position as chief of staff of the Albanian Army and to substitute someone else. Subject, however, had no desire to resign. He answered Moscow, through his representative, that he has always remained faithful to the People's Democracies and that he is willing to repent. This is how the situation stands at present.

fo

Hoxha has reportedly disappeared -- not known where or why. ~~TOMK~~ TOMK arrested.

dlc

Hoxha has been ~~xxxxxx~~ imprisoned in Shengjin for 15 days. Authority of Subj. over Alb. Army greatly diminished; majority of officers & enlisted men, even those who had once supported present regime, were anxious to revolt.

dlc

"Molotov sent a telegram of thanks to General Enver Hoxha, in reply to Hoxha's birthday wishes to Molotov. (Tirana, ATA, 23 Mar 50) "

dlc

(50-37591)  
IN 19646

IN 37581  
23/3/50

(50-37753)  
IN 20718  
IN 20490

IN 37704  
27/3/50

FBIS 58  
24/3/50

According to Albanian Telegraph agency broadcast of April 12, General Enver Hoxha made a speech at the second national conference at the Albanian Workers' Party.

-----el

Subject, Chairman of the Council of Ministers and Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Peoples Republic of Albania, Dr. Omer Nishani, President of the Presidium of the People's Assembly; Vice Chairman of the Council of Ministers, Tuk Jakova, Mehmet Shehu, and Spiro Koleka; Comrade Bedri Spahiu, Secretary of the Central Committee of the Albanian Workers' Party, members of the Central Committee of the Albanian Workers' Party, the Government, and the Presidium of the People's Assembly; People's Army generals; representatives of mass and cultural organizations; men of science and arts; representatives of the Albanian and foreign press, and many other personalities attended the reception of 4 April given by Janos Botji, Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary of the Peoples' Republic of Hungary -- Tirana -- The occasion of the National Holiday of the 5th Anniversary of Hungary's liberation by the glorious Soviet Army.

Supreme Commander of Albanian Army is in hands of Subject.

-----  
DST-71/2 May50  
Feb 50 d.info  
#1401

ab

Election by General Council of Albanian Democratic Front as President of its Presidium. The Presidium made up of 17 member--other officers including Tuk JAKOVA, Gogo NUSHI, Medar SHTYLLA, Muslim PEZA & Hysni KAPO.

FBIS #94

15 May 50

ab

From CIA BR dtd 21 Sept 49:

Sept 49 Soviet Minister to Albania, CHUVAKIN, said unfavorably inclined toward Subj. & allegedly considering his replacement by another leader. Subj. ~~strongly~~ strongly displeased by promotion of Mehmet SHEHU at this time, which was made on direct order Moscow. Oct 49 rptd that Subj. was planning to break with Moscow & accused Vice-Premier SHEHU of being Soviet tool. Rptd Subj. trying approach Western powers following TITO's example...Since Subj. had no desire resign upon Soviet request following his meeting Nov 49 with Tito's associate, Mose BIJADE, doubtful that Russia would be satisfied with repentance, instead of resignation, & subsequently Subj. probably will not hesitate at a chance obtain more power & authority, even if must follow Tito's example. ...Rptd Jan 50 when Subj. made speech Tirana praising Cominform commanders Moscow, that masses were cool toward him.... Yugoslav paper mentioned Subj. among high Albanian leaders taking part in preparat~~ion~~ spy group to be smuggled into Yugoslavia.....Born 16 October 1908 at Gjinokaster; Moslem of Bektashi sect. ab

SO-30069

(222) IN

45663)19/10/49

;SO-31746

29/11/49;

OO-W-6806/49

12/12/49, At the

Dept St FSD-

43,20/1/50;

FBIS #11,

17/1/50

Re Appointed Premier by the first session of the Second Legislature of the People's Assembly 5 July 1950

FBIS #130

6 July 1950

fjm

This same FBIS had stated that Mehmet SHEHU (qv) had been appointed Minister of Foreign Affairs and of National Defense. According to Steve Peters of OIR, however, this information incorrect; Shehu continues as Minister of Interior, and HOXHA continues as Premier, Minister of Foreign Affairs and Minister of National Defense.

dlc

HOXHA, Enver

P-9

R440-50  
14 Feb. '50  
Italy, Rome

War Minister and Supreme Commander of Armed Forces.  
-----all

Under Election Law No. 34, the Central Election Commission has confirmed the election of subject as a deputy from the Tirana District to the People's Assembly.

(FBIS-108 3 June 1950)

mmk

List of present organization of Albanian cabinet: Subject is Army Corps General and Prime Minister.

PTA-1074  
14 Sept 50  
Att#1(M-903-7)  
CIC TRUST

ab

Subject has of late been in disagreement with many opinions expressed by Minister of Interior SHEHU(qv). Any deterioration of relations between Subj. and SHEHU would seem to reflect personal rivalry, rather than conformance with a Soviet-dominated policy.

R-271-50  
G-2 TRUST F-3  
dtd 11 July 50

On 15 October 1950 on occasion of Enver HOXHA's birthday, aircraft of unknown nationality dropped propaganda leaflets, in Gneg dialect, and signed by Comm. for Free Albania, over Shkoder area.

SO-50124(IN-47737/  
Rome 705X) dtd 2 Nov 50  
B-3

Subject gave his report on agriculture before the Second Congress of the Albanian Workers' Party, held in Tirana on 10 April 1950. He claimed only partial success for the fulfillment of the 1949 agricultural plan.

OO-W-12104  
Bashkimi #1652  
dtd 11 Apr 50

ejb

OO-W-12103  
Dashkimi  
dtd 11 Apr 50

In his speech before the Second Congress of the Albanian Workers' Party, held in Tirana on 10 April 1950, Subject admitted that the 1949 economic plan was not fulfilled and blamed the failure on sabotage of industrial installations by the enemies of the current regime, this especially evident in the petroleum industry, especially at Patos, which was assigned the most important part of the plan. Besides sabotage by the Yugoslavs, which he claimed is still being felt, Hoxha pointed to sabotage by the opposition group of Abedin Shehu, by Shyqri Kellezi who was formerly director of the Petroleum Combine, by Nasi Mariani who was formerly director at Patos, and by other enemy technicians and administrators who worked there and enjoyed the confidence and protection of those directors.

ejb

"On the occasion of his 42nd birthday, Army General Enver HOXHA has received messages of congratulations from the Presidium of the Central Council of the Albanian United Trade Unions, the Central Comm. of the Albanian Working Youth Union, and the Albanian Women's Union..."

FBIS-202 17 Oct 50  
ATA 15 Oct 50

ab

The absence of subject and the Soviet Minister to Albania was noted at ceremonies held in Tirana on 6 November 1950 in honor of the Bolshevik Revolution. Their absence has been tied in with the reported presence in Moscow for the past two months of the Soviet Minister to Albania, and with the alleged negotiations of a political-economic nature now being evolved between the USSR and the states of the Eastern Bloc, in which Albania is particularly interested.

TN-12026  
(17373)  
SO-53785 a  
B-6

HOXHA, Enver

GREECE  
p. 10

Washington Comment: Albanian Telegraph Agency broadcast of 29 Nov. 1950 stated that, on the previous day, General Hoxha appeared at the hall where celebrations were being held on the occasion of the sixth anniversary of the liberation of Albania from Fascist occupation. Also present at these celebrations was the Soviet Minister to Albania.

mb

General of the Army. Secretary-General of the Workers' Party of Albania. Photo shows Subj. greeting Second Congress of Trade Unions of Albania held at Kucove on 23-26 October 1949.

ab

ZJYA-1507  
dtd 17 Nov 50  
JERMYN Att#2



Abas KUPI(qv), who convinced that Ball Kombetar extremists headed by Abas ERHANI(qv) hoped reach agreement with dissident Communists in Albania, said that they already may be in contact with followers of K.oi XOXE through Sabaudin DINO(qv), whom KUPI believed came from Paris accompanied by member Albanian Legation in Paris. KUPI did not know whether this Albanian diplomat acting with approval of Subject and Mehmet SIBIRU(qv), or whether representing Xoxists.

ab

sn DB-32305(IN-12)  
C 7-7437)dt inf  
Nov 50; C I

HOXHA, Enver

Call

FBI #212  
8 Nov 1950  
Tirana 7 Nov '50

Subject, Chairman of the Council of Ministers, attended a celebration meeting on the occasion of the 33rd anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution organized by the Central Committee of the Albanian Workers' Party, in the Peoples' Theatre Hall, Tirana.

Subject attended a celebration meeting on the occasion of the sixth anniversary of the Liberation, organized by leaders of the Democratic Front of Albania and the Tirana front. Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the People's Republic of Albania.

-FBI #234  
1 Dec 1950  
Tirana 29 Nov

General of the Army, Secretary General of the Party, Supreme Commander of the Albanian Armed Forces, Prime Minister, Minister of National Defense, Minister of Foreign Affairs, and President of DF. Deputy for Tirana District of the new People's Assembly, whose first session opened on 28 June 50.

OIR, DRE Info  
Paper EER-78  
dtd 3 July 50

The discharge of Spiro PANO and Rita MARKO (qqvv) ~~xxxx~~ is cited by source as a further indication of HOXHA's preoccupation with the disloyalty of his official entourage.

IN 30068 [ ]  
8655) \* 8060518  
Info: 21/3/51

Reports of 22 March 1951, believed reliable, state that Subject and vice-premier Tuk JAKOVA (qv) are at odds and that JAKOVA was imprisoned on or about 12 March 1951.

SO-61209(IN-31935, [ ]  
2704-TN-32116/[ ] 1 8809);  
[ ] C-3

Rumors of a rift between subject and Mehmet Shehu (qv) based on alleged rivalry for power, have been current since the elections of the summer of 1950. It is also being said that many Army officers and high State officials have taken the side of Shehu. \*Washington Comment: Source has not been able to secure any definite evidence confirming or denying this report. Such speculation has been going on for some time past in Albanian circles outside the country, while similar rumors have also previously been reported by contacts in Albania. See SO's 28835b, 30069, 33424, 37753 and 42920.

SO-59696\*  
TN-27927  
[ ] 3-8483)  
Date of Info:  
March 1951  
B-3

The bombing incident in Tirana occurred on 19 Feb. 51 during a gathering of subject and his Soviet advisers; the bomb consisted of a tin of "compressed gasoline" (sic). Of 1,000 persons arrested, including members of the police and army, 50 were shot immediately, and their families interned. There is said to have been some difference of opinion between subject and Mehmet Shehu (qv) regarding the type of punishment to be inflicted; Subject reportedly opposed the death penalty.

SO-61211\*  
TN-32206  
[ ] 1-8818)  
H  
Date of Info:  
19 Feb. 51  
\*3

HOXHA, Enver

Albania--12

It is believed that Subj. still holds post of Minister of Natl Defense as well as Supreme Commander of the Albanian Armed Forces.

R-164-51 Arma Rome  
dt inf 2 Feb '51  
Source: Ital IS

ab

Supports Tuk JAKOVA, Manol KONOMI, and Gen. Spiro MOISIU(qqv) who are sympathetic to popular feeling against trial and execution of those accused in Soviet Legation bombing; opposing faction led by Mehmet SHEHU(qv).

Dept. of State Telegram  
No. 1397 dtd 30 Mar 51  
Yugoslavia, Belgrade

pa

Subject and Mehmet SHEHU(qv) were not present at the May Day celebration and no explanation for their absence was given. It is believed that they both left unexpectedly for Moscow.

FBIS #97 11 May 51  
Athens in Rumanian to  
Europe 10 May 51

pa

Acc. to Stratitika Nea, an attempt was made to assassinate Subject by Minister JAKOVA(qv) during a meeting of the Ministerial Council.

FBIS #94 dtd 8 May 51  
from Athens 5 May 51

ab

Liri KONDI and Milka FRASZERI(qqv) are influential girl friends of Subject.

OO-B-33697 F-2  
dt inf prior 21 May 51

ab

An extraordinary plenary meeting of the Central Committee of the Albanian CP was held 14 May 51 under the chairmanship of the Secy Gen, Enver HOXHA.

FBIS #100  
16 May 1951  
LL-1

dlc

M. CASSIN, French Minister Tirana, informed his FO on 13 April that names of Mehmet SHEHU(qv) and wife had been appearing more frequently in press on important occasions, while Enver HOXHA and wife were given little publicity.

AmEmb Belgrade Air  
Pouch #828  
dtd 3 May 1951

ab

(DEPTEL May 14,)

Rome Foreign Office source confirms absence of Subj. and Mehmet SHEHU(qv) from Tirana on May Day. Other Rome sources believe they were in Moscow.

Rome  
5193, 18 May 51

pa

According to statements made by Rome PAOLINI (qv), recently returned Ital. Charge d'Affaires, Hoxha made three visits to Moscow during PAOLINI's tenure (late 1949 - June 1951). See ref. for discussion of these trips. Due to a slip-up in scheduling, MOSE (Paolini repted) arrived in Durres on a Soviet merchant vessel on the same day that the SS OTRANTO brought Paolini's successor, Vincenzo GULLI (qv - see SO 65485).

SODB-38205\*  
15 June 51  
CRITICAL  
SECURITY \*  
CONTROL.

dlc

HOXHA, Enver

Albania--13

Present at the meeting (held the night of July 29) in celebration of 8th anniversary of the People's Army. Chairman of the Council of Ministers and the Supreme Commandant of the Armed Forces.

ab

Army General and Chairman of the Council of Ministers of Albania. Attended ceremony at "Stalin" oil town on 22 July on occasion of inauguration of a monument to STALIN.

ab

Army General Enver HOXHA, born 16 October 1908, is the Albanian Prime Minister, Minister of Foreign Affairs, Minister of People's Defense, and Commander in Chief of the Armed Forces. His background is that of an intellectual rather than a political leader or a soldier, and unlike most Satellite rulers, he is not Moscow-trained.

FHIS #138  
dtd 11 July 1951  
ATA Tirana 10 J1

FHIS #147  
dtd 24 July 1951  
Tirana, Albania  
Home Service  
22 July

1 July 1951  
Brog. Info  
Army  
Acting Chief  
of Staff, G-2  
Project #4113

He attended the University of Montpellier in France, about 1930, and later the University of Brussels, where he also served as Secretary in the Albanian Consulate General. While in France, he came in contact with the Communist movement. Between 1936 and 1939, he was an instructor in secondary schools in Tirana and Korca.

After Italy's forcible annexation of Albania in April 1939, General Hoxha helped organize a native resistance movement, and later became one of the foremost partisan leaders. In May 1944, he was appointed Commander in Chief of the Army and in October he also became Prime Minister. In March 1946, the additional assignments of Minister of People's Defense and Minister of Foreign Affairs were given to General Hoxha. General Hoxha is ruthless, cunning, abjectly pro-Kremlin, and, in many respects, an opportunist. He has consid-



HQXGA, Enver

ALBANIA p. 14

able personal status among the Albanian people, by whom he is respected as the leader of the national liberation. His personal traits -- a dominant personality, ambitious nature, and organizational ability -- in addition to a willingness to listen to expert advice, have greatly aided him in retaining power. In spite of all rumors to the contrary, he appears to receive the complete approbation of the Soviets. He speaks five or six languages, including some English.

mb

Headed 2nd session of National Assembly which convened to discuss the budget.

ab

FBIS #117 dtd  
11 June 1951  
Tirana in Albanian to Europe  
8 June 1951

Subject reported Moscow (fairly reliable Albanian source). Mehmet SHEHU (qv), acting chief. Source shares long-standing belief that Subj. definitely in Moscow disfavor, while popularity SHEHU soaring. At present SHEHU appears likely successor to MA Subj. Subj's visit to Moscow considered highly possible by Itals; however, rpt not confirmed.

ab

Joint Weeka #36  
7 Sep 1951  
Dept Army

Subject attended concert in Tirana on Sep 4.

okd

FBIS #179  
dtd 7 Sep 51  
Tirana, in Albanian to Europe, 5 Sep 51

Same report as in Joint Weeka #36, 7 Sep 51, DA, see above precis.

okd

HQS USFA-Intel Summary, No. 325  
18 Sep 51

Subject reported to have not attended the May Day celebration in Tirana because he was in neighborhood of Scutari and Puka putting down resistance.

okd

Attach. to 33-CRIAG  
dtd 24 May 51

HOXHA, Enver

Albania - p. 16

A fairly reliable source reports that Subject (spelled Hodja) is presently in Moscow. Mehmed Shehu (qv) Minister of Interior and a strong party leader, is acting during his absence. The Italian Intelligence organization considers this visit highly possible although it is not confirmed. (Legation Comment - The source shares the long-standing belief that Subject is definitely in disfavor with Moscow, while the popularity of Shehu with the Soviets is soaring. At present Shehu appears to be the likely successor to Subject.

HQS USAF, Intell.  
Summary, No. 325  
18 Sep 51

<sup>okd</sup>  
Informant for SIC rpt containing info on armed forces personalities, R-105-51 hospitals, Soviet families, Greek guerrillas, roads, and economics in Albania reports that subject is Prime Minister (Krye Ministri); Minister of National Defence (Ministri Mbrojtjes Kombtare), and General of the Army (Gjeneral Armate) during the period 1948 to Dec. 50. Listed as Colonel General (Kolonel Gjeneral).  
Army Greece  
(SIC/M/A/71)  
dt inf Up to Nov 50

<sup>mb</sup>  
Born in Neskater, Albania in 1912.

MASA-874 (Encl. 42)  
dtd Nov 51: CIC  
DofI: 23 Sep 48

kd

Secretary General of Albanian Workers Party. Subject welcomed delegates, from all over the world, attending the 10th anniversary festivities of the formation of the Albanian Workers Party.

okd  
FBIS: No. 218  
dtd 1 Nov 1951  
ATA to Europe  
31 October 1951

At end of October 1951, Subject and Adil CARGANI(qv), were present at the opening of a new cotton processing factory at Fior.

<sup>ab</sup>  
76660(IN-41302/  
C 1 7984)  
C C-3

Split between Subj. and Mehmet SHEHU(qv), which until recently had remained latent, has now become more pronounced. Rumors widespread in Tirana that presence of both in Moscow in May '51 due to their going to Soviet Union to seek resolution of their personal differences; if this the reason, however, trip unsuccessful, and their enmity has deepened. Enmity stems partly from SHEHU's imprisonment of various HOXHA supporters and from SHEHU widening his personal power under pretext of his Ministry position; rift has spread to Workers' Party itself, which is gradually splitting into factions.

<sup>ab</sup>  
76011(PIR -11597)  
C C-6  
dt inf mid-Sept '51

Source's informant is confidential source from Belgrade. About middle Aug '51 Hasan DOSTI(qv) sent cable to Subj. saying that large quantities food, clothing and shoes had been collected and were ready to be sent to Albania for distribution, but that distribution must be made by International Red Cross or by a Comm. of the UN.

<sup>ab</sup>  
PGA-7131 L J \*C-3  
dt inf prior 19 Oct '51

HOXHA, Enver

Albania--p. 16

Contents of cable broadcast by secret radio station in Southern Albania. After distribution of pamphlets, which stated that Sov. Union and Subj. did not accept the offer, Subj. compelled to announce that he had received the cable from DOSTI. Subj., however, called DOSTI tool of American warmongers, etc.

PGA-7131 cont.

ab

HOXHA, ENVER GENERAL

A-43350 - Prime Minister of new democratic  
govt. President of Anti-Fascist  
Committee.  
A-44595 a - Prime Minister of FNC Prov. Govt.  
A-46055 - Statement of Enver Hoxha, news item  
A-46189 - Promotion to Marshal  
A-46191 - Speech - Independence Day Celebration  
A-47850 - Interview with Hoxha  
A-48942 - Quarrel with Nishani

Investigation of Tirana dailies Zeri i Popullit and Bashkimi from 15 Nov - 15 Dec 51 indicates that Subj. out of country during this period, probably in Moscow. All decrees issued during this period bore signature of Vice Premier SHEHU. Nor did HOXHA participate in ceremonies on 29 Nov, commemorating 8th anniversary of country's "liberation," and other public functions.

IR #5635.53  
31 Jan 52

ab

Subj. is a weak character, but servile and easily controllable. In case of elimination of Subj. and Mehmet SIFTI(qv), preferred Soviet candidates would be Manuch KETIU, Koco TASHKO and Gogo BUSHI(qv).

SO-86687(WIR-1003)  
[ ] B-3  
dt Inf Prior to  
March 1952

Dimitri CHUVAKHIN(qv) was in close personal contact with Subject, while Maj. Gen. Victor GLEBOV(qv) appeared to favor Mehmet SIFTI(qv).

Top Secret  
SO DB-53732  
[ ] B-3

ab

HOXHA, Enver

Albania - p. 17

The Albanian Workers Party's Second Congress met on 1 Apr. to begin debate on the report presented by Subject, Secretary General of the Albanian Workers Party. Meeting held in Tirane.

FBIS # 67  
dtd 3 Apr 52  
Tirana, ATA, in French  
Morse to Europe-1 Apr

af

Chief of the Council of Ministers of the People's Republic of Albania. Received in audience the Soviet State delegation headed by Col. General of the Guard GALISKIY (qv), 27 Nov 52.

FBIS #233-28Nov52  
Tirana, Home, 27Nov52

af

Secretary General of the Albanian Workers Party. Spoke at the Central Committee of the Albanian Workers Party and the Party Committee for Tirana on 6 Nov in Tirana. Member of the presidium of this conference.

FBIS #222-12 Nov 52  
Tirana, Albanian  
Home Service-7Nov52

af

Toured Northern Albania with Mehmet SHEHU, Tuk JAKOVA, and Maj. Gen. Myslim PEZA (all qv).

FBIS #179 - dtd 11 Sep  
Tirana, ATA, in French  
Morse to Europe-10Sep52

af

Papers for 5 Sep 52 carried an open letter by Subject and members of the Party Politburo addressed to the district electoral committees announcing in which districts Politburo members will stand as candidates in the forthcoming elections to the people's councils. Subject, who has

FBIS #176  
dtd 8 Sep 52  
Tirana, ATA  
5 Sept 52

been proposed by every district as the first candidate of the people will stand in Electoral Zone No. 16, the town of Tirana.

af

Prime Minister. In a speech before a mass meeting in Tirana on 27 Oct on his return from Moscow, declared that the Albanian people must be totally mobilized for the defense of the Motherland.

IR 5635.90  
dtd 5 Nov 1952

af

The delegation of the Albanian Workers Party led by Subject, which took part in the 19th CPSU Congress, returned to Albania on 27 October.

FBIS #22 212  
dtd 28 Oct 52  
Tirana, ATA,  
in Fr. Morse to  
Europe 27 Oct

ab

Mehmet SHEHU addressed a mass meeting in Tirana on 5 October on occasion of opening of Soviet Party Congress in Moscow, and spoke in high praise of Subject, then in Moscow, heading an Albanian delegation to the Congress.

FBIS #196 dtd  
6 Oct 52  
Tirana, ATA,  
in Fr. Morse to  
Europe, 5 Oct

ab

HOXHA, Enver

Albania - 18

Attended the reception given by Ioan TOTOLANI (qv), Rumanian diplomatic representative in Tirana, in honor of the fifth anniversary of the Rumanian Republic.

af

FBIS #1-dtd 2 Jan53  
Tirana, Home,  
31 Dec 1952

Received at the brigade's palace in Tirana, a group of about 200 Pioneers with Mehmet SHEHU, Hysni KAPO, Gogo NUSHI, Spiro KOLEKA, Pilo FERISTERI, and Manush MYFTIU (qqv).

af

FBIS #1  
dtd 2 Jan 1953  
Tirana, Home -  
31 Dec 1952

Subject attended a meeting in the People's Theater in Tirana on the occasion of the 35th Anniversary of the formation of the Soviet Army, on 22 Feb 1953.

jdk

FBIS #38  
dtd 26 Feb 1953  
Tirana, Home  
22 Feb 1953

Directs the Foreign Affairs, People's Defense Section, of the Prime Minister's office.

jdk

SR127KA  
DT INFO July 1952

Secretary General of the Albanian Workers Party and Chief of the Council of Ministers. Subject with members of the Central Committee, the Government, and the People's Presidium, paid a condolence visit on the occasion of STALIN'S death, to the Soviet Legation, on 6 March.

jdk

FBIS #45  
dtd 9 Mar 1953  
Tirana, Home  
6 March 1953

The fact that Subject Premier, who is also Secretary General of the Albanian Communist Party was the only one among the six leaders of the Communist Parties in the People's Democracies not to go to Moscow for Stalin's funeral has been holding the attention of Balkan Affairs specialists in Paris. They interpret this absence as an indication of the tension prevailing in Albania on the day following STALIN'S death. According to them, this interpretation is strengthened by the fact that Interior Minister Mehmet SHEHU (qv) did not figure in Albania's delegation, which was headed by Vice Premier and Politburo member Spiro KOLEKA (qv).

jdk

PARIS AFP RADIO-  
TELETYPE IN FRENCH  
TO THE AMERICAS.  
9 Feb 1953

Read an oath of the Albanian people to STALIN at the conclusion of funeral address by Hysni KAPO (qv) to 60,000 persons gathered in Shkenderbeg Square, Tirana.

jdk

FBIS #46  
dtd 10 March 1953  
Tirana, Home 9 March

Secretary General of the Albanian Workers Party and Chief of the Council of Ministers. Subject, Omer NISHANI (qv), Maj. Gen. Kyslim FERA (qv), and Deputy Premiers of the People's Assembly, visited the Soviet Legation in Tirana on the occasion of STALIN'S funeral, on 9 March 1953.

FBIS #46  
dtd 10 March 1953  
Tirana, Home  
9 March 1953

Subject, Dr. Omer NISHANI, and members of the Politburo, the Central Committee of the Party, of the Government, and of the People's Presidium, signed an oath to STALIN addressed to the Soviet Union, on 10 March 1953. Signing of the oath began in Albania on 9 March.

jdk

FBIS #47  
dtd 11 March 1953  
Tirana, Home  
11 March 1953

HOXHA, Enver

ALBANIA - 19

Radio Belgrade on 28 Dec mentioned in connection with Beqir BALLUKU'S liquidation that of the wartime Central Committee of the Albanian Communist (now Workers') Party, only one member, Subject remains.

jdk

IR #5635.97  
dtd 30 Dec 1952

Wrote an article for the Moscow newspaper Pravda in which he accused Western powers and Yugoslavia of intending to attack Albania and divide country among themselves. Written by order of Moscow Govt-- also possible that Subj. really did not write article, as is well-known practice in Pravda to prefabricate commentaries--especially interesting that it is pointed out in article that Soviet Union and the People's Democracies are loyal friends of Albania. It seems that internal ~~xxx~~ situation in Albania is such that even Govt of Soviet Union has become worried about whether its agents in Albania will be able to remain in power or not. This is why intensification of vigilance against "internal enemies" has been demanded in the article.

ab

FBIS #61 dtd  
31 Mar 53  
~~XXXXXXXXXX~~  
Belgrade,  
in Eng. to Europe  
26 Mar 53

Re: Italian Legation in Tirana Report on Enver Hoxha's Trip to Moscow. (in October 1952)

jdk

Top Secret #85702  
SCDB-61876 31 Dec 1952  
IN-21920

According to the Moscow press, the Albanian delegation to the 19th Party Congress was composed of Subject, Rita MARKO, and Fadil PACRAMI (qqv). The delegation went to and returned from the Soviet Union by sea.

jdk

IR# 5635.92  
dtd 7 Jan 1953

Greek Military Attache on 31 March 53 was recipient of 2 reports stating: (1) Neither Subject or SHEHU present at Albanian ceremonies observing STALIN'S death. (2) Only SHEHU present. Attributes more credence first report.

jdk

USARMA BELGRADE  
#YUG-1637  
dtd 2 April 1953

Secretary General of the Albanian Workers Party and President of the Council of Ministers of the People's Republic of Albania. Subject was elected to the working presidium of the second Congress of the Albanian Agricultural Cooperatives at its opening 20 Apr 1953 at the People's Theater in Tirana.

jdk

FBIS #76  
dtd 21 April 1953  
Tirana, Home, 20 Apr

Subject made a speech at the fourth session of the second Albanian Cooperative Congress on 21 April.

jdk

FBIS #78  
dtd 23 April 1953  
Tirana, Home, 21 Apr

Present at May Day celebration in Tirana 1 May, accompanied by Dr. Omer NISHANI (qv).

jdk

FBIS #85  
dtd 4 May 1953  
Tirana, Home, 1 May

HOKHA, Enver

ALBANIA -20

The Turkish Intelligence Service in Andrinople has received a report stating that MALENKOV does not consider Subject to be reliable, and that the MGB (Soviet IS) has "taken care of the personal security" of Subject in Tirana. Informant also stated that Subject had been invited to go to Moscow, to remain until the end of April (???)

jdk

MLB-142, dtd 22 Apr 1953  
Dt info current  
Source: [ ] D-6  
(Informant is Sharif  
Mur-al-Din OXAL)

Apostol TENEPI (qv), who was a personal friend of Subject, in a personal interview with Frank SPENCER, Jr. (qv), told latter that Enver HOKHA, by profession a high school teacher who before the War studied and received a diploma in France, later held a diplomatic post for the Albanian Govt in Switzerland.

ab

Attended a festive meeting held by the Party Committee on the occasion of the 10th anniversary of the foundation of the People's Army, on 9 July in Tirana.

jdk

Attended a meeting in Tirana on the occasion of the ninth anniversary of Poland's Liberation, held on 22 July 1953.

STBA-264  
Dtd 19 May 53

FBIS #135  
dtd 13 July 1953  
Tirana, ATA, in English  
Horse to Europe, 10 July

FBIS #114  
dtd 24 July 1953  
Tirana, ATA, English

Appointed Chairman of the Council of Ministers at a meeting of the plenum of the Central Committee of the Albanian Workers Party, the Council of Ministers, and the Presidium of the People's Assembly at a meeting held on 23 July 1953. The Council of Ministers is to be reorganized.

jdk

FBIS #114  
dtd 24 July 1953  
Tirana, ATA, in French  
Horse to Europe, 24 July

Subject made a speech in which he presented the new Government and its program to the fifth session of the People's Assembly of the Albanian People's republic which opened at 1800 hours yesterday, 1 Aug 1953.

jdk

FBIS #150  
dtd 3 August 1953  
Tirana, ATA, in Fr.  
Horse to Europe,  
2 August 1953

On 4 July Subject Chief of the Council of Ministers received Vasil VASILEV (qv) as Envoy from Bulgaria.

jdk

FBIS #130  
dtd 6 July 1953  
Tirana, 4 July

Chairman of the Council of Ministers and Supreme Commander of the Armed Forces. Attended an exhibition on 8 July in the Central House of the People's Army in connection with the Army's 10th anniversary.

jdk

FBIS #133  
dtd 9 July 1953  
Tirana, ATA, English,  
8 July 1953

Ioro BRANINI (qv) was Subject in Paris. After BRANINI's release from prison in October 1949, BRANINI was given interview with [redacted].

ab

FBIS #2762, [redacted]

HOXHA, Enver

Albania -21

Subject attended reception given by Ion PATRIKI (qv) on the occasion of the 9th anniversary of the liberation of Rumania from Nazi occupation by the Soviet Army.

mal

FBIS #167  
dtd 26 Aug 53  
Tirana ATA Eng.  
24 Aug 53

Subject was present at the Third Congress of the Association at the People's Theater on Aug. 30, 1953.

mal

FBIS #170  
dtd 31 Aug 53  
Tirana, Home  
30 Aug 53

Subject was present at the Soviet artists' concert held in the People's Theater, on Aug 28.

mal

FBIS #171  
dtd 1 Sept 53  
Tirana ATA, Eng.  
29 Aug 53

Subject, on 8 Sept, at Council of Ministers meeting cancelled the Peasants' Tax Debts to State.

mal

FBIS #178  
28 Sept 53  
Tirana, Home  
10 Sept 53

Subject, on 23 Sept 53, gave a reception in honor of the Soviet Ambassador, LEVISHKIN (qv). They Exchanged greeting speeches.

mal

FBIS #188, 25, 26  
Tirana, Home  
24 Sept 53

Subject present at reception given by LEVICHKIN (qv) on 25 Sept to celebrate the arrival of a Soviet cultural delegation and Soviet artist.

mal

FBIS #189  
28 Sept 53  
Tirana, ATA, Eng.  
27 Sept 53

Chairman of Council of Ministers of People's Republic, present on 7 Oct at a reception for the German Democratic Republic celebrating the 4th anniversary of the Republic.

mal

FBIS #198, 9 Oct  
Tirana, ATA, Eng  
8 Oct 53

Subject celebrated his 45th birthday on 16 Oct. 53.

mal

FBIS #204, 19 Oct 53  
Tirana, Home 16 Oct

Sec. General of Party. Present on 6 Nov in Tirana at the 36th anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution.

mal

FBIS #219, 9 Nov 53  
Tirana, Home  
7 Nov 53

Chairman of the Council of Ministers. Present at the 9th anniversary of the liberation of Alb. from fascist and home traitors. Present at opera on the 27th of Nov.

mal

FBIS #232, 233  
39 Nov, 1 Dec 53  
Tirana, Home  
28, 29 Nov 53

Chair of the Council of Ministers. Attended dinner at the Bulgarian Legation of the 6th anniversary of the Treaty between Alb. and Bulg.

mal

FBIS #245, 17 Dec  
Tirana, Home  
17 Dec 53



HOXHA, Enver

Albania - 22

Local press story quoting London, with East Berlin source, reports Sov Union contemplating Satellite leaders conference at Berlin. Subject among leaders scheduled arrived at end of week. Subj's absence at Lenin events may give credence to story.

IN-13316/C 17202  
dtd 28 Jan 54

ab

Subject received the Czechoslovakian Minister Dr. Josef URBAN on 5 Jan 1954.

mal

FBIS #28, 10 Feb 54  
Tirana, Home  
5 Feb 1954

Received the German Minister, Erhard SCHEFFLER on 5 Jan 1954.

mal

FBIS #29, 11 Feb 1954  
Tirana, Home  
5 Feb 54

Chairman of the Council of Ministers and Sec. Gen. of the Party. Present on 18 Feb in Tirana at meeting of the second congress of artisans' cooperatives. Also elected to working presidium.

mal

FBIS #35, 19 Feb  
Tirana, Home  
18 Feb 1954

Present at the Draper e Cekan 8th anniversary of the agricultural cooperative on 21 Feb.

mal

FBIS #38  
25 Feb  
Tirana, Home  
22 Feb 54

Present at 5th anniversary of Lenin's death in Tirana, 5 March.

mal

FBIS #45, 8 March  
Tirana, Home  
5 March 1954

Chairman of the Council of Ministers and Sec Gen of the Alb. Workers' Party. Elected to working presidium of the 1st national cotton growers conference in Tirana on 9 - 10 March 1954.

mal

FBIS #47, 48  
10-11 March 54  
Tirana, Home  
9-10 March 54

Although Subject's parents live with him in Tirana, many members of his family still live in Gjinokaster. The best known of them is his uncle, Muco HOXHA(qv).

jdk

IR 5635.134  
dtd 7 Oct 1954

Present at tobacco growers conference. Chairman of Council of Ministers

mk

FBIS #59, 1 Mar 54  
Tirana, Home  
25 Mar 54

Chairman of Council of Ministers. Attended National Cotton Conference in Tirana, 10-11 March 1954. Elected to working presidium of conference.

FBIS #47  
10-11 March  
Tirana, Home

Albania - 23

Chairman of Council of Ministers of People's Republic of Albania.  
Present at reception given on occasion of 9th anniversary of libera-  
tion of Hungary by the Soviet Army, Dajti Hotel, 4 Apr 54.  
mk

FBIS #66, 6 Apr 54  
Tirana, Home, 5 Apr 54

President of Democratic Front of Albania. Opened meeting of  
General Council of Albanian Democratic Front, Apr 13, Tirana  
13 Apr 1954.  
mk

FBIS #72, 14 Apr 54  
Tirana, Home, 13 Apr 54

30th anniversary of death of patriot Avni Rustemi commemorated  
21 Apr 54. A monument to ~~mk~~ Rustemi was inaugurated in presence  
of Enver Hoxha, Chairman of Council of Ministers and Secretary  
General of Albanian Workers Party. Also present was  
Mehmet Shehu, Deputy Premier and Minister of Interior.  
mk

FBIS #78, 22 Apr 54.  
Tirana Home 21 Apr 54

Chairman of Albanian Council of Ministers and Secretary General of  
of Albanian Workers Party. Attended Albanian Economic Conference  
held 28 Apr 54.  
mk

FBIS #84, 30 Apr 54  
Tirana, Home  
28 Apr 54

Official Alb. new agency announced the Alb. Labor (communist)  
Party abolished the post of Sec'y.-general and instituted a  
secretariat of the General Committee, headed by Subj. as 1st Sec'y.  
PG

NY Times, 18 Jul 54

Subject, Communist leader of Albania, relinquished post of Premier  
which he has held for 10 yrs according to the official Albanian  
news agency. Mj. Gen Mehmet SHEHU (qv) is Subj's successor.  
Subj., age 55, retains his post as 1st Sec'y of Comm. party,  
which title was accorded him a few days ago when the post of  
Sec'y.-General was abolished.  
DK

NY Times, 21 Jul 54

Chairman of Council of Ministers of People's Republic of Albania.  
Addressed ~~mk~~ telegram to Chairm of Council of Ministers of People's  
Republic of Czechoslovakia, Viliam Siroky, commemorating 9th  
anniversary of liberation of Czechoslovakia by Soviet Army.  
mk

FBIS #90, 10 May 54  
Tirana, Home  
8 May 54

Subject spoke to Electors of Zone 107, 12 May 54.  
mk

FBIS #94, 14 May 54  
Tirana, Home  
13 May 54

See cards of Mehmet SHEHU for opposite reference: "Changes  
in Albania".

IR 5635.177  
25 Aug. 1954

HOXHA, Enver

Albania - 24

A. Internal Developments

1. Hoxha and Shehu Appear Together in South. Albanian press and radio reports indicate that Enver Hoxha left Tirana soon after he resigned as Premier on July 20 and went to Korçe, in southern Albania, where he taught before the war and where his Communist activities had their inception in the late 1930's. This was probably the reason he did not attend the reception at the Polish Embassy in Tirana on July 22.<sup>1</sup> In the first days of August he began appearing at agricultural collectives in the Korçe area, and on August 8, accompanied by Premier Mehmet Shehu and other Communist Party officials, he visited the agricultural collective at Rembec village.

IR-5635.177  
25 Aug. 1954

Shehu apparently went south in order to appear in public with Hoxha and thus spike widespread rumors originating in the country and from abroad that the two men were at loggerheads. An Albanian intellectual who fled to Greece late in July reported that Hoxha's resignation as Prime Minister had wide repercussions in Albania and that Hoxha had been actually forced to give up the post as head of the government. ~~( )~~

The replaced ex-Pres. of Government Subject, retains only post of General Secretary of Albanian C.P. The reason for a/m replacement has not been known in Albania. It was rumored only that Subject had immediate need of rest because for many years he held position of Pri-Minister, and was in charge of other Ministries as well, so that he was excessively tired of work load. People do not believe in a/m rumours, and replacement lowered morale of people, because new Pri-Minister is criminal, violent, and cruel character, contrasting to Subject who was much milder.

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HOXHA, accompanied by Hysni KAPO and Gogo NUSHI, members of the Politburo, visited the agricultural fair in Shkoder.

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HOXHA among prominent officials invited by the Soviet Government and the CPSU Central Committee for a friendly visit to the USSR. The Albanian Government and Workers Party delegation was led by SHEHU.

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4/11/57

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HEADQUARTERS  
2677TH REGIMENT OSS (PROV)  
APO 512, U.S. ARMY

**GBA-170**

**DEC 18 1944**

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9 December 1944

*X* **VARZ-25406**

TO: Mr. Lester C. Houck  
Chief of Reporting Board  
Washington, D. C.

FROM: T.S. Ryan  
Reports Officer  
*ENVER HOXHA*

SUBJECT: Forwarding of Document

1. The enclosed document is a report on the statement of Enver Hoxha to the Albanian people on the occasion of the second meeting of the Anti-Fascist National Liberation Council held in Berat on 28 November 1944. The content of this statement had been broadcast and was published in other political reviews in this theater. For this reason no report was made here, but it may be of interest for GTD files in Washington.

2. We are forwarding it to you for your disposition.

*T.S. Ryan*  
T.S. Ryan  
Reports Officer

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**NAZI WAR CRIMES DISCLOSURE ACT**

EXEMPTIONS Section 3(b)  
(2)(A) Privacy   
(2)(B) Methods/Sources   
(2)(G) Foreign Relations

Declassified and Approved for Release  
by the Central Intelligence Agency  
Date: *2005*



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Our unrelenting and unyielding war resulted in the rise of the entire country to arms, enlargement and strengthening of our Army, expansion of the liberated territory and the rise and reenforcement of the democratic authority of the National Liberation Councils.

To arrive at such results, much blood had to be shed, many sacrifices had to be sustained as well as sufferings, and from all of the people were demanded great endurance and self-denial.

As any beginning, ours too was hard because our war against our enemies was not equal. We started this war in difficult moments, when the Fascist beast was riding from victory to victory with torch a-flame. We started with a people who, in spite of a deep hatred for the invader, were still not in a position to understand the tactics of the enemy and of the 5th column. These people lacked sufficient political conception which would have helped them to see clearly the issues in the very beginning and the bitter consequences that the Fascist regime would bring.

The idea and conviction that one small people could not succeed in a large undertaking and that salvation should be left to the hands of fate—this was in many Albanian hearts. The people thought that the fate of Albania would be decided by foreigners, by those who were the victors, whether they were Germans or the opponents of the Germans.

Disbelief in the inexhaustible forces of the masses of the people, disbelief in the coming victory of the Allies caused the people to be impressed by the propaganda of enemy and traitors of the country who were nourishing such an opinion on a large scale.

On the other hand, the traitor politicians with their old intrigues and dealings hoped that their hated, false political game would still be

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successful. They thought and were convinced that they would direct the people toward their aims —aims which were just as retarding as those of the Fascists. They thought that their policy of "Turkish design," consisting of having an alliance with all those possessing brute force to be used against the people, would succeed this time, too. They imagined that they could soon easily changer their shirts. They lived in the old world...in the Fascist world.

For these politicians, the people were but a herd of cattle to lead at will and to oppress and keep in darkness by the yoke they imposed. They thought that with hunger and torture imposed on the people by the oppressing regimes there would be no chance for the people to play the important role in the great tragedy which is taking place.

Because of the existing moral and military conditions of our people, it was necessary and imperative that we create the essential regulations for victory. We had to revive the confidence in the vast masses of the people that we were in a position to speak ~~our~~ word in spite of our smallness; that we were not alone in this great war, but that we had strong Allies who were resolved to the end to eradicate Fascism; that our brave people must realize and take lessons from their past, as well as that of other peoples —presented freedom is not a freedom. Freedom earned by blood would secure for them and their country full independence.

To fulfill these aims, we had to educate our people politically. We had to do the work immediately which the former regime had blocked, with the result of the grave desperation which took place on April 7 1939 as well as the inability to fight Fascism with arms in the first days.

Our liberation war brought the people out on top. And here —only here— stands the reason for our victory. Our people ~~pick~~ <sup>STOOD</sup> in this sacred

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war that they were not in a moral and material decadence as the traitors hoped, but that they were a people with progressive spirit, possessing a marvelous vitality in which the idea of liberation and progress was sweet.

Our people's war marched forward in important strides which surprised the world. During the most difficult moments of the liberation fighters of other oppressed peoples, the heroism of our people served as a pattern and a symbol for the fighters of these sister countries.

Our war marched forward because our movement was a movement of the masses. It had a popular character and it meant the liberation of our Fatherland and the establishment of the people's rule.

This is why the vast masses of villagers, workers and intellectuals found in this movement the expression of their desires and aspirations which had been stifled by the former regimes and by the Fascist occupier. And these fighting masses, whose struggle and war made them conscientious, united as one body for one purpose. Every period of our war was written in blood. Every stone laid by the military and political authority was sprinkled with blood, and this new authority which is arising in our country has strong foundations. It is protected by the breasts of the people; therefore, it is immortal and impregnable.

The democratic authority of the National Liberation Councils, which day by day is taking more concrete form, is the consecration of these efforts and of the popular character of this war. The councils were born of war and became the instruments of war. Side by side with the Army, these councils were ~~at~~ the most important factors in the development of this war.

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These councils were not in the least on the old design of elders and mayors of past regimes, appointed by the prefects and sub-prefects; in other words, they were not tools of those who were ruling over the people. They were elements made up from the representatives of the people, elected by the people to protect the people's interests.

Unquestionably, in the beginning and for some time, while the biggest part of our <sup>(now)</sup> freed zones was still in agony from the hell of the occupier, the role of these councils was limited to the aiding of the war, the supplying of the Army, and to the protection of the fighters. But, with the liberation of the zones and following the development of the war and the expansion and strengthening of the Army, the councils began to realize their main role, beside the duty they had then and still have to assist the war first. They started to take into their hands the direction of authority.

The big Convention of Permet reenforced and designed a better functioning of the Anti-Fascist National Liberation Councils of Albania, as well as that of the National Liberation Councils.

The Anti-Fascist National Liberation Council was empowered with legislative and executive duties; and the National Liberation Councils of villages, sub-prefectures and prefectures were made the instruments of the new rule. This was the first phase of making concrete the democratic authority of the Councils, a sequence of the war of the people and a result of the Conferences of Peza and Labinct. In this phase of the new war, the Anti-Fascist National Liberation Council of Albania appointed the Anti-Fascist National Liberation Committee as its main executive organ. Following this phase, new wide horizons and new perspectives came along for our movement.

The movement took on added impetus. It expanded and strengthened,

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The enthusiasm of the people was increased. They saw their struggle crowned with success. They saw that the old authority, which was not theirs but an oppressive one which had sapped their blood, was buried forever.

The hopes of the people went up. Confidence that they held the reins of their own fate grew and they were sure that the course they had taken in this direction was daily being perfected.

With the liberation of the biggest part of Albania and the enlargement of the Army, with the annihilation of all mercenary bands serving the enemy, and with the strengthening of the authority of the councils, the change of the Anti-Fascist Committee into a democratic government was essential. This important decision was taken at the second meeting of the Anti-Fascist National Liberation Council meeting held in the free city of Berat.

Besides giving Albania its first democratic government, this second meeting gave our country the fundamental laws of the organization of authority, as well as the declaration of the rights of the citizen.

Three decisions of capital importance were reached, which are a great step toward the democratization of our country and which give our country wide perspectives of development and work toward reconstruction and progress.

The democratic government of Albania, a product of the National Liberation War, will perform speedily and successfully its principal duty—ending the war. It will be the inspirer and organizer of the reconstruction, the development and the economical perfection of the country and her organization for the protection of the people's sanitation, as well as for the raising of the cultural level of the country.

The democratic government of Albania, which is the expression of the will of our people and which represents the whole **RESTRICTED** people, will per-

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sistently and by right seek her recognition by our Great Allies and the other anti-Fascist and friendly nations as the only government representing this people, who did not yield to the Fascist and Nazi enemies, but fought with rare heroism alongside all the United Nations of the anti-Fascist world bloc.

The democratic government of Albania has facing it a difficult undertaking, for our country is burned down and desolate, and the work required to rebuild it is immense and must be unceasing. It will be assisted body and soul by the entire authority which is in the hands of the people.

In this lies sure success for the future, because government, authority and people are one and united alike in peace, alike in war.

The new democratic rule is completely the opposite of the former rules. Here the people are in power and in reality the people are the sovereign of their fate. By the councils, which are instruments of the authority, the people will administer and regulate themselves. The new democratic regime knocked down the old totalitarian and Fascist regimes. It ends the ways of work and thought of the past. It renounces once and for all the demagogy and the lies by which the people of the past had ruled and governed.

In the new authority the whole people participate and have the right to control the men they have elected to authority, to criticize and remove them in case they do not work, or work against the benefit of the people. The new rule will fight and eliminate forever favoritism. It will eliminate the devious methods which have always permitted the filling-up of the ranks of the administration and authority with parasites and crooks.

The people have seen and shall see day by day more clearly that their most trusted and most honorable men must be placed in authority. The one and only worry must be to improve the condition of the people and bring about a better life for them.

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With the new authority, the excessive bureaucracy of the past regimes, which was strangling the people, is ended. Under this authority, even the most obscure village will be administered by men who come from its ranks.

The prefectures and sub-prefectures, which served the former regimes to enrich the satraps and feed the parasites and various favorites, have been transformed into centers of economic, political and administrative importance in the new authority.

In the councils of these centers there will be no more persons who are unknown and ~~are~~ alien, men who do not know the condition of the place or the locality. Persons will be sent there by all the prefectures and this will be a sound entity, able to protect any interest, whether it is the smallest interest of the most remote village, ~~the most remote village~~.

In this new authority, everybody will work and will contribute for the interest of everyone and for the collective interest, both these in the harmony of the full right; each respecting the rights of the society over him and the society likewise respecting the rights of each individual. In such a democratic authority, whoever wants to live happy, free, and with human dignity must work unsparingly and with the greatest justice.

The declaration of the Anti-Fascist National Council of Albania on the rights of the citizen, a great monument for the history of our people, defines in clear and solemn manner the rights of everyone in the new democratic society. Never in our country was such a declaration made, and never would it have been more appropriate and more enforceable than today, when we are erecting a state that is truly democratic.

In our new regime, private property is guaranteed and this is a strong blow against the traitors who left no gossips and lies unsaid, in order to

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divide the people in the National Liberation war.

The declaration of the Council guarantees the freedom of speech and thought, the freedom of assembly, and the freedom of religion. The former regimentation had shackled the mouth of the people with a strong muzzle and whoever dared to raise his voice to criticize or speak against injustice had this muzzle turned into a rope around his neck for him.

In contrast to the shady methods of the former regimes, the present democratic regime allows all to speak or to criticize freely because only thus will we be able to go forward.

From criticizing and self-criticism, from discussions and sound advice will come efficient work. Everyone will find comfort in the ranks of our people and rubbish and microbes will be cleared away.

The declaration of the Council gives equal rights to women with freedom to participate in the political and social life of the country. This right granted to women is a legitimate one earned by them with blood. The former regimes had oppressed the women, had made her the slave of the man and the old prejudices, and had not given her any possibility of development and education. Such an unfortunate situation for the Albanian women means that one-half of our population in Albania, which would have been a main factor for progress, had to be awakened..

Our national Liberation war placed the woman on the first plan. She woke up, shook off the rubbish of ages, broke off the chains that were shackling her, and joined this war unqualifiedly, in order to come to the light, to make the merited decision for contributing to the Fatherland and to the people her valuable aid and her life.

The Anti-Fascist Albanian Woman in this democratic authority, with her

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inexhaustible forces and her high ideals, will be one of the powerful stalwarts of the new Albania. In the declaration of the Anti-Fascist Council, it is stressed that the popular democratic authority by law guarantees to all the workers of city and village a life appropriate to the modern conception of social justice and human dignity.

The former despotic and Fascist regimes, established especially to oppress workers, had tortured and murdered this most responsible and serving part of the people, contributing with sweat and blood. The Albanian workers of cities and villages have suffered for centuries under the heavy enslavement and the economic and spiritual misfortune. Their sweat and blood have always served to feed the executioners who, with their cliques and their corrupted police organs, sought to put the workers on the level of animals. Every right had been taken away from the workers. Hunger and death were knocking at their door every day.

The Albanian workers of cities and villages who were first to join in this liberation war and who unsparingly shed their blood will again and always be the first to rebuild new Albania, where they shall hold their place and their rights won by blood. They will know better to unite and organize around the new democratic authority and will use all their forces to make that authority impregnable.

Among others, the declaration of the Anti-Fascist Council states: to protect the democratic authority, all those who are dealing in Fascist or pro-Fascist activities will be persecuted and any organization attempting such activity will be stopped.

This important point must be always borne in mind by the Albanian people and they should furiously attack all those attempting to repeat the

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the terrible butchering by which millions of men were sacrificed.

We should not forget the struggles and the sufferings. We should not let victory get the best of us, but we should more than ever unite around the democratic government to gather all the people in the only organization of the National Liberation Front. And with clear and just principles that the authority grants us, confident and disciplined, we shall march forward in every field of activity, smash all resistance which might face us, crush all enemies who will dare to impede us in our aims, and reconstruct a new and progressive Albania.

By strengthening their heroic Army, by defending and consolidating their democratic authority, the Albanian people will realize all their dreams and all their economic, social and cultural aspirations.

---Enver Hoxha.

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*File*

COULDER B. ...  
470th CIC Detachment  
Land Upper Austria  
APO 174 U.S. Army

64/436  
FIELD Detachment  
27 September 1948

**SUBJECT: Italy - ENVER HOKHA, Albanian Prime Minister**

SUMMARY OF INFORMATION

The following information was obtained from an Austrian business man who recently returned from Rome. Evaluation: as to Source: "C" (Fairly reliable) as to Information: "3" (Possibly true). Informant received information 6 September from an Italian business associate who is in contact with Albanian expatriates presently residing in Italy.

ENVER HOKHA was born in ECSENER, Albania in 1912. After attending the local elementary schools and college he was sent by the Albanian government to study at the university of Paris. HOKHA never finished his university studies but returned to Albania where he was engaged as a professor of romance languages at the KORICA Academy. In 1940 HOKHA was dismissed from the academy and secured employment with the cigaret factory "SKIDE" at Tirana. When the Germans occupied Albania in 1940 - 1941 HOKHA joined forces with the Communist Brigade of MYSLIM PEZA and he soon gained an enviable reputation among the communists for his diplomacy and duplicity. When TITO heard of HOKHA's abilities he sent two emissaries with instructions that if HOKHA assumed control of the Albanian Resistance Movement TITO would support HOKHA in his claim for the leadership of the Albanian government after the cessation of hostilities. With the withdrawal of the German troops, HOKHA in November 1944 was proclaimed Prime Minister of Albania. It is alleged by Albanian expatriates that the Communist coup was not brought about by the merits of the Partisan brigades but was the result of the Anglo-American policy. A policy, they assert, which saw the Allies sending equipment and money to the Albanian "National Directorate" - (National Liberation Committee) which was overwhelmingly Communist in thought and design.

*could show*

Albanian sources in Italy declare that HOKHA's treachery is innate by demonstrating that since the TITO-Cominform breach approximately 3000 Tito sympathizers have been either arrested or liquidated. And among those purged are Communists who at

FOR COORDINATION WITH US ARMY

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**INDEX**

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NAZI WAR CRIMES DISCLOSURE ACT

- EXEMPTIONS Section 3(b)
- (2)(A) Privacy
- (2)(B) Methods/Sources
- (2)(G) Foreign Relations

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Date: *2005*

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PL 105-246

By: \_\_\_\_\_ Date: \_\_\_\_\_

Doc, Subject: Italy - ENVER HOKHA, Albanian Prime Minister.  
Gr/436, GROUND Subsection, dated 25 September 1948

one time were instrumental in strengthening the Alliance  
between TITO and HOKHA.

JOSEPH P. LUCASO  
Special Agent, CIC  
GROUND Subsection

APPROVED:  
THOMAS A. LUCID  
Chief, CIC  
Lend Upper Austria

Source: As indicated

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**INDEX**

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10 June 1949

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1. Introduction

Gentlemen, I have come before you today to describe a projected OPC operation against Albania. This operation is not a large one by modern standards and even with complete success it will not be decisive in the cold war. Nevertheless, I believe it deserves your attention at this time for three reasons. In the first place it will be the first balanced and complex effort made by OPC involving a considerable number of techniques. Secondly, the operation has obvious military implications. In the third place, we hope it will develop typically and will demonstrate the wisdom of the National Security Council in placing all United States clandestine operations in OPC under centralized control and with policy guidance stemming as appropriate from the State Department and the National Military Establishment. You will recall that this concept is embodied in NSC 10/2.

2. Genesis of the Albanian Project.

As the political cleavage between Tito of Yugoslavia and the Kremlin deepened last year, it became apparent that Albania was physically isolated from the orthodox communist states.

In consequence the State Department perceived that disturbances in Albania could ease the pressure on Greece exerted by the

SECRET	CONFIDENTIAL
GROUP 1	GROUP 2
GROUP 3	GROUP 4
GROUP 5	GROUP 6
GROUP 7	GROUP 8
GROUP 9	GROUP 10
GROUP 11	GROUP 12
GROUP 13	GROUP 14
GROUP 15	GROUP 16
GROUP 17	GROUP 18
GROUP 19	GROUP 20
GROUP 21	GROUP 22
GROUP 23	GROUP 24
GROUP 25	GROUP 26
GROUP 27	GROUP 28
GROUP 29	GROUP 30
GROUP 31	GROUP 32
GROUP 33	GROUP 34
GROUP 35	GROUP 36
GROUP 37	GROUP 38
GROUP 39	GROUP 40
GROUP 41	GROUP 42
GROUP 43	GROUP 44
GROUP 45	GROUP 46
GROUP 47	GROUP 48
GROUP 49	GROUP 50
GROUP 51	GROUP 52
GROUP 53	GROUP 54
GROUP 55	GROUP 56
GROUP 57	GROUP 58
GROUP 59	GROUP 60
GROUP 61	GROUP 62
GROUP 63	GROUP 64
GROUP 65	GROUP 66
GROUP 67	GROUP 68
GROUP 69	GROUP 70
GROUP 71	GROUP 72
GROUP 73	GROUP 74
GROUP 75	GROUP 76
GROUP 77	GROUP 78
GROUP 79	GROUP 80
GROUP 81	GROUP 82
GROUP 83	GROUP 84
GROUP 85	GROUP 86
GROUP 87	GROUP 88
GROUP 89	GROUP 90
GROUP 91	GROUP 92
GROUP 93	GROUP 94
GROUP 95	GROUP 96
GROUP 97	GROUP 98
GROUP 99	GROUP 100

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SECRET	CONFIDENTIAL
GROUP 1	GROUP 2
GROUP 3	GROUP 4
GROUP 5	GROUP 6
GROUP 7	GROUP 8
GROUP 9	GROUP 10
GROUP 11	GROUP 12
GROUP 13	GROUP 14
GROUP 15	GROUP 16
GROUP 17	GROUP 18
GROUP 19	GROUP 20
GROUP 21	GROUP 22
GROUP 23	GROUP 24
GROUP 25	GROUP 26
GROUP 27	GROUP 28
GROUP 29	GROUP 30
GROUP 31	GROUP 32
GROUP 33	GROUP 34
GROUP 35	GROUP 36
GROUP 37	GROUP 38
GROUP 39	GROUP 40
GROUP 41	GROUP 42
GROUP 43	GROUP 44
GROUP 45	GROUP 46
GROUP 47	GROUP 48
GROUP 49	GROUP 50
GROUP 51	GROUP 52
GROUP 53	GROUP 54
GROUP 55	GROUP 56
GROUP 57	GROUP 58
GROUP 59	GROUP 60
GROUP 61	GROUP 62
GROUP 63	GROUP 64
GROUP 65	GROUP 66
GROUP 67	GROUP 68
GROUP 69	GROUP 70
GROUP 71	GROUP 72
GROUP 73	GROUP 74
GROUP 75	GROUP 76
GROUP 77	GROUP 78
GROUP 79	GROUP 80
GROUP 81	GROUP 82
GROUP 83	GROUP 84
GROUP 85	GROUP 86
GROUP 87	GROUP 88
GROUP 89	GROUP 90
GROUP 91	GROUP 92
GROUP 93	GROUP 94
GROUP 95	GROUP 96
GROUP 97	GROUP 98
GROUP 99	GROUP 100

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EXEMPTIONS Section 3(b)  
 (2)(A) Privacy  
 (2)(3) Methods/Sources  
 (2)(G) Foreign Relations

NAZI WAR CRIMES DISCLOSURE ACT

**SECRET**

- 2 -

Albanian-based guerrillas and that the overthrow of the communist government would inevitably have far-reaching effects behind the iron curtain. [It was also evident that the Soviet Union has no effective counter against covert operations directed at Albania.] On these premises OPC planning began in midwinter and has now reached the stage where operations can commence about 1 July.

### 3. The situation in Albania.

As you may see from the map, Albania is roughly a quadrilateral bounded by the Adriatic, Yugoslavia and Greece. Its area is 10,629 square miles, about that of Maryland, and its population numbers something more than a million. The country's terrain characteristics are: (1) a rather narrow coastal plain rising up eastward through rugged hills to (2) a central north-south mountain range. East of the range lies (3) a heavily accidented valley which rises again to (4) the mountains, which form the Yugoslav frontier. The Albanian Alps rise to from 6500 to 8000 feet. Only one railway exists from Durazzo to the east of Tirana. Except for the coastal plain, roads are practically non-existent. Airfield sites are restricted to the plain. The principal cities are the capital, Tirana, and the ports of Durazzo and Valona. Clandestine ingress is easy over the shoreline and across the Greek border.

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- 3 -

The Albanians are a turbulent people, always willing to fight for hire or for loot. As a race they are only on the threshold of nationalism. Their social unit is the clan; therefore they resent fiercely the close controls implicit in communism. The country as a whole is reported to be permeated with unrest and among one large grouping, the Ghegs of the northeast, several hundred anti-government guerrillas are reported to be in the field.

Albania is a peasant country but is not self-sustaining in terms of food production. Industry is practically non-existent. The country produces some minerals, including a limited amount of petroleum. Export of these minerals in exchange for food has been barely sufficient in the past to provide for a subsistence economy. In the past, Yugoslavia has been Albania's traditional customer and the Tito schism has deranged the trade pattern and produced an endemic crisis. To date Russian attempts to fill this economic vacuum have failed. The crisis is blamed on the government and on the communists by the Albanians and adds to the popular unrest.

The armed forces number about 65,000. They are poorly equipped and trained and are not regarded as reliable. The Security Police are a considerable force and are technically more proficient than the Army, but they, too, have seditious elements.

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- 4 -

The existing government of Albania is orthodox communist under the leadership of Enver Hoxha. He came to power in 1945 by the now-standard channel of so-called "Peoples' Democracy". Originally the entire machinery of government was dominated by Yugoslavia. For instance, Yugoslav currency circulated freely in Albania. With the Tito schism, Hoxha adhered stoutly to Moscow and has been singled out by the Soviet Government for distinguished treatment. Nevertheless, he has had to deal with his own deviationists and there is evidence of some residual factionalism among the Albanian communists.

The foregoing can be summarized as indicating that internally Albania is ripe for revolt. All that is necessary is leadership, subsidy money and eventually some arms. In the field of external politics, however, the situation has certain delicate features.

There are about 1,500 Albanians in exile. None are of high attainments and the exiles are riddled with factionalism. Of the many groups three are important. The legitimists rally behind ex-King Zog, expelled by the Italians in 1939 to the great relief of many of his fellow countrymen. The Balli Kombetar, which is the strongest group, under the leadership of Midhat Frasherri is composed of liberal republicans. The National Independence Bloc is monarchist and conservative.

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- 5 -

These antagonistic entities must be impelled to a semblance of cooperation if any successful popular movement is to be sustained against communism in Albania.

Another problem arises in connection with the Greeks who lay claim to northern Epirus, theoretically because of an Orthodox minority in that region but practically from strategic reasons. With the Greek Government embittered against Albania because of the latter's support of the Greek guerrillas, it is a most inopportune time to ~~put~~<sup>force</sup> them to renounce their claim. Nevertheless, their position must be moderated to forestall accusations that any Albanian revolt is the forerunner of partition.

In yet another direction we must take cognizance of the influence on Albania and the Albanians, of the concept of an independent Macedonia advocated by the Cominform. Danger from this quarter is not yet pressing, but may develop.

There is also the question of direct Russian intervention in Albania. Unquestionably there are Russians in residence there now. Some reports place their number as high as 3,000. Personally, I doubt this figure; it probably should be hundreds rather than thousands. Nevertheless, we must face the possibility that, if the operation drags, the Soviets may seek to stiffen the security forces by importing significant reliable cadres. This will be difficult for them, in view of possible Yugoslav reaction, but it is a matter to which we must be alive.

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Finally, there is the problem of Tito. Albania is a thorn in his side. He could eliminate it easily by military force but is debarred therefrom by the delicate multiple tensions now operative in the Balkans. Tito has apparently tried his own hand at subversive guerrilla action in the Lake Ochrid region, but since he could only oppose one brand of communism by another, he has thus far achieved no sensational results. However, his subversion continues. One of the obstacles to his overt intervention has been fear of the accusation that he was doing an imperialistic - capitalistic job. It must be admitted that a free Albania would be more vulnerable to Yugoslav attacks than is the existing regime. Nevertheless, we feel in company with the State Department that sufficient political leverage can be exerted to hold Tito in line. That, of course, will be a State Department commitment.

4. Collaboration with the British.

While we <sup>were</sup> ~~are~~ engaged in accumulating the data and making the judgments described above, we found that Albania was the target for other secret operations. I have already referred to the unsuccessful Yugoslav effort. Only recently, we learned that the British were on the verge of starting an operation in Albania. Their concept was more limited than ours: it involved small scale reconnaissance and guerrilla operations in Epirus with the object of disrupting the Greek guerrilla base in southern Albania. For some reason

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- possibly the gaining of credit with the Greeks was a consideration - they were not particularly worried about disclaiming their connection with the operation once it was in progress. As we studied these matters we rediscovered one of the axioms of secret operations. Whereas, in secret intelligence it is always possible and often desirable to insulate your activities from those of third parties, in the case of secret operations such a procedure is impossible. You have to take account of the actions of your colleagues, competitors or opponents, for they inevitably affect your own. In the present instance we have recently concluded conferences with the British and we have agreed to pool our efforts. We shall have joint policy direction from Washington and shall share training facilities and bases. Our physical operations, however, will be under separate national commanders whose cooperation will be coordinated from the joint headquarters. Consideration of tactical communications will be the subject of further discussions. At our instance the British have agreed to place their operations under the cover of an Albanian National Committee. We have agreed that each party will operate under its own policy clearances, which means that the British are not obligated to undertake more than their original reconnaissance and guerrilla commitments, although the door is open to them for larger participation if they so desire.

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5. Operational Plan.

Our Plan as evolved, recognizes the considerations that I have just finished describing. Essentially, it falls into four phases: political, propaganda, direct action, and exploitation.

In the political phase our first essential is the setting up of an Albanian body to assume responsibility for the operations and nominal direction thereof. This is essential because the United States cannot be placed in the position of directly and overtly fomenting rebellion in Albania. It would be particularly embarrassing if such a charge was leveled against us in the United Nations. Accordingly, we have set about the formation of an Albanian National Committee which will represent all shades of exile Albanian opinion, exclusive of fascists and communists. Our representatives have already been in touch with the principal Albanian emigre groups and have secured a large measure of agreement to the effect that they will sink their differences and cooperate in the expulsion of the Hoxha regime. The committee will take overt form about July 1st under the leadership of Frasherri of the Balli Kombetar. In actual fact, the Committee will be our agent. It will be able to operate only through facilities which we control. The words said over the radio will be prepared by us and the people sent into Albania will be selected and trained by us.

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A secondary political problem will be that of influencing the Greek official attitude toward Albania. We are very hopeful that we can get the Greeks by semi-overt diplomatic action to take a stand in which, without foregoing their claims in southern Albania, they will agree publicly not to pursue these claims by force but rather, after the restoration of order in Greece, lay them before the United Nations for adjudication.

About two weeks after the proclamation of the Committee, say about 15 July, we plan to inaugurate, in the name of the Committee, a strong propaganda campaign directed against the regime in Albania. This campaign will use semi-overt and clandestine means and all suitable media, including radio, printed material, and rumors. We feel sure that this campaign will produce perceptible <sup>effects</sup> ~~effects~~ on the stability of the Hoxha regime.

Effective about July 1st, we shall start the training of a group of about fifty agents for operations in Albania. These agents will be Albanians and they will be so trained that they will not be able to state that they have received instructions from either Americans or British. We are having some trouble in finding a properly secured area for this training and may have to compromise on Malta.

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Simultaneously with the training, we shall establish with the British an advanced base on the Island of Corfu. By September 1st we plan to have infiltrated these agents, in small teams equipped with radio communications, throughout Albania. Entry will be made over the coast or across the Greek border. The mission of these teams will be to make contact with opposition elements throughout Albania, to organize them, to demonstrate that the time is ripe for guerrilla operations and to ascertain their needs in terms of money and weapons. We believe that this fighting reconnaissance will give us sufficient data by November 1st to determine whether or not armed revolt is feasible.

If our reports are favorable, we would expect to be in a position by next spring to stage an effective revolt. This revolt might have to be stiffened by a small force drawn from the Albanian emigres but we will not be in a position to make a decision in this matter until the autumn. Therefore, we envisage a time period from nine to eighteen months before success is achieved.

[ We are considering two contingent operations in this connection. In the first instance, it may be advantageous for us to depress the Albanian economy by flooding the country with counterfeit currency. This will be a fairly easy task after we have once penetrated the country physically.

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- 11 -

Decision will not be necessary until late fall of 1949. In the second case, we have some information which is fairly credible that the principal military logistic support of Albania by the Russians is executed by using Polish ships sailing from the Baltic to the Adriatic. At some future time, again not imminent, it may be necessary to interrupt this traffic.

We have selected our Field Commander for this Albanian operation and he is now on his way to the Mediterranean.

The cost of this operation cannot be assessed precisely at this time. It should run anywhere from \$200,000 to \$1,000,000. The principal variables are the time length of the operation and the amount of subsidy money we shall have to spend. I submit, however, that the elimination of the Albanian base for the Greek guerrillas would alone be cheap at a cost of \$1,000,000.

Our field representative has been charged to maintain close liaison with the Chief U. S. Governmental representatives, civilian and military, in Greece. We realize that it is vital that we operate smoothly and in close cooperation with the executants of U.S. overt policy.

In this operation we have not considered employing directly any of the resources of the National Military Establishment. As events progress we may, however, have to ask for a limited amount of air support or naval assistance. We shall not do

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- 12 -

so unless we are convinced that no chance of compromise exists and all such proposals will be cleared in Washington.

6. Conclusion.

As I view this operation as a whole, I would like to stress again two of its salient characteristics - <sup>Caution</sup> ~~safety~~ and flexibility. In undertaking it we have nothing to lose except our immediate investments in time, personnel, and money. It is so conceived that it can be interrupted at any time if we think we have reached a point of diminishing returns or that success is compromised. As a minimum we should secure some disruption of the Albanian base of the Greek guerrillas. It is ~~eminently~~ possible that we shall completely paralyze that base. If we have great success we shall have eliminated a pocket of communist imperialism and dealt the Soviet Empire a blow that will resound behind the iron curtain in a manner comparable to the news of the disclosure of the Tito heresy and the lifting of the Berlin blockade.

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accord with U.S. desires.

3. The second phase, which commenced with the infiltration into Albania of thirty British-trained Albanians, involved two major aspects, namely, reconnaissance and propaganda.

a. Reconnaissance—It was originally planned that eighty Albanians would be infiltrated in an attempt to determine;

- (1) the potential centers of resistance throughout the country;
- (2) the strength, loyalty, and disposition of the government forces; and (3) the strength and number of Soviet personnel within Albania. The British succeeded in landing thirty men in groups of five in southern Albania from Malta. However, fifteen men subsequently fled into Greece and only one group is continuing to send w/t communications; the rest are either known to be or presumed to be dead. It is estimated that the value of the mission performed by these agents was negligible.

In order to perform a similar mission for the other two-thirds (north and central areas) of Albania, it was originally considered necessary that approximately fifty additional US-trained agents be recruited and dispatched to Albania. However, the inability of the non-Ballist members of the Executive Committee to recruit and make available in time even twenty agents forced the suspension of these reconnaissance operations based from Malta. The British had stipulated that the agents must be trained and dispatched from Malta by the first of December, as they plan to close down the facilities then in keeping with their cover story.

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b. Propaganda—Our joint plan envisaged that simultaneously with the infiltration of the reconnaissance teams, an intensified propaganda campaign would be undertaken involving; (1) the use of a ship in the Adriatic to blanket out Radio Tirana, (2) the dropping in of propaganda leaflets, and (3) the use of other propaganda media. In this connection a PW Annex was prepared stipulating methods, propaganda themes, phasing, and timing. Owing to difficulties encountered in procuring the necessary ship and equipment and in handling other technical matters, no propaganda attack has been inaugurated to date.

4. In view of the foregoing, a joint US-British policy decision was made to suspend actual operations until such time as a new plan could be properly constituted and the major base and operational difficulties overcome.

B. Major Problems to be Resolved

1. In order to continue the joint British-US operation as presently conceived and authorized by both the Department of State and the Foreign Office, the following problems and issues must be resolved:

a. A satisfactory base of operations for the training and holding of a minimum of 250 Albanians must be obtained (In this connection preliminary negotiations are being conducted with the High Commissioner for Germany, who seems to be favorably disposed to granting the necessary permission).

b. A satisfactory forwarding area within range of the target must be obtained for the handling of personnel and supplies in

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transit from the training base to the target.

c. A suitable ship for propaganda purposes must be procured and arrangements for the necessary Commo facilities must be made.

d. Adequate provisions must be made to provide for the necessary security and cover requirements.

e. The advisability of organizing a substantial "shock" force and of re-enforcing it with other more intelligent and vigorous nationals, namely, Peles (Experience has shown that the Albanians cannot adequately supply inspired or competent leadership).

f. The proper integration of the successive phases of the operation with respect to reconnaissance, the creation of resistance nuclei, the dropping of arms and ammunition, and the launching of the ultimate phase.

2. In addition to the above base and operational problems, the following basic policy questions are posed:

a. Is it desirable to undertake the ultimate objective as presently conceived, or should our objectives be limited to what can be achieved without recourse to para-military action?

b. If the Hexha regime were overthrown by a coup, would sufficient advantages accrue to the U.S. to justify the great expenditure of time and effort which is necessary to accomplish such an overthrow?

c. If the operation were completely successful and the Hoxha regime were replaced by a representative-type government oriented towards the Western powers, would this occurrence considerably

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? worsen East-West relations or induce retaliatory action by the USSR which would weaken the U.S. or U.K. security position?

6. Discussion

1. Excluding the problems of a purely technical nature, the main operational determinations that must be made in executing the ultimate objectives as presently constituted concern the types of action which can bring about the overthrow of the Hoxha regime.

2. It is now clear to us and to the British that the Hoxha regime cannot be overthrown in the near future without a great deal of outside aid in the form of guns, supplies, leadership, and propaganda. The Albanian people probably cannot or will not carry on a sustained fight for their own liberation without outside aid. Greater U.S. commitments will have to be made than were contemplated in the program approved in June, 1949, if Hoxha is to be overthrown as a result of U.S.-U.K. inspired efforts.

3. The British reconnaissance teams have achieved very little and with one exception have been killed, captured, or forced to flee the country. In view of their lack of success, it is apparent that the severe Albanian police controls make such reconnaissance efforts impractical.

4. Before new reconnaissance efforts are mounted, it is necessary that a new approach be considered. It is felt that teams which are adequately armed and which are permitted to operate as small guerrilla bands will have a greater chance of surviving and of fulfilling their mission. This concept visualizes that these teams will have a two-fold mission—the organizing of nuclei of resistance and the creating of operational intelligence nets. The resistance nuclei will help the

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"armed reconnaissance" teams to survive and to lay the groundwork for an insurrectionary apparatus.

5. The present Albanian plan provides for a review following the completion of the initial reconnaissance effort and for a decision, in the light of such a review, by the JCS and the Department of State as to whether the subsequent aspects of the planned program are to be implemented. Because of the time required to obtain such a decision, the reconnaissance and subsequent phases <sup>will lose their</sup> ~~will~~ maximum effectiveness.

6. As an alternative to the program discussed above, there is a more time-consuming non-para-military type of program involving the more or less slow development of courier lines and centers of resistance. This relatively slowly maturing program could only achieve very limited objectives and would almost certainly exclude the possibility of revolt within the foreseeable future. Such a program would not substantially advance U.S.-foreign policy objectives in this area. In addition, it is possible that the present opportunity to achieve major results in Albania may be lost.

7. As there are not many Albanians abroad, it is doubtful whether an adequate number will be available to create the "shock" force originally considered necessary to bring about a rapid overthrow of Hoxha. Therefore, the "shock" force may need stiffening with other nationals if operations are to go forward most expeditiously and effectively. Such a course of action, although possibly desirable from an operational point of view, is not in line with existing U.S. policy decisions, i.e. that the Albanian operation must have the outward appearance of being Albanian sponsored and executed.

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8. It is known that the French, Greek, and Italian intelligence services are familiar with U.S.-British intentions with regard to Albania. Moreover, it is assumed that the Soviet and Yugoslav intelligence services are also aware of U.S.-British sponsored activities respecting Albania. As a result, successful accomplishment of all the phases of the joint British-U.S. program as now approved is becoming increasingly difficult.

9. The British have not at any time been overly concerned with the fact that British sponsorship of this operation might become known. However, as evidenced by their refusal to grant us a permanent base in Cirenaica or Malta, they have shown that they are taking the necessary step to assure the Foreign Office that no conclusive proof will be obtained of their connection with this operation. Therefore, it is felt that the relative transparency of the operation does not constitute a major drawback so long as the Soviets are unable to obtain conclusive proof of U.S.-British participation.

10. Although Tito probably does not contemplate any action in Albania comparable to the U.S.-U.K. program, Tito undoubtedly knows of our intentions and is preparing to be in a position to exploit the situation as it develops. It may be necessary, therefore, to consider the advisability of reaching some understanding with Tito respecting Albania.

11. The developments which might occur as a result of a U.S.-U.K. sponsored overthrow of the present Albanian regime are enumerated below:

a. Possible Soviet Reactions Disadvantageous to the U.S.

(1) The USSR might send Soviet and/or Satellite troops

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to re-establish a Soviet dominated regime in Albania which could materially strengthen the position of the USSR in the Mediterranean. However, it is generally estimated that the Soviet Union could not use Soviet or Satellite troops in such an instance, as this would brand them as an aggressor.

(2) If the Albanian ports were denied to the USSR, the Kremlin might conceivably attempt to secure a land route across Yugoslav Macedonia.

(3) Soviet planners may feel compelled to take serious retaliatory action elsewhere in the world.

**D. Developments Advantageous to the U.S.**

(1) Successful overthrow of the Hoxha regime would be the first instance of the "rollback" of Soviet power in the Satellite. The proposed NSC directive 68 states that such a "rollback" is the objective of U.S.-foreign policy respecting Eastern Europe.

(2) Would strengthen Tito's position by removing the present Soviet threat on his Western flank.

(3) Would considerably reduce the Soviet Union's ability to reopen the Greek civil war.

(4) Would directly remove Kremlin power from Adriatic and would reduce Soviet influence in the Mediterranean.

(5) Would vividly indicate to anti-Communist nationals <sup>in</sup> the Satellite states that there is real hope of ultimate liberation.

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12. If the revolt is only partially successful in that it leads to a prolonged civil war, the Soviet Union might intervene as mentioned in paragraph 11, a, above.

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**8. Recommendations**

It is recommended that:

1. In order to carry out U.S. national policy, as set forth in NSC 10/2 and in the proposed NSC 58, drafted by the Department of State, U.S.-sponsored efforts aimed at overthrowing the present Kremlin supported regime in Albania should be continued.

2. In order to carry out this Albanian operation, an entirely new operational plan be prepared in the light of experience to date.

3. The reconnaissance phase of this Albanian operation be developed according to the principles of "armed reconnaissance" action, which emphasize the accelerated establishment of resistance nuclei, outlined in paragraph 9, 4. above.

4. A psychological warfare sub-program as outlined in the approved PW Annex be developed and implemented at the earliest possible date.

5. The JCS and the Department of State be requested to approve the use of "armed reconnaissance" teams.

6. The JCS and the Department of State be requested at this time to approve the supplying of limited quantities of arms and ammunitions to indigenous elements.

7. At a later date the JCS and the Department of State be requested to give final approval for the supplying of substantial quantities of arms.

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*FDP  
Oct 51*

Colonel General Enver HOXHA (pronounced Hoja), Prime Minister and Commander of the Armed Forces of Albania, is 40 years of age. His father was a cotton factory worker in Gjinokaster, South Albania. At the age of 16 he was affiliated with the Communist Party and reportedly attended the Balkan CP Congress in Vienna in 1924. As a promising student of the local high school he was given a scholarship for studies in Belgium. When the funds of this scholarship ran out, he became secretary of the Albanian Consulate in Brussels. In 1937 he returned to Albania, ostensibly to teach French in a high school at Korce. Working for the downfall of King Zog, however, became his chief occupation. He established himself as a small businessman on one of the main business streets in Tirana and led for the next few years the hazardous double life of a typical conspirator. In the daytime he sold cigarettes and olive oil to the Italian officers and soldiers that crowded his store; at night he held conferences with the leaders of the guerrilla bands waging war on the Italians from their mountain hideouts. HOXHA's influence rose steadily among the Albanian Partisans whom he joined openly in the summer of 1942. He was selected Chief of the National Liberation Movement at a conference of the guerrilla chiefs held in September 1942. During the next two years he coordinated the activity of his Partisans with TITO's guerrillas; after the Nazi domination in the Balkans crumbled HOXHA, who in the meantime had promoted himself to a Colonel General, triumphantly entered Tirana.

NAZI WAR CRIMES DISCLOSURE ACT

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EXEMPTIONS Section 3(b)

- (2)(A) Privacy   
(2)(B) Methods/Sources   
(2)(G) Foreign Relations

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Date: *2005*

INFORMATION SECTION

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3105

10/15/51

XI STOCKHOLM 268

3628

ALBANIA

POPULARITY STRUGGLE BETWEEN HODJA AND SHEHU

Enver HODJA, Communist chief in Albania, is reported to be involved in a bitter "popularity struggle" with Russia's new favorite, (General) Mehmet SHEHU, according to a recent reliable report.

Reason for the struggle, which is closely guarded, is a unique one in Soviet satellite countries. HODJA, founder of the present Communist Party in Albania, made a name for himself as an underground resistance leader during the war. Much like TITO he has been a comrade in arms with many of his countrymen. To aid his personal ambitions, as well as to fortify his government after Yugoslavia broke with the Cominform, HODJA started to publicize himself as another SKANDERBEGS, Albania's national hero who defended the country against the Turks some 500 years ago. As a result of his successful campaigning, Albanian Communism has been more and more personified by one person--HODJA.

Russia, meanwhile, viewed HODJA's increasing popularity with some misgivings, since she prefers to distribute power in satellites among several Communist leaders who would, to a certain extent, compete with each other. Though HODJA ruthlessly purged all Titoist elements from the Albanian Communist Party, his personal similarity to TITO as far as his popular appeal is concerned has remained a target for Soviet suspicion. Moreover, HODJA's former close cooperation with Yugoslavia--during the war and immediately after the war--are likely to be held against HODJA by the Russians whenever they wish to promote their own favorite--SHEHU.

(During the war, Albanian partisans in the strength of two divisions once rescued TITO's trapped forces. In the postwar era, Yugoslav hegemony over Albania was an open fact which found expression in the many joint Yugoslav-Albanian development companies, Yugoslav experts working in Albania, and finally, in TITO's offer to merge the two country's currencies into one--the Yugoslav dinar was to replace the Albanian currency.)

General SHEHU is not burdened with such a political past, although he has occupied several cabinet posts under HODJA. Less intelligent and not nearly so well educated as HODJA, SHEHU is

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EXEMPTIONS Section 3(b)

- (2)(A) Privacy
- (2)(B) Methods/Sources
- (2)(G) Foreign Relations

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Date: 2005

page 2 -- #3628

openly supported by the Soviet legation in TIRNA which more and more considers him a confident, especially in military matters.

This internal struggle between SHEHU and HODJA has been cleverly kept from the Albanian people--who are not aware of it at all.

(RIC: Reliable and excellent background)

[ ]

[ ]

INFORMATION AND RESEARCH DEPARTMENT

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3851

Hoxha, Enver (w/100)

12/28/51

XI (50)

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ALBANIA

ENVER HOXHA'S MORAL CHARACTER

An informer in GREECE who knows Enver HOXHA personally has disclosed that the Albanian Communist boss is a homosexual -- or at least a bisexual. The source is a highly reputable physician who was born in ALBANIA and spent his whole life there until he fled into GREECE from the Communists in 1944. Since his escape from ALBANIA he has remained in close touch with developments in that country.

The physician said that HOXHA as a youth was very handsome and soon learned that his good looks had a considerable market value in the eyes of the Beys of Arghrocastro, among whom homosexuality was rampant. HOXHA, then a dashing young man addicted to expensive recreations, financed his pleasures by hiring himself out as a male prostitute to the Beys and other rich homosexuals in the ELBASAN region. The informant knew of one instance in which HOXHA covered his gambling losses with money he received from consorting with rich homosexuals of KORYTSA.

The physician said that HOXHA is an arrant physical coward, in spite of his synthetic reputation as creator of the Albanian resistance. Once in 1943 the informant was at HOXHA's side during a skirmish between Italian occupation troops and Albanian partisans. When HOXHA heard the rifle shots nearby he almost fainted with terror, although there was little danger.

HOXHA is said to live in constant dread of his brutal Minister of Interior, Mehmet SHEHU, the real power in ALBANIA. SHEHU, a veteran Communist who fought in Spain, is a strong personality and born killer. It is said he likes to kill with his own hands. And HOXHA fears that when he is no longer useful to the Soviets, SHEHU will be unleashed against him by MOSCOW. That is why he is perhaps the most servile and abject of all of STALIN's puppets.

12-14-51

(RIC: No information on HOXHA's moral character)

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INTELLIGENCE	
MAR 12 1952	
INTEGRATION DIVISION	
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NAZI WAR CRIMES DISCLOSURE ACT

EXEMPTIONS Section 3(b)

- (2)(A) Privacy
- (2)(B) Methods/Sources
- (2)(G) Foreign Relations

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Date: 2005

# OFFICIAL DISPATCH

VIA: \_\_\_\_\_ DISPATCH NO. SOAW-1046  
SPECIFY AIR OR SEA POUCH

~~SECRET~~  
Security Information  
CLASSIFICATION

FEB 26 1953

TO : Canadian Representative, IC  ATE: \_\_\_\_\_  
FROM : C/SE  INFO: Chief, KUCOMM, C   
ATTN: IC  ATTN: IC  (Al Qas) ENVER HOKHA  
SUBJECT: GENERAL-   BOFIELD/INTELL  
SPECIFIC- HOKHA's Signature

- References: (A) SOAA-644  
(B) GRINU-3083

Attached are photographic copies of the letter bearing Hoxha's signature and enlargements of the signature and seal. The AFSCO reproduction is true size.

~~SECRET~~

Chief, SE

3 w/attachments 1 (3) & 2 (3)  
 w/attachments 1 (1) & 2 (2)  
SE-1/  '8366/ya/16 Feb.  
Distribution: RI - 1  
EX/SE - 1  
SE-1 - 1

SECRET INDEX  
DATE

C/SE RELEASING OFFICER  
 C/WE COORDINATING OFFICER  
 AUTHENTICATING OFFICER

NAZI WAR CRIMES DISCLOSURE ACT

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Security Information  
CLASSIFICATION

GPO 83-22140

FORM NO. 51-28  
JUN 1949

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(2)(G) Foreign Relations

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Date: 2005

CLASSIFIED MESSAGE

ORIG : [ ]  
UNIT : SE/1  
EXT : 672  
DATE : 28 JULY 1954

SECRET

ROUTING	
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2	5
3	6

TO : [ ]  
FROM : DIRECTOR  
CONF : SE-6  
INFO : COP, FI, FI/OPS, FI/STC, WE 2, FIMRI 2

*O'Hoplin, Enver (C/S)*

DIR 10929 (OUT 65292) 1944 28 JUL 54

ROUTINE  
PRECEDENCE

TO: [ ]

CITE: DIR

[ ] ALBANIA

1. [ ] REPORTS RUMOR HOXHA SOME TIME AGO REQUESTED VISA ~~FOR~~ FRANCE.  
REQUEST [ ] ATTEMPT CONFIRM THROUGH LIAISON.
2. APPRECIATE ANY INFO OBTAINABLE ~~BY~~ APPROACHES FRENCH MINISTER BY  
HOXHA CONSTRUCTABLE AS DESIRE ~~FOR~~ SANCTUARY FRANCE.

END OF MESSAGE

ABSTRACT	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> INDEX	<i>jar</i>
DATE	3 AUG 1954	

SE/A / SE/CFT / WE/3  
COORDINATING OFFICERS

SECRET

RELEASING OFFICER

AUTHENTICATING OFFICER

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5. SAVCHENKO, chief of the then PCU, considered the whole affair to be a British or American provocation. When asked if the Minister of the MID should be informed of this matter, SAVCHENKO answered that he had already discussed it with the Minister and that it had been decided that this report was not to be given to the government or to anyone. Therefore the report was returned to the agent's file.

6. Later the report was sent to the Advisers Section, and Source thinks that it was put into MIIMA's file there. Source stated that there is a file on all important people in the satellite countries.

7. Source stated that he did not know if this report was given to the government at a later date. However, he stated that before important Communist Party meetings, the MID usually gave short-  
ever information it had on foreign delegates to the Central Committee for orientation purposes. Therefore it is possible that the gravest  
most might have received this report under such circumstances.

8. Source stated that Moscow naturally suspected the agent as the source of such a document. They also took into consideration the possibility that the British had found out that he was a Soviet agent and had fed him this information as a provocation. In such an event, the agent would be considered clean as far as Moscow was concerned. Source stated that up to this time the agent was in no way suspected by Moscow. However, the agent continued to work as usual and Moscow did not inquire Berlin about their suspicions or ask Berlin for a check on the agent.

9. Source stated that this report was not given to the Information Section because, without confirming data, it had no value as positive intelligence. Source stated that he has no doubt that SAVCHENKO checked with the Advisers Section on this matter. If he had found out anything which could have confirmed the report, then he might have sent it to the Information Section.

BY  
Pl de/bv:blm:

- Orig - Chief, IS
- 1 - SB6/RF's
- 1 - SR/CE
- 1 - C/BE
- 1 - SM/FP
- 1 - SRC/KIB
- 4 - SM/OS/IR

R. Encl. to DIRA-5441

4 settembre 1954  
29 SET 1954

APPUNTI MICROFILMED

APR 82 1963

ARGOMENTO : Riflessi interni determinati in Albania dal cambio del governo.

Fonte: Normalmente attendibile.

Durante la trasmissione serale del 20 luglio u.s. "Radio Tirana" ripeteva i discorsi di Enver Hoxha e di Mehmet Sheou tenuti davanti alla Assemblea popolare, nell'occasione della 1ª sessione della 3ª legislatura comunista.

In tale circostanza Enver Hoxha presentava le sue dimissioni e chiedeva all'Assemblea di accettare la proposta fatta al Comitato centrale del Partito di nominare primo Ministro Mehmet Sheou.

Questi a sua volta, dopo aver messo in evidenza i risultati soddisfacenti ottenuti nel passato, prometteva che in avvenire avrebbe curato di migliorare le condizioni di vita del popolo albanese, incrementando il livello economico nazionale. Quindi presentava la lista dei componenti del nuovo cabinetto.

Questo cambiamento inaspettato degli esponenti del regime comunista albanese è in realtà il risultato di rivalità e di disaccordi latenti da lungo tempo fra i due gerarchi comunisti.

Il Cremlino, essendone informato e temendo che con Enver Hoxha si sarebbe potuto giungere ad un indebolimento del regime comunista in Albania, il 1º giugno c.a. aveva inviato delle Unità Navali nei porti albanesi, comandate dall'Ammiraglio Ghorchov, con specifiche istruzioni per i governanti albanesi.

Ora è da prevedersi che Mehmet Sheou cercherà di accrescersi le simpatie del popolo con ampie promesse, anche per placare la corrente anti-comunista; eviterà di rendere visibili gli attriti che lo dividono da Enver Hoxha, perché ciò darebbe nuovo vigore agli avversari del comunismo; nel contempo non risparmierà occasione per combattere subdolamente il suo antagonista per aver modo di atterrarlo al momento propizio.

La rivalità tra i due citati personaggi comunisti albanesi si era già manifestata allorché nel novembre 1944 l'Albania cadeva nel regime attuale.

Con le elezioni di allora e la proclamazione della cosiddetta Repubblica Popolare, si formava il Governo con a capo Enver Hoxha, il quale sceglieva come collaboratori una maggioranza di suoi fedeli.

Uno dei suoi più intimi era KOÇI IOÇE, al quale affidava il dicastero degli Interni, mentre Mehmet Sheou era inviato a studiare a Mosca presso l'Accademia militare Voroshilov dove rimaneva fino al 1946.

INDEX

Encl. to DIRA-5449

ENCL.

NAZI WAR CRIMES DISCLOSURE ACT

- EXEMPTIONS Section 3(b)
- (2)(A) Privacy
- (2)(B) Methods/Sources
- (2)(G) Foreign Relations

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Tornato del 1947, era nominato Capo di stato maggiore. Poco dopo Koci Xoce, che oltre ad essere ministro dell'Interno ricopriva anche la carica di Segretario organizzatore del Partito, lo sollevava da tale carica importante, nominandolo Ministro delle Comunicazioni. Nello stesso tempo tutti i fedeli di Mehmet Shecu erano radiati dai loro posti di Comando.

Ciò avveniva quando in Albania esistevano organizzatori jugoslavi e russi ed i primi avevano una notevole preminenza.

Avvenuta la scissione politica tra Russia e Jugoslavia, il Cremlino essendo sempre al corrente della lotta sorda di Enver Hoxha e Koci Xoce, contro il suo fedele Mehmet Shecu, prendeva le debite misure per garantirsi di una probabile defezione della Albania.

In base a tale programma Mehmet Shecu, spalleggiato dal Ministro russo a Tirana, Chuvakin, tenne una riunione del Partito nei locali del "Cinema delle Brigate", che si denominò Plenum XI del Partito Comunista, durante la quale egli richiamò l'attenzione dell'Assemblea sui mutamenti necessari che dovevano operarsi per contrastare le decisioni prese nell'VIII Plenum del Partito, che aveva avuto un carattere antisovietico.

D'improvviso, il giorno seguente la stampa di Tirana annunciava la nomina di Mehmet Shecu a Ministro dell'Interno e Koci Xoce a Ministro della Giustizia.

Poco dopo quest'ultimo veniva arrestato e condannato a morte come traditore della Patria e dell'Unione Sovietica. Nel contempo venivano rotte le relazioni con la Jugoslavia ed espulsi i suoi organizzatori.

L'esposizione sommaria di questi eventi serve a provare una volta di più il dissidio profondo e latente che esiste fra i due Capi ed il sistema di lotta sorda e sleale ai quali essi usano ricorrere per combattersi.

Un fatto importante da rilevare è quello che da entrambe le parti si vuole evitare uno scontro aperto che produrrebbe una forte crisi del regime comunista in Albania, larvamente scisso nelle due correnti filosovietica e filo-jugoslava.

Ci si domanda ansiosamente se il popolo albanese, sotto la guida di nuovi Capi e con l'appoggio delle potenze occidentali, saprà infine approfittare delle ostilità fra questi due venduti allo straniero per uscire dal suo tragico stato di servaggio.

Fonte : Nama

# OFFICIAL DISPATCH

VIA: Air  
SPECIFY AIR OR SEA POUCH

DISPATCH NO. OFPA-8921

SECRET CONTROL  
U.S. OFFICIALS ONLY  
CLASSIFICATION

DATE:

SEPT. 21 1954

TO Chief, WE

FROM Senior Representative, [ ] KUPIRE INFO: [ ]

SUBJECT: GENERAL [ ] Albania/Intel  
SPECIFIC Enver HOXHA

ffs

Refs: DIR 10216, 27 July 54  
DIR 10929, 29 July 54

In answer to our request for confirmation of the news of HOXHA's reported arrest and application for a French visa, which request was based on ref cables, [ ] has informed us as follows:

"We have noted your information and shall not fail to inform you if Enver HOXHA applies for a visa."

No reply has been received from [ ]

20 Sept 54

3 - Wash  
1 - [ ]  
1 - chrono  
1 - file 1209  
1 - rpts from [ ]

1 COPY

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NAZI WAR CRIMES DISCLOSURE ACT

EXEMPTIONS Section 3(b)

- (2)(A) Privacy   
(2)(B) Methods/Sources   
(2)(G) Foreign Relations

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by the Central Intelligence Agency  
Date: 2005

VIA: AIR POUCH  
(SPECIFY AIR OR SEA POUCH)

DISPATCH NO. OIRA-5119  
BGFINESSE

SECRET CONTROL  
U. S. OFFICIALS ONLY  
CLASSIFICATION

MICROFILM  
DATE 9 October 1954  
APR 22 1963  
Info: [ ]  
DOC. MICRO. SER.

TO : Chief, WE  
FROM : Senior Representative, [ ]  
SUBJECT: GENERAL— [ ] OBOPUS  
          SPECIFIC— Replacement of Enver HOXHA by Mehmet SHEHU  
Source : [ ]  
Eval : B-3  
Date Info : 4 Sept 1954  
Date Acq : 29 Sept 1954

1. There is forwarded herewith an untranslated (Italian) report which comments on the replacement of Enver HOXHA by Mehmet SHEHU as Albanian Prime Minister.
2. No information is presently available on the original source of the report whose cryptonym is given as "Nama".

Enclosure:  
1 - 2-page report

Prepared by:  
[ ]  
6 October 1954

Distribution:  
4 - Wash w/encl  
1 - [ ] (Attn. [ ])

ENCL

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CLASSIFICATION

INDEX  
INDEX


FORM NO. 51-28A  
MAR 1949

NAZI WAR CRIMES DISCLOSURE ACT

- EXEMPTIONS Section 3(b)
- (2)(A) Privacy
  - (2)(B) Methods/Sources
  - (2)(G) Foreign Relations

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Date: 2005

SECRET  
(When Filled In)

DOCUMENT TRANSFER AND CROSS REFERENCE					
SUBJECT OF DOCUMENT			DOCUMENT IDENTIFICATION		
Leading Political Personalities			2. RI FILE NO.		
			3. DISPATCH OR SOURCE DOC. SYMBOL NO.	4. DATE	
			SGA-4059	June 56	
7. SOURCE CRYPTONYM		8. DATE OF INFO.	9. EVALUATION		
[ ] [ ]		Prior Nov 54			
5. ANALYST	6. DATE PROCESSED	10. DISSEMINATED IN	11. DATE		
		CS 99188	31 July 1956		
DOCUMENT DISPOSITION					
12. CROSS REFERRED TO THIS FILE			13. TRANSFERRED TO RI FILE NO.		
14. PERTINENT INFORMATION					
<p>Extract:</p> <p><u>Enver Hoxha</u>: First Secretary of Albanian Workers (Communist) Party. Source met Hoxha four or five times during the war.</p> <p>Hoxha is described by Source as lacking the necessary leadership qualities of aggressiveness, courage and strength of personality. He is overly cautious in expressing new ideas or initiating necessary Party and government actions, never making a decision unless he is certain that no repercussions will result. As a consequence of these weaknesses, Source believes that Hoxha is not well qualified for the top position in Albania, and that any strong person filling the No. 2 position is thereby able to approach, if not equal, Hoxha in the degree of political control over the government. This was true of Koci Xoxe, who, according to Source, was placed in the No. 2 position by Yugoslavia thereby using Xoxe's stronger personality to neutralize Hoxha. Mehmet Shehu was selected by Hoxha because a strong man was needed at the time of Xoxe's arrest and the resulting attack on the <u>Sigurimi</u>. Had Hoxha's own position during the Xoxe episode not been in danger, Source believes that Hoxha might have selected Bedri Spahiu to fill the No. 2 position. Bedri Spahiu, a weaker person than Hoxha, would have made Hoxha's position more secure.</p> <p>Hoxha is capable of making public speeches with considerable effect, even moving some to tears. Excluding his speeches before official Party meetings, the purpose of Hoxha's public speeches is primarily for their emotional appeal. According to Source, as a result of Xoxe's trial and the First Party Congress, a more liberal policy was adopted thus giving the impression of greater freedom within the Party and the government. By 1950, however, the Party leaders reversed themselves in order to tighten and centralize control.</p> <p>Hoxha's tendency to stoutness is offset by his height. According to Source, his weight fluctuates according to the political climate. For instances, during the Xoxe trial in 1949, Hoxha lost a considerable amount of weight and his clothes hung on him like sacks.</p> <p>Liri Bellishova and Beqir Balluku are considered close friends of Hoxha. Manush Myftiu is not a close friend. <del>However,</del> Myftiu was formerly a Xoxe man and has not</p>					
15. FILE THIS FORM IN FILE NO.  [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ]					

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(7-46)

NAZI WAR CRIMES DISCLOSURE ACT

- EXEMPTIONS Section 3(b)
- (2)(A) Privacy
  - (2)(B) Methods/Sources
  - (2)(G) Foreign Relations

Declassified and Approved for Release  
by the Central Intelligence Agency  
Date: 2005

committed himself to support either Hoxha or Shehu. Pilo Peristepe is considered a friend of Hoxha as well as Spiro Kodela. Hoxha is responsible for the position Kodela now holds and in addition has protected Kodela from Shehu's attempts to eliminate him.

Mehmet Shehu certainly cannot be considered a friend of Hoxha, since Shehu is attempting to neutralize Hoxha's position and one day may succeed him. According to Source, it is difficult to name Hoxha's enemies, since he is never directly involved in disciplinary actions and purges. Although Hoxha undoubtedly gives the approval for such actions, it is actually Shehu who orders dismissals, even where high-ranking Party members are concerned.

Hoxha speaks French, Italian, and Source heard that he speaks Russian well.

SECRET

HOKHA, Enver

Albania

ESD/Rome  
No. 997  
28 Jan 57  
Bio Data  
from It  
Min of For  
Aff  
CONFIDENTIAL

Enver Hoxha:

Born at Argirocastro in 1908 of family of small land owners. Studied at French Lycee of Korcia, and then at the University of Montpellier. From 1932 to 1936, during his stay in France, worked with French Communist Party. In 1937 was at Brussels as a secretary in the Albanian Legation. In 1938 recalled to Albania and assigned to teach in Lycee of Korcia. In 1939 to escape such duties, undertook clandestine activities. In 1941 named General Secretary of the Albanian Communist Party (later Workers Party) position he still retains. From 1945 to 1954 intermittently filled position of Head of the Government.

In his youth he left very much to be desired.

NAZI WAR CRIMES DISCLOSURE ACT

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by the Central Intelligence Agency  
Date: 2005



U.S. INFORMATION AGENCY

No. 58-193

Backgrounder on Communism  
May, 1958  
IPS/SM/AK

ENVER HOKHA: ALBANIA'S ANTI-TITOIST

by Andrew Keller  
(Writer on political, cultural and social aspects of Communism)

SUMMARY: Attached is one of a series of five profiles of key Communist personalities. Additional profiles, in groups of five, will be pouched to posts in the next several months.

With photo: 56-18384

NOTE: If desired, this cover sheet may be removed before distribution. Use of the byline is optional.

NAZI WAR CRIMES DISCLOSURE ACT

EXEMPTIONS Section 3(b)  
(2)(A) Privacy   
(2)(B) Methods/Sources   
(2)(G) Foreign Relations

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Date: 2005

ENVER HOXHA: ALBANIA'S ANTI-TITOIST

by Andrew Keller  
(Writer on political, cultural and social aspects of Communism)

Albanian Communist Party chief Enver Hoxha is one of the few leading figures in the Soviet satellite countries who is not Moscow trained. This fact has presented no special problems to the Kremlin. For the past twenty-five years, Hoxha has been a devoted adherent of Moscow's policies -- with one important exception.

The point on which Hoxha and his followers differ from their Soviet colleagues is on the matter of the USSR's desire for rapprochement with Yugoslavia's Marshal Tito. In 1948, when the Cominform (the now-defunct Communist information bureau) attacked Tito's national brand of communism, Hoxha was one of the first to support the denunciation.

Overnight Tito became, in Hoxha's words, "the greatest mortal enemy of the Albanian people." A number of prominent Party members, among them Vice Premier and Minister of the Interior Koci Xoxe, were eliminated on charges of being Titoists. Hoxha has admitted that some 12,000 Albanian Party members were expelled or had "deserted" to Belgrade because of the schism.

Still hostile to Tito, Hoxha today is constrained to follow Moscow's lead and strive for friendly relations with Yugoslavia. He is reportedly very distressed over the matter.

Hoxha has also been seriously embarrassed by another, more recent Soviet about-face. This is the demotion of Soviet Marshal Georgi Zhukov. When the Marshal visited Albania in October, 1957, Hoxha, elated at the visit of such an important Soviet personality, heaped praises of praise on him. On October 27, the day after Zhukov was ousted from membership in the Soviet Communist Party Presidium, Albanian papers were still carrying Hoxha's eulogies of the Marshal. The Kremlin apparently hadn't bothered to let Hoxha know of Zhukov's impending dismissal.

Enver Hoxha was born in 1908 in Gjinokaster, Albania, reportedly into a family of small landowners. Another report has it that his family was desperately poor and that Hoxha knew misery and hunger as a child. As with the lives of many Communists, it is difficult to separate fact from fiction. However, it would seem that Hoxha as a youth had some kind of financial support for he managed to attend the National Lycee at Korce before going on to the University of Montpellier in France.

Hoxha left the University at the end of his first year, apparently because of poor grades. But he did manage to acquire a grounding in French which led to a post as clerk in the Albanian Consulate General in Brussels. It was two years before the Albanian Government learned that Hoxha was a frequent contributor to the French Communist Party organ L'Humanité of articles highly critical of his government. His appointment was, of course, then cancelled but oddly enough no punitive action was taken against him. Returning to Albania he continued his political agitation but it was not until 1939 that he

was arrested on charges of conspiring to overthrow the government. His prison term was brief and after teaching school at Korce for a while he went to Tirana, the capital, where he opened a tobacco shop which became a meeting-place for Communists.

Physically Hoxha is a tall man whose rather handsome features were, until recently, somewhat marred by his excess weight. Of late, however, Hoxha has lost considerable poundage, reportedly due to illness.

He has considerable personal charm and is an excellent orator, with a rather appealing platform manner. He also has a marked capacity for leadership.

Hoxha founded the Albanian Communist Party in 1941, and he immediately began making positive plans for Communist take-over of the country. Indeed, so thorough was Hoxha that the Communist coup in Albania has frequently been cited as possibly an even more classic example of subversion than the coup d'état in Czechoslovakia.

During a period when his countrymen were attempting to repel first the Italian and then the Nazi invaders, Hoxha set as his task the maneuvering of non-Communist and anti-Communist factions in Albania into fighting for the Communist cause under the guise of nationalism. He formed the National Liberation Front as a rallying point for Albanians determined to liberate their country.

Hoxha's National Liberation Front had a formidable rival in the National Front, a genuinely nationalistic organization with members recruited from all ranks except the Communists.

Indeed, Hoxha's organization was suspect from the first, but in various resolutions and proclamations its Communist affiliations were vigorously denied. For example, a proclamation issued on July 10, 1943, stated: "All Albanians must understand and brand as foreign propaganda the anti-national propaganda campaign which alleges the movement of National Liberation is a Communist movement."

Thus while in public statements the NLF was represented as non-Communist, Hoxha and his colleagues were issuing secret orders to Party cells to seize control of the National Front in order to destroy it or use it or use it for their own ends at the proper time.

In September, 1943, the Albanian Communist Party Central Committee issued the following secret directive to Party members: "[You are] with relentless work to discredit the National Front before the people, to detach the people from it and to unite them with us... to present it as striving for division and as an instigator of fratricidal fighting ... to make it so look that the whole people will revolt because of it. In this way the historical responsibility for the disunity of the Albanian people and for the armed conflict will fall on the National Front."

One device employed by Hoxha to discredit the National Front was to attribute to it the ruin of every village burned by the Nazis. Another was to portray National Front members as Fascists in the pay of Italy. The National Front was unable to withstand Hoxha's all-out attack and, with its disintegration, Hoxha turned his attention to the army.

Subversion of the army was directed through the Shpati circulars (so-called because the signature Shpati, one of Hoxha's pseudonyms

was affixed to them). The Shpati circular of November 3, 1943, for instance, had this to say: "Bear in mind that the army must be well under the control of the Party. Recently, we have noticed in many battalions a marked lack of Party influence. This must be remedied immediately and emphasis must be laid on complete control of all Party organizations. Party cells must be formed within the battalions, and through conferences and various courses the soldiers must be kept under the guidance of Party members."

In October, 1944, after the withdrawal of the Nazi forces from Albania, Hoxha's National Liberation Front, confident of its ability to seize and hold power, declared itself the Democratic Government of Albania. Hoxha was named Premier, a post he has since relinquished to Mehmet Shehu, an ardent Party member.

Communist control of Albania has meant that over the years the Albanian people have been persuaded to believe that the whole of the free world has sinister designs on their little country.

It has been said of Albania that its center of gravity is Moscow. Albanian youth looks to Moscow for cultural and ideological guidance. Despite the downgrading he has undergone in his own country and elsewhere, the late Soviet dictator Stalin is still a hero to Albanians. Portraits and statues of him are everywhere. They are outnumbered only by those of Hoxha.

- - - - -

ENVER HOXHA: ALBANIA'S ANTI-TITOIST

CAPTION

A close-up of Enver Hoxha, Communist Party chief of Albania.  
Hoxha, an avowed enemy of Yugoslavia's Marshal Tito, is troubled by  
Moscow's insistence that he strive for friendly relations with Yugoslavia.

(56-18384)

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SECRET  
(When Filled In)

DOCUMENT TRANSFER AND CROSS REFERENCE			
SUBJECT OF DOCUMENT		DOCUMENT IDENTIFICATION	
Biographical Sketches of Prominent Members of Albanian Labor Party  RFE EVALUATION & ANALYSIS DEPT		2. RI FILE NO.	
		3. DISPATCH OR SOURCE DOC. SYMBOL NO.	4. DATE
		RFE	2 Feb 61
		7. SOURCE CRYPTONYM	8. DATE OF INFO. 9. EVALUATION
5. ANALYST	6. DATE PROCESSED	10. DISSEMINATED IN	11. DATE
DOCUMENT DISPOSITION			
12. CROSS REFERRED TO THIS FILE		13. TRANSFERRED TO RI FILE NO.	
PERTINENT INFORMATION			
14.  Attached information taken almost entirely from biographical sketches given in Stavro Skendi (ed.): "Albania", Frager, "New York 1956, for the mid-European Studies Center of the Free Europe Committee, pp 324-345. The necessary additions have been made.			
15. FILE THIS FORM IN FILE NO.		<div style="display: flex; align-items: center;"> <div style="display: flex; gap: 10px;"> <span>E</span> <span>I</span> </div> </div>	

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(7-46)

NAZI WAR CRIMES DISCLOSURE ACT

- EXEMPTIONS Section 3(b)
- (2)(A) Privacy
  - (2)(B) Methods/Sources
  - (2)(G) Foreign Relations

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GENERAL OF THE ...

Born 16 October 1900, ... Married ... they have ... Lycee in ... (France) ... but received ... studied ... Foreign ... USSR Order of ... Class, ... First Class, ...

Chronological Data

- 1930-33: Assistant ... of National Science, ... of the University of ... (1930-31); ... in studies. He ...
- 1933-36: Private ... of ... in Albania in ... He also ... the local ...
- 1936-39: ... of French at ... for ... months, was ... to teach the ... transferred to ...
- 1940-41: ... a Communist ... (Communist) ...
- 1941: ... of the ... Party ... Secret- ... to death ...
- 1942: ... of ... (September 16), ... movement ...
- 1943: ... of the ... Committee ... known as ... Secretary ... held at ... until ...
- 1943: ... of the ... of National ... in ... Army of National ... (ANNA).

SPECIAL REPORT, page 42

- 1944 : President, Anti-Fascist Committee of National Liberation, and Commander in Chief with rank of colonel general, appointed at Conference of Berat, May 24; Prime Minister of the Provisional Democratic Government of Albania; appointed at Conference of Berat, October.
- 1945 : President of the Democratic Front (successor to the National Liberation Front), which position he still holds; elected Deputy to the Constituent (later People's) Assembly, December 2, and re-elected in May 1950 and May 1954.
- 1946 : Premier, Minister of Foreign Affairs, Minister of People's Defense, and Commander in Chief, appointed by the People's Assembly in March; also elected member of the Presidium of the People's Assembly.
- 1946 : Headed Albanian delegation to Yugoslavia in July and to the Paris Peace Conference from August to October.
- 1947 : Headed Albanian delegation to Moscow in July and to Bulgaria in December.
- 1948 : Attended conference of foreign ministers of the Soviet Union and the People's Democracies held at Warsaw; elected member of the Party's Politburo, which position he had held since November 1941 but never revealed publicly until the Party's First Congress in November of 1948; he still holds this position.
- 1949 : Headed Albanian delegation to Moscow in March and April; promoted to General of the Army in November.
- 1952 : Headed Albanian delegation to the 19th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union in Moscow, October.
- 1953 : Relinquished posts of Minister of People's Defense and Minister of Foreign Affairs, July 23.
- 1954 : Relinquished position of Premier and Secretary General of the Party, the latter office having been abolished.
- 1954---- : Appointed First Secretary of the Party's Central Committee, July 12.
- 1956 : Re-elected to all offices at Third Congress.

SECRET  
(When Filled In)

DOCUMENT TRANSFER AND CROSS REFERENCE			
SUBJECT OF DOCUMENT		DOCUMENT IDENTIFICATION	
VIEWS OF DUSAN MUGOSA ON ALBANIA AND ON ALBANIANS IN YUGOSLAVIA		2. RI FILE NO.	
		3. DISPATCH OR SOURCE DOC. SYMBOL NO.	4. DATE
		EKA -01908	06 SEP 61
7. SOURCE CRYPTONYM	8. DATE OF INFO.	9. EVALUATION	
9. ANALYST	6. DATE PROCESSED	10. DISSEMINATED IN	11. DATE
DOCUMENT DISPOSITION			
12. CROSS REFERRED TO THIS FILE		13. TRANSFERRED TO RI FILE NO.	
PERTINENT INFORMATION			
14.			
<p>HOXHA, ENVER</p> <p>ALBANIA IS RULED BY A TWO-MAN DICTATORSHIP. EVER HOXHAN AND MEHMET SHEHU COMPELEMENT ONE ANOTHER, ARE ESSENTIAL TO ONE ANOTHER. DUSAN MUGOSA DESCRIBED EACH AS FOLLOWS:</p> <p>IS 52 YEARS OLD, A PERSON OF UNSTABLE CHARACTER WHO BLOWS WITH THE WIND. HE STUDIED IN FRANCE AND WANTED TO BE AN INSTRUCTOR OF FRENCH IN ALBANIA. FOR SEVERAL MONTHS HE SERVED AS A SECOND SECRETARY IN THE ALBANIAN LEGATION IN BRUSSELS UNDER THE ZOG REGIME. MOZHA IS THE EDUCATED MEMBER OF THE HIERARCHICAL TEMDEM, THE DILFOMAT. ALTHOUGH VERY ACTIVE IN THE RESISTANCE HE IS ONLY A POLITICIAN. HE WAS NEVER A FIGHTER IN THE FIELD, BUT WAS POLITICAL COMMISSAR TO THE GENERAL STAFF. "I PROPOSE HIM FOR COMMANDER IN CHIEF OF THE ARMY, WHICH HE UNHAPPILY BECAME IN 1944." ONE COULD INFLUENCE HIM EASILY IN ANYTHING, HE WAS SUSCEPTIBLE TO ALL INFLUENCES, ESPECIALLY BAD ONES. A MOSLEM FROM GJINOKASTER, HIS FAMILY HAS PRODUCED MANY HOKHAS (PRIESTS). HE HAS NO ADMINSTRATIVE QUALITIES, BUT HAS A FLAIR FOR ORGANIZING TRIALS. HE IS LIKE DOUGH, YOU CAN FORM HIM AS YOU WISH. THE YUGOSLAVS REFERRED TO HIM DURING THE COMBAT PERIOD AS A "COW"; LIKE THE HIDE OF A BOVINE, HE COULD BE STRETCHED IN ANY DIRECTION. HE IS EXTREMELY HANDSOME, BUT AN EVIL MAN.</p>			
15. FILE THIS FORM IN FILE NO.			

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(17-60)

NAZI WAR CRIMES DISCLOSURE ACT

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EXEMPTIONS Section 3(b)

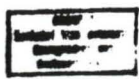
- (2)(A) Privacy   
(2)(B) Methods/Sources   
(2)(G) Foreign Relations

<b>DISPATCH</b>		CLASSIFICATION <b>S E C R E T</b>	DISPATCH SYMBOL AND NO. <b>HBCA 1198</b>
TO	Chief, Western Hemisphere Division		HEADQUARTERS FILE NO.
INFO	Chief of Station, [ ] [ ] Chief, KUWOLF		10-120-24
FROM	Chief of Base, [ ] [ ] <i>RFT</i>		DATE <b>7 DEC 1962</b>
SUBJECT	✓ Sneech hv Enver Haxha [ ] [ ]		RE: "43-3" - (CHECK "X" ONE)
			MARKED FOR INDEXING
ACTION REQUIRED	See Para 1		X NO INDEXING REQUIRED
			INDEXING CAN BE JUDGED BY QUALIFIED HO. DESK ONLY
REFERENCES: Reference: Book Dispatch No. 3448, 18 October 1962			
<p>1. The Base would like 25 copies of the Spanish version of the pamphlet forwarded in reference.</p> <p>2. The Base plans tentatively to use [ ] [ ] (in the post office) to send the booklet to top-level Communist Party leaders in the Northeast, to Francisco Juliao's peasant league leaders in Recife, and to a few journalists. A list will be furnished after the operation is conducted.</p>			
<p>LKR/dkh</p> <p>24 November 1962</p> <p>Distribution: 4 - Hqs 2 - KUWOLF 2 - [ ] [ ] 2 - Files <i>2cc:CA/B3</i></p>			

**NAZI WAR CRIMES DISCLOSURE ACT**

- EXEMPTIONS Section 3(b)
- (2)(A) Privacy
  - (2)(B) Methods/Sources
  - (2)(G) Foreign Relations

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HBCA 1198

<b>DISPATCH</b>		CLASSIFICATION <b>SECRET</b>	DISPATCH SYMBOL AND FILE NO. <b>EKSA - 265 / 1</b>
TO	Chief, EE	HEADQUARTERS FILE NO.	
INFO	Chief of Station, [ ]		
FROM	Chief of Base, [ ]	DATE	<b>28 Dec 62</b>
SUBJECT	[ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] Comments on Certain Members of the Central Committee, Albanian Workers Party	IS "SI" - CHECK "X" ONE	
ACTION REQUIRED	<b>NONE</b>	MARKED FOR INDEXING	
		NO INDEXING REQUIRED	
		INDEXING CAN BE JUDGED BY QUALIFIED HQ DESK ONLY	

REFERENCES EKAW - 3416, 2 November 1962

JAN 15 1963

1. Attached herewith are [ ]'s comments on certain personalities of the Central Committee of the Albanian Workers' Party. The officials in question are: Enver HOJHA, Mehmet SHEHU, Spire KOLEKA, Mysai KAPO, Rezir BALLUKU, and Gogo MUSHI.
2. [ ] will continue to prepare such analyses and they will be forwarded to Headquarters as the information is produced.

*Enver Hojha - [ ] [ ]*

FILE OPENED ON THE BASIS OF THIS DOCUMENT

28 December 1962  
Distributions  
Orig & 2 - Chief, EE  
3 - Chief of Station, [ ]

NAZI WAR CRIMES DISCLOSURE ACT

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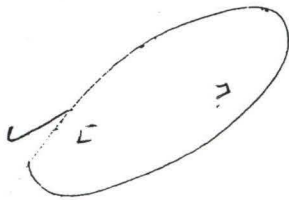
Attachment to → EKSA-265/1

28 Dec 62

C 3

Komiteti Qendror -

PRROJA POLITIKE.



0  
ENVER HOXHA

E kam njohur per here te pare ne Liceun francez te Korçës. ~~Ats~~Here, sekretari i pare i sotem i Partise se Punes se Shqiperise ish profesor i lendes: Moral, ne klasat e ultat te Liceut. Une ndodhesha nxenes ne klasen e III-te (Sixieme). Detyren e profesorit, Enveri e ushtroi per nje vit vetem, mbasi u dbua nga Liceu per idete e tij majtiste.

Jemi ritakuar disa vjete me vone, kur une sapo kisha mbaruar Liceun dhe, sipas urdherit te Partise, kisha dele ne mal. Gjate tere perodes se okupacionit e te Luftes jemi takuar shume pak here. Sidoqofte, njiheshim e bisedonim me njeri tjetrin si thjesht te njohur, pa asnje intimitet. Ne fakt, sa kohe qe Partia nuk kish mare pushtetin ne dore, udheheqesit e saj (dhe ne kete numur edhe Hoxha) mbanin nje qendrim te thjeshte e miqesor me anetaret e Partise. Nje here bile, se bashku me dy proje personale te tij, i kam sherbyer si udheheqes per ta futur ne qytetin e Korçes e fshehur ne nje baze (shtepi) ilegale.

Here ne ~~xxxx~~ fundit jemi takuar ne veren e 1946-es, ne Beograd. AtsHere, Enver Hoxha kish ardhur si kryetar i delegacionit shqiptar qe negocioi detyrat e mikroskopi praktikim e misionit, te bashkepunimit e te ndihmes se shqiptare me Jugosllavine. At here une isha sekretar i delegacionit te Enver Hoxha ne Beograd. Ne Beograd Enveri me shprehi se (nisi qe jave) se Enveri beri bashkepunim me Jugosllavine (Cob, Bana, Fara, Silovet).

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Ishte e fundit here që patë rastin të shoqë se afermi e të bisedoi me të. Qysh atehere e kam parë vetem prej se largu, në ndonjë parade ase rruges kur kalonte me automobilin e tij.

Opinionet që pasojnë mbi personin e tij, pra, janë pjesërisht personale dhe pjesërisht të dedukuara nga sa kam degjuar prej miqve e shoqeve të mij të diku shpesh në Shqipëri.

Ka qëndruar, kurdohere, përmbi të gjithë udhëheqesit e tjere, dhe kjo, që nga themelimi i Partisë. Eshtë i vetmi që ka mbetur nga i pari Komitet Qëndror (zgjedhur nga Miladin Popoviçi) që në Mendorin e 1941-se. Qysh atehere kish postin e parë; atë të sekretarit politik. E mbajti deri me sot duke kapërxyer të gjitha krizat. Vetem për një moment, por shumë të shkurter, iu avit Koçi i Xoxës, ish sekretar i organizatit të Partisë ~~nga më 1948~~.

Zakonisht, e sidomos këtu në Greqi, (me sa kam kuptuar) mendohet se frenat e situatës në Shqipëri i ka me Teper Mehmet Shehu. Nuk jam i ketij mendimi. Mendoi se frenat e Shqipërisë, edhe në momentet me kritike për të (1948), i ka patur Enveri. Opinioni tim është ky: Mehmeti është bashkëpunatori i tij me i ngushtë, çora e djathtë e tij. Diktatori i vertetë ka qenë dhe mbetet Enveri. Në rast se Mehmet Shehu është pesë koke përmbi udhëheqesit e tjere të Partisë, nuk pushon, prapë se prapë, të jete një koke me poshtë se sa Enveri. Enveri ka qëndruar kurdohere ~~prapë~~ 6 koke përmbi të tjerit. Mehmeti, nga i barabartë midis të barabartëve (1949) bëri një karriere vertikale dhe sot ndodhet (1962) pesë koke më lart.

Tek-tuk, në shtypin e lire, figuron gjykimi se Enveri nuk është njeri me puls, se ka një karakter me teper të butë e që peson ndikimin e ndonjë tjetri. Nuk pajtohem as me këtë opinion. Edhe puls ka, edhe karakter ka. Pa asnjë dyshim, Mehmeti është me i eger; Temperamenti i tij me i spikatur. Merita të domosdoshme këto për një udhëheqës në një regjim totalitar. Mirepo këtu nuk duhet harruar fakti se krahas këtyre meritave, Mehmeti ka edhe të meta të mëdha: është kapricioz, i rrembyer dhe ka kurdohere nevojë për ndokënd që ta përmbajë. Aq me teper sepse dëshirat e tij i mërr për realitete, sepse udhëheqës shumë nga pasionet e tij personale, sepse rrembehët nga sukseset e çastit.

Ndryshe nga Mehmeti, Enveri është me teper politik, me teper diplomat, me realist. E tërë jeta e tij tregon se sekretari i parë i sotëm i K.Ç. është udhëheqës nga parimi: "mat shtete here e prit një here". Ndryshe nga Mehmeti që është ~~xx~~ sanguin, Enveri di të shtrijë kembet sa është krovati. Nuk i mungon, pastaj, as guximi, as puls. Enveri nuk ka guximin e një ushtaraku kapadai (siç është Mehmeti) por atë të një diplomati të talentuar, që di të bëjë leshime e koncesione (ndryshe nga Mehmeti që është intranzigjent ekstremist) atehere kur këto janë të domosdoshme, të nevojshme. Ka qenë kritik i bon sens. Di të shtrijë kembet e të këmbëzojë në politikë, kur është e nevojshme, por edhe të kapërcëjë kurdo të linte të këmbëzonte.

Enveri, në të gjithë, është i njëmendtësisht i bashkëpunatori i Enverit. Në të gjithë, është i bashkëpunatori i Enverit. Në të gjithë, është i bashkëpunatori i Enverit.

Nga te gjithë udhëheqësit e Partisë, Enveri gezon simpatinë me te madhe te masës së Partisë. Në këtë, natyrisht, përveç meritave të tij relative, ka influencuar edhe i ashtuquajturit kult i personalitetit, kultivuar për vjetë e vjetë me radhë rreth personit të tij.

Për kështu me parpara bera fjala për diplomacine e Enverit. Thashe se është një diplomat i talentuar që di të gjykojë drejtë situatën e te perfitojë nga premisat që jep. Kjo është njëra anë e kesaj monedheje. ~~... tjetër...~~ Ana tjetër është se, si diplomat i mirë, nuk e vancohet kurrë shumë përpar. Kur është fjala për vendime, masa dhe orientime antipopullore të hapta, atëherë di të vihet në plan të dytë; ngarkon, për shpalljen dhe zbatimin e tyre, ndonjë tjetër (fjala vjen Mehmetin). Kur, në tërë karrierën e tij, nuk mori vete përgjegjësinë e këtyre masave që mund të kishin, në të ardhmen, rezultate të dyshimta. Enveri ka ecur në përgjithësi, si regull, mbi tokë të shëndoshe. U është shmanjur, me shumë naestri, hapave të pasigurta. Në këto raste ay ka dijtur kurdoherë të verë përpara të tjerit, dhe të dale, me vonë, si shpëtimtar i situatës. Koçi i Xoxës dhe fati i tij është shembulli më karakteristik. Te tjerë shembuj:

Me 1952 Komiteti qendror mori në diskutim të veçantë "problemin bujqësor", një nga më të vështirët. Stabilitet i raportit e të masave, Enveri ia la Mehmetit. Rezultati: Plenumi, sipas direktivave që përmbante raporti i Mehmetit, vendosi të hedhe parullën e "kollektivizimit integral". Dhjetë dite më vonë (sigurisht sepse të tilla kënaqësi qene atë here udhëzimet e Moskës që bente ligjin në Tiranë) plenumi i K.Q. kësaj here sipas një raporti të dytë, të mbajtur nga Enver Hoxha, demon parullën e kollektivizimit integral.

Thuajse në të njëjtën periode Partia më në diskutim çështjen e ashpersimit të Luftës së Klasave. Te gjithë përgjegjësinë e kesaj lufte antipopullore (pushkatime pa gjyqe, arrestime massive, pushime nepunesish "te dyshimta" në administrate, etj), Enveri ia le perseri Mehmetit. Hoxha, qendron në hije, qellimisht... Por disa muaj më vonë, kur mbahet Kongresi i ardhshëm i Partisë dhe kur konstatohet se ashpersimi i Luftës së Klasave kish shkuar shumë larg në Shqipëri, (përgjegjes Mehmet Shehu), Enveri nuk mundon të dale perseri si shpëtimtar i situatës. Kështu me cilesin e tij, si udhëheqës Nr. 1, propozon përberjen e Byrosë politike të atëherëshme, në Hoxha e cileson Mehmetin një nga "udhëheqësit më të çuar të Partisë, më të talentuar, më të domosdoshëm" por... "që ka nevojë të frenohet disi sepse është shumë i rrembyer", në të njëjtën kohë.

Kur sjell ndër mend retrospektivisht personalitetin e profesorit të ri të Liceut që njohë në Korçë, nuk mund të mos habitem me faktin që sot, ay mesues insinjierant, drejton fatet e Shqipërisë. Asgjë të veçantë nuk kish. Mirepo për hir të së vërtetës duhet të pranohet se personi insinjierant që ish profesor në 1977-78 në Korçë, më duk fare i ndryshëm kur e takova në mal si partizan. Dhe kjo i kushtohet prapërshtetësisht të tij. E tërë nga njohësit që imajojnë mbi masat, një gjë që i shpreh. Kështu me tërë shprehje, të tërë shprehje, të tërë shprehje të tërë. I... të tërë shprehje, të tërë shprehje, të tërë shprehje.

17



**THËSSHTE**, komunistin e mesme, fshatarin e bariun. Gruan dhe të riun. Në të njëjten kohë nuk duhet harruar se përgjegjësitë të kalitën. Një-  
rez që gjëra të dukën zero, po i ve në një post me rendesi, të imp-  
onojnë me vone me funksionet e tyre. Enveri ka bërë për shumë vjete  
me radhe shkollën e pushtetit. Dhe e verteta është se ka dijtur të për-  
fitojë nga eksperienca e tij, nga përgjegjësitë personale, nga ushtrimi  
i fuqisë që i u dhënë. Përgjegjësitë të smadhohen në sytë e të tjerëve.  
(natyrisht me konditën që të dësh t'i përballosh me sukses deri në një  
fare pike). Kjo ka ndodhur edhe me Enverin.

Si çdo njeri ka të metat e tij. Natyrisht këto fshihen në Shqipëri.  
Personalisht mendoj se mëdis të metave të tij duhet të përmendur:

a) megallania e tij. Kulti i personalitetit që i është bërë për  
vjete të tera, ia ka fryrë mente. Enveri i 1954-es, e pa dësim edhe i  
sotme nuk është Enveri i kohës së okupacionit. Ateherë, në takimet me  
njerezit e popullit ishte me i dashur, me njeri. Tani, kur del për fja-  
lime, është me tepër robot se sa njeri, me tepër theatral se sa naty-  
ral. Ka veteopinonin se është i vetmi, i pazevendësuar.

b) Ketu në Greqi kam degjuar se është edhe pederast. Sa kohë isha  
në Shqipëri nuk më kish zënë veshi diçka të tillë. Ketu, këte të metë,  
e konsiderojnë si një fakt të kryer. Përcaktojnë bile se Hari Samarxhiu,  
një tregëtar lekuresh i emigruar që nga 1943 në Greqi, - në gjendje të  
mirë ekonomike tani në Selenik-, e ka patur dylber të tij. Natyrisht,  
personalisht, as mund të përgenjeshtroni, as mund të vertetoj këte aku-  
ze.

c) Dobesi të theksuar ndaj grave. Sa kohë që ish profesor në Korçë,  
kish famën e një Don Juan-i. Me këte e ndihmonte edhe paraqitja e tij.  
Bile një nga "amantet" e tij -vazje nga me të bukurat atehere në Korçë,  
ndodhet tani e martuar në Selanik; Tanca ~~Mxxxxx~~ MISHU (me curin e  
çuperise Tanca ~~Mxxxxx~~ Manu). Si ndjekës fastanesh njiheshe edhe gjatë  
kohës së okupacionit. Që nga 1945-të e ketëj, nuk kam degjuar gjë mbi  
aventurat erotike të tij.

d) Mungesën e çdo sentimentali. Ka djegur, kurdohere, bashkepunete  
uret e tij me të afërta. Jashtë karrierës, jashtë jetës politike të  
tij, nuk ka llogaritur gjë. As miqësitë e vjetra, as lidhjet familjare;  
ka patur ndënjehere parasysh (dergjoi në vdekje burrin e së motres, Omerin,  
një nga krerët e Ballit Kombëtar, në shtëpinë e të cilit edhe kish  
qendruar për t'u fshehur gjatë okupacionit si ilegal; Koçin e Xoxës,  
dhe të gjithë miqtë e tij të dikurshër. "Nevojat shteterore" dhe "ambi-  
cjet personale" kanë qënë kurdohere përmbi sentimentet. Ka treguar një  
egersi, e cila, në të shumtën e rasteve, ish jo e domosdoshme. Ka  
preferuar kurdohere zgjidhjet ekstremiste, radikale. Dhe të gjitha këto  
ka dijtur t'i paraqishte si Pont Pilati.

*Translation*

The Central Committee

The Political Bureau

Enver HOXHA

I made his acquaintance at the French classical school of Korçe. Enver HOXHA was professor of moral philosophy, and he taught the low classes of that school. At that time I attended the third grade of the French classical school. After a year of teaching, Enver HOXHA was expelled from the school because of his leftist ideas. I met Enver HOXHA five years later after I graduated from the French school. During the occupation and during the war of liberation we met very seldom. However, we talked like simple acquaintances, there was not intimacy between us. Once, during the occupation, I myself with the support of his two life-guards, guided Enver HOXHA to a safe-house in Korçe. In 1946 I met Enver HOXHA in Belgrade for the last time. Enver HOXHA headed an Albanian delegation which negotiated, and signed the treaty of peace, friendship, and collaboration between Albania and Yugoslavia. At that time I was press-attache' by the Albanian legation in Belgrade. I accompanied Enver HOXHA, in a tour of one week, through the whole Yugoslavia ( Serbia, Bosnia, Croatia, and Slovenia ). Since then I saw him only passing by car through Tirana, and in the occasion of some parade. The following information about Enver HOXHA are in part my own opinion, and deductions from what I heard in Albania from my friends and my acquaintances. Since the foundation of the Party, he has always been the number one man. He is the only person who remained from the first Central Committee, which was elected in November 1941 by Miladin POPOVIC. ( Note : Miladin POPOVIC, and Dusan MUGOSHA founded, handled, supervised the Albanian Communist Party. Miladin POPOVIC was killed in 1945 in Kosovo by an anti-communist Albanian. ) Enver HOXHA always has been political secretary of the Party. For a short time only, his position was in danger when Koci XOXE became organizer secretary of

Page 2 cont'd

the Party. ( in 1948 )

Generally speaking and especially here in Greece people believe that the man who keeps under control the situation in Albania is Mehmet SHEHU. I am not of that opinion. I believe the man who keeps under control the situation in Albania is Enver HOXHA. Mehmet SHEHU is his closest collaborator, his right hand. The true dictator was and remained Enver HOXHA. Mehmet SHEHU is the number two man. Reading the free press, I have noticed sometime that Enver HOXHA appeared not to be a strong man, he is described like a mild temper, and for this reason someone should bear pressure upon HOXHA. I do not agree. HOXHA is a strong man, a man who knows the job. No doubt about it. Mehmet SHEHU is more severe. Mehmet SHEHU has a strong tendency. These characteristics are essential to a leader in a totalitarian regime. But we should not forget that parallel with these merits, Mehmet SHEHU has his big demerits: he is capricious, he is too aggressive, and he always needs someone to restrain his anger. Furthermore, SHEHU considers all his desires as realities. He does not know how to restrain his passions. Entirely different from Mehmet SHEHU, Enver HOXHA is more politician, he is more diplomatic, he is more realistic. HOXHA's entire life shows that he was guided by the principle : " measure it seven times before you cut it " ( note : it is an Albanian proverb to demonstrate the wisdom ) Mehmet SHEHU is another type of man, he is sanguine. Enver HOXHA knows where the limits stand in every controversy. Enver HOXHA does not have the courage of a stubborn soldier ( like Mehmet SHEHU ), but HOXHA has the courage of a talented diplomat. Enver knows when he must submit to necessity, and when to make concessions. Mehmet SHEHU is extremist intransigent. Enver HOXHA has common sense. He also is able to demonstrate in the same time that he has sense of pleasure when he is really annoyed with someone. Enver HOXHA, no doubt,

Page 3 cont'd

is a very respected man within the Party. He is the indisputable leader in Albania. Enver HOXHA is a popular man among the masses of the Party. Beside his merits, the so-called cult of personality had influenced in many years the masses of the Party. Enver as a talented diplomat avoids to put himself in any embarrassing position. When, for example, he should take some decisions, measures, and open anti-popular orientation, then he knows how to disengage himself. He charges someone ( for example Mehmet SHEHU ) to put in to force the various measures. In all his career, he never involved himself directly with responsibilities of these nature. He avoided himself to take uncertain decisions. In all the occasions he was able to manoeuvre in charging others to put into execution the orders. The example of Koci XOXE's execution was a masterpiece ability by Enver HOXHA. Other examples : In 1952 the Central Committee discussed one of the most difficult problems, the " agricultural problem ". Enver HOXHA charged Mehmet SHEHU in preparing the report for the masses. The result : The Plenum, according to leading principle contained in SHEHU's report, decided to make known to the masses the " integral collectivization ". Ten days later ( certainly because those were Moscow's decisions ) the Plenum of the Central Committee, but this time based on a second report prepared by Enver HOXHA himself, condemned the word of the " integral collectivization ". At about the same period the Party discussed the aggravation of the struggle among the classes. For all the responsibilities of this anti-popular struggle ( executions without trials, arrest of masses, dismissal of suspected employees in the administration ), Enver HOXHA, again charged Mehmet SHEHU. HOXHA hidden himself purposely. A few months after at the Congress of the Party was noticed the fact of aggravation of the struggle among classes, Enver HOXHA showed up as the savior of the situation.

Page 4 cont'd

When as number one man, Enver proposed the composition of that time Political Bureau, HOXHA quoted Mehmet SHEHU " one among the best leaders of the Party, the most talented man, the most indispensable person " .... but who in the same time " always needs someone to restrain his anger. "

When I think about Enver HOXHA whom I met at the French classical school of Korce, I confess I wonder how that insignificant young professor directs today the destiny of Albania. He was <sup>a</sup> very simple man. But for the sake of the truth I should admit that the insignificant professor who taught in Korce in 1937 - 1938 appeared to me completely transformed when I met him again in the woods as a partisan. He has personality. He imposed himself upon the masses, he was born a demagogue. He is a good speaker. He knows how to exite better than anybody else the simple partisan, the average communist, the farmer, the sheperd, the woman, and the young man.

Like any other man, Enver HOXHA has his own demerits too. Certainly these demerits cannot be noticed in Albania. I believe I should mention the following his demerits :

- a) Enver HOXHA is megalomaniac. The cult of personality has turned his head. He is not anymore the man of the occupation period. At that time he was very kind and comprehensive talking to people, while today HOXHA has turned himself into a robot.
- b) I heard in Greece that Enver HOXHA is also homo - sexual. I have not heard anything similar about him in Albania. For some people in Greece, Enver HOXHA is positively homo-sexual. Furthermore, they(?) pointed out that Enver HOXHA had sexual intercourse with Hari SAMARXHIU, a dealer in skins, migrated in 1943 to Greece. Hari SAMARXHIU lives in Salonica at the present time. He is a wealthy man. I cannot neither deny nor cannot I confirm the news about HOXHA's immorality.

Page 5 cont'd

- c) The women are his weak point. When HOXHA was professor in Korce, he was known like Don Juan. He was handsome. One of his mistresses named Tanca MISHU ( maiden name Tanca MANU ) lives at the present time in Salonica.
- d.) The absence of noble sentiments. He burnt out his closest collaborators he did not care even for his relatives. He condemned to death Bari QMARI, his brother-in-law, one of the leaders of the Balli Kumbetar. Enver HOXHA found shelter in QMARI's house during the occupation. ( Note : I may say during the occupation of Germans (1943) because during the Italian occupation Enver HOXHA was working in Tirana.) Enver HOXHA condemned to death Keci XOXE and many other his previous close friends.

COMMENT : Talking about the political abilities of Enver HOXHA, Aleko came out with a funny remark. He wonders how that young professor directs today the destiny of the country.

In my opinion there are two persons whom I know personally, who may tell us in details about Enver HOXHA's immorality and other aspects of his life. They are : Ramazan QOSJA, born in Tirana about 1920, married, with a child, migrated to this country in 1956, lives at the present time in New York City. ( I do not know the address ). Ramazan QOSJA was a meny-changer, and he knows Enver HOXHA very well.

Lore BRAHIMI, apprex 60 years old. In 1946 or 1947 Lore BRAHIMI was a personal life-guard of Enver HOXHA when he visited Paris. In 1948 Lore BRAHIMI returned to Albania, and in 1949 escaped from Albania to Yugoslavia, then to Italy. Lore BPAHIMI lives today with his family in Paris. He knows everything about Enver HOXHA.

REPORT COVER SHEET		SECRET	REPORT NO. EAV-S732
FROM Austria, Vienna		DATE OF REPORT 18 March 1963	
REPORTING OFFICER [ ]	RO. NO.		
REPORTS OFFICER [ ]	PROJ.		
APPROVING OFFICER [ ]	S'CE CR. [ ]		
BACKGROUND DATA AND COMMENTS:			
<p>The information contained in Paragraph 1 of the attached report came from [ ] a Syrian student in Tirana, and [ ] an Iraqi Communist student in Tirana. The sources for Paragraph 2 were [ ] and [ ] of the Embassy of the [ ] in Tirana.</p> <p>This information is in partial response to Requirement #C-CI 2-77001.</p>			
<div style="border: 1px solid black; padding: 5px; width: fit-content; margin: auto;"> MICROFILMED  MAR 26 1963  DOC. MICRO. SER. </div>			
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NAZI WAR CRIMES DISCLOSURE ACT

- EXEMPTIONS Section 3(b)
- (2)(A) Privacy
  - (2)(B) Methods/Sources
  - (2)(G) Foreign Relations

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Albania

Reference

Reported quarrel between First Secretary Hoxha and Premier Shehu

18 March 1963

1963

Austria, Vienna (6 February 1963).

(Paragraph 1) Western visitor to Tirana (P), from foreign students in Albania.  
(Paragraph 2) Western visitor to Tirana (P), from a foreign student and a Middle Eastern diplomat in Tirana. Appraisal of Contents: 3.

1. During 1961, an ideological quarrel broke out between Albanian Workers (Communist) Party (WCP) First Secretary Enver Hoxha and Albanian Premier Mehmet Shehu over the Sino-Soviet rift. Sometime after the quarrel between Hoxha and Shehu became known, a female member of the Central Committee of the WCP returned to Albania from a trip through Communist China. It was learned that while in China she had spoken out in favor of the ideological position of the Soviet Union, and she was shortly thereafter expelled from both the Central Committee and from the Party itself. Her expulsion was seen as a sizable ideological victory for First Secretary Hoxha, who, as a champion of the Communist Chinese had called for her dismissal, over Premier Shehu, who had supported the woman's pro-Soviet position. Due to the fact that the woman had fought with Hoxha as a partisan during World War II, however, she was made headmistress of a girls' elementary school in Tirana. After holding this position for only a few months, the woman suddenly dropped from sight. She has not been heard from since.
2. In commenting on this episode, a foreign student and a Middle Eastern diplomat in Tirana said that the above-described split between Hoxha and Shehu has long since healed. Among the Albanian populace, a minority is opposed to the regime's anti-Soviet policy, but the voice of this minority has been muted by fear.

Field Comment: It is possible that Mrs. Balashova is referred to here.

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Aug 63

ALBANIA

Enver HOXHA

First Secretary, Albanian Workers' Party



Hoxha, First Secretary of the Albanian Workers' Party (AWP), has been the leading Albanian Communist since the formation of the Party in 1941. Prominent during World War II as a Party and resistance organizer, he emerged in the postwar period as the undisputed leader of the Albanian government and Party. Since his accession to power Hoxha has eliminated all threats to his position, most notably the pro-Yugoslav faction under Koci Xoxe, who was executed in 1949. Hoxha's only rival within the present hierarchy is Mehmet Shehu, to whom Hoxha relinquished the Premiership in 1954, and although there have been continuing reports of friction between the two men, most observers agree that they have evolved an effective working partnership. They have collaborated successfully since the late 1940's to maintain absolute control over their small Balkan country, and recent studies indicate no likelihood of change in the Albanian leadership.

During the almost two decades of his virtual dictatorship, Hoxha has led Albania through a series of dramatic foreign policy changes. Although he was pro-Yugoslav during and immediately after the war, Hoxha became violently anti-Yugoslav and pro-Soviet following Tito's break with the Cominform in 1948. Since 1960, however, Hoxha has assumed an anti-Soviet, pro-Chinese attitude, defying Moscow's ideological and political authority, and aligning his country firmly with the Communist Chinese in the Sino-Soviet dispute. It is interesting to note that Hoxha's break with the Soviet Union has resulted in some measure of real popular support from the xenophobic Albanian people.

Enver Hoxha was born in Gjirokaster on 16 October 1908. His father, a middle-class textile merchant, was a Moslem of the Bektashi sect. Young Hoxha received his secondary education at the French Lycee in Korce. In 1930 he was sent on a state scholarship to study natural sciences at Montpellier University in France, but a year later his scholarship was withdrawn. Leaving the University, Hoxha went to Paris where he met Paul Courtourier, chief editor of *L'Humanite*, the organ of the French Communist Party, and wrote anti-Zogist newspaper articles under the pen name "Lulo Malesori." Unable to find permanent employment in France, Hoxha went to Brussels where he worked as a secretary at the Albanian Consulate from 1933 to 1936. He still maintained clandestine contact with Courtourier, and in the latter year he was dismissed from the Consulate for his political views.

Returning to Albania, Hoxha obtained teaching positions at the gymnasium in Tirana and later at the French Lycee at Korce. After the Italian invasion of Albania in 1939 he was discharged from the Lycee for his refusal to join

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Enver HOXHA (cont.)

the Fascist Party. He then moved to Tirana where he operated a tobacco kiosk which became a front for Communist cell meetings and resistance activities. Tried in absentia and sentenced to death by the Italian occupation authorities in October 1941, he went underground for the duration of the war.

At the clandestine founding conference of the Albanian Communist Party, held in Tirana during November 1941 under the guidance of two emissaries of the Yugoslav Communist Party, Dusan Mugosa and Miladin Popovic, Hoxha was named to membership on the Central Committee of the provisional Party leadership. In 1943, at the Party's First National Conference, held in Labinot, he was elected Secretary General of the first formally constituted Central Committee.

Hoxha was one of the principal organizers of the Conference of Peze, held in September 1942, in which resistance leaders of all shades of political opinion participated. This conference created the National Liberation Movement (LNC), with a Communist-controlled General Council of National Liberation, to which Hoxha was elected. At its conference of Labinot, held in July 1943, the LNC General Council created the General Staff of the Army of National Liberation of Albania (ANLA), and Hoxha became the Staff's political commissar. Thus the Communists, under Hoxha's leadership, dominated and controlled the partisan resistance movement, and as the war drew to an end, they consolidated their grip on the country and liquidated members of other resistance and opposition groups.

At the Congress of Permet in May 1944, which created the Anti-Fascist Council of National Liberation, Hoxha was named President of this Council and Commander-in-Chief of the ANLA, with the rank of Colonel General. The Congress of Berat (October 1944) transformed the Anti-Fascist Council into the Albanian Provisional Government, with Hoxha assigned the dual roles of Premier and Minister of National Defense. After the withdrawal of the German forces from Albania, the new government installed itself at Tirana on 28 November 1944, and the Communist take-over of the country was virtually completed. Upon the adoption of the new Albanian Constitution in March 1946, Hoxha gained the additional posts of Minister of Foreign Affairs and Commander-in-Chief of the Armed Forces.

In November 1948, when the Albanian Communist Party changed its name to the Albanian Workers' Party (AWP), Hoxha was re-elected Secretary General. He was elected to his present post of AWP First Secretary in July 1954, when a Central Committee plenum abolished the function of Secretary General, following the Soviet post-Stalin pattern. In July 1953, after having held the country's key military and governmental assignments for nearly a decade, he relinquished the post of Minister of Foreign Affairs and Minister of National Defense, as well as Commander-in-Chief of the Armed Forces, to his trusted lieutenants. A year later, in accordance with the Soviet-dictated principle of collective leadership, he gave up the Premiership to Shehu.

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Enver HOXHA  
(cont.)

In recent years Hoxha has led his country into a uniquely important position in the Sino-Soviet controversy, largely in reaction to Tito's "revisionism" and Khrushchev's de-Stalinization. In the mid-1940's both the Albanian Party and government were under strong Yugoslav influence, and the country functioned as a sub-satellite of the USSR. In 1948, when Yugoslavia was expelled from the Cominform, Albania gained the status of a full-fledged satellite of the Soviet Union after Hoxha vehemently denounced the Yugoslavs and embarked on a series of purges of so-called "Titoists." A new phase in Albanian foreign relations began with Khrushchev's reconciliation visit to Yugoslavia in May 1955. If he followed the new Soviet line, Hoxha faced the prospect of personal humiliation in retracting seven years of extreme anti-Yugoslav statements as well as the possibility of renewed Yugoslav influence over his country. Khrushchev's de-Stalinization campaign added a further dimension to the situation, since the Albanian leadership utilizes Stalinist methods to maintain control of the country.

Hoxha then turned to China, which seemed both willing and powerful enough to protect him from Soviet pressure. However, it soon became apparent that, in return for Chinese protection, Albania would have to support China in her controversy with the Soviet Union, and Hoxha subsequently committed his country to this policy. At the first great debate on the Sino-Soviet ideological controversy, held in Bucharest in June 1960, which was attended by Khrushchev and all other European bloc Communist leaders except Hoxha, Albania was represented by Hysni Kapo, a member of the AWP Politburo, who espoused all the Chinese arguments against Khrushchev's policies. Hoxha also was the only European bloc Communist leader who did not accompany Khrushchev to the meeting of the UN General Assembly in September 1960; Shehu traveled to New York on that occasion. Hoxha did, however, attend the conference of the 81 Communist Parties held in Moscow in November 1960, where he strongly supported China's policy on war and co-existence.

During 1961 Albanian-Soviet relations continued to deteriorate; Soviet economic and technical assistance to Albania was suspended, replaced largely by Chinese aid, and in December diplomatic relations between Albania and the USSR were severed. Since then Hoxha's foreign policy has been directed toward cementing the protective ties with Peking, for Albania urgently needs continued aid as well as political protection. However, Hoxha, realistically aware of both China's geographic distance from Albania and her precarious internal economic situation, has recently attempted to improve relations with Albania's neighbors, especially Italy, to reactivate trade relations with Western Europe, and to develop trade with Near Eastern and African countries. Western observers are generally agreed that the Hoxha regime will face no serious conflicts as long as sufficient outside assistance and protection can be obtained.

Handsome in his youth, about six feet tall, Hoxha has a robust build with a tendency to stoutness. Intelligent, with a great deal of personal charm and a gift for oration, he is considered egotistical, unreliable, cunning,

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Enver HOXHA (cont.)

temperamental, ruthless and possessed of driving ambition. It has been said that he would subscribe to any sacrifice, immorality, crime, subservience and even personal humiliation in order to stay in power. Hoxha speaks French, Italian, Russian, English and Serbo-Croatian. Since 1945 he has been married to Nexhmije (Xhuglini) Hoxha; they have at least three children.

Since World War II Hoxha has frequently traveled outside his native country, although he has seldom left the Communist bloc. He has visited every East European bloc country at least once, and made frequent trips to the USSR before diplomatic relations between the two countries were broken in 1961. In September-October 1956, during his only known trip to the Far East, he stopped briefly in Mongolia and North Korea on his way to China, where he stayed for three weeks before returning to Tirana.

Since August 1945 Hoxha has been President of the Democratic Front, the country's main Party-backed political organization. He has been a deputy to the People's Assembly since 1945 and a member of its Presidium since July 1954. In 1949 he received the rank of General of the Army. The recipient of numerous Albanian decorations, Hoxha received the Yugoslav Partisan Star and the Yugoslav Order of People's Hero, both of which he later discarded. He has also been awarded the Soviet Order of Suvorov, first class, and the Garibaldi Star of the Central Committee of the Italian Communist Party.

August 1963

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ALBANIA

Nexhmije HOXHA

Member, Central Committee, Albanian Workers' Party

Madame Hoxha, one of the most outstanding women in the present Albanian regime and a Party activist of long standing, has been a member of the Albanian Workers' Party (AWP) since its founding in 1941 and of its Central Committee since 1948. Active in underground work during the war years in Albania, since 1944 she has concentrated her efforts on mass organization work and is currently Deputy Chairman of the Albanian Women's Union, the Albanian Red Cross and the Albanian-Soviet Friendship Society. A deputy to the People's Assembly since 1948, she served on the Assembly's Presidium from 1950 to 1954 and has been a member of the Assembly's Foreign Affairs Committee since 1954. Although some of her prominence undoubtedly reflects the stature of her husband, Enver Hoxha, AWP First Secretary and the acknowledged leader of Albania, Madame Hoxha is a personality in her own right and during her rise to power has been noted for her hard work and excellent organizational abilities.



Born Nexhmije Xhuglini in 1921 at Diber, Madame Hoxha was the daughter of middle-class Moslems. After completing elementary school in Diber, she attended the normal school in Tirana on a government scholarship. While still a student, she engaged in revolutionary activities against the regime of King Zog and later (about 1939) was involved in demonstrations against the Italian occupation of Albania. After graduating from the normal school in 1941, she taught school until early 1942 when she was forced to go underground because of her pro-Communist agitation. She was later sentenced in absentia to 12 years imprisonment by the Italian occupation forces.

Throughout the war years, Madame Hoxha was active in organizational work for both the Communist underground movement and the Communist Youth of Albania, then a junior adjunct of the AWP. She joined the Communist Youth during its founding meeting in November 1941 and served on its first Central Committee. She became a member of the Tirana regional committee of the AWP in 1941 or 1942 with primary responsibility for the mobilization and Communist orientation of women in that area. She took part in several major Communist meetings organized during the occupation and, at the Labinot Conference of July 1943, was elected a member of the National Liberation Council, the executive body of the Communist-oriented National Liberation Movement (LNC), which later suppressed all anti-Communist factions and led to the establishment of the Communist dictatorship. In 1944 she was entrusted with organizing youth groups and women in central Albania.

During the immediate postwar period, Madame Hoxha became increasingly prominent in Communist Party front organizations. She was elected to the

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Nexhmije HOXHA (cont.)

Secretariat of the Union of Anti-Fascist Women of Albania in 1944, and in 1945 was elected President of the newly-formed Union of Albania Women, a position she retained until 1955. In 1947 she was elected chief of the Union's Section of Mobilization and Organization, the major duty of which was to aid Greek Communist guerillas. Although Madame Hoxha has attended congresses of the Women's International Democratic Federation (WIDF) since 1948, she was not elected to the Federation's General Council until 1959. A member of the General Council of the Democratic Front since 1945, she has also been active in the Society for Aid to the Army and for Defense, the Association for Albanian-USSR Cultural Relations and the Committee for the Defense of Peace.

Throughout the past decade Madame Hoxha has been an active propagandist for the Albanian regime. Her activities in this area are undoubtedly related to her work as head of the AWP Central Committee's Directorate of Agitation and Propaganda, a post with which she has been identified sporadically since 1952. However, in 1961 she was reported to be head of the AWP Directorate of Education and Culture. Whatever her assignment, she is usually in the front ranks of cultural, educational, youth and feminist meetings, serving either as a keynote speaker or as a member of the meeting's presidium. She has recently been quite outspoken in the Albanian campaign against the "revisionism" of both Tito and Khrushchev. In 1954 it was reported that, although her associates within the higher Party echelons disliked her arrogance and pretentiousness, they respected her ability as an administrator and activist. There have been some indications of jealousy between Madame Hoxha and the other feminist leaders in Albania, Figrete Shehu, Vito Kapo and Eleni Terezi, who are apparently envious of Madame Hoxha's position.

Although Madame Hoxha has traveled quite frequently as a representative of Albanian women's groups, she has made only one trip outside Eastern Europe, in May 1957, as a member of an Albanian parliamentary delegation which visited the People's Republic of China. She has been married to Enver Hoxha since January 1945, and they have at least three children. A cultured person, she reportedly speaks French, Italian, Turkish and some English.

August 1963

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COUNTRY TITLE DATE OF INFO DATE ACQ.	Albania Physical Appearance of Enver Hoxha  Early October 1963 Austria, Vienna (early Nov 1963)	REFERENCE DATE OF REPORT PAGES SERIALS	EAV-9343 4 December 1963 1    
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THIS IS UNREVALUED INFORMATION. SOURCE GRANTS IS THE DETERMINING FACTOR OF COUNTRY IS TITANIC.

SOURCE: Western visitor (F) to Albania, from a foreign diplomat stationed in Tirana and from two foreign students in Tirana. Appraisal of Content: 3.

*CIT-ALBANIA      Δ-ALBANIA*  
*DCC-GOVT. OFF      DAB-1968*

1. A foreign diplomat stationed in Tirana told a western visitor in mid-October 1963 that he had recently seen Albanian leader Enver Hoxha at an official Chinese Embassy reception and was surprised to see how Hoxha had aged in the last year. The diplomat thought Hoxha had the appearance of a man of 70, although he was only 55.
2. Two foreign students resident in Tirana commented that it was rumored in Albanian student circles in October 1963 that Hoxha was suffering both physically and mentally from overwork. Although Albanian officials are technically supposed to spend one month per year at a work bench or in the fields so as not to lose touch with the people. Hoxha officially obtained a doctor's certificate excusing him from manual labor.

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[ ]

# Where Life Is Empty

By Sami Cohen

This is a story about Red Albania, the small Mediterranean country which rarely admits non-Communist writers. Sami Cohen, a United States-trained journalist who is foreign affairs editor of the Istanbul newspaper Milliyet, went to Albania as a sports reporter with a Turkish soccer team and prepared this dispatch for the Associated Press.

**ENVER HOXHA**, the Stalinist ruler of Albania—the Lilliput of the Communist world which has challenged the Soviet Gulliver—faces serious political and economic trouble as a result of the split.

The break with Moscow two years ago and the policy of friendship with Red China is hard to swallow for many pro-Soviet elements in the Albanian Communist Party, government and army. In recent months, Hoxha is said to have removed most of these elements from key posts and replaced them with obedient officials.

But despite extreme secrecy, diplomatic observers in Tirana still believe there is a "Russian Wing" among highly placed Albanian personalities and intellectuals. Moscow-trained Beqir Buluku, the defense minister, is said to be among them. But the regime prevents any open opposition.

There have been some cases of resistance since the break with Moscow. Late in 1961, an attempted rebellion led by the pro-Russian commander of the naval forces, Adm. Teme Sejko, was crushed. Adm. Sejko and two high officials were executed. Last year, a similar attempt also was put down in the northern town of Scutar. Resistance is reportedly growing in the villages, where peasants have been beating Communist officials.

However, such a movement cannot be successful as long as Hoxha is in power, is the opinion of experts.

THE SOVIET-ALBANIAN quarrel has enabled the Red Chinese to set up for the first time in history a bridgehead in Europe. Nearly 600 Chinese experts have replaced the Russians, Poles, East Germans and Czechs working in Albania.

Throughout the country, slogans praise the friendship of "fraternal" China. By contrast, street posters ridicule Tito and sometimes Khrushchev.

But the people's attitude toward the Chinese is cooler than their attitude toward the Russians. One reason is that the Chinese live in their own quarters without fraternizing with the Albanians. Another reason is that the people blame the Chinese for present hardships. A typical reaction is: "How can China, which is in need itself, help us from thousands of miles away?"

Since the Moscow-Tirana break, the Soviet Union has ceased all economic and technical assistance to its former satellite. As a result, many foodstuffs and other commodities have become scarce.

Housewives daily form long queues before state-owned shops. Fats, beans and rice are among the chief shortages. Milk is distributed only to families with small children. Each family has to buy bread from regional bakeries which keep records.

A factory worker or government official would have to spend two months' salary to buy a suit and almost one for a good pair of shoes. A working girl has to wait in a long line when a new consignment of hosiery arrives from abroad to buy nylon stockings with three days' work. An ordinary working person would have to allocate a whole year's income for a refrigerator.

The average monthly salary of a worker is \$28 to \$40 (a dollar is worth 125 Albanian leks); that of a government official \$40 to \$48. An engineer or a doctor gets \$58 to \$64 from the State. The people in the highest income brackets in Albania are military officers and policemen. An army captain gets \$64, a colonel \$96, with additional allowances.

A locally-made, cheap man's suit costs 8000-9000 leks (\$64-\$72), a badly shaped pair of shoes \$24, a woman's raincoat \$28, a shirt \$6. One kilo (a little over two pounds) of bread costs 20.8 cents, cheese \$2, butter \$3.04, coffee \$7.68, tea \$8.

THE SOVIETS abandoned many unfinished projects when Albania broke with Moscow.

The Palace of Culture in the main square of Tirana, the foundation stone of which was laid by Khrushchev in 1958, remains a skeleton. The Albanians have been able to finish some jobs started by the Russians, with China's aid, however.

The problem is whether Peking will stick by its promise to provide \$125 million to finance Albania's third five-year development plan. Albanian officials believe that it will.

Hoxha seems determined to carry out a "leap forward" by placing a heavy burden on the present generation. The leap forward has brought some progress, particularly in industry. In 1961, (the latest available figures) total volume of industrial production was 71 per cent above that for 1957, the government claims.

But agricultural production has lagged. Communist officials blame drought and bad weather conditions. But observers believe this is the result of collectivization of land. The Albanian government has managed to collectivize about 85 per cent of the arable land. As in many other Communist countries, state farms and cooperatives in Albania have not provided hoped-for results.

Also, as in other Communist countries, rents are relatively low (100 leks [80 cents] per room), education in high schools and the university is free, cultural activities (opera, theaters, ballet) are encouraged, and free sanitary services are provided by the State.

Albanian authorities have recently shown some willingness to improve relations with the three Western nations with which diplomatic relations are maintained: France, Italy and Turkey. France and Italy have sent technical experts to Albania.

Albanian officials have expressed the wish to establish diplomatic ties with Britain. Albania is barred to foreigners except on special permit. The country's borders with Yugoslavia and Greece are fortified by a "wall" of electrical barbed wire. Inside the country, an estimated 10,000 secret police (called Sigurimi) keep a close watch on the people. Even interurban traveling is subject to a special permit. Albania has experienced brutal purges. During 1949-53, about 30,000 people (2.5 per cent of the population) are believed to have disappeared in concentration camps.

Nobody in Tirana knows the exact number of political prisoners in Albania today; diplomats estimate from 20,000 to 30,000.

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S E C R E T

Chief of Station, [ ] [ ] X  
Chief of Base, [ ] [ ]  
Chief, EE  
[ ] [ ]  
Nexhmije Hoxha's Visit to Vienna

Action Required: As stated in paragraph 3 below.  
Reference : A. EKAW-4512, prepared 7 January 1964  
B. EKAW-313, 3 July 1964

1. Reference A forwarded information on recent reporting from various sources concerning Nexhmije Hoxha's visit to Vienna for medical examination and treatment. There is no information as to the exact nature of her ailment. However, the Italian Ambassador to Albania commented that it was "thought it might be cancer." If so, the illness could be terminal in view of other information, such as the remark that "the patient had been sick for a long time," from the source of paragraph 3.

2. In view of [ ] [ ]'s former personal acquaintance with Subject, (Reference B, paragraph 25), we request that [ ] be queried for any comments he may be able to make regarding the marital relationship between Subject and Enver Hoxha; what psychological effect Subject's death (if the aforementioned illness is terminal) might have on Enver; and what, if any, effect her death might have on him in his position as First Secretary of the Albanian Worker's Party.

Distribution:  
2 - COS, [ ] [ ]  
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EKAW-4533

14 January 1964

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CHECK 2-4 FOR 201 REQUEST. DO NOT CHECK FOR IDN.		2. EXCLUDE TRUE NAME FROM MACHINE LIST		3. RESTRICTED		4. PERMANENT CHARGE	
5. 201 NO		IDN NO.		8. SOURCE DOCUMENT		DATE	
7. NAME (Last)		(First)		(Middle)		8. SEX	
HOXHA, Enver						M F YES NO	
10. NAME VARIATIONS							
TYPE NAME		(Last)		(First)		(Middle)	
		HOXHA, Enver					
11. DATE OF BIRTH		12. COUNTRY OF BIRTH		13. CITY/TOWN OF BIRTH		14. COUNTRY OF LOCATION	
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First Secretary, Albanian Workers Party (AWP) (Communist Party of Albania) (DOIC?)		GOVERNMENT OFFICIAL		002			
20. CRYPTONYM		21. COMMENTS		22. SIGNATURE		23. IDN-	
HAND CARRY IF TRUE NAME APPEARS ABOVE		<p>Has been one leading Albanian Communist since the formation of the party in 1941. He emerged in the postwar period as the undisputed leader of the Albanian Government and Party. Wife Kexhije Hoxha - [ ] nee Mungjati born 1921 at Diber. (doi 63)</p>		[ ]		[ ]	

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<b>DISPATCH</b>		CLASSIFICATION <b>S E C R E T</b>	DISPATCH SYMBOL AND NO. <b>EKSA-373</b>
TO INFO	Chief, EE Chief of Station, [ ] [ ]		HEADQUARTERS FILE NO. [ ] [ ]
FROM	Chief of Base, [ ] [ ]	DATE	<b>24 February 1964</b>
SUBJECT	[ ] [ ] [ ] Comments on Nexhmie Hoxha	RE: "43-3" - (CHECK "X" ONE)	
ACTION REQUIRED	FYI	<input type="checkbox"/> MARKED FOR INDEXING	
REFERENCES	EKAW-4533, 14 January 1964	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> NO INDEXING REQUIRED	
		<input type="checkbox"/> INDEXING CAN BE JUDGED BY QUALIFIED HQ. DESK ONLY	

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 DOC. MICRO. SER.

1. Attached herewith are [ ] [ ]'s comments regarding the relationship between Subject and Enver Hoxha and on the effect her death would have on him.

2. In brief, [ ] [ ] feels that it would be extremely unlikely not to expect Enver Hoxha to be affected by his wife's death when they have spent some twenty years in marriage. [ ] [ ] hastens to add, however, that he doesn't think there will be any essential changes, psychological or other, in Enver Hoxha as a person or as a leader of the Albanian Worker's Party. Hoxha, in the final analysis, is not a sentimentalist; he has been his own master, though undoubtedly he has leaned on his wife for moral encouragement in his drive for power. It is [ ] [ ]'s opinion that in the absence of his wife, Enver Hoxha will seek the psychological support of Mehmet Shehu, at least in the immediate future. In the event of Subject's death the end result, therefore, will be the establishment of a closer relationship between Enver and Mehmet.

[ ] [ ]

Attachment:  
[ ] [ ]'s comments on wife of Enver Hoxha

Distributions:  
Orig & 2, Chief, EE w/att h/w  
3, COS, [ ] [ ] w/o att

*Note: cc filed in [ ] [ ]*

**NAZI WAR CRIMES DISCLOSURE ACT**

- EXEMPTIONS Section 3(b)
- (2)(A) Privacy
  - (2)(B) Methods/Sources
  - (2)(C) Foreign Relations

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(cc filed)

FORM 10-57 53 (40)

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PAGE NO.

SECRET

ENC 1 TO  
EKSA-373

MENTS

Twenty years of living together is a long enough period in the life of any couple. And it is natural that the loss of one member has an effect on the other.

In the specific case of Enver-Nexhmije, this cohabitation has, besides its qualitative side (a period of 20 years), its quantitative side (a period of turbulence that automatically joins the couple in symbiosis more strongly).

In this connection, it is worth stressing that the first stage of this symbiosis belongs to the last years of the occupation and the partizan war; the second stage belongs to the difficult years for Enver when (1945-1948) Yugoslav pressure, always rising, was aiming at his replacement in the No 1 post of the Albanian Communist Party with Koci Xoxe; in this second stage, the support, chiefly moral, of Nexhmije to Enver, her spouse, has been extraordinarily important (it was being said in this connection in Tirana that at that time "The Letters of the Central Committee of the Communist Party (Bolshevik) of the USSR Concerning the Situation in the Yugoslav Communist Party," which preceded the resolution of June 1948 and the Belgrade-Moscow schism and which were handed in a confidential and secret manner to Enver Hoxha by the Soviet ambassador in Albania, were made known in detail by Enver Hoxha to his wife a long time before they became known to the Central Committee of the Albanian Communist Party; it was determined that time in Tirana that Enver made those Letters known first to his wife, that is, Nexhmije, second to Mehmet Shehu and Bedri Spahiu, and third, he laid them officially and openly

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before the Central Committee for discussion). The third stage includes the absolute triumph of Enver Hoxha over Koci Xoxe, that is, the time that passed from the First Congress of that Party, but at the same time, this stage includes also the rivalry of Enver Hoxha and Mehmet Shehu (in this connection it is worth stressing that "Mehmetist" elements have never been received or placed in the apparatus of the Propaganda and Agitation of the Central Committee, which has been continually directed by Nexhmije Hoxha, in fact they have been purposely kept far away from this important Directorate). The fourth stage belongs to the period that began with the Tirana-Moscow schism and in this period, naturally, the Hoxha-Shehu rivalry, understandably, loses its intensity. (Also in this phase, all indications show that Nexhmije has remained at the side of her husband.)

In the Enver-Nexhmije symbiosis, in my opinion, the stronger element, the more powerful member has been Enver. And this because of his more outstanding personality.

Under the mask "de bonhomme," Enver has always concealed [that he is] an Anatolian diplomat with great capability to maneuver among the parties, a politician of extreme solutions and, although weak [?] in appearance, he, that is, Enver, has always been a man of bold decisions (without having the excitability and capriciousness of Mehmet): i.e. the break in relations with Mukja during the war; the abandonment of Tito and the open war against him; the last schism with Moscow,— all these are attributed primarily to Enver's insistence.

ET 2 -

SECRET

On her part, his wife Nexhmije has never been so much a person of bold actions; rather than a woman of action, she has been a person who soon yields to the pressures of others; rather than a leader in real politics -- a business woman -- perhaps [she has been] the most intellectual woman that the Albanian Communist Party has had. Unusually self-taught, she is very fond of books. During the second stage, the story goes, Nexhmije Duma had taken all power, was a member of the Central Committee, and the "Benjamin" [favorite] of Koci Xoxe; also at the time of the Tirana-Moscow schism, some data show that both she and Mehmet's wife (Figrete Shehu) were shaken and showed signs of fear and abandoning their posts.

As a conclusion, one repeats that in the Enver-Nexhmije symbiosis, Enver was the decisive member of the pair.

Hence, I do not believe that the eventual loss of Nexhmije will bring outstanding changes in Enver's position, so much the more since the latter, basically, is not very much of a sentimental man. The outstanding characteristic of Enver is the disproportionate adoration of his "ego." This "ego" does not leave much room for others; although these others include his spouse with whom he has lived together for 20 whole years, through days good and bad, troubled and peaceful, dangerous and triumphant.

However, the loss of Nexhmije will have some effect, even at second or third hand, on the person of Enver.

Placed for almost a quarter of a century at the head of the Party as person Number 1, always present -- even when he did not wish it --

SECRET

in a circle of intrigues and rivalries, divergencies and enmities, open or concealed, personal ambitions and passions, jealousies and "cupidity," Enver willy nilly had to open his heart sometimes, sometimes to be supported morally, sometimes to mourn his plight or to discuss his plans and desires. A more suitable person than his wife, that is, Nexhmije, could not be found. Let us not forget in this connection the well known psychological factors: bed, darkness, and feeling of oneness. It is quite natural, then, that Nexhmije has been for 20 years the complete personal "confessor" of Enver, the depository full of his secrets.

The gery nature of Nexhmije seemed to help Enver make confessions. In truth, in my opinion, Nexhmije Hoxha has been a most meek person with understanding and comprehension for the troubles of others. In the biography that I have given previously about her person, I had noted among other things: "Consider how one of the most liberal members of the Central Committee... polite and approachable...different from most of her colleagues, enjoyed a kind of fellow feeling ("sympathy") among Communists who knew her for her meekness...and has many intellectual merits."

This trait of Nexhmije — meekness, although it did not influence her husband, had a kind of influence, however small, on the acts and position of the latter. When people live together for a long time, they receive something, however small, from one another and they make, however small, mutual concessions in this or that area.

With the disappearance of Nexhmije, I think therefore that the wildness present in Enver's [intrisek] character will become even more marked.

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Perhaps, in the absence of a person who was very close to him (with the eventual disappearance of Nexhmije), he will seek elsewhere some moral and psychological support. Naturally, just now, in the immediate future, I personally exclude the possibility that Enver will seek this support in a woman. Certainly, at his present age of over 50, his children by Nexhmije remain for him (3 boys, the eldest of which is about 15 years). But children, especially when they are small, can never fill such an emptiness.

The person from whom, in my opinion, Enver will seek in the immediate future psychological support is Mehmet. And naturally, the latter will do what he can to profit from a situation favorable to him.

Thus, then, if the above-mentioned hypothesis is accepted as correct, the eventual death of Nexhmije will have as a consequence the bringing of Enver into closest contact with Mehmet (not Mehmet with Enver).

As for the agitprop apparatus in the Central Committee, I think that this apparatus (Central Directorate of Agitprop) even without the presence of Nexhmije will continue to remain an organ of Enver's.

SECRET - 5 -



ORIGINALI



31

Njëzet vjet bashkëjetesë është një përvojë mjaft e gjatë në jetën e çdo çifti. Dhe është e natyrshme që humbja e njëres palë të ketë reperkusione në palën tjetër.

Në rastin konkret Enver-Nexhmije kjo bashkëjetesë ~~nxixix~~ ~~nxixix~~ ka, përveç anës së saj kualitative (periode njëzet vjeçare), edhe anën e vet kuantitative (periode e turbullt që bashkon automatikisht me tepër palët në simbiozë).

Në këtë drejtim, vlen të theksohet se etapa e parë e kësaj simbioze u përket viteve të fundit të okupacionit dhe të luftës partizane; etapa e dytë, viteve të vështirë për Enverin kur (1945-1948) presioni jugosllav gjithmonë në rritje e sipër synonte zëvendësimin e tij në postin Nr. 1 të Partisë komuniste shqiptare me Koçi Xoxen; në këtë etapë të dytë, përkrahja, kryesisht morale e Nexhmijes ndaj Enverit, bashkëshortit të saj, ka qënë jashtëzakonisht e rëndësishme (Thuheshe në këtë drejtim në Tiranë, se në ato kohë, ~~Enxixix~~ "Letrat e K.Q. të P.K.(b) të B.R.S.S. mbi gjendjen në Partinë komuniste jugosllave", që preceduan rezolutën e qershorit të 1948 dhe shizmen Beograd-Moskë, dhe që iu dorëzuan në mënyrë konfidenciale dhe sekrete Enver Hoxhes nga ambasadori sovjetik në Shqipëri, iu bënë të njohura pikerisht nga Enver Hoxha të shoqes shumë kohë më përpara se sa ti bëheshin të ditura Komitetit qendror të Partisë komuniste shqiptare; ~~nxixix~~ përcaktohesh, ato kohë, në Tiranë, se Enveri ia bëri të ditur këto Letra më përpara se shoqes, domethënë Nexhmijes, së dyti Mehmet Shehut e Bedri Spahiut, dhe së treti i shtroi zyrtarisht hapët përpara Komitetit qendror për diskutim). Etapa e tretë i takon triumfit absolut të Enverit mbi Koçin e Xoxes, domethënë kohës që kalon nga Kongresi i I-rë i Partisë e këtej, por, në të njëjtën kohë kjo etapë përmban edhe rivalitetin e Enver Hoxhës me Mehmet Shehun (Në këtë drejtim vlen të theksohet se në aparatin e Propagandës e të agitacionit të Komitetit qendror, drejtores e të cilit ka qënë vazhdimisht Nexhmije Hoxha, kurrë nuk janë pranuar ase futur elemente "mehmetiste", bile janë mbajtur qëllimisht larg kësaj Drejtorie të rëndësishme). Etapa e katërt i përket periodes që fillon me shizmen Tiranë-Moskë dhe në këtë periode, natyrisht, rivaliteti Hoxha-Shehu, për arsye të vetëkuptueshme, humb nga intensiteti i tij. (Edhe në këtë fazë, të gjitha shënjat tregojnë se Nexhmija i ka qëndruar për krahe burrit të saj.)

Në simbiozën Enver-Nexhmije, për opinionin tim, elementi më i fortë, pala më e fuqishme, ka qënë Enveri. Dhe kjo ~~nxixix~~ të personalitetit të tij me të spikuar. ~~nxixix~~

Encl #1 të EKS A - 373

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Ndënë një maskë "de bonhomme", Enveri ka fshehur kurdoherë një diplomat anadollak, me shumë zotësi për të manovruar midis taraveve, një politikë të zgjidhjeve ekstreme dhe, ~~si~~ sadoqë në pamje ballafuq, ay, domethënë Enveri, ka qënë kurdoherë njeriu i vendimeve të guximëshme (pa patur rrembyeshmërinë dhe kapriciozitetin e Mehmetit); f.v. prishja e marrëveshjes së Mukjes gjate luftës; braktisja e Titos dhe lufta e hapët kundër tij; shizma e fundit me Moskën, - të gjitha këto i detyrohen në radhë të parë qëndrimit të Enverit.

Nga ana e saj, bashkëshortja e tij, "exhmija nuk ka qënë kurrë aqë tepër njeri e veprimeve të guximëshme; më tepër se sa grua vëprimi, ajo ka qënë person që u nënshtroheshë shpejt presioneve të tjerëve; më tepër se sa udheheqëse politike reale, një grua zyre - ndofta gruaja më intelektuale që kish Partia komuniste shqiptare. Jashtëzakonisht autodidakte, ajo ish shumë e lidhur pas librave. ~~Si~~ Gjatë etapës së dytë, fjala vjen, tërë fuqinë ia kish marrë Nexhije Duma, ish anëtare e K. qëndror, "beniamine" e Koçi Xoxes; edhe në kohën e shizmës Tiranë-Moskë, disa të dhëna tregojnë se si ajo, si gruaja e Mehmetit (Fiqrete Shehu) u-lëkundën dhe treguan shenja frikësimi dhe abandonimi të posteve.

Si konkluzion, përsërit; në simbiozën Enver - Nexhmije, pala determinante qe Enveri.

Që këtëj, nuk besoj se humbja eventuale e nexhmijes do të sjellë ndryshime të spikjuara në qëndrimin e Enverit, aqë më tepër sepse ky i fundit, në thelb, nuk është edhe shumë njeri i sentimenteve. Karakteristika spikante e Enverit është adhurimi jashtë masës i "egos" së tij. Kjo "ego" nuk len shume vënd për të tjerit, qofshin këta të tjerë edhe bashkeshortja e tij me të cilën jetoi bashkarisht 20 vjet të tëra, në ditë të mira e të këqia, të trubullta e të qeta, të rrezikëshme e triumfonjëse.

Sidoqoftë, një farë roli, qoftë edhe të dorës së dytë ase të tretë, humbja e Nexhmijes do të ketë mbi personin e Enverit.

I vendosur për gati një çerek shekulli në krye të Partisë si personi Nr. 1, i ndodhur kurdoherë -qoftë edhe jashtë vullnetit të tij- në një rreth tërë intriga e rivalitete, divergjencia e armiqësisë, te hapëta ase te fshehta, personale, ambicje dhe pasione, lakmira dhe "convoitises", Enveri, desh - s'desh, duhesh diku te hapte zemrën e tij, diku të mbështeteshe moralisht, diku te qante hallin e tij ase të bisedonte planet dhe meraget e tij. Person më të përshatëshem se sa ~~ky~~ të shoqen, domethënë ~~ky~~ Nexhmijen nuk mund të gjente. Le të mos harrojmë në këtë drejtim faktorin e njohur psikologjik: krevatin, errësirën, ndjenjen e vetmisë. Eshtë fare e natyrëshme, pra, që Nexhmija të ketë qënë për 20 vjet të tera "konfessori" personal i Enverit, shporta e mbyllur e sekreteve të tij.

Vetë natyra e Nexhmijes mendoj se e ndihmonte Enverin <sup>duhesh konf-</sup> ~~konf-~~ ~~konf-~~. Në të vërtetë, sipas opinionit tim, Nexhmije Hoxha ka qënë nje njeri ~~ky~~ më tepër i butë, me mirëkuptim dhe "comprehension" për hallet e të tjerëve. Në biografinë që kam dhënë më perpara mbi personin e saj, kisha shënuar, midis te tjerave: "Konsideroheshë si një nga anëtarët e K. qëndror më liberale... e sjellëshme dhe e afruar... ~~ky~~ të gjitha simotrat e saj, gëzonte një fazë simpathije midis komunistëve që e njihnin për shkak të butësis së saj...ka shumë merita intelektuale".

Kjo veçori e Nexhmijes, <sup>-butësia."</sup> sado të mos e ndikonte të shohin, kish një ~~fer~~ influencimi sado të vogël në veprimet dhe qëndrimin e këtij të fundit. Njerëzit ~~që~~ jetojnë për një kohë të gjatë së afërmi marin diçka, sado pak, nga njëri tjetri, bëjnë, sado të vogla, koncesione në këtë aspekt ~~at~~ fushë.

Me zhdukjen e Nexhmijes mendoi, pra, se e egra që ndodhet në karakterin intrisik të Enverit, do të spikojë edhe më tepër.

Ndofta, ~~me~~ në mungesë të një personi që i ish shumë i afër me (me çdukjen eventuale të Nexhmijes) <sup>që</sup> kërkojë gjetiu një fare mbështetje morale e psikologjike. Natyrisht, he për he, në të arthmen imediate, unë, personalisht, përjashtoi mundësinë që Enveri ta kërkojë këtë mbështetje në elementin femër. I mbeten, sigurisht, në moshën e tij të sotme, përmbi të 50-tat, femijet që ka nga Nexhmija (3 djem?, më i madhi i së cilëve afro 15 vjet) Por femijet kurrë nuk mbushën, sidomos kur janë të vegjël, boshllëqe të tilla.

Personi tek i cili, sipas opinionit tim, Enveri do të kërkojë në të arthmen imediate mbështetjen psikologjike, është Mehmeti. Dhe natyrisht, ky i fundit, do të bëjë çmos që të përfillojë nga situata e favorëshme për të.

Kështu, pra, po të pranohet si e drejtë hipoteza e mësipërme, vdekja eventuale e Nexhmijes do të ketë si pasojë afrimin më të math të Enverit tek Mehmeti (jo të Mehmetit tek Enveri).

Ja për aparatën e agitpropit pranë K. Qendror, unë mendoj se ky aparat (Drejtoria Qendrore e Agitpropit) edhe pa pranimë e Nexhmijes do të vazhdojë të mbetet kryesisht një organ i Enverit.

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COUNTRY	Albania	INFO NO.	EAV-9507
SUBJECT	Ill Health of Enver Hoxha	DATE OF REPORT	16 March 1964
		NO. PAGES	1
		REFERENCES	

DATE OF INFO. January - February 1964  
 PLACE & DATE ACQ. (13 March 1964)

THIS IS UNCLASSIFIED INFORMATION. SOURCE GRADINGS AND DETAILED APPRAISAL OF CONTENT IS OMITTED.

SOURCE: Foreign communist (F) resident in Tirana, who described this information as "common knowledge and rumor." Appraisal of Content: 3.

Albanian Communist Party First Secretary Enver Hoxha has been suffering for two years from a blood ailment. Doctors recently told him he must curtail all his activities, and, to a large extent, he has. He did, however, appear in public during the January 1964 sojourn of Chou En-lai in Albania, but little has been seen of him since. At the time of the Chou visit he looked quite thin and sickly.

05-3/577,690<sup>6</sup> APR 1964

EE/YA Action
Answered by: <input type="checkbox"/>
<i>Cable DIR-10979</i>
Dated: <i>27-Mar-64</i>
Filed: <input type="checkbox"/>

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 (2)(G) Foreign Relations  Date: *2005*

9-41 12A-3 Use Previous Editions

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DOC. MICRO. SER. INDEX.

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SECRET EAV-9846 AUSTRIA ALBANIA SUBJ MEDICAL TRIP TO ALBANIA OF  
PROFESSOR FELLINGER DOI 10 SEPTEMBER 1964 PADA AUSTRIA, VIENNA  
10 SEPTEMBER 1964 APR 2 (THAT FELLINGER IS GOING TO ALBANIA)  
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CENTRAL INTELLIGENCE AGENCY  
Intelligence Information Cable

ROUTINE

COUNTRY AUSTRIA/ALBANIA

TDCS -314/02902-64

DATE OF INFO. 10 SEPTEMBER 1964

DISTR. 11 SEPTEMBER 1964

SUBJECT

MEDICAL TRIP TO ALBANIA OF PROFESSOR FELLINGER

PLACE & DATE ACQ. AUSTRIA, VIENNA (10 SEPTEMBER 1964)

REF IN 71723

SOURCE AND

FIELD REPORT NO. EAV 9846

APPRAISAL: A FRIEND (C) OF [ ] FELLINGER IS GOING TO ALBANIA.

[ ] APPRAISAL: 2 (THAT

1. VIENNA MEDICAL SCHOOL PROFESSOR KARL FELLINGER HAS BEEN SUMMONED TO ALBANIA AND IS ALLEGEDLY DEPARTING VIENNA 10 SEPTEMBER 1964. IT IS NOT KNOWN HOW LONG FELLINGER WILL STAY IN ALBANIA. (SOURCE COMMENT: PROFESSOR FELLINGER IS BEING VERY DISCREET ABOUT THE TRIP, BUT IT IS THOUGHT THAT HE IS GOING TO TREAT EITHER ALBANIAN COMMUNIST PARTY FIRST SECRETARY ENVER HOXHA, MADAME HOXHA, OR BOTH.)

2. FIELD DISSEM: NONE.

(END OF MESSAGE)

This material contains information affecting the National Defense of the United States within the meaning of the Espionage Laws, Title 18, U.S.C. Secs. 793 and 794, the transmission or revelation of which in any manner to an unauthorized person is prohibited by law.

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REPORT COVER SHEET		SECRET	REPORT NO. EAV-9980
FROM Vienna, Austria		DATE OF REPORT 6 November 1964	
REPORTING OFFICER		RD. NO.	
REPORTS OFFICER		PROJ.	
APPROVING OFFICER		S'CE CR.	
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by the Central Intelligence Agency  
Date: 2005





SECRET

COUNTRY	Albania	REPORT NO.	EAV-10,283
SUBJECT	Ill Health of Enver Hoxha	DATE OF REPORT	25 March 1965
		NO. PAGES	1
		REFERENCES	EAV-9507

DATE OF INFO. Early 1965  
 PLACE & DATE ACC. (19 March 1965)

THIS IS UNEVALUATED INFORMATION. SOURCE CATEGORIES ARE DEFINITIVE. APPRAISAL OF CONTENT IS TENTATIVE.

SOURCE An untested source (F) formerly resident in Tirana, from a member of the family of [ ] and from a senior diplomat stationed in Tirana.

Appraisal of Content: 3.

Albanian Workers Party First Secretary Enver Hoxha is "seriously ill" with tuberculosis. Hoxha no longer goes to his office, but does his work at home. He has been seen in public only once recently, on the occasion of his giving a speech at the new basketball and volley ball stadium in Tirana during the celebrations concerning the twentieth anniversary of the liberation of Albania. Has led to an increase in power of Ramiz Alia.

*cit Albania A*  
*occ C Poff*  
*RA Albania A*

1 Comment: EAV-9507, from the same source, reported that Hoxha had been suffering since at least early 1962 from an (unspecified) blood ailment. The blood ailment required him seriously to curtail his activities.

Source Comment: <sup>Enver</sup> Hoxha's increasing disability has led to an increase in both the stature and power of Central Committee Secretary and Politburo Member Ramiz Alia, the number two man in the Albanian Workers Party. Considering Alia's Party positions, the frequent publicity accorded him and his position at official functions such as the greeting of foreign delegations and visitors, it appears that Alia is now the power behind the throne. Because of his position within the Party, Alia probably wields more power than Premier Mehmet Shehu.

*occ C Poff*

occ: govt

SECRET

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NAZI WAR CRIMES DISCLOSURE ACT

- EXEMPTIONS Section 3(b)
- (1) Privacy
  - (2) Methods/Sources
  - (3) Foreign Relations

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Date: 2005


DISPATCH		CLASSIFICATION		PROCESSING ACTION	
		SECRET			
TO	Chief, FE ; Chief, EF			X	MARKED FOR INDEXING
INFO.					NO INDEXING REQUIRED
FROM	Chief of Station, [ ]				ONLY QUALIFIED DESK CAN JUDGE INDEXING
SUBJECT	[ ] Background to Visit by General Secretary of CPNZ, Victor George Wilcox, to Albania				MICROFILM
ACTION REQUIRED - REFERENCES					
References: FZW-014, 6 August 1965 [ ] 845					
<p>1. [ ] has informed us that a delicate source was recently able to see correspondence which had passed between Enver HOXHA, First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Party of Labor of Albania, and V.G. WILCOX, General Secretary of the CPNZ.</p> <p>2. HOXHA in a letter dated 21 April 1965, said that he had been informed through the Albanian Ambassador in Peking that WILCOX wished to visit the People's Republic of Albania at the head of a CPNZ delegation in 1965. HOXHA said that he would be glad to welcome WILCOX to bilateral talks about questions interesting their two Parties as well as about the situation in the international communist movement and suggested that, at the end of the talks, a joint document should be issued. HOXHA considered that such a visit would be an important contribution to the strengthening of friendship and the international ties uniting their two Marxist-Leninist Parties in the common struggle against imperialism and against modern revisionism.</p> <p>3. WILCOX, in his reply, simply echoed the sentiments expressed by HOXHA and stated that he had no doubt that joint discussions would reach agreement which would be of assistance to their Parties and to the whole world Marxist-Leninist movement as well as being a further blow against modern revisionism.</p> <p>4. A subsequent message from HOXHA to WILCOX indicated that the Albanian Embassy in Rome had been instructed to place itself at the disposal of WILCOX during the latter's stay in Rome en route to Tirana.</p>					
Distribution: Orig & 2 - Hqs.					
<p style="text-align: center;">[ ] [ ]</p> <p style="text-align: right;">File</p> <p>CSCOPY Filed [ ] [ ] COPY [ ] [ ]</p>					
CROSS REFERENCE TO		DISPATCH SYMBOL AND NUMBER		DATE	
52-4-124 [ ] [ ] (HOXHA)		FZWA-1206		12 November 1965	
		CLASSIFICATION		HQS FILE NUMBER	
		SECRET		[ ] [ ]	

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DOCUMENT TRANSFER AND CROSS REFERENCE			
SUBJECT OF DOCUMENT		DOCUMENT IDENTIFICATION	
		2. RI FILE NO.	
		3. DISPATCH OR SOURCE DOC. SYMBOL NO.	4. DATE
		Washington Post	15 Sept 66
		7. SOURCE CRYPTONYM	8. DATE OF INFO.
		9. EVALUATION	
5. ANALYST	6. DATE PROCESSED	10. DISSEMINATED IN	11. DATE
DOCUMENT DISPOSITION			
12. CROSS REFERRED TO THIS FILE		13. TRANSFERRED TO RI FILE NO.	
PERTINENT INFORMATION			
<p>14.</p> <div style="display: flex; justify-content: space-between;"> <div style="width: 45%;"> <p><b>Albania Shakeup</b> Albania abolished the Justice Ministry and replaced four members of the Presidium of the People's Assembly in its second government reshuffle of the year, according to reports from Tirana monitored in Munich and Tokyo.</p> <p>One member dropped was the editor-in-chief of the official Communist Party newspaper, Todri Lubonja. The new members include the political director of the army, Hito Cako. The Communist Party chief, <b>Enver Hoxha</b>, kept his seat on the 10-member Presidium. The Justice Ministry was abolished because it was no longer necessary since Socialist legislation is now the concern of all bodies of the people's power, Premier Mehmet Shehu said.</p> <p><i>Wash Post 15 Sept 66</i></p> </div> <div style="width: 45%; text-align: center;">  <p>ENVER HOXHIA ... keeps seat</p> </div> </div>			
15. FILE THIS FORM IN FILE NO.		➔	C 1

FORM 867 USE PREVIOUS EDITIONS.  
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(7-46)

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SECRET 221637Z CITE VIENNA VIEN 1098  ACTING 22 sept 6 1966  
 DIRECTOR INFO   
 INTEL REDTOP   
 SUPDATA: ZRWANOO  FROM  17 SEPTEMBER 66.  
 INFORMANT WAS  PROMINENT ITALIAN  
occ Sex: M  
cit: Italian  
 SURGEON WHO EXAMINED HOXHA ON UNSPECIFIED DATE IN 1965 IN  
 TIRANA.  IS PROFESSOR AT UNIVERSITY BOLOGNA, ALSO  
 TEACHES AND PRACTICES IN ROME.  INDEX  BECAUSE  
 PINPOINTING OF INFORMANT OBVIOUSLY EASY MATTER, REQUEST NO FIELD  
 DISSEM. INDEX  . EAV-10,978.  
 FILED 22/1637Z

MICROFILMED  
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22 Sept 1966

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FORM 3015  
1-66

SECRET

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INTELLIGENCE INFORMATION CABLE

DATE 22 SEPTEMBER  
IN 01595  
PAGE 1 OF 1 PAGES

The following intelligence information, transmitted from a CIA Field Station, requires review within the Clandestine Services before being released outside the Agency. Pending results of this review, a copy is being provided for your advance information.

Distribution for BACKGROUND USE ONLY to: SDO 2, DD/I 20, D/MS 2

- COUNTRY: ALBANIA
- DOI: 1965
- SUBJECT: REPORTED ILLNESS OF HOXHA
- ACQ: 21 SEPTEMBER 66
- SOURCE: AN ALBANIAN-BORN WESTERN EUROPEAN INTELLECTUAL WHOSE MOTIVATION IS BELIEVED TO BE SOUNDLY IDEOLOGICAL, BUT WHOSE RELIABILITY HAS NOT YET BEEN FULLY TESTED. HE TALKS FREQUENTLY WITH LEGAL TRAVELLERS INTO AND OUT OF ALBANIA AND LEARNED THIS INFORMATION FROM THE DOCTOR WHO EXAMINED HOXHA.
- 1. ALBANIAN PARTY FIRST SECRETARY ENVER HOXHA IS SUFFERING FROM AN UNSPECIFIED KIDNEY DISORDER. (SOURCE COMMENT: THE INFORMANT DID NOT DISCLOSE THE EXTENT, SERIOUSNESS, OR NATURE OF HOXHA'S KIDNEY TROUBLE).
- 2. FIELD DISSEM: NONE.
- REPORT CLASS SECRET NO FOREIGN DISSEM CONTROLLED DISSEM
- NO DISSEM ABROAD

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Date: 2005

0-14f (Rev. 1-68)

Federal Bureau of Investigation

MAY 28, 1970

Director  
Central Intelligence Agency  
Washington, D. C. 20505

ATTENTION: Deputy Director, Plans

Dear Sir:

- 1. For your information, I am enclosing communications which may be of interest to you.
- 2. It will be appreciated if you will have the investigation conducted as requested in the enclosed memorandum and furnish the results.
- 3. No further investigation is contemplated with regard to this matter.
- 4. You will be advised of the pertinent developments in connection with this inquiry.
- 5. Please note change in caption of this case.
- 6. Status of case:  Completed  Incomplete

Very truly yours,

  
John Edgar Hoover  
Director

Enc. 2

(Upon removal of classified enclosures, if any, this transmittal form becomes UNCLASSIFIED.)

Enver Hoxha

NAZI WAR CRIMES DISCLOSURE ACT

FOR COORDINATION WITH FBI

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FEB 24 1970

28 May 70

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Act: DBC- 84170  
28 May 70

ENVER HOXHA

TWENTY FIVE YEARS  
OF STRUGGLES AND VICTORIES  
ON THE ROAD TO SOCIALISM

End #2

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ENVER HOXHA

**TWENTY FIVE YEARS OF STRUGGLE  
AND VICTORY ON THE ROAD  
TO SOCIALISM**

*Speech delivered at the solemn meeting dedicated to  
the 25th anniversary of the liberation of the country  
and the victory of the people's revolution*

THE "NAIM FRASHERI" PUBLISHING HOUSE  
TIRANA, 1969





ENVER HOXHA

Dear Comrades,  
Brothers and Sisters,  
Dear Friends,

Today, all our people, young and old, are celebrating with great joy and grandeur the glorious jubilee — the 25th anniversary of the liberation of the country from the fascist occupationists and of the establishment of the people's power in Albania. Jointly with us, this great festival is being celebrated also by the patriotic Albanians abroad, as well as by all the comrades-in-arms of the Albanian people, by the many friends of new Albania.

Allow me on this great festive day to bring to you, as well as to all our patriotic Albanian brothers wherever they are living, greetings and best wishes, to thank all the real friends of socialist Albania for their love, support to and fraternal solidarity with our country, on behalf of the Central Committee of the Party, of the Presidium of the People's Assembly, of the Council of Ministers and

of the General Council of the Democratic Front of Albania.

Allow me likewise to warmly greet from this rostrum our glorious working class, the steel-like pillar of the dictatorship of the proletariat and the builders of socialism in Albania, the laboring and patriotic peasantry, our people's intelligentsia, our heroic youth and our wonderful mothers and sisters for their gigantic work, their self-denial and countless sacrifices, for the magnificent contribution they have rendered to the building of socialism. I wish you, comrades, a joyous festival and much happiness in new Albania which you have built with your blood and sweat. Honor, prosperity and glory to our dear socialist Homeland!

At these moments of special joy and cheerfulness, when we are celebrating, free, independent and sovereign, the glorious jubilee of liberation, we remember and honor with the deepest respect all the heroic men and women partisans who shed their blood for these happy days which we are living today, all those who, in the glorious National-liberation War and in the work for building socialism, laid down their lives to cement the firm foundations of new socialist Albania. To them belongs the deep and everlasting gratitude of the entire Albanian people!

The roots of our people have been nurtured in this soil through the ages, but

it is only in these 25 years of their free socialist existence and of people's power that they have ever known happy days.

In 1912, fifty-seven years ago, the patriotic Albanian people scored a great victory, the proclamation of their independence which crowned their protracted struggles through the centuries against the occupationists. For the first time since the days of Skanderbeg, Albania emerged in the international arena as an independent and sovereign state. We recall today, with honor and respect, the heroic struggle of the patriots of the period of our national revival, their spirit of self-denial and their infinite love of country.

But the bourgeoisie and the feudals who came to power went only half way and betrayed the brilliant cause of the patriots of the period of our national revival. Albania remained in a state of poverty and ignorance and was sold off to the foreigners.

The National-liberation War, the people's Revolution, along with the expulsion and the overthrowing of the exploiting classes, realized the beautiful dream of the great patriots of Albania; they made Albania really free and independent; they embarked her on the road to progress and well-being.

The National-liberation War was a real people's war which was waged by the people and in the interest of the people. It ended with our victory over the external and internal

enemies, because, from the ranks of the people and at the decisive moment, when their existence and their future were at stake, there came into being the Communist Party of Albania, the revolutionary vanguard of the working class, the reliable and wise leader of all the working masses. The creation of the Party and its emergence at the head of the people in revolt and of their liberation struggle, marked a radical turning-point in the historic destiny of Albania. The Party gave the people a clear programme of action and showed them the only correct way to put it into practice.

It was under the leadership of the Party, and in the legendary clash with the most savage enemies of mankind — the Italian fascists and the German nazis that the bravery and heroism of the Albanian people, their indomitable freedom-loving spirit, their great hatred of the oppressors and enslavers, their courage and determination to fight the enemies and win, defying all sacrifices, were manifested with a force multiplied ten times over, and were reaffirmed on a new basis.

Taking a bird's eye view of twenty five years of heroic work of our Party, we see more clearly the glory of the National-liberation War, and the historic significance of the triumph of our people's revolution. They laid the steel-like foundations of new socialist Albania, they opened the bright epoch of

socialism and communism to the Albanian people.

Glory to the men and women partisans, to the Albanian sons and daughters who, arms in hand, fought over mountain and plain, with unprecedented heroism, giving the people freedom, independence, power, and opening to them the road to socialism!

Our young socialist state, which grew from the barrel of the partizan gun slammed and locked the door forever to the imperialist wolves and the anti-popular regimes. The once long-suffering Albania, oppressed by the beys and agas, a semi-colonial country and a token taken to be traded among the great powers, is today a free socialist, independent and sovereign country, master of its own destinies, and invincible.

The historic aim of the proletariat, of the working people, of their revolutionary representatives — the communists, is to overthrow in their own country any anti-popular oppressive order, to abolish any sort of exploitation of man by man, to build a new society in which the working people will enjoy all their rights and be masters of their own destinies, and where everything will be in the interest and in the service of the people. Our Party and our people come to this great jubilee, head erect and breast out, for they have carried out with honor this glorious historic mission.

The objective of proletarian revolutionaries is to do everything in their power for the triumph of the great cause of socialism, not only in their own country, but also throughout the world. Our Party and our people have always held firm and raised ever higher the banner of proletarian internationalism, the banner of unreserved support for the revolutionary and liberation struggle in other countries, the banner of inflexible struggle against imperialism and modern revisionism.

The twentyfive years that have elapsed since the day of liberation are a living testimony to the life-giving illumination of Marxism-Leninism, to the invincible strength of the socialist regime, they are a great affirmation of the correctness of the general line of our Party, of the steel-like political unity of the Albanian people, of their work and determination to always march courageously forward on the road opened to them by people's Revolution.

We are fully entitled to be proud of the successes achieved and of the battles won in all fields. Albania is no longer that backward country of the wooden plough and thatched roofed huts, of the pinetorch and kerosine lamp, of illiteracy and malaria. Today new socialist Albania is marching with giant strides and with an irresistible revolutionary vigor towards the complete building of socialist society. We have an industry equipped with

most modern machines, a developed socialist agriculture, a very advanced and complete educational system. The former country of poor shepherds, of exhausted peasants and of the savage vendetta, has become today a country of a developed culture and art whose content may be envied even by those who measure their civilization by centuries.

In their gigantic efforts, exerted all along from the beginning of the National-liberation War to this day, our people have had to shed much blood and much sweat, they have had to fight and work encircled by savage and wily enemies, to keep the rifle always ready beside the pick. Not only our enemies, but also those who knew little about our people and our Party have frequently predicted and declared that people's Albania «would not last long». Reality, however, has completely disabused them all. Our people, under the wise and farsighted leadership of the Party, have successfully coped with all the enemies, they have courageously overcome all the difficulties, they have resolutely removed all the obstacles.

We come to the great jubilee of liberation stronger than ever. The most advanced social order — socialism — has been established in Albania on firm foundations. We meet the glorious 25th anniversary united to a man around the Party of Labor and the People's Power. Our people, workers, peasants and



people's intelligentsia, are celebrating the 25th anniversary of the triumph of revolution full of revolutionary optimism, confident of a more beautiful and happier future lying in store for our socialist Homeland, determined to work and fight with all their strength so that socialist Albania may live and thrive through centuries, so that the banner of freedom, the banner of communism may always fly proudly in our homeland.

**29 November 1944 marks the great day of our people's true revival**

Der Comrades!

The 29th of November 1944, the day when our valliant partisans brought freedom to our Homeland, marks the great day of the real revival of our people, the boundary where the old world ends and where the new world, the brilliant epoch of socialism, begins.

The road which we have traversed during these 25 years has been one of continuous struggle in the most diverse fields and forms for the building of socialist Albania, for the complete triumph of the new world over the old world and its remnants. On this road we have had to fight against the class enemies, against numerous obstacles and difficulties, we have had to fight against the imperialist ene-

mies and the sham friends — the Titoite and Khrushchevite revisionists, against their detestable sabotage and blockades. But just as during the National-liberation War, so also in the struggle to build socialism, our people, endowed with a lofty spirit of sacrifice and heroism, with an iron will and exemplary courage, and wisely led by the Party, have always emerged successful and have achieved one victory after another.

Following the liberation of our country and the establishment of our people's power, our people and our Party were faced with great and complicated historic tasks on whose solution depended the future of the country and the fate of socialism in Albania.

The entire old feudal-bourgeois structure and super-structure had to be overthrown, the relations of small scale production of commodities had to be radically transformed, and we had to pass over to the system of scientific socialism in the city and the countryside, in economy and culture. But it was necessary to radically transform also, the inner world of men and women, to endow them with the Marxist-Leninist world outlook, with socialist ideology, with communist morality. It was indispensable and urgent, likewise, to rebuild the war-ravaged country and to overcome at the most rapid rates the centuries long economic and cultural backwardness inherited from the past.

Our Party relied on the teachings of Lenin and Stalin, on the valuable experience of socialist construction in the Soviet Union, but it could not copy this experience and carry it out in practice in a mechanical way. This experience and the Marxist-Leninist principles had to be implemented in a creative manner on our specific territory with its historic, geographic, economic, class, political, ideological and other peculiarities. The difficulties and dangers were great. One could break his neck at every turn, at every fundamental decision which determined the strategic direction, as well as in the tactical stand towards the implementation of these decisions.

To its honor and glory our Party, however, correctly solved both the strategic and the tactical tasks.

Within a very short time, the aftermath of war was liquidated, and the energies of the working class and of all the working masses were concentrated on the vital battle for the vigorous development of the forces of production, for the uplift and rapid progress of the whole economy. In this direction the Party followed, consistently and with unshakable determination, the course of socialist industrialization, of giving priority to industry in the development of our young socialist economy, considering it as a decisive factor of the country's development in all fields.

The socialist industrialization of the coun-

try started in the early years at slow rates and developed with a persistent struggle on the part of the Party, of the working class, and of the whole people overcoming many difficulties and obstacles. This had its own reasons. We inherited almost no industry whatever, while even that little which existed was gravely damaged by the war. The Yugoslav pseudo-allies, far from helping, sabotaged our country's industrial development by all manner of means. The Soviet aid, in the direction of industrialization, came after some delay and, at the beginning, it was limited, due to the difficult situation created in the Soviet Union as a result of the terrible war devastation. Later, this aid increased, but with the advent to power of the Khrushchevite revisionists it began to slow down and to be sabotaged until it was cut off and replaced with a hostile blockade.

But our Party, our working class and all our people with a courageous struggle, heedless of difficulties and sacrifices, marched courageously ahead. They were not deceived by the idle talk of the Khrushchevite revisionists about the so-called «international socialist division of labor», «specialization and cooperation of production among socialist countries», etc., the objective of which is the economic and political subjugation of other countries and aiming at making our country an agrarian appendage to their own. Our Party and our

people unwaveringly continued the correct road of socialist industrialization which was not long in yielding brilliant results that have completely changed the face of our Homeland.

From a backward agricultural country, Albania has been transformed now into an advanced agricultural-industrial one. In 1938 industrial production accounted for only 8 per cent of the total industrial-agricultural production, whereas in the year 1968 it reached 61.5 per cent. At present, the production of the «Mao Tsetung» textile combine in Berat alone, is larger than the production of the whole of the country's industry in 1938.

All over Albania there have been set up hundreds of big works of heavy and light, extraction and processing industries. Today the chimneys of the factories and plants are seen in all our cities, old and young, which have been turned into important industrial centers. Formerly the city of Fier counted 4,800 inhabitants. Its population engaged only in trade, in handicrafts and in agriculture. Today Fieri has become one of the country's largest industrial centers. Erected there are a nitrate fertilizers plant, an oil refinery, a heat-power station with a capacity of about 100,000 kilowatts, a cotton ginning factory, a brick works, etc. In the city of Fieri, which has been expanded and filled with beautiful buildings, there are employed today over 7,500 workers. The same can be said also of Lush-

nja, Kavaja, Berat, Kukës or Gjirokastra, without speaking of such cities as Tirana, Shkodra, Durrës, Korça, Vlora, etc.

The country's socialist industrialization has brought about not only quantitative changes. It has brought about also great qualitative changes. The priority development of the branches serving for the production of the means of production, which in 1968 accounted for 55,5 per cent of the total industrial output, has ensured an ever more efficient exploitation of our natural resources, it has led towards the consolidation of the country's economic independence and has ensured ever more favorable conditions for the rapid development of our economy. While in the past our country's industry was mainly represented by some small and primitive factories of the light and food industries, by handicraft and an occasional small mine, now there have been created new and modern branches such as the oil, chromium or iron-nickel industries, the chemical, machine-building and power industries, the building materials industry, etc., which are growing rapidly and constitute a sound basis for the creation and development of new branches of industry under the coming five-year plans.

Big works, equipped with a modern technology, such as the nitrate and superphosphate fertilizer plants, the machinery plants, that of tractor spare parts, the textile combines,

the construction of big hydro-power stations, like the -Mao Tse-tung- hydropower station at Vau i Dejës, or of the powerful heat-power stations like the one in Fieri, the cement factories or the construction of railways, the erection of the ferrous metallurgical combine, and so many others, are eloquent proof of the high level of our economy, of the results achieved and of the vast prospects which have been opened to our national economy.

The country's electrification, as one of the decisive factors in the rapid and sure development of the whole of our national economy, is another important index clearly showing the great results of the socialist industrialization policy pursued by the Party during these 25 years. Today, in about 4 days the country produces as much electric power as that produced during the whole year 1938. The Kruja district alone consumes 3,5 times more power than the whole of pre-liberation Albania consumed. The electrification of all the villages, which is being carried out now with full success, at a time when in many European countries they cannot even think of such an undertaking, testifies best of all to the strength of our socialist country, to the growth of the country's economic possibilities, to the great solicitude displayed by the Party and the people's regime for the progress and the continuous increase of the material and cultural wellbeing of the laboring masses.

The Party policy for the country's industrialization has strengthened the whole of our national economy. It has resulted in achieving major victories not only in the field of industry and mining, but also in those of building construction, communications, commerce, etc.

During these 25 years of new Albania, jointly with the development and advance of the various industrial branches, there has also been achieved another great victory of historic and decisive importance to the country's destiny. I am referring to the creation and growth of the new working class, the pillar of the dictatorship of the proletariat, the standard-bearer and leader of socialist construction in Albania. Today, we have a working class large in number, endowed with a high political class consciousness and with wonderful capacities and talents. It is becoming ever more conscious of its role as the class in power. The working class is continuously tempered on the anvil of revolution, it is ever more forcefully having its decisive say, is extending its direct control over everyone and over everything. With its ideology, work and struggle, it is setting the tone today to the entire national life, leading the revolutionary movement, inspiring all the other working people by the example it sets.

Our socialist industrialization, always taking into account its particular features deriving



from Albania's specific conditions, as well as from the historic circumstances through which we have passed, has been and is being developed on correct Marxist-Leninist lines.

In the conditions of our small country, the undeviating Party line has been and remains that, by advancing at a rapid rate on the road of socialist transformations and, at the same time, of the intensive development of agriculture, to make our national economy more independent, ever more capable of standing on its own feet, preserving and consolidating thereby also the political independence of our socialist Homeland; to unremittingly strengthen its defensive power against any attempt of the imperialist and revisionist enemies who surround us; to constantly improve the well-being of our people and ever better fulfil their needs.

The Party has laid down the continuous development and deepening of the technical and scientific revolution, the widest possible introduction of modern science, technology and agronomy, the spreading of scientific experimentation in every field as one of the most important problems and tasks of the development of our socialist economy, of the complete building of socialism in our country.

This revolution is an integral part of our socialist revolution and is being carried out in unity with the ideological and cultural revolution. Its fundamental aim is to place

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the whole of our national economy on a higher scientific and technical basis, in order to ensure a higher labor productivity, a more vigorous development of the productive forces, in order to lighten the work of our men and women and to raise their living standards higher. The main efforts must be concentrated everywhere on the transition from handicraft forms to modern industrial production, to the introduction of new technology, to the implementation of a strict scientific discipline in all the processes of work and production, to the scientific organization and management of the national economy, to the summing up and spreading of advanced experience. The decisive condition for leading the technical and scientific revolution forward is the mobilization of all the creative living energies of the working masses and specialists, their all-round political, ideological, technical and scientific education, the continuous strengthening of their cooperation in the most diverse and the most fruitful forms.

Our road of socialist industrialization, closely combined also with the broad development of the technical and scientific revolution, has nothing in common with and is in complete opposition to the various technocratic views which the bourgeoisie and the modern revisionists are spreading with clamour at the present time.

The ideologists of the monopoly bour-

geoisie are striving to make the working people believe that the technical and scientific revolution which is being carried out in the world today is allegedly removing the ills of capitalism, that it is reforming it, liquidating the classes and class antagonisms, and replacing the capitalist owners with the technocratic administrators. On this basis they declare that the old capitalist system of exploitation, the class struggle and the need for proletarian revolution, have been overcome.

In reality, behind the so-called «industrial society», or «technocratic society» there lies hidden the brutal oppression of the working people by the capitalist monopolies and the state monopoly capitalism. The modern revisionists, who have completely and absolutely betrayed Marxism-Leninism and placed themselves at the service of the bourgeoisie, have proclaimed the «technocratic society» and the technical and scientific progress, which leads to the strengthening and expansion of the state monopoly capitalism, as an «introduction of the elements of socialism in the gradual transformation of capitalism».

In the revisionist countries, technocratism, alongside with bureaucratism and as a subtle expression of it, has become one of the principal means of displacing the working class from leadership and of restoring capitalism. The economy of these countries, which the revisionists continue to call «socialist» under

the pretext that it is nationalized or collectivized, is, in reality nothing else but a capitalist economy of a special type. It is in the hands, in the service, and in the interest of of the new bourgeois class of the bureaucrats and technocrats, which has been created and continues to be consolidated. The western bourgeois theoreticians call what is happening in the revisionist countries, as the «liberalization and democratization of socialism». Thus, both sides, the bourgeoisie as well as the revisionists, converge at one and the same point, that of trying to keep capitalism alive and liquidate socialism.

But the technical and scientific revolution, and linked with it, the development of technocratism, do not and cannot save capitalism or modern revisionism from their inevitable collapse and destruction. They cannot change the objective laws of social development, particularly, that of the class struggle and revolution. The introduction on a large scale of science and technology in production, which the western capitalist monopolies and the new bourgeoisie of the revisionist countries are compelled to do because of the fierce domestic and inter-state competition and to ensure maximum profits, does, by no means, mitigate the internal and external economic and class contradictions, of the old and the new capitalism; it does not save it from the incurable and the ever more destructive crisis.

On the contrary, this aggravates further the contradictions and crises, it raises the tide of the class struggle to an ever higher degree and leads, in the final account, when the subjective factor, too, is up to the mark, to the all-conquering socialist revolution.

**The Albanian people march firmly ahead on the road to the complete construction of socialist society**

The successes achieved by our country in its industrialization during these twentyfive years have created the material basis which allows us to aim at transforming Albania, in the not distant future, from an agricultural-industrial country into an industrial-agricultural one. To reach this target it is indispensable that the main task of the industrial development should continue to be, in the future, too, the extension and improvement of the structure of industrial production, based on an advanced technology. For this purpose there must be created a stable internal basis of raw materials and, what is more important, we should be able to make a most rational exploitation, and with the best economic effect, of various natural resources. This will make it possible to ensure the fulfilment of the ever greater needs of the people's economy, the systematic increase of the well-being of the

people and the growth of the country's defensive power.

We shall certainly achieve these objectives, for we have a heroic, industrious and resolved people, we have a glorious and talented working class, we have our Party which, by its wise and farsighted Marxist-Leninist policy, leads us for certain towards new victories.

Our countryside and our peasantry have, likewise, undergone radical transformations. All of us have still fresh in our minds the thatched-roofed huts and the oppressed peasants of Myzeqe, the hungry highlanders of Puka and Dukagjini, the whole of our toiling and much suffering peasantry. We remember the swamps and marshes which flooded the best plains of Albania from Buna, to the South, to the Vurgu of Delvina.

But all this belongs to history, to the past. Today, all the new cooperative countryside is shining in the light of socialism. The peasant has relegated to bitter memory the age-old cult of the hunk of bread, the suffering for which persecuted him from the cradle to the grave. The agricultural cooperative which has fully extended to all the villages, is today a powerful unit of the broad and all-round agricultural and livestock production, thoroughly integrated with the general national economy and a solid basis of it. With their own forces and with the great aid of the people's power, the cooperatives today are

more and more practising intensive farming, at an ever higher level of agricultural technique.

In comparison with the pre-war level agricultural production has been increased more than three times over and the area of cultivated land has been doubled. Thanks to the land reclamation and irrigation works constructed so far, there have been reclaimed and improved about 200.000 hectares of land and the irrigation capacity, by the end of the year 1968, reached more than 240.000 hectares as against only 29.000 in 1938. At present, there are 10.500 tractors (in terms of 15 HP) at work on our fields as against 30 all told before liberation. Nowadays Albania ranks among the developed countries with regard to the use of chemical fertilizers which were not even known in this country before the war. In the year 1968 we used an average of 79 kg. of chemical fertilizers in active substance per hectare of cultivated land, while in the year 1967 Greece used 68 kg., Spain 36,8 kg., Yugoslavia 60,4 kg., Hungary 66,9 kg. and Italy 72,6 kg. of chemical fertilizers.

To the countryside and also in the life of the peasantry itself socialism has brought progress that brooks no comparison with the past. Our peasant today lives in a new house. His children attend the 8-grade school. The hospital, the outpatient clinics and the pharmacy are at his door. In many villages there

have been set up crèches and kindergartens, public bath-rooms, laundries, homes and hearths of culture. The motor-road has brought the countryside nearer to the city and every day the radio and the press bring the whole country and the whole world, to the cooperative peasants by their fireside.

The successes and victories achieved are closely connected with the Party line for the correct solution of the peasant problem which is among the most important and the most complicated problems for every country embarking on the road of socialist construction.

From the early days of liberation and onwards the Party has devoted its main attention to this vital and difficult problem, especially in our conditions, where the overwhelming percentage of the population were peasants, where the impoverished and war-ravaged countryside had to be rebuilt on new lines, unknown to it. The peasant had to stick to the land, not to abandon it due to the difficulties of the early days, because this would swell the cities with unemployed and would create a food crisis. The peasantry had to be freed from fetters of private property and to adopt the socialist way. We had to overcome the inherited backwardness and rapidly develop the forces of production in the domain of agriculture.

The Party solved this vital problem correctly. It raised and led the laboring peasantry



in the struggle against the foreign occupantists and their collaborators — the beys and agas, big land estate holders, who had robbed the peasant of his land and had enslaved him. It was in this struggle that the great alliance of the peasantry and the working class was forged, that the main social basis of the people's revolution and of the dictatorship of the proletariat was established.

The consistent application of the land reform laws, the first major decision of the Party and the people's power on the solution of the peasant problem, taken immediately after liberation, brought about a deep transformation in the social relations and in the consciousness of the peasantry who witnessed the realization of their centuries-old dream of land and of casting off the heavy yoke of the bey and of the landlord. The distribution of land by the proletarian Party and the dictatorship of the proletariat further consolidated the alliance of the peasantry and the working class. Let us recall for a moment the privations endured by and the heavy tasks assigned to the peasantry at the beginning. They breasted them with a high sense of duty. Their correct and inflexible attitude towards the decisions the Party and the people's power were adopting was a testimony to the loyalty of the laboring peasantry towards the Party of the proletariat, towards the working class, a testimony to their alliance with the working class which they accepted as their leadership.

for they saw the correct way of development, they foresaw the prospect of the happy life which was being built through hardships and sacrifices.

All this prepared the material and spiritual conditions for taking the next decisive steps, of passing over to the process of the socialist transformation of the countryside. Alongside the large-scale work of land reclamation, for the mechanization of agriculture, for the development of agricultural crops, of stock raising, etc., there was carried out the great struggle for the collectivization of agriculture, which, according to the consistent and, at the same time, cautious directives of the Party, gradually spread throughout the country, including, of late, the upland regions as well.

By the experience of life and thanks to the large-scale explanatory work done by the Party, the peasants became convinced of the superiority of the cooperative system, the only one that can free them from want, that can save them from all and every kind of exploitation. The world outlook of the peasantry changed radically. The psychology of individual work, of the small private property and of the narrow individual interest began to give way more and more to the feeling and consciousness of collective property, of collective work and of large-scale socialist production.

It was under these conditions that the process of uniting cooperatives into larger

ones, that scientific experimentation and the application of the technical and scientific revolution began to develop on a large scale in agriculture too; that the struggle for high yields started, that agricultural technique spread 'en masse', that the number of qualified cadres increased in the countryside, etc. The new socialist countryside finds itself today under the vigorous process of development and transformation, affecting both the production and the social and cultural fields.

The intensification of mechanization, the large-scale land reclamation and irrigation schemes, the wide use of chemicals, the ever better implementation of advanced agricultural technique, the extension of the communication network, etc., the increase of the number of specialized cadres and, in general, the rise of the educational standard of the peasant, have created proper material conditions for carrying out modern intensive farming in breadth and depth, for raising cultural and living standards of the cooperative peasant masses, to bring about an ever greater rapprochement of the production and life of the countryside with that of industry and of the city.

This revolutionary process of the vigorous development of the productive forces in agriculture and of the perfecting of socialist relations in the countryside will continue until the agricultural cooperatives are transformed from the property of the group into the property of

the entire people, until the differences between the cooperatives and the state farms are eliminated so as to reach the complete building of socialism in the countryside, to gradually narrow down and eventually liquidate the essential differences between the city and the country, between the peasantry and the working class, etc. This is the Marxist-Leninist road that leads to the classless communist society.

The correctness of the Party line with regard to the countryside, as well as the magnificent victories achieved during these 25 years become still more evident when we witness the grave and critical situation of agriculture in the Soviet Union and in the other revisionist countries.

The modern revisionists, some earlier and others later, abandoned the Marxist-Leninist road of the socialist development of the countryside. They have liquidated and are liquidating the gains of socialism in the countryside. Their road is that of returning to capitalism under allegedly socialist labels.

Capitalism and the modern revisionists, under the pretext of «superindustrialisation», of the creation of «industrial society», of «complex mechanisation» of agriculture, etc., impoverish the countryside, compel the peasantry to abandon their farmsteads, introducing the grip of agrarian concerns, they depopulate the countryside and throw millions of

unemployed onto the roads, they create the reserve of slaves, which they use to increase exploitation in the city as well.

We follow a diametrically opposite course in our socialist society. Attaching first-rate importance to industrialisation and mechanisation of labor, at the same time we by no means underrate the countryside and do not advance on the road of depopulation of the villages but we develop agriculture in harmony with them. While fighting for high yields in the lowland areas, we do not neglect fighting for the rapid development of agriculture in the hilly and mountainous areas. The preservation of the right proportions in this direction is very important to the cause of socialist construction in our country, to any situation that may arise, whereas allowing the creation of discrepancies is fraught with disorders and grave economic, political, class and ideological consequences.

Agriculture is faced today with very important problems and tasks, on the solution of which the entire development of our national economy is directly dependent. For the development of the productive forces in the countryside in the present conditions of our country it is indispensable that we should aim mainly at the increase of the yields of agricultural crops and the productivity of livestock, at the extension of the area of the cultivated lands, and at the improvement and

perfecting of the structure of agricultural production.

Our patriotic laboring peasantry, led by the Party and enjoying, as always, the aid and support of the working class, will accomplish these great tasks with success, it will certainly make its life more flourishing and more prosperous.

**The greatest achievement of this period is the moulding of the new man endowed with lofty revolutionary qualities**

Dear Comrades,

The great historic victories, achieved by new Albania during these 25 years of the people's power on all the fronts of the struggle for the building and defence of socialism, testify to the heroism, patriotism and the high revolutionary spirit of our wonderful men and women, inspired and educated with a special care by the Party. If our country, with rare spirit of self-denial, has been able to overcome within a short period of time the countless difficulties and obstacles raised by the centuries long inherited backwardness and by the frantic hostile activity of the imperialists, revisionists and reactionary forces, if our people have built a developed socialist society and our Homeland stands as an impregnable fortress and

a beacon-light of socialism on the Adriatic coast, this is due to a large extent, to the fact that the Party has been able to create and temper the new man, equipped with a high socialist consciousness and outstanding revolutionary qualities.

We are rightfully proud of our heroic working class, of our valiant laboring peasantry, of our revolutionary youth, of our wonderful women, of our people's intelligentsia — of the whole of our people who, united as one, rallied around the Party, are marching onward fearing no tempest whatsoever. The war-time heroism has been repeated during the whole period of socialist construction and it is rising higher in the present days. It has become a distinctive feature of our society.

Let us preserve, develop and increase with every passing day these lofty qualities which the Party has forged in our men and women!

Especially in these recent years, eversince the Open Letter and the historic 5th Party Congress, in close connection with the entire process of the revolutionisation of national life, a new qualitative leap is underway for the moulding of the new man of socialist society.

The great revolutionary process which is taking place today is a continuation and deepening of our socialist revolution. It is a general offensive against all the blemishes and remnants from the old world which we

are burying, it is a great and all-round struggle to bar the road to the restoration of capitalism today and in the future, from inside or outside, it is a fierce class struggle to lead the revolution continually forward, to ensure the complete and ultimate victory of the socialist road over the capitalist road.

This great revolutionary process, which is taking place under the leadership of the Party and with the broad participation of the working masses, has encompassed all fields of life, of political and ideological, economic and cultural, organizational and military activities. It has set in motion everything, everybody, effecting a radical overturning of concepts, customs, traditions, in the way of living, in the manners and attitudes of men and women, in their entire work and life. Revolutionisation has created a high militant spirit, a great mobilization in work, an unexampled spirit of innovation, a steel-like unity of the people and the Party. It has encouraged as never before the revolutionary initiative, individual action and courage of the masses, which have found their powerful expression in a series of deep revolutionary movements of an economic, political and ideological character. This is a living testimony to the correctness of the Party line and a brilliant victory for it.

In the struggle for the further revolutionisation of the life of the country, the Party is courageously blazing untrodden paths;



by its experience it is making an important contribution to the theory and practice of socialism, to the enrichment of the historic experience of the dictatorship of the proletariat. The importance of this experience rests in the fact that it shows how to ensure the continuity of revolution, how to build the complete socialist society and to pass over to communism, how to prevent the backward turn or interruption of the revolutionary process.

In moulding the new man, conscious worker of socialist construction, a great role has been played by the development and deepening of the revolution in the field of education and culture, as an integral part of, and closely connected with, the entire development of our revolution. The solution of this task appears still more urgent, if we do not lose sight of the backwardness which we have inherited from the past. The Party made it clear at the very outset that socialism could not be built with illiterate persons; that, to have the country advance, it was necessary to raise the educational and cultural standards of the workers and peasants.

The whole of Albania is covered by a wide network of schools of all types. Two out of every 7 persons attend school. The compulsory 8-grade education has been fully realized not only in the city, but now also in all the villages. This is at a time when today as yet in Italy over 100,000 children remain

illiterate each year, while in Yugoslavia 20 per cent and in Greece 27 per cent of the population are illiterate. In the whole of our educational system today there are serving about 23,000 teachers as against approximately 1,700 that served before liberation. The middle schools of Delvina and Konispol alone, count more pupils than all the gymnasiums of Albania in 1938, whereas one of the parallels of the tenth form of the "Qemal Stafa" middle school in Tirana counts more girls than all the country's gymnasiums had before the war. As to higher education, formerly nonexistent, Albania boasts today of 113 students for every 10,000 inhabitants, leaving behind in this field such advanced countries as Britain, Germany, Italy and Switzerland. Our higher schools graduate today about 2,000 cadres yearly, or over 5 times as many as the total number of highly trained specialists Albania had in 1938.

Actually, our Party and our people have engaged in a great work and struggle for the revolutionization of our schools. We have now a clear and full program of action in this field. It is incumbent on us to deeply understand the decisions of the 8th Plenum of the Party Central Committee and to take all the measures to put them into practice. While giving priority to the Marxist-Leninist education of youth, our schools through a scientific combination of study with productive work

and with the physical and military training of the pupils and students, must train capable cadres, loyal and resolute fighters for the cause of communism, prepared to cope with every task and every difficulty.

In the field of culture and art, likewise, there have taken place changes so great that no parallel whatever can be drawn with the past. Only 17 cinemas, 2 museums, 5 libraries and the publication of some 180,000 copies of books comprised the entire basis of culture in the year 1938. Whereas at present, we have about 1,750 homes and hearths of culture, the cinema network has extended not only to all the large and small cities, but also to many agricultural cooperatives. Twenty-five professional theaters and variety shows, tens of public libraries, museums and house-museums contribute to the cultural and revolutionary up-bringing of the masses. During the year 1968, the «Mihal Duri» printing establishment alone printed 590 books with a total circulation of about 7 million copies. The radio is being introduced to almost all families and now work is underway for the erection of a television center which marks another important stride ahead for the dissemination of the proletarian ideology and culture.

All-round cultural and artistic activity with the active participation of the workers, peasants, young men and young women,

is today being conducted in all the parts of our Homeland. Hundreds of talented writers and artists are militating with their works for the ideals of the Party and socialism.

These successes will be further developed in the future. Just as we have done so far, we must see to it that education and culture remain free from the penetration of alien bourgeois and revisionist influences, that they always remain powerful weapons in the struggle which our people are waging in defence of our Homeland and in building socialism.

The large-scale and daily work of the Party and of the mass organisations for the communist education of our men and women, the broad development of socialist education and culture, have resulted in raising the revolutionary consciousness of the working people to a higher level. But it would be a mistake to become self-satisfied and complacent about that. We must be aware that the fight for the moulding of the new man is the most protracted, the most arduous, the most complicated and the most delicate fight, because it is precisely in this field that the resistance of the old world is greater, more stubborn and deeper. The struggle between the two socialist and capitalist ways passes through the consciousness of men. Therefore, the purging of the consciousness of the working people of all the traces and influences of the

old society and of the capitalist and revisionist world that surrounds us, the moulding of the working people with the Marxist-Leninist world outlook, with the norms of communist morality, with revolutionary virtues, is an indispensable condition and an integral part of the complete building of socialist society. Undervaluation in this respect and deficiencies in this field, as shown by the negative experience of the Soviet Union and of certain other countries, are fraught with grave consequences.

Especially in the present epoch, when the problems and the tasks of the struggle in the ideological field are in the forefront, the persistent and scientific fight of the Party and of the dictatorship of the proletariat for moulding the new man of socialist society, should be carried out frontally, in all directions. The whole economic and social development of our country, of the structure and superstructure, of education and culture, must serve this purpose.

On the question of the education of men and women a deep demarcation line is drawn between us and the modern revisionist renegades who seek by all their means to degenerate men spiritually, ideologically, politically and morally, in order to turn them into blind tools of their anti-Marxist and treacherous policy, into obedient slaves of the revisionist counter-revolution.

Our Party has never viewed the revolu-

tionary communist education of the working people as a mere illuminist process, the less so as a spontaneous and passive process, but as an active process of the class struggle in the fold of the people, which is carried out by the Party, by the State of the dictatorship of the proletariat and the mass organisations, with the participation of all the working people. The Party has underlined and continues to underline that the communist education of men and women is part and parcel of the active, merciless and principled fight against all the stains and influences of alien ideologies, whether feudal, patriarchal, bourgeois, petty-bourgeois or revisionist, which will inevitably continue to exist for a very long time yet, to this or that extent, in the consciousness of our working people. Any concession, appeasement, compromise or opportunism towards the manifestations and influences of alien ideologies would be fatal to our cause.

This frontal struggle for the communist up-bringing of the working people, of vital importance to the fate of the revolution and socialism, places great tasks before the Party, before the social and State organisations, our schools and the family, our literature and arts, before all the organisations and institutions which form social opinion. The whole of this work should be further improved, should be made deeper, more persuasive, more militant, always correctly combining theory and practice,

explanatory ideological and political work with the mass revolutionary undertaking, education with self-education, educative measures with economic and organisational ones, etc. The attentive and continuous study of the immortal works of the classics of Marxism-Leninism, of the documents and of the history of our glorious Party of Labor will help all the working people to master better the materialist world outlook and our vanguard theory, it will make them more capable of waging the great struggle which lies ahead for the complete building of socialism and of communist society.

The Party line for the country's industrialisation and the uninterrupted development of collectivized agriculture, the continuous efforts for the expansion of education and culture, the tireless work for the further revolutionisation of the whole national life, have not been and will never be an aim in themselves. They all serve one great aim — the all-round physical and spiritual emancipation of the working masses, the uplift of the standard of their wellbeing.

**We build socialism relying on our own resources**

The greatest victory reaped by our Party and our People's Regime during these 25 years in our country is the liquidation of exploita-

tion of man by man. The peasant and the worker, the employee and the intellectual, everybody, earns his living by his work and contributes to the building of socialism. The Albanian woman, this tremendous revolutionary force, that once was treated with contempt and destined only for household chores, is taking an active part in the country's political life, in social production, in factory and field, in education, culture, commerce, etc. This is another historic victory of our Party and of our People's Power.

Before the war, people in Albania died for lack of a dose of quinine. As a consequence of slavery labor and poverty their average life-span did not exceed 38 years. Today there are hospitals and maternity homes in the remotest areas of the country such as that of Dukagjini. The extension of the medical service throughout the country, the erection of hospitals, clinics, outpatient clinics and infirmaries, the medical service and treatment given free of charge to the entire population, and in general, the increase of the wellbeing of our working people, have made their life happy and secure. At present, the average life-span of man in our country has lengthened and has reached 66 years.

The increase of agricultural and industrial production, the increase of national income and its just distribution have made possible the increase of the purchasing power of the



working people. In the year 1968, as against 1938 there were consumed, per capita of the population, more of the following items: Sugar and sugar-products over 2.5 times, edible fats over 2 times, vegetables and their products 2.3 times, various fabrics 10 times, all sorts of footwear 4.3 times, etc.

During these 25 years there have been built with State funds, with the aid of the State, and by the working people themselves, about 185,000 dwelling flats and houses in cities and in the countryside. This means that more than half of the present-day population of the whole country have been lodged in new dwelling houses.

The latest price reduction which was effected on the eve of this jubilee, is another testimony showing that our Party and the People's Power are firmly and consistently advancing on the road of the continuous improvement of the living standard of the working people. Another great proof of this reality is also the fact that Albania is the only country in the world where there is no tax or direct impost on the population.

The tremendous changes that have taken place from the country's liberation until today, are the fruit of the selfless work of our working people, they are the fruit of the correct Marxist-Leninist policy of our Party of Labor. In the realisation of these victories we have enjoyed also the internationalist aid

and support of our class brothers. In particular, on the occasion of this red-letter day we hail the unreserved and fraternal aid which has been and is being given to our people for the building of socialism, by the great fraternal Chinese people, by the glorious Communist Party of China and the most beloved friend of our people, the great Marxist-Leninist, comrade Mao Tse-tung. This aid provided us with the possibility of further developing our national economy, of successfully carrying onward the building of socialism. Our people are grateful to the fraternal Chinese people for this generous internationalist aid.

The Soviet revisionist renegades, although they realize that their blockade has been smashed to smithereens and that they have been unable to force Socialist Albania to her knees, express concern about the Albanian people for allegedly «being in straits» and «marking time» since they have received no further «credits and aid» from the Soviet Union! But we say to them: «Don't lament over those who are in the saddle. We do not want your so-called aid which is poison and a trap to enslave the people. We have the great riches of our soil; we have the sweat, the vigor, the iron will and the resourcefulness of our talented people who are skilfully extracting and utilising these riches for their own well being and that of the cause of socialism. We have our glorious Party of Labor

which is leading the country with Marxist-Leninist wisdom and courage on the road of socialist construction». We say to the revisionists: «Your blockade, your brutal abrogation of economic agreements, your complete cessation supplying industrial equipment, your stealth of designs and blue-prints, our abandonment half way of the work begun, etc. may have hampered the implementation of the third five-year plan at the start, but our national economy never stopped for a single moment its victorious march onward. It emerged triumphant over your impudent blockade».

We say to them: «You are 'concerned' about our crude oil and the extraction of minerals? Don't worry! As compared with the year 1960 oil extraction in Albania has now grown by 80 per cent, whereas the production of copper ore is 4 times as large, and the same is true for chromium ore, coal, etc. Your wickedness, your mania for slander has overshadowed the logic of figures. You invent the tale that the power industry in Albania has allegedly lagged behind. Figures, show, however, that, in comparison with 1960, the production of electric power is today 4,1 times as large. The Fieri thermal-station alone, built in these recent years, is 4 times as powerful as the Ulza hydro-power station. Are you 'worried' about the training of high cadres? Then take note that in 1960 we had only 4,245 highly trained specialists, whereas today about

14,000 such specialists are serving the people. You lament over the state of our agriculture? But we tell you that at no previous time have we ever had such great successes in agriculture as during this decade. In comparison with the year 1960, the wheat yield output has grown by 90,5 per cent; thus, it has almost doubled, whereas that of maize has increased 2,2 fold.

What do these facts show? They speak of the complete failure of the revisionist plot and the great victory of our heroic Party of Labor, the victory of Marxims-Leninism also in the economic field. The collapse of the economic blockade, which is a brutal means of subjugation, testifies that the Albanian people are invincible, that they do not kowtow under pressures of this kind, just as they are not intimidated by threats and sabre-rattling.

Historic experience, in general, the reality and struggle of our country, in particular, the magnificent successes achieved by socialist Albania during these 25 years, have once more confirmed the correctness of the great Leninist principle that the internal factor in revolution and in the building of socialism is the determining one, that in every action the people should rely on their own efforts. This, of course, does not exclude the sincere and disinterested internationalist aid of the socialist countries, of the international proletariat, of

the genuine Marxist-Leninist parties and the progressive peoples in the world.

During the National-liberation War, and relying on this principle, the Party aroused the whole people, for it was clear to us that freedom is not donated, but it is won through struggle, bloodshed and sacrifices. We ruthlessly exposed the deceptive maneuvers of the Ballist and Zogist traitors, and of the British and U.S. imperialists who alleged that the struggle which our people were waging and the blood they were shedding were uncalled for, for the -allies- would bring to us a ready-made freedom. On the contrary, it was precisely the heroic struggle of the people themselves that gave them the possibility of taking their destinies into their own hands and establishing their own power, which made it possible to bar all the roads to imperialist intervention in the domestic affairs of our country for the purpose of bringing to power an anti-popular and pro-imperialist regime.

But while our forces were fighting on these mountains, our Party never thought of waging an isolated struggle, detached from the general antifascist front. Therefore, it integrated the National-liberation War of our people with that of the Soviet Union, led by Stalin, and with that of all the peoples of the world who were fighting against nazifascism. We by no means under-rate, as the Soviet

revisionist renegade liars allege, the important role played in the liberation of Europe and our Homeland by the great heroic liberation war of Stalin's Red Army which dealt the crushing blow to the fascist hordes and created very favorable conditions also for the development of the antifascist liberation struggle of our people.

Consistently and with determination, our Party applied the principle of relying on one's own efforts after liberation as well. We asked the Soviet Union and Stalin to help us develop and build our country on socialist lines. Our request was just, pure, normal and internationalist. During Stalin's life time this assistance was given to Albania in an internationalist spirit. But our Party and our people did not sit with folded arms, for they never thought that socialism in our country would be built for us by our foreign friends. We set to work and with our own forces, which were the main factor, entirely changed the aspect of our long suffering Homeland.

This was our salvation and history showed how absolutely correct and vital was the Party directive of relying on our own efforts. As soon as the Khrushchevites came to power in the Soviet Union, the so-called credits and the few factories they gave us essentially changed their aim. Their «aid» was no longer internationalist, but had an enslaving character. The Khrushchevite renegades sought to make

our country economically and politically fully dependent on them. They demanded that, for the sake of the so-called aid, we should renounce our sovereignty, that we should become their docile and servile supplicants, that we should approve without the least objection every anti-Marxist and anti-socialist word and attitude of theirs. But they were not well acquainted with the Albanians. It is not we, but they that sell themselves for money. When the betrayal of the Khrushchevite revisionists came out in the open and our Party began the overt fight against it, not only were all the aid and credits completely cut off, but our country was compelled to cope also with the brutal revisionist economic and political blockade. With complete success it broke the revisionist attacks and continues to advance unwaveringly on the road of socialist construction, precisely because our Party has consistently followed the principle of relying on our own resources and has placed our national economy on a solid basis so that it stands now on its own feet.

The Soviet revisionist leaders and their docile servants frantically attack Albania because she upholds this principle. They consider this as narrow nationalism and describe us as «ungrateful», for we have allegedly forgotten the aid of the Soviet Union in the struggle for liberation and in socialist construction, for

we dared to rise against their betrayal, for we dare to advance on the Marxist-Leninist road. They are repeating over and over again from Moscow radio their claim that only they have fought, alleging that they have kept us alive with their economic aid, that if it were not for this aid we would have been extinguished. With the greatest brazenness they negate and disparage the struggle of our people and of the other peoples for the destruction of fascism.

In this there is no trace of internationalism, there is nothing in common with the teachings of Lenin and Stalin, with the teachings of the great doctrine of Marxism-Leninism, for all the peoples, big or small, make their contribution to the common cause of revolution, for internationalist aid and support between the peoples is reciprocal and not one-sided.

The detestable chauvinistic viewpoints of the Soviet revisionists raise still higher the objective, correct and internationalist assessment of our Party and of our socialist State which have, always and in due time, properly defined the character of every form of aid given to us. The character of the aid has been changed from internationalist to chauvinist, to enslaving and colonialist, by those that have given it and not by us who have received it, for it is they that have betrayed Marxism-



Leninism and proletarian internationalism, not we.

We, the Albanian Marxist-Leninists, will never reconcile ourselves with modern revisionism, with the Moscow traitors, but shall fight until they are utterly crushed. There is and there will be friendship and unity between us and the fraternal Soviet peoples and the real Soviet bolsheviks of Lenin-Stalin.

In the future too, our Party will faithfully follow the Marxist-Leninist course of relying on our own resources, being convinced that the guarantee for still greater successes, in the defence of the country's freedom and independence as well as in the building of socialism and the continuous and sure raising of the well-being of the working people, consists in the correct implementation of this principle.

**The proletarian dictatorship in Albania stands on a granitic rock**

Comrades,

The establishment of our People's Rule throughout the country on the 29th of November, 1944, is the greatest victory in the centuries-long history of the Albanian people. The people's power, the dictatorship of the

proletariat, is their most powerful weapon in the struggle for the new, free and happy life — socialism and communism.

The outstanding merit of the Party is that it closely connected and integrated into a single whole, the struggle for national liberation and the struggle for the destruction of the old, antipopular and reactionary State power, for the establishment of the people's power. The Party never allowed the bourgeoisie and the landowners to rob the people of their power or that the blood they shed should have been shed in vain. With its greatest determination it barred the road to the interference of the British and U.S. imperialists in the internal affairs of our country. This consistent line resulted in that that right after the liberation of the Homeland, there existed and acted in Albania only the new power, the people's power, which started to perform the functions of the revolutionary dictatorship of the proletariat.

During the entire 25-year period the Party has always had the question of the people's power, its preservation and consolidation in the center of its attention, unceasingly perfecting it. It has been guided consistently by Lenin's great teaching that it is easier to seize power than to keep it. Historic experience has fully confirmed this teaching, through both positive and negative examples. It has shown that the dictatorship of the proletariat

can be established as a result of the victorious socialist revolution, but it can eventually be liquidated either through the armed or the -peaceful- revisionist counter-revolution. It could also happen that after having triumphed, the dictatorship of the proletariat could be seriously endangered, the State power could be partially usurped by counter-revolutionary elements; but later on, eventually the usurpers and their poisonous ideology could be upset and smashed in a revolutionary way, the dictatorship of the proletariat could be fully re-established and successfully defended. But the complete or partial loss of the dictatorship of the proletariat is by no means an inevitable fate. Historic experience has proven, likewise, that, once established, it is fully possible for the dictatorship of the proletariat to be preserved always pure, intact and firm in all stances and directions, continually developing and becoming perfected.

This many-sided historic experience of the dictatorship of the proletariat is a precious treasure for all the Marxist-Leninists and the peoples, for all the countries that enter the road of socialism. It must be most carefully studied through the infallible prism of Marxism-Leninism, in order to draw valuable lessons of how to advance the cause of socialism in all countries on a reliable road and with the minimum of zigzags and sacrifices. The road traversed by the dictatorship of

the proletariat during these 25 years has not been smooth in our country either. This whole period has been permeated by a ruthless class struggle against the internal and external enemies, from the landlords and merchants to the kulaks and various antisocialist elements, from the armed bands of diversionists and traitorous organizations of spies and saboteurs to the deviators in the Party ranks, from the various imperialists and Greek monarcho-fascists to the Titoite and Khrushchevite modern revisionists. The class struggle has been waged unceasingly amongst the people also, against all foreign influences which poison the consciousness of the working people. This class struggle against the enemies and in the ranks of the people has been carried out in all the fields and by the most diverse means — political and economic, ideological and cultural, military and administrative, through methods of coercion and persuasion. But whatever the field in which it has been waged, the class struggle has been, in the last analysis, a struggle over the question of state power. In the process of this fierce class struggle, our dictatorship of the proletariat has been threatened by many dangers, overt and covert, beginning with the attempts to upset it by armed force and ending with the danger of its bureaucratization. But we have always been vigilant, struck down mercilessly and in due time all the attempts of the

enemies and we averted the dangers. The dictatorship of the proletariat in our country stood and is standing like a granite rock.

The Party has taken, is taking, and will take in the future, too, all the necessary measures for the all-round and continuous strengthening and perfecting of our State of the dictatorship of the proletariat.

It has strengthened and incessantly continues to strengthen the organs of the struggle against the enemy, in the first place the people's army and the State security forces — the most powerful weapons of the dictatorship of the proletariat. Historic experience has proved indisputably that the working class power grows out of the barrel of a gun, and likewise can be defended by the gun. Without a powerful revolutionary army, the dictatorship of the proletariat cannot stand and exist. Therefore, the Party and the Government have not only equipped the armed forces with most up-to-date means of war, but, above all, they have displayed and are displaying the greatest solicitude for their ideological and political moulding as a conscious weapon of the revolution and the dictatorship of the proletariat. The Party directives and measures for the establishment of a correct relationship between men and weapons in the army, placing man on the forefront as the determining factor in war; between political and military work, placing politics in command,

between soldiers and officers for the strengthening of their relations and the internal unity of the army, among rifle, pick and book in the army giving priority to the former — all these and other actual measures for the creation of Party committees and the designation of political commissars, for the abolition of rank and the strengthening of ties between the army and the people, are of great importance of principle and serve the further strengthening and revolutionisation of our people's army. These measures are decisive in preventing the degeneration of our people's army, of the State security armed service, in not allowing their transformation into blind tools in the hands of counter-revolution, as was the case in the Soviet Union and in some other countries, where they are used to exert revisionist and social-fascist violence on the discontented people, or for the expansionist aims of Soviet revisionist imperialism.

Alongside the all-round strengthening of the people's army and the State security armed service, the Party and the people's power, as Karl Marx teaches us, have resolutely advanced on the road of the military preparation and arming of the whole people. This has not only made socialist Albania an unshakable granitic rock in face of whatever imperialist-revisionist aggression, but it also has a deep political and ideological meaning, for it represents a further perfecting of the system

of the dictatorship of the proletariat, it represents one of the most profound expressions of proletarian democracy in action, it testifies to the essentially popular character of the regime, to the people's boundless support for it. This is one of the most efficient ways for the patriotic and class-revolutionary education of the broad working masses. This means that the question of the defence of our Homeland and of our socialist order has become, and is becoming more and more of a vital question of the whole people.

Especially important to the preservation and strengthening of the dictatorship of the proletariat is the struggle which the Party has waged and is waging for the eradication of bureaucratic distortions which, as is known, served as one of the main bases of the emergence and spread of revisionism in the Soviet Union. The fight against bureaucracy is aimed at connecting the regime closely with the people, at placing it under the direct, effective and continuous control of the broad working masses, at the all-round development, the uninterrupted deepening and perfecting of socialist democracy. It also constitutes a sure guarantee that the dictatorship of the proletariat will never degenerate into a revisionist and bourgeois antipopular dictatorship, that it will always be the powerful weapon of revolution and socialist construction.

All the revisionists have the word «so-

cialist democracy» on the tips of their tongues and they speculate a great deal with it. This is a thorough-going fraud and brazen demagoguery. Where the revisionists are ruling there is not and there cannot be democracy for the working people. Modern revisionism itself, in the Soviet Union and in the other former socialist countries, is based on the bureaucratization of the whole national life, i.e. on the negation of democracy. Look what is happening in the revisionist countries! In face of the increased resistance of the popular masses towards the revisionist course, the revisionist «liberal» dictatorship is ever more having recourse to open fascist violence. In Czechoslovakia the so-called «democracy» of Husak and of his Moscovite bosses is expressed through most brutal reprisals against the patriotic Czechoslovak people.

Our Party has never regarded socialist democracy from an empty sentimental viewpoint nor as a vain adornment or merely a proforma right of the working people. Consistently abiding by the principle of centralism, as an inevitable fundamental principle of any real proletarian dictatorship, it considers socialist democracy at the same time as a broader and more complete democracy for the working people, as an indispensable and decisive condition for the existence of the dictatorship of the proletariat, for its preservation and continuous strengthening.



Any one-sided stand on this great question of principle, any violation, either of the principle of proletarian centralism or of socialist democracy, is very dangerous to the socialist order.

The measures that have been taken for the eradication of harmful bureaucratic concepts and practices have greatly strengthened the dictatorship of the proletariat, have broadened socialist democracy, have increased the broad creative initiative of the working people in all fields. Such are those for the strengthening of correct relations between the cadres and the working people, for the struggle against manifestations of bureaucratic centralism which strangles the initiatives and individual action of the base, for the enhancement of the role and competences of the elected organs and men of the State power, the active participation of the workers and peasants with their opinions and actions in the solution of State problems, the purging of legislation of foreign influences and superfluous things and, above all, the strengthening of the direct control of the working class over everything and everybody.

But we do not think, and we absolutely must not think, that we have reached the climax, that there is no more room for the further development and deepening of the mass line and socialist democracy, that all the problems have been solved and that all the difficulties and obstacles have been remo-

ved in this field, that the struggle against bureaucratism has come to an end. There remains still much to be done. Relying on the immortal teachings of Marxism-Leninism, we must further deepen many correct principles and democratic forms that have already been introduced into our life. We must always be looking for new and more perfect forms and means of socialist democracy. And especially, these must not remain a matter of form, theoretic speculations, but they should be fully carried out in practice, they should become an integral part of our daily social life, they should enter into the soul and blood of all the working people. This requires that the fight against bureaucratic concepts and obstacles, which are dangerous enemies of proletarian democracy, and which, unfortunately, exist and will continue to exist for a long time yet, should not be interrupted for a single moment, but it should be continued fiercely and firmly from above and, especially, from below, with the active participation of the broad working masses.

Above all we must always preserve intact and incessantly strengthen the undivided leadership of the Party in the socialist State. This is a firm basic principle of the dictatorship of the proletariat, an indispensable and fundamental condition of its existence. The idle talk of various revisionists about the «independence» of the socialist state from the

proletarian party, are their most flagrant departure from the positions of Marxism-Leninism and are aimed at justifying the liquidation of the dictatorship of the proletariat. In the future, too, we shall advance on the road of further strengthening the Party leadership in every cell of the regime and in our social life, as a whole continuously perfecting it, fighting and rejecting all and every manifestation of formalism and bureaucratism.

**The Albanian people, their Party and Government have pursued and pursue a deeply principled and consistent policy**

Comrades,

During the 25 years of free life of the Albanian people, their Party and Government, guided by the immortal teachings of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism, have pursued a thoroughly principled and consistent foreign policy. In every stage of the development of international relations this policy has fully responded to the defence of the freedom and independence of the Homeland, of its sovereignty and territorial integrity, to the preservation of the gains of people's revolution. Our foreign policy has always been in the service of the great cause of the peoples who are struggling for socialism, for their freedom

and national independence, for self-determination and the establishment of an international collaboration on equal rights.

Ever since her creation new people's Albania has continually clashed, in a fierce struggle, with the imperialists and their stooges who were seeking to dismember and enslave her. But our Party and our people, in a revolutionary steel-like unity have repeatedly foiled the criminal plots and beaten back the frantic attacks unleashed against our country by the U.S. and British imperialists and their running dogs.

Our people defended with self-denial and with courage their freedom and independence, the constructive work guaranteed by their State power. They courageously coped with all attempts of imperialism and international reaction to interfere in our domestic affairs, to force their dictate upon and subjugate us. Albania, which emerged from the people's revolution was not afraid of and did not retreat before the intrigues, blackmail and the campaigns of slander and denigration undertaken against her incessantly by her imperialist enemies and their tools. With her strong fist, she has smashed all armed provocations at her borders and foiled all attempts to organize and incite internal reaction against the people's regime. With wisdom and courage, our country defeated all the attempts of the imperialists and international reaction to encircle and iso-

late it from the outside world, with a view to more easily strangling and destroying it at a later stage.

The People's Republic of Albania was able to withstand all these upheavels and march victoriously onward, free and independent, on the road of socialism, for it was pursuing a principled revolutionary home and foreign policy, for it was defending a just cause on a correct course.

Our stand, our principled struggle against imperialism and world reaction, constitute a valuable experience which shows that the freedom and independence won by any people, the more so by those of a small country, can be defended only by a continuous struggle without compromise in any situation and circumstance. It also shows that only by fighting imperialism and all reactionaries can the independent existence of the socialist state and the building of the new life be guaranteed.

Our struggle against imperialism has been an active struggle, part and parcel of the joint anti-imperialist struggle of all peoples. Our Party and the Government have condemned and exposed, at every time and at every step, the aggressive and warmongering policy and activity of U.S.-led imperialism, its oppressive and enslaving aims, thereby making their contribution to the defence of peace and international security.

Alongside the struggle against imperialism

and reaction, our Party and our people have carried out a determined struggle of principle against Titoite revisionism — this rabid anti-Marxist trend, as well as against Khrushchevite revisionism — the greatest enemy of world communism. This struggle constitutes a glorious epic in the history of the Albanian Party and people. Although small in number, and alone at the beginning, we were not afraid to rise in unequal struggle against savage and powerful enemies when it was a question of defending Marxism-Leninism and communism, and we emerged victorious over them.

Our determination and courage in this clash of arms of world historic importance is not a consequence either of hot-bloodedness or of adventurism, or an expression of the specific nature of the Albanians, as the revisionists slanderously claim. They have come about as a result of the lofty revolutionary virtues of our Party, of its boundless loyalty to its people and to its world proletariat, of its Marxist-Leninist maturity. Our Party and our people bravely faced the revisionist counter-revolutionary trend, convinced that in this struggle they were defending not only the national interests of socialism in Albania from a serious threat, but also the interests of world proletariat and revolution. The difficulties we have surmounted and the sacrifices we have made during these 25 years in our uninterrupted struggle against revisionism have not been

small. But we undertook this struggle for the sake of our socialist present and future, for the sake of the future of revolution and communism throughout the world.

Life, the victories scored in the struggle against modern revisionism, have fully justified the determined and principled stand of our Party towards the most dangerous opportunist and treacherous trend that world communism has ever met with. Without our struggle against revisionism it would never have been possible for us to carry out successfully our struggle against imperialism or to defend our freedom and national independence, to carry onward the victories of people's revolution.

World experience has now very clearly proven that whoever pursues an opportunistic line, a line of concessions and capitulation on key questions of foreign policy and of international relations, such as the attitude towards revisionism, cannot fail to slip into opportunist and revisionist positions, he cannot fail to be oppressed sooner or later by the regressive and counter-revolutionary forces.

Among other very valuable lessons the long history of our clashes with the revisionists has taught, is that it has confirmed in a clearest and most understandable way the wellknown Leninist truth that in the struggle against opportunism, either internal or external, the only correct stand to take, the only

correct course to pursue in order to achieve sure victory is a persistent principled struggle without any compromises and concessions whatsoever.

The Party of Labor of Albania, the Albanian people, will never stop half way in their fight against modern revisionism. Conscious of their lofty national and international duty, they will fight, as they have done so far, right to the end against the revisionist betrayal, till the complete triumph of the glorious cause of Marxism-Leninism and world revolution have been achieved.

Thanks to its heroic and principled struggle against imperialism and modern revisionism, to its correct policy and attitudes in the field of international relations, the People's Republic of Albania has won for itself powerful and well-disposed friends throughout the world. It enjoys today the sympathy, respect and support of the genuine communists and revolutionaries, of all the progressive peoples and peace-loving countries.

A close fraternal, everlasting and unbreakable friendship binds the Albanian people with the Chinese people, the Party of Labor of Albania with the great Communist Party of China. It is based on the steel-like foundations of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism, and there is no storm or tempest that can shake or bedim it. We are proud of having so powerful and loyal friends



and allies as the Chinese people and their glorious Communist Party.

Our people rejoice at and wholeheartedly welcome the brilliant victories which the Chinese people, under the leadership of their Communist Party and of comrade Mao Tse-tung, have achieved in the great proletarian cultural revolution and in all fields. The great Chinese proletarian cultural revolution, initiated and directly led by the great Marxist-Leninist, comrade Mao Tse-tung, was a great revolutionary tide which set in motion the multi-million masses of the working class, the laboring peasantry, the revolutionary intelligentsia, and purged China of the capitalist and revisionist filth, of all the reactionary elements in the service of the class enemies, who wanted to turn the revolution backward and surrender the country to the U.S. imperialists and the Soviet revisionists. China emerged from the great proletarian cultural revolution one-hundred times stronger than she was previously, the positions of socialism were still more deeply implanted into the Chinese soil, the People's Republic of China became invincible, it became a terror to its enemies.

The 9th Congress of the Communist Party of China, which crowned the decisive victory of the great proletarian cultural revolution, of Chairman Mao Tse-tung's proletarian revolutionary line over the bourgeois reactionary line of renegade Liu Shao-chi, still further streng-

thened the great and glorious Communist Party of China, its revolutionary unity, and opened bright prospects to the Chinese people for their socialist future.

The theoretical principles worked out by Chairman Mao Tse-tung and his thought, by which the great Chinese proletarian cultural revolution was guided, constitute an outstanding creative contribution to the development of Marxism-Leninism. Shedding light on the problems of the development of socialist revolution in conditions of the dictatorship of the proletariat, they are a powerful weapon in the hands of the communists and revolutionaries of the world to promote the great cause of revolution and communism.

Our Party has pointed out on other occasions, and still continues to point out that support and backing for the Communist Party of China and the People's Republic of China is an important internationalist duty for all the revolutionaries in the world, that steel-like Marxist-Leninist solidarity with China is decisive for the fate of the revolution and of the liberation of the peoples.

New socialist Albania is entering the second quarter century of her free and independent existence with great international prestige and authority. She is contributing with all her might to and is playing a positive role in the process of world evolution. We view the development of the in-

ternational situation with optimism, we firmly believe in the final victory of world revolution, we have full confidence in the bright future of mankind.

The analysis of the present-day world events most convincingly proves that revolution is everywhere on the rise, the international situation is developing favorably for it and to the detriment of the imperialists and the revisionists.

The powerful waves of the world revolutionary movement are now rising on all the continents and are shaking the rotten system of capitalist exploitation, national oppression and colonial yoke to its foundations. The anti-imperialist liberation struggle of the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America is assuming ever broader proportions. A brilliant example is the Vietnamese people's struggle which has inflicted thorough-going defeats on U.S. imperialism and has upset, once and for all, the myth of invincibility of the great power and of modern armaments. The flames of the revolutionary liberation struggle have spread to Laos and Thailand, to Burma and India, to Angola and Mozambique, to Colombia and Venezuela, etc. The Arab people are putting up a powerful resistance to the Israeli-imperialist aggression and the Palestinian partisans are heroically fighting for the liberation of their plundered hearths.

In Europe, in North America and in the

developed capitalist countries, there has recently been noticed an upsurge of the revolutionary vigor which portends still greater class battles in the future. The big strikes of the workers and students in all the capitalist countries of Europe, their class struggles have shaken the old bourgeois systems and have strengthened the revolutionary consciousness of the working masses. The United States of America — the bulwark of imperialism, — is being scared to death by the widespread revolt of the black people.

Tens of Marxist-Leninist parties and organisations have been and are being created in all the countries of the world. This irresistible revolutionary process testifies to the creation of a new situation in the ranks of the international working class, which is beginning to break the shackles social-democratic and revisionist parties have put on it, it is evidence to the fact that the ideas of Marxism-Leninism are ever more permeating the minds and hearts of the broad working masses.

For the imperialists, revisionists, and all the other reactionaries the ground is sinking under their feet. Pinned down by the powerful revolutionary blows of the peoples, they are being ever more exposed and isolated. The contradictions, divisions and disputes between them are broadening and deepening. The U.S. imperialists and the Soviet revisionists are faced with great and insurmountable difficul-

ties in their efforts to keep their satellites under control. The centrifugal, polycentrist and separatist tendencies that are apparent in both camps, have created absolute chaos. The efforts of the «big two» to wrest the allies of each other have further increased the confusion.

There is no force on earth now that can stop the triumphant march of the people, there is no force that can avert the inevitable defeat of imperialism and revisionism.

However, contrary to the revisionists who seek to arouse pacifist illusions and to lull the masses to sleep, we, Marxist-Leninists never forget that the antipopular and counter-revolutionary policy of imperialism far from being changed, has been still more intensified. Imperialism does everything in its power and throws in all its forces to strangle the revolution and socialism, to hold and consolidate the positions of reaction everywhere.

A new imperialism has now emerged on the world arena — the Soviet revisionist brand of imperialism, with pretensions to world hegemony. This cannot fail to worsen the situation and make the struggle of the peoples for their national and social liberation more difficult.

All the regressive reactionary forces of our time are headed by U.S. imperialism which is the worst enemy and exploiter of all the peoples, the bulwark of colonialism and the international gendarme of world reaction. The

whole policy and activity of the United States of America is aimed at subjugating the entire world, at placing under its yoke, in the first place, the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America, and at imposing the economic, political and military domination of U.S. imperialism on the whole of the capitalist world. Above all, the main objective of U.S. imperialism remains the suppression of the revolutionary and liberation struggles of the peoples, the destruction of socialism.

By its very nature, U.S. imperialism cannot live long without oppressing other peoples, without markets, without plundering raw materials. In order to ensure these things, it has extended its military bases and has sent its troops to the four corners of the earth, it frames up plots and commits open military aggressions. Its greediness is insatiable. With its dollars it buys the consciences and minds of men, even among its allies, depriving them of cadres of technical intelligentsia, thereby creating further conditions to subjugate them.

In these conditions, there exists between U.S. imperialism and its global aggressive policy on the one hand, and the peoples and their liberation and anti-imperialist struggle on the other, a deep and irreconcilable contradiction which permeates the entire present-day world policy. It is for this reason that the stand towards imperialism and, in the first place, towards U.S. imperialism, is the touch-

stone for all the political forces in the world. In practice nobody can remain an outsider in the struggle which is being waged between imperialism and the revolutionary forces. The only question that arises with regard to each political force is to know what side it will take, what course it will choose. The peoples and the true revolutionaries have now clearly defined their stand. Their main strategic direction is the all-round, irreconcilable and consistent struggle right to the end against U.S. imperialism and its lackeys.

The peoples of the world are uniting into a broad front against U.S.-led imperialism. The incessant strengthening of this front is today a vitally important historic duty for all the revolutionaries. But for this front to be consolidated and achieve final victory, it must not fail to carry out its struggle in two directions at the same time: against U.S. imperialism and against its ally — Soviet revisionism. Today, the struggle against U.S. imperialism and that against Soviet revisionist imperialism are inseparable, they have become integrated into a single whole. It would be a very harmful and quite dangerous illusion if anyone were still to entertain illusions about the Khrushchevite revisionists and be hoodwinked by their ~~anti-imperialist~~ demagogy.

One of the distinctive features of the present-day international situation is the transition of Soviet revisionism to social-imperialism, the

growth of its aggressiveness and the intensification of its expansionist efforts. This is a natural and inevitable consequence of the transformation of the Soviet Union from a socialist into a capitalist country, of its abandonment of the internationalist Leninist policy and of its return to the old Czarist, chauvinistic, great-Russian policy. The restored capitalist system could not fail to impose its barbarous laws, not only on the country's internal life, but also on its foreign policy. Foreign aggression has always fomented internal fascism.

The course chosen by the Soviet revisionists to achieve their predatory objectives is the old course of the Czars and of the other imperialists, the course of deception and armed violence. Rubles and tanks, lies and blackmail, demagoguery and threats go hand in hand. But the more the Kremlin chiefs push ahead with their expansionist plans, the more difficult their internal situation and their relations with their satellites become, the more their military adventurism increases, the more armed aggression comes to the forefront as a means to overcome difficulties and contradictions. Life has confirmed with incontestable facts that our Party was quite right when, from the very beginning, it publicly exposed the imperialist nature of the Soviet renegade leadership. The occupation of Czechoslovakia is an example which reveals the whole rottenness and degeneration of the ruling clique in the Soviet



Union, which brings into relief its real imperialist countenance, as a sworn enemy of the freedom and independence of the peoples.

The aggression against Czechoslovakia was not an isolated case, nor a unique event which cannot be repeated, but the first manifestation of the practical application of a fascist-styled aggressive and chauvinistic policy, a starting-point for still greater adventures against the freedom and independence of other peoples. It is a fact that at the same time with the occupation of Czechoslovakia the Soviets carried out in quiet also the strengthening of their military occupation forces in Poland, Hungary, the German Democratic Republic, Bulgaria and Mongolia, where fresh Soviet troops were rushed in to preserve the imperial order of the Moscow revisionists. It is a fact that now the threats of the Soviet revisionists towards Rumania's independence have assumed very concrete character and the plans and aims to attack Yugoslavia and Albania are no longer kept secret.

The expansionist great-Russian policy of the Soviet revisionist-imperialists is very clearly expressed also in the armed provocations which they have carried out along their borders with China. They have now concentrated numerous troops in their Eastern provinces. They have increased their military arsenal and are heading for an aggressive war against the People's Republic of China. How far the

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madness of the adventurers now ruling in the Kremlin will go, this no one knows. One thing, however, is certain: Should they ever attempt to test their strength against the Chinese giant, this will be their undoing. The Soviet revisionists will be completely and utterly destroyed.

In order to carry out their expansionist aims, the Soviet leaders are now resorting to the Warsaw Treaty which they have turned into an instrument of oppression and aggression. The Government of the People's Republic of Albania denounced the Warsaw Treaty for political, military and ideological reasons, because its character and aim had changed. From a treaty set up for the defence of the freedom and independence of the socialist states, for the defence of the peoples and peace, it was transformed into a treaty for the enslavement of its member countries and into a means of the dangerous Soviet imperialist plot against the peoples and international security.

In these conditions, to remain in the Warsaw Treaty would mean to approve the aggressive actions and aims of this treaty, to support and become partners of an imperialist power, to approve the aggression against Czechoslovakia and the other predatory plans of the Soviet revisionists. If we had remained in this treaty, we would not have been Marxists. Leninism teaches us that the communists must never allow themselves to be hoodwinked by the «socialist» slogans with which the aggres-

sors camouflage themselves, they must never become defenders of imperialism, whatever the color and form in which it may appear. To act otherwise means to fall into the opportunist positions of the traitors of the second Internationale, who spread illusions about imperialism and shortly afterwards became its open collaborators and social-chauvinists. Reconciliation with the Soviet revisionists, allegedly on behalf of the struggle against U.S. imperialism, means to become a supporter of an imperialism which is just as savage and barbarous as the other, it means to become a collaborator of one imperialism against another imperialism in their struggle for superiority, zones of influence and world domination.

In their efforts to dominate and to plunder the peoples of their riches, the Soviet revisionists are even trying to justify «theoretically» their policy of great-state chauvinism, to present it as Marxist-Leninist, as the acme of proletarian internationalism. In a word, they seek to disguise the wolf under a lambskin. Such is the ill-famed theory of «limited sovereignty» set forth by the arch-revisionist Brezhnev, by which the Soviet revisionists want to secure for themselves the right to interfere in and occupy other countries. Through this reactionary theory, they seek to compel others to betray and trample underfoot the purest and highest aspirations cherished by nations and peoples, to safeguard their freedom and defend

their sovereignty, they try to have them capitulate and, thus, pave the way to Soviet revisionist occupation. Painting it in Marxist colors, the Soviet revisionists aim, likewise, to extend their imperialist theory to the communist movement as well, to compel the other parties to give up their independence and submit to the conductor's baton of Moscow in everything, thus, becoming an appendage of the Soviet foreign policy.

But such detestable fascist theories do not hold water. The defence of the sovereignty and independence of the socialist, as well as of all the other countries from imperialism or from any other enemy, can be realized not by limiting them or by leaving them in the hands of the revisionist wolves, but by waging an uninterrupted battle against imperialism and revisionism on all questions. Never can a country be sovereign, and less so a socialist one, when it is completely enslaved or partly occupied by an imperialist or chauvinist great power. It enjoys its sovereignty and independence only when it implements a resolute line for the defence of the just principles of freedom, independence and sovereignty, relying on its own efforts and on the internationalist solidarity of the international working class and of the revolutionary peoples.

Now a great responsibility rests on the Soviet People. They must not allow themselves to be deceived by the fascist propaganda with

which the revisionist renegades are seeking to poison their minds. The Khrushchevite leaders are trying to confuse them, to incite their basest nationalist and chauvinist feelings, in order to turn them into an obedient mass which will blindly carry out their adventurous plans. We hope that the Soviet people have not forgotten the immortal teachings of Lenin and Stalin, that the spirit of communism and internationalist solidarity is always alive in their hearts. We believe that the Soviet soldier who crossed Europe and fought in Asia to destroy fascism and to bring freedom to the peoples, will not take this road for the second time in order to rob other peoples of their freedom and to establish the new revisionist brand of fascism. It is against the usurper's clique that he should use the weapons given to him to enslave others so that he may restore his country's former glory, its name and honor which the traitors and renegades have trampled underfoot.

The freedom and independence of all the peoples, peace and international security are now endangered by the Soviet-U.S. imperialist bloc. Today this bloc represents the blackest reaction, most perfidious and most dangerous counter-revolutionary force ever known to mankind.

The Soviet-U.S. ~~holy alliance~~ is now developing to unprecedented proportions in all the fields — economic, political and military.

The two super powers need each other's help for the realization of their hegemonic and dominating aims and continually coordinate their plans and activities in compliance with their global strategy for the domination of the world. They are preparing and carrying out various predatory wars through which they seek to keep the peoples under their bondage, to suppress revolution.

Of course, as insatiable imperialist powers, the United States of America and the revisionist Soviet Union also have great contradictions between them, they contend with each other and each plans to liquidate the other. The system of the Soviet-U.S. alliances, essentially a counter-revolutionary one, not only does not exclude but includes in its essence divisions, disputes and contradictions which do not allow them to act in harmony and unity. When these contradictions reach their climax, when the question arises for the redivision of each other's zones of influence, they can even break into armed conflicts between them. But at present the counter-revolutionary alliance is at a stage of consolidation and expansion. That which unites them today is more important than what divides them. In the first place, in order to survive, to preserve their great Empires, to keep their positions of super-powers, both sides are compelled to draw nearer to each other and to collaborate, making their struggle against revolution, socialism and the

liberation efforts of the peoples a basis for safeguarding their system, their fundamental aim of realizing their expansionist and enslaving strategy.

In the present conjuncture, U.S. imperialism and Soviet revisionist imperialism are trying to come to terms without encroaching upon each other's own domain, to keep their European satellites well under control, to play down their imperialist disputes and contradictions so as to clear the field for throwing themselves with all their might into the suppression of the revolutionary and liberation movements of the peoples and what is essential for them, to spearhead their joint struggle against great People's China, the impregnable bastion of Marxism-Leninism and of the freedom and independence of the peoples.

The U.S. imperialists and the Soviet revisionists strive now to encircle China with a ring of fire and then to quell down the Chinese revolution and to destroy the People's Republic of China. It is for this purpose that the Washington administrations with Truman, MacArthur, Eisenhower and Dulles and ending with Johnson and Nixon have been working day and night for twenty years in succession. They concentrated immense military forces in the Pacific, they signed one pact after another with their Asian puppets and stepped up their large-scale military provocations to test the resistance of the Chinese fortress. But great

People's China stood firm and, with its strong fist, smashed all the attempts of U.S. imperialism to test their strength. The same fate lies in store also for the new joint imperialist-revisionist plans and efforts against the People's Republic of China.

One of the distinctive features of the present international situation is the fact that the world proletariat is becoming conscious of its strength. The working masses who are languishing under the capitalist and revisionist yoke are discovering and getting better and better acquainted with the cause of their plight and are rejecting with contempt the demagoguery and cynicism of the ruling classes. Marxism-Leninism, the all-conquering ideology of scientific socialism, is even better inspiring the world proletariat, blazing the road to the oppressed masses to revolt.

The U.S. imperialists and the Soviet revisionists are trying to keep things quiet, to preserve the status quo and their alliances. But the peoples, the revolutionaries, all those who hate oppression and exploitation, do not want the sort of peace the imperialists and revisionists are seeking to force upon the world, they do not want a reactionary status quo which only consolidates the division of the world between the two imperialist super powers, they are opposed to counter-revolutionary alliances which are aimed at enslaving



the peoples, at depriving them of their freedom and independence.

The imperialists and revisionists are loudly advertising their so-called peaceful coexistence; but the people, the revolutionaries reject with contempt this monstrous fraud which aims at sanctioning the imperialist rule in the world, at quelling the revolutionary struggles and at permitting them to carry out their aggressive, predatory wars. The people and revolutionaries stand for the peaceful coexistence proclaimed by Lenin, which can never be extended to the sphere of ideology, the class struggle and revolution and liberation struggles. They resolutely reject, likewise, the bluff of «total disarmament» which the U.S. imperialists and the Soviet revisionists are advertising and which is aimed at disarming others before the imperialist-revisionist aggressors, at preserving their nuclear monopoly for themselves and at increasing their armaments.

The savage capitalist exploitation, whether U.S. imperialist or Soviet revisionist, is equally intolerable to the peoples who are fighting and will fight with still more determination to get rid of. The greatest class antagonism of our time is that which exists between the imperialist-revisionists, on the one hand, and the peoples, on the other. It keeps sharpening and is expressed in the big class battles on a national and international scale, which are being

carried out with much success in favor of the peoples.

Irrespective of the zigzags of the present world developments, the future belongs to revolution, to socialism. It is a fact that the world proletariat is being convinced from the experience of its daily struggle, that, in order to build a new world free of oppressors and exploiters, it must first destroy the old world to its foundations, a thing which can be done only in a revolutionary way, through armed violence.

Certainly, the world revolution will not break out nor will it win in the course of one day. The struggle will be a protracted and arduous one and will require many sacrifices, but the idea of revolution and of the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat will follow its onward course nonstop. Under the leadership of the Marxist-Leninist parties, the world proletariat will certainly perform its lofty historic mission, it will know how to cope bravely with the open and underhand attacks of the bourgeoisie and its social-democratic and revisionist lackeys, it will know how to carry through to the end the cause of socialism and communism.

**The triumph of revolution and socialism in all countries is sure to come**

The Albanian people, their Party and Government, tirelessly working for the building of socialism in their country, follow attentively and with keen vigilance the development of the present-world situation. At the same time, they carry out a broad activity in the field of international relations, in accord with the correct revolutionary principles of our foreign policy.

Our Party and Government, just as they have done so far, will strengthen in the future, too, their relation of friendship, collaboration and fraternal mutual aid with the socialist countries with which we are united by our common ideals of socialism and communism, by our common aims and struggle against imperialism and modern revisionism.

Today new Albania represents an important factor of peace and progress in the world. She has implemented and continues to implement in a principled and persistent manner her policy of good neighborhood and of normal relations between states of different social systems, based on the principles of noninterference and respect for independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity.

The Albanian people have been and will always be on the side of the peoples and will give their firm support to all the revolutionary

forces fighting for national and social liberation, for building a new world free of capitalists and colonialists, to all those fighting for the sacred cause of freedom, independence and social progress.

The U.S. imperialist aggression against the heroic people of Vietnam has been continuing for 10 years now. Even though the U.S. imperialists have actually lost the war on the battlefield and have been discredited before the eyes of the whole world, they have not given up their efforts to force the Vietnamese people to their knees, to enslave them and to turn their country into a base for new aggressions against the peoples of South-east and all Asia.

Aided by the Soviet revisionists, who have exerted all their efforts to save their U.S. allies from their inevitable defeat as a compensation for their hands off attitude towards the occupation of Czechoslovakia, the U.S. aggressors are now doing everything in their power to achieve at the conference table what they have been unable to achieve by means of arms.

But the Vietnamese people, who by their courage, wisdom and clarity have overcome situations more difficult than the present one, will know how to cope with the frauds of the imperialists and with the pressures of those who pose as their friends but who stab them in their back. They have never been forced to their knees and their long experience of

revolutionary struggle has taught them that complete and sure victory over the aggressors can be achieved through an armed tit-for-tat struggle against their enemies.

The Albanian people have been and will always be at one with the just revolutionary liberation struggle of the Vietnamese people, they have supported and will resolutely support their legitimate aspirations to freedom and national independence and the unification of their arbitrarily divided homeland.

Czechoslovakia is languishing under the unbearable occupation of the Soviet revisionists. The new occupationists are suppressing by fire and sword the Czechoslovak people's will and efforts to win back their freedom and national independence which have been trampled underfoot, to defend their violated honor and dignity. But Czechoslovakia has become a gangrenous wound for the Soviet revisionist occupationists, she has become the pillory the Brezhnev-Kosygin renegade ruling clique at the Kremlin has been set in at present. The traitorous Czechoslovak rulers and the slavish pledges they have made to the occupationists, the endless visits of marshals and Quislings from Prague to Moscow and viceversa cannot save the situation.

The Czechoslovak people are demonstrating to the whole world that neither treachery, nor the regime of terror, neither fraud nor emergency laws can stop their resistance, their

lawful liberation struggle. Nothing can suppress the Czechoslovak people's ideals of freedom and independence, of revolution and socialism, which they preserve in their hearts, nothing can quell down their desire and determination to fight by all means and in every way until complete victory has been achieved.

Just as we condemned the August 21 occupation of Czechoslovakia, we express with the same determination our solidarity with and our deep fraternal sympathy for the Czechoslovak people. We have been and will always be on their side in the legitimate liberation struggle they are waging against the revisionist occupationists and local traitors.

The Albanian people have supported and will support the just struggle of the fraternal Arab people against the Israeli-imperialist aggression. Despite the great difficulties that have arisen for the Arab people, not only as a result of the occupation of their territories by Israel and of the continuation of its aggression, but also due to the interference of the U.S. imperialists and the Soviet revisionist imperialists in this conflict, we firmly believe that the final victory will belong to the Arab people.

The two imperialist super powers, seeking to attribute to themselves the right of an arbitrator in the Middle East, are the most savage enemies of the Arab people. They want to introduce the conflict which has broken out

in this area into the framework of their bargainings to divide the spheres of influences, to take possession of the great riches of the Middle East and of the strategic positions of this zone. They are seeking to force upon the Palestinian people, whose armed struggle is an important factor for the restoration of their rights and the liberation of the territories occupied by Israel, and upon all the Arabs solutions which run counter to the national interests of the Arab people and which create conditions which would cost them their freedom and independence and place them under the yoke of neocolonialism.

The Arab people are able to solve their problems themselves and to give Israel what it deserves. And they can certainly achieve this, relying in the first place on their own forces and on the support of their real friends — the revolutionary peoples, all the anti-imperialist and anti-revisionist forces.

Recently, the Soviet revisionists and some West European countries, behind which stands the United States of America, have been making a fuss and drafting plans about a certain so-called European security. That there is need for security for the countries on our continent, this is true. But first it should be explained, who should be secured and from whom. The «European security» which is demanded by the Soviet revisionists and backed up by the U.S. imperialists means security for their zones

of influence in Europe, security for their military bases and for the right of their fleets to control the European sea-coasts, it means that the peoples of Europe should legally and officially recognize Moscow's and Washington's right to special privileges of an imperialist and colonialist character they enjoy in various European countries. Such a security means, in the final analysis, to preserve and perpetuate in Europe the status quo of the Soviet-U.S. domination, to ensure tranquillity on this continent so that the Soviet revisionists and the U.S. imperialists may have a free hand to act as they choose in Asia, Africa and everywhere else to subjugate and enslave the peoples, to strengthen the exploiting capitalist regime both at home and in their respective Empires.

The peoples of Europe abhor such a «security» and will never accept it. They cannot allow themselves to fall into the diabolical traps which are being laid by the imperialist great powers, they cannot leave their destinies to the mercy of the American and Soviet chiefs, they will not permit themselves to become cannon-fodder in carrying out the Soviet-U.S. plans for world domination. They are being threatened by U.S. imperialism and Soviet imperialism, and it is precisely against these that real European security should be directed.

The Albanian people, their Party and Government, who have bravely and in a revolu-



tionary way repulsed frantic imperialist and revisionist attacks, are convinced that despite the efforts they are making, neither U.S. imperialism nor Soviet revisionism nor both of them, are in a position to change the general course of world history, which will inevitably lead to the complete defeat of imperialism and revisionism and to the triumph of revolution and socialism in all countries.

**Under the leadership of our Party the future of our people and of our country is brilliant indeed**

Comrades,

All the great historic victories achieved by our people during these twenty five years are due to the correct, wise and determined Marxist-Leninist leadership of their glorious Party of Labor.

It was the Party that aroused the people in the National-liberation War against the fascist occupationists and traitors, that led them to final victory, that made possible the overthrow of the reactionary exploiting classes and the establishment of the people's power in Albania. Thanks to the correct line and resolute stand of the Party, the hard-won

freedom was preserved and strengthened, all doors were shut to imperialist interference, and the country's independent economic, political and social development on the road of socialism was ensured. The Party stood always on the forefront of the people's gigantic efforts to overcome the terrible backwardness inherited from the past, it correctly directed and led them in their struggle for the building of socialism. To the correct leadership of the Party of Labor, to its unshakable loyalty towards the revolutionary doctrine of the proletariat — Marxism-Leninism, is due the failure of the attempts of all the enemies, open and underhand, in particular of the Titoite and Khrushchevite modern revisionists, to turn our people away from the bright road of socialism.

The brilliant balance-sheet of victories with which our people come to this great jubilee is at the same time a balance-sheet of the struggle, work and activity of the Party of Labor of Albania. That is the most eloquent proof of the always correct Marxist-Leninist line which it has pursued in all the stages.

Therefore, our people are linked with their Party of Labour like flesh to bone. They see in the Party leadership the source of all their victories, the safeguard of their vital interest and their most reliable guarantee for future victories, for the complete

and final triumph of socialism and communism.

The strength and invincibility of our people in the face of all the tests of history, however severe they may have been, rests in their monolithic unity around the Party. The strength and invincibility of our Party in any situation rests in its indissoluble ties with the people, in the boundless support the people give to it. In this steel-like party-people unity rests the strength and invincibility of our socialist Homeland in the face of any danger. Let us preserve this militant unity like the apple of our eye and let us strengthen it ever more!

The magnificent victories of these 25 years, particularly the very good results which are being achieved during the 4th five-year plan period, have created a solid foundation for new and still greater successes on the road of the complete construction of the socialist society.

An important stride on this road will be made under the new five-year plan, 1971-1975, the main objectives of which have, in general lines, been crystallized by the Party and the Government.

The 5th five-year plan will be one of a new qualitative rise in the general development of the country's productive forces. That will be the five-year plan of the development in depth and of the further intensification of industry, through the deep processing of mi-

nerals and oil, of the extension and strengthening of all its branches, especially of the machine-building, chemical, electric power, building materials and other branches. New branches of industry will be created, such as the industry of iron-nickel metallurgy, the steel production industry and other branches of the chemical industry which are of exceptional importance to the independent development of our national economy, to a better and more complete exploitation of our natural resources. Thus, the role of industry in the development of all the other economic branches will increase further.

This five-year plan will be at the same time the plan of the greatest intensification of agriculture, of the further increase of agricultural and livestock products. It will raise mechanisation of agriculture to a higher degree, it will greatly increase labor productivity, it will be the five-year plan of big and numerous irrigation works, especially in the hilly and mountainous areas, so that in the not distant future the overwhelming part of the cultivated land area will be brought under irrigation.

On the basis of the all-round and rapid development of the socialist economy and of the deepening of the ideological and political revolution, an appreciable rise of the living standards of the working masses will be achieved. Under the 5th five-year plan another

important forward stride will be made on the road of the gradual narrowing of the essential differences between town and countryside, between the working class and the peasantry, between industry and agriculture, between mental and manual work, towards the complete building of the socialist society.

The prospects are clear, the future of our people and of our Homeland is bright. Today we are already seeing the contours of our happier future taking shape in vivid colors.

The magnificent successes we have achieved and the brilliant prospects that are open to our country fill us with revolutionary optimism and increase tenfold our faith in our own forces.

Inspired by this wonderful situation, under the tried and tested unwavering Marxist-Leninist leadership of the glorious Party of Labor, let us always proudly hold high the red banner of revolution and socialism in our beloved Homeland and lead it forward, always forward, towards the new peaks of socialism and communism!

— Long live the glorious 25th anniversary of the liberation of the Homeland and of the triumph of the people's revolution!

— May our wonderful people, who are marching fearlessly on the road of socialism, live in centuries!

— Glory to the Party of Labor of Albania,

the beloved leader and organizer of all the  
victories of our people!  
— Glory to all-conquering Marxism-  
Leninism!

*(Reproduced from the «Zëri i Popullit»  
daily, dt. 29.XI.1969).*

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N. B. Subtitles by the «Zëri i Popullit» daily.

CONTENTS

29 November 1944 marks the great day of our people's true revival .....	10
The Albanian people march firmly ahead on the road to the complete construction of socialist society .....	22
The greatest achievement of this period is the moulding of the new man endowed with lofty revolutionary qualities .....	31
We build socialism relying on our own resources .....	40
The proletarian dictatorship in Albania stands on a granitic rock .....	50
The Albanian people, their Party and Government have pursued and pursue a deeply principled and consistent policy .....	60
The triumph of revolution and socialism in all countries is sure to come .....	84
Under the leadership of our Party the future of our people and of our country is brilliant indeed. ....	90

Ref: ONHT-5873, 11 April 72

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The Sixth Congress of the Albanian Labor Party

*Nov 1971  
in Tirana*

The Sixth Congress of the Albanian Labor Party met in Tirana from 1 to 7 November in an atmosphere of indescribable enthusiasm. In addition to the Albanian delegates, 26 delegates from the Marxist-Leninist parties of Europe, Asia, Latin America, Africa, and Oceania were also present. They hailed the Congress and expressed their complete solidarity with the correct line of the Marxist-Leninists of the Albanian Labor Party.

1. The day of the opening session of the Congress was marked by enthusiastic popular demonstrations. The streets of Tirana were filled with the sounds of singing and dancing.
2. The delegates arrived from all over the country on the morning of 1 November.
3. Comrade Enver Hoxha, First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Albanian Labor Party, presented a report on the activities of the Central Committee.
4. The Congress was a demonstration of the monolithic unity of the Albanian Labor Party.
5. Comrade Mehmet Shehu, member of the Politburo and ~~Chairman~~ <sup>Chairman</sup> of the Council of Ministers, presented a report on the draft of directives for the economic and cultural development of the country.
6. The heads of delegations from fraternal Marxist-Leninist parties from various countries were seated at the rostrum.
7. The Pioneers came to hail the Congress of the father party--the inspiring and organizing force behind all the victories of the Albanian people.

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(2)(G) Foreign Relations

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8-9. Representatives from youth volunteers who are participating in the movements of youth action to build socialism <sup>in the country</sup> met with the leaders of the party and promised to work tirelessly wherever the country needs them.

10-11-12-13. In the intervals between sessions of the Congress, the party leaders talk~~d~~ cordially with the delegates.

14. Comrade Enver congratulated<sup>s</sup> the districts which because of their work received the Flag of the Congress.

15. The new Politburo of the Central Committee of the Albanian Labor Party, which was formed at the Sixth Congress. The central figure--Comrade Enver Hoxha.

16. The party leaders placed <sup>sheaves</sup> ~~flowers~~ in the cemetery of the martyrs.

17. The foreign delegations placed wreaths in the cemetery of the martyrs.

18-19. A great gathering was organized on 8 November--the 30th anniversary of the Albanian Labor Party. More than 100,000 persons--workers and citizens of Tirana--participated in this demonstration. Comrade Enver Hoxha, First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Albanian Labor Party, made an important speech.

20. On the night of 8 November the meeting turned into an enormous popular demonstration.

21. Comrade Enver Hoxha <sup>makes</sup> ~~made~~ an important speech at a dinner given at the Palace of the Brigades on the occasion of the closing of the Congress and the 30th anniversary of the party.

22. <sup>Grand</sup> ~~Concert~~ concert at the Palace of Culture in Tirana.

23. Comrade Mehmet Shehu presided<sup>s</sup> at the opening of the <sup>Mao Tse-tung</sup> Hydroelectric Power Station on the Drin River.

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24. The foreign delegations visit the Mao Tse-tung Hydroelectric Power Station.
25. The foreign delegations visit the Museum of the War of National Liberation.
26. The leaders of the party and of the state visit the "Albania 1971" Exhibit, which reflects the economic and cultural development of the country.



05/28/

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TO: DIRECTOR.

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1. AT 8 JUNE MEETING, [ ] (R/1) REPORTED THAT HE HAD, JUST THE WEEK BEFORE, MET ALBANIAN AMBASSADOR TO GREECE, BASHKIM DINO, IN TIRANA. DINO WAS BACK THERE "ON VACATION" WHICH R/1 SAID REALLY MEANT THAT DINO WAS BACK TO DO HIS ANNUAL MILITARY DUTY. R/1 SAID DINO DESCRIBED THE AIR IN TIRANA AS TENSE BECAUSE OF THE POOR HEALTH, OVER THE LAST TWO WEEKS, OF FIRST SECRETARY OF THE ALBANIAN WORKERS' PARTY, ENVER HOXHA. R/1 COULD NOT BE SPECIFIC BUT SAID THAT HOXHA HAD NOT BEEN SEEN FOR SOME TIME AND THAT SIGNS OF FAILING HEALTH STARTED TALK ABOUT WHO COULD FOLLOW HIM AS LEADER OF THE COUNTRY.

2. ANELOSKI SPECIFICALLY ASKED R/1 IF DINO MIGHT HAVE COME BACK TO ALBANIA AT THIS TIME BECAUSE OF HOXHA'S HEALTH; KAD NOT R/1 AND DINO PLANNED TO MEET IN ATHENS? R/1 SAID THAT, BASED UPON WHAT HE HAD BEEN TOLD AND HAD OBSERVED, HE COULD NOT MAKE A WELL-FOUNDED CASE FOR ANYTHING OTHER THAN COINCIDENCE. R/1 QUICKLY ADDED, HOWEVER, THAT DINO'S POTENTIAL AS A FUTURE LEADER IN ALBANIA MADE THE TIMING OF HIS TRIP CURIOUS.

3. R/1 SAID THAT THE NEW EARTHQUAKES IN ALBANIA HAD BEEN PERHAPS MORE DEVASTATING THAN THE FIRST, WHILE REPORTING HAD BEEN FAIRLY ACCURATE ON THE DAMAGE DONE IN YUGOSLAVIA, THE ALBANIANS WERE TRYING TO SUPPRESS ALL REPORTING CONCERNING ALBANIA. R/1 HAD NOT BEEN ABLE TO LEARN ANY SPECIFICS.

4. FILE: [ ] RVN 13 JUN 99 DRV D9C.1.

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1. AT 23 JANUARY 1980 MEETING [ ] PASSED A NUMBER (45) OF PHOTOS TAKEN BY MR. ARTHUR LASKAS (SUBJECT OF REF AND U.S. PERSON WHO UNWITTING) WHEN HE ATTENDED THE THIRTY-FIFTH NATIONAL DAY CELEBRATION IN TIRANE, ALBANIA. BASE FORWARDING COPIES OF THESE PICTURES TO HQS. PHOTOS CONTAIN SHOTS OF MILITARY EQUIPMENT THAT WAS ON DISPLAY AT THE NATIONAL DAY PARADE, GROUP PICTURE OF THE CURRENT ALBANIAN LEADERSHIP AS WELL AS NUMBER OF MISCELLANEOUS SHOTS WHICH HQS MAY FIND OF INTEREST. MR. LASKAS TOLD [ ] THAT HE HAD LEARNED DURING HIS TRIP TO ALBANIA THAT ENVER HOXHA WAS IN POOR HEALTH AND IS SUFFERING FROM SUGAR DIABETES, THAT HOXHA'S ANKLES AND FACE ARE SWOLLEN. ALSO THAT THE NUMBER TWO MAN IN THE ALBANIAN LEADERSHIP, MEHMET SHEHU, DOES NOT APPEAR TO BE A LIKELY CHOICE AS HOXHA'S REPLACEMENT SINCE SHEHU IS NOT WELL LIKED BY THE ALBANIAN POPULATION.

2. FILE: [ ] RVW 25JAN00 DRV D9C1

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- (2)(G) Foreign Relations

03/42/

SECRET

03 FRP: 12: 0 0 0 0

STAFF

ACTION: SE-8 ( ) INFO: ODPD-D; VR; FILE; RF; DORECORD; DDO-4;  
SUSPENSE; CDD; CI-4; CI/FL; EPS/EG-2; EUR-8; IAD; IAD/EAS-4; IID; OED;  
PCS/INT-2; (41/W)

81 6036545

PAGE 001

IN 6036545

TDR: 131740Z MAR 81

69247

SECRET 131655Z MAR 81 STAFF

CITE [ ] 69247

TO: DIRECTOR.

WNINTEL [ ] [ ] FGI INTEL

REF: DIRECTOR 868449

1. PARAGRAPHS 2 AND 3 CONTAIN THE COMMENTS OF [ ]  
ON ALBANIAN PARTY LEADER ENVER H O X H A, AND ARE FOR PASSAGE  
TO THE OPA ANALYSTS WHO GENERATED REF QUESTIONS.

2. OUR INFORMATION INDICATES THAT HOXA HAS BEEN ABSENT FROM  
THE POLITICAL SCENE FOR ABOUT TWO MONTHS. WE AGREE THAT DESPITE  
THIS ABSENCE HE HAS NOT LOST HIS PRESTIGE. THE FOLLOWING  
INFORMATION MAY BE OF INTEREST:

A. HOXA DID NOT ATTEND THE 7 FEBRUARY CEREMONY WHICH  
BESTOWED THE TITLE OF "HEROINE OF SOCIALIST WORK" ON HIS WIFE  
NETZMIE ON THE OCCASION OF HER 60TH BIRTHDAY. ALMOST ALL OF THE  
OTHER IMPORTANT ALBANIAN FIGURES WERE AT THE CEREMONY.

B. MANY ALBANIANS ARE NOW DISCUSSING HOXA'S  
"ILLNESS."

C. FRENCH MEDICAL PROFESSOR PAUL M I L I E Z I  
VISITED ALBANIA IN NOVEMBER 1980 IN RESPONSE TO AN INVITATION  
BY THE UNIVERSITY OF TIRANA MEDICAL SCHOOL. THIS PROFESSOR IS  
KNOWN TO FOLLOW THE HEALTH OF HOXA AND OTHER PARTY MEMBERS.  
(PARTY SECRETARY HIUZNI K A P O, ONE OF HOXA'S POSSIBLE SUCCESSORS,  
DIED IN MILIEZI'S PARIS CLINIC IN SEPTEMBER 1979.) THE VISIT  
OF MILIEZI TO ALBANIA STRENGTHENS THE RUMORS THAT HOXA IS ILL.  
HE IS BELIEVED TO SUFFER FROM A SERIOUS FORM OF DIABETES AND  
PROBABLY ARTERIOSCLEROSIS.

D. WE HAVE NO INFORMATION REGARDING THE RUMORS THAT

SECRET



NAZI WAR CRIMES DISCLOSURE ACT

SECRET

13 MAR 81

EXEMPTIONS Section 3(b)

- (2)(A) Privacy
- (2)(B) Methods/Sources
- (2)(C) Foreign Relations

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Date: 2005

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PAGE 002

IN 6036545

TOR: 131740Z MAR 81

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ASPIRING SUCCESSORS ARE MANEUVERING TO TAKE OVER IF HOXA LEAVES THE SCENE. IF WE RECEIVE ANY APPLICABLE INFORMATION, WE WILL BE PLEASED TO MAKE IT AVAILABLE.

3. ALTHOUGH CONDITIONS IN ALBANIA ARE SUCH THAT IT IS HARD TO FORM A CLEAR OPINION ABOUT THE INTERNAL SITUATION, IT SHOULD NOT BE RULED OUT THAT AN INVISIBLE RIVALRY FOR THE POWER HELD BY HOXA DOES EXIST. IT APPEARS TO US THAT AT PRESENT, THE MAJOR ASPIRING SUCCESSORS OF HOXA ARE (IN THIS ORDER): PRIME MINISTER MEHMET S H E H U; DEFENSE MINISTER KADRI H A S B I U; PARTY SECRETARY AND THEORETICIAN ALIA R A M I Z; FINANCE MINISTER HAKI T O S K A; AND VICE PRESIDENT OF PARLIAMENT SEFKET P E T S I.

4. NO FILE. RVW W3MAR11 DRV D981. ALL SECRET.

END OF MESSAGE

SECRET

5-182 (5-23-80)

~~SECRET MATERIAL ATTACHED~~

U. S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE  
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION  
WASHINGTON, D. C. 20535

Date 10/27/81

FBI File Number:

To: DIRECTOR  
CENTRAL INTELLIGENCE AGENCY  
ATTENTION: DEPUTY DIRECTOR FOR OPERATIONS  
WASHINGTON, D. C. 20505

BY LIAISON  
 BY MAIL  
 BY COURIER

Re: FOREIGN POLITICAL MATTERS-  
YUGOSLAVIA

1. The attached memorandum is furnished to you as it contains information of possible interest to your Agency;
2. Information contained in attached memorandum may not be disseminated outside receiving Agency without prior approval of the FBI.
3. Information contained in attached memorandum and information derived therefrom may not be used in connection with a prosecution or other judicial proceeding without prior approval of the FBI.
4. The identities of United States persons (USPERS) mentioned in attached memorandum are as follows:

DECLASSIFIED BY 33542 RER/KR/GUM  
ON 7-22-05

5. The identities of U.S. persons not set forth may be obtained if those person's identities are necessary to understand the information, assess its importance, or to enforce criminal laws or prevent a crime. If these identities are required by your Agency, forward a letter to FBI Headquarters, Attn: Intelligence Division (  CI-1,  CI-2,  CI-3), Criminal Investigative Division, stating which identities are required and the reason each is needed.

6.

*ogkfs*

COORDINATE WITH	
<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
DO NOT DESTROY	

FOR COORDINATION WITH FBI

Enc. 2

NAZI WAR CRIMES DISCLOSURE ACT

~~SECRET MATERIAL ATTACHED~~

Director  
Federal Bureau of Investigation

FBI/DOJ

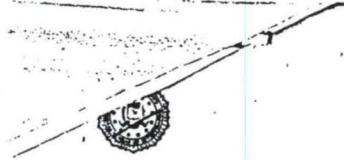
EXEMPTIONS Section 3(b)

- (2)(A) Privacy
- (2)(B) Methods/Sources
- (2)(G) Foreign Relations

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by the Central Intelligence Agency

Date: 2005





U.S. Department of Justice  
Federal Bureau of Investigation

In Reply, Please Refer to  
File No.

Chicago, Illinois  
October 22, 1981

~~SECRET~~

FOREIGN POLITICAL MATTERS-  
YUGOSLAVIA

On September 23, 1981, CG T-1, who has furnished reliable information in the past, made available a book written in Albanian and entitled "Albania" written by Enver Hoxha, Albania's current president. The source noted that page 212 of the book names nine individuals who are described in the book as working internationally for Hoxha's Marxist Albanian Government and therefore against the current Yugoslav communist regime, as well as against the West. (S)(u)

The names on page 212 are as follows:

- |   |   |   |   |
|---|---|---|---|
| — | — | — | — |
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According to the source, in view of the manner in which these persons are depicted, it logically follows that the above named would be primary targets for the Yugoslav Government in their efforts to stem anti-Yugoslav activities. (S)(u)

On October 16, 1981, CG T-2, who has furnished reliable information in the past, learned that Vehbi Ibrahim had been recently assassinated in Belgium. Source advised Ibrahim had fled Yugoslavia to Switzerland and then into Belgium where he was known to be a leader and organizer of the Balikombetar organization. (S)(u)

Balikombetar is an Albanian organization which is against the current communist regime in Yugoslavia. (U)

~~SECRET~~  
Classified and Extended by 1148  
Reason for Extension FCIM, II, 1-2.4.2(2)  
Date of Review for Declassification  
October 22, 2001

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ON 7-22-05

02/27/ DISSEM PER SUP #132

SECRET

FRP: 12: 0 0 0 0

STAFF

ACTION: C/SE-5 (1965) INFO: ODPD-D; FILE: RF: DORECORD; CBB/66: C/CI-3;  
C/LC6/10; C/PCS: C/PCS/PGL: (15/W)

62 7768840 ASD

PAGE 001  
TOR: 072143Z JAN 82

IN 7768840

DD RUEA1IF  
DE RUEMFB #0050 0072045  
ZNY 55555  
P 071642Z JAN 82  
FM DIRECTOR FBI  
TO RUEA1IF/DIRECTOR CIA  
ATTN: DDU  
RUEHC/SECRETARY OF STATE  
ATTN: DIRECTOR BUREAU OF INTELLIGENCE & RESEARCH

FOR COORDINATION WITH FBI

BT

SECRET

POLITICAL MATTERS - ALBANIA

BY TELETYPE, JANUARY 6, 1982, OUR NEW YORK OFFICE ADVISED: (U)

ON JANUARY 4, 1982, CONFIDENTIAL SOURCE NUMBER ONE, WHO HAS PROVIDED RELIABLE INFORMATION IN THE PAST, REPORTED THAT A CLOSE FRIEND IN THE UNITED STATES RECEIVED INFORMATION FROM YUGOSLAVIA, JANUARY 3, 1982, ALLEGING THAT ENVER HUXHA, HEAD OF THE ALBANIAN COMMUNIST PARTY AND HANKING PARTY OFFICIAL, WAS KILLED ALONG WITH SEVEN OTHER CLOSE ASSOCIATES JANUARY 3, 1982. (S) [ AMENDED ]

THIS ALLEGED KILLING FOLLOWS ON THE HEELS OF THE RECENT KILLING OF MEHMET SHEHU, WHO WAS THE PARTY'S NUMBER TWO MAN. (S)

ALLEGEDLY, INFORMATION REGARDING THIS KILLING IS GUARDED AND ALBANIAN PEOPLE ARE NOT AWARE. (S)

ON JANUARY 5, 1982, CONFIDENTIAL SOURCE NUMBER TWO, WHO HAS PROVIDED RELIABLE INFORMATION IN THE PAST AND WHO AT THE SAME TIME EXHIBITS KEEN PERCEPTIVENESS REGARDING ALBANIAN POLITICAL AFFAIRS, PROVIDED THIS INFORMATION REGARDING ALBANIAN POLITICAL SITUATION. SOURCE STATED THAT THERE ARE RUMORS CIRCULATING AMONGST THE ALBANIAN EMIGRE COMMUNITY WHICH INDICATE THAT AN INTENSE POWER STRUGGLE IS PRESENTLY TAKING PLACE WITHIN THE ALBANIAN GOVERNMENT. RELATIVES OF ALBANIANS OVERSEAS IN SWEDEN, TURKEY, GREECE AND YUGOSLAVIA HAVE INDICATED THAT A "WAY OF THINKING" EXISTS IN MANY QUARTERS OF ALBANIAN THROUGHOUT WHEREIN THE DEATH OF MEHMET SHEHU IS A STRONG INDICATION THAT ENVER HUXHA IS LOSING HIS CONTROL WITHIN THE ALBANIAN COMMUNIST PARTY. (S)

CONFIDENTIAL SOURCE NUMBER TWO STATED THAT PHONE TIES BETWEEN GREECE, ITALY AND ALBANIA HAVE BEEN CUT OFF. (S)

CONFIDENTIAL SOURCE NUMBER TWO STATED THAT MEHMET SHEHU HAS TWO

NAZI WAR CRIMES DISCLOSURE ACT

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EXEMPTIONS Section 3(b)

- (2)(A) Privacy
- (2)(B) Methods/Sources
- (2)(G) Foreign Relations

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Date: 2005

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DBEC-05687  
07 JAN 82

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JAN 10 1982	
FBI - NEW YORK	

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PAGE 002  
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CLOSE RELATIVES WHO ARE RANKING POLITICAL INDIVIDUALS IN THE ALBANIAN COMMUNIST PARTY. ONE OF THESE INDIVIDUALS IS A VERY STRONG ARMY OFFICER AND THE OTHER IS IN CHARGE OF THE SECRET POLICE IN ALBANIA. CONFIDENTIAL SOURCE NUMBER TWO SPECULATES THAT THESE TWO INDIVIDUALS, ALONG WITH SHEHY, ARE A PART OF A FACTIONAL GROUP THAT HAS BEEN GROWING AND HAS UNDERMINED SOME OF HOXHA'S IRON FISTED CONTROL IN THE ALBANIAN COMMUNIST PARTY. (S)

CONFIDENTIAL SOURCE NUMBER TWO STATED THAT THE INFORMATION THAT HE HAS HEARD REFERENCING AN APPARENT INTERNAL STRUGGLE WITHIN THE ALBANIAN GOVERNMENT AS WELL AS ANY ALLEGATION AS TO HOXHA'S DEATH, ALONG WITH OTHER INDIVIDUALS, HAS CIRCULATED BY RUMOR ONLY AND THE SOURCE OF SUCH INFORMATION CANNOT BE PIN POINTED OR CORROBORATED AT THIS POINT. (S)

YOU WILL BE PROMPTLY FURNISHED ANY FUTURE DETAILS CONCERNING THIS MATTER WHICH MAY COME TO OUR ATTENTION. (U)

C AND E BY 7585, REASONS 2 AND 3, DRD JANUARY 7, 2002.

END OF MESSAGE

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8 FEB 1982

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PAGE 002  
TOR: 091341Z AUG 83

IN 1859054  
CJ 12776

CAPITAL, PUBLIC PLACES AND HOTELS.

3. COMMEMORATIVE CELEBRATIONS HELD IN EARLY JULY 1983 DREW ATTENTION TO HOXHA'S PUBLIC APPEARANCE AMONG THE DIPLOMATIC CORPS--NO MORE THAN THREE TIMES--AND TO OTHER CIRCUMSTANCES IN WHICH HE APPEARED ON TV. WHAT IS NOTEWORTHY IS THE INCREASING IMPORTANCE WHICH HAS BEEN GIVEN TO RANIZ ((ALIA)), CENTRAL COMMITTEE SECRETARY AND PRESIDENT OF THE PRESIDUM. HOXHA HAS BEEN APPEARING WITH A WEAK, FIXED SMILE ON HIS FACE AND HIS MOVEMENTS WERE VERY SLOW, WHILE ALIA APPEARED TO BE DYNAMIC AND SURE OF HIMSELF. LATELY ALIA HAS BEEN GIVING ALL SPEECHES TO THE GOVERNMENT AND TO THE COUNTRY.

4. WHATEVER THE DICTATOR'S PHYSICAL CONDITION MAY BE, AS OF MID-JULY HE WAS IN THE SOUTHEASTERN PART OF ALBANIA ON LAKE POGRADEC. BESIDES THE HOT WEATHER IN ALBANIA, NECESSITATING THE MOVE TO A COOLER LOCATION, IT APPEARS THAT HOXHA IS INCAPABLE OF FACING ANY MAJOR STRAINS. THEREFORE, IT IS POSSIBLE THAT THE PRO-SOVIET GROUP LED BY ALIA HAS ALREADY BEGUN PREPARING FOR A POST-HOXHA PERIOD IN SUCH A WAY AS NOT TO TRAUMATIZE ALBANIA.

5. FILE: e J, DECL: OADR DRV HUM 4-82-ALL SECRET.

END OF MESSAGE

SECRET

J P 0511 83

SECRET

SEDORECORD  
INCOMING

FRP: . . . . .

STAFF

ACTION: SE/XFR-3 (768) INFO: ODPD-D, VR, FILE, SEDORECORD, C/FR/RB,  
DC/FR/RB, FR/2-4, SE/BB-2, SE/ORP-2, SE/RBE, SE/XO, C/PCS, CI/CLFL,  
CI/SE, EPS/EG-2, LCG/ID, PCS/PGL, (24/W)

83 2655724 ASR

PAGE 001  
TOR: 152338Z NOV 83

IN 2655724  
C 89531

SECRET 152118Z NOV 83 STAFF

CITE C 89531

TO: DIRECTOR.

WNINTEL C

SUBJECT: C MEETING WITH BASHKIM ((SPAHO)) AND  
ILIYA PERMET ((ZHULATI))

REF: WASHINGTON 687596

2. FOLLOWING IS BEING PASSED TO C NEW YORK VIA BIX-0411

TEAR LINE

8 NOVEMBER 1983

BIX-0411

MEMORANDUM

SUBJECTS: A. BASHKIM SPAHO, ALBANIAN UN MISSION NEW YORK  
B. ILIYA PERMET ZHULATI, FIRST SECRETARY ALBANIAN  
MISSION.

AT 1400 HOURS ON 4 NOVEMBER, ONE OF OUR ASSETS KNOWN TO  
YOU MET WITH SUBJECTS A AND B IN THE BEACH CAFE ON  
SECOND AVENUE AND 70TH STREET. THE MEETING LASTED TWO AND  
A HALF HOURS. SUBJECT A IS AN OLD FRIEND OF OUR ASSET. THE  
TWO MET IN NEW YORK IN THE LATE SEVENTIES WHEN SUBJECT A

OG/CFC  
CROSS FILE BY NY  
C 3  
DO NOT DESTROY

SECRET

NAZI WAR CRIMES DISCLOSURE ACT

EXEMPTIONS Section 3(b)

(2)(A) Privacy

(2)(B) Methods/Sources

(2)(G) Foreign Relations

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Date: 2005

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83 2655724 ASR

PAGE 002  
TOR: 152338Z NOV 83

IN 2655724  
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WAS WITH THE ALBANIAN MISSION IN NEW YORK. THE MEETING AMONG THE THREE WAS QUITE FRIENDLY AND SUBJECTS A AND B CONSUMED A GREAT DEAL OF ALCOHOL, ESPECIALLY SUBJECT A.

SUBJECT A TOLD OUR ASSET THAT THE MISSION IS LOOKING TO MOVE TO ANOTHER LOCATION, BECAUSE THEY WILL NOT RENEW THE CONTRACT FOR THE OLD PLACE WHERE THEY PAY \$4,000 PER MONTH.

SUBJECT B SAID THAT HE WILL BE LEAVING FOR ALBANIA ON 7 NOVEMBER TO UNDERGO A HEMORRHOIDS OPERATION, AND WILL RETURN TO NEW YORK IN DECEMBER. WHEN OUR ASSET DERIDED SUBJECT ABOUT HAVING TO RETURN TO ALBANIA FOR A SOMEWHAT MINOR OPERATION, BOTH SUBJECTS A AND B RESIGNEDLY SHRUGGED THEIR SHOULDERS AS IF TO AGREE THAT THIS WAS UNNECESSARY PRECAUTION. SUBJECT WILL TRAVEL ALITALIA TO ROME AND FROM THERE VIA TAROM, THE ROMANIAN AIRLINE, TO TIRANA.

SUBJECT A INVITED OUR ASSET TO THE ALBANIAN NATIONAL DAY RECEPTION WHICH WILL TAKE PLACE AT THE UN IN DECEMBER. THE EXACT DATE HAS NOT BEEN SET.

THE THREE DISCUSSED ALBANIA, AND SUBJECT A STATED THE FOLLOWING:

A. THE TRIALS OF THE PEOPLE INVOLVED THE ANTI-HOXHA COUP TOOK PLACE THIS SUMMER, AND 90 PERCENT OF THOSE TRIED WERE EXECUTED. THE PEOPLE WHO HAD A MINOR INVOLVEMENT WERE GIVEN JAIL SENTENCES.

B. IT IS GENERALLY ASSUMED THAT THE CHAIRMAN OF THE COUNCIL OF MINISTERS, ADIL ((CARCANI)), IS THE HEIR APPARENT OF ENVER ((HOXHA)), BUT THIS IS NOT SO. THE MOST POWERFUL MAN IN ALBANIA TODAY IS THE MINISTER FOR INTERNAL AFFAIRS HEKURAN ((ISAI)), AND HE WILL ASSUME THE LEADERSHIP OF THE COUNTRY WHEN HOXHA DIES.

C. ALBANIA WOULD LIKE TO IMPROVE ITS RELATIONS WITH THE WEST AND THE U.S.; NOTHING HAS BEEN DONE ABOUT THE ABOVE AS YET, BUT SUBJECT A EXPECTS TO RECEIVE INSTRUCTIONS IN THE NEAR FUTURE AS HOW TO PROCEED. THE REASON FOR THIS NEW LINE IS BASED ON THE SITUATION AT ALBANIA'S BORDERS, ESPECIALLY THE GREEK BORDER. RELATIONS BETWEEN GREECE AND ALBANIA ARE AT AN ALL TIME LOW, BECAUSE OF INTENSE GREEK AGITATION ON THE SOUTHERN ALBANIAN BORDER. ALBANIA IS ALSO QUITE NERVOUS ABOUT THE CLOSE YUGOSLAV-GREEK RELATIONS WHICH ALBANIA VIEWS AS A SERIOUS THREAT TO ITS SECURITY.

OUR ASSET PROVIDED THE FOLLOWING IMPRESSION FOR SUBJECT A:

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PAGE 003  
TOR: 152338Z NOV 83

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STILL A CHAIN SMOKER AND A HARD DRINKER, IMBUED WITH A TREMENDOUS AMOUNT OF NERVOUS ENERGY.

AT THE END OF THE MEETING SUBJECT A EXPRESSED HOPE THAT HE AND OUR ASSET WILL GET TOGETHER IN DECEMBER AFTER THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY OF THE UN IS OVER.

3. E

A FILE. E  
1 E J E  
END OF MESSAGE

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SECRET

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SEDORECORD  
INCOMING

/ /70

IMMEDIATE

FRP: .2. . . . .

INTEL

ACTION: SE/RR-4 ( ) INFO: EUREPORT, OOPD-D, OOPR-R, VR, FILE,  
SEDORECORD, DC/EUR/NS, DC/EUR/S3, EUR/BC-2, EUR/CGT-2, EUR/F-2, EUR/G-4,  
EUR/I-4, EUR/RR-2, FR/RR, SE/BB, SE/IO, SE/ORP, SE/XO, DCD/RR, DCD/SEB,  
IAD/OCG, IAD/PEL, IADSEG-3, IID, IMS/RSS, INT/RR-3, SAG/MEB, SAG/PPB-2,  
(44/W)

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PAGE 001  
TOR: 291707Z MAY 84

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SECRET 291653Z MAY 84 INTEL

DIR-315/13220-84  
DIR-55183 OMIT

CITE E J 15912 ZNY XXXXX

TO: DIRECTOR INFO E J 16 2 0 1 0 3 . E J . E J

WNINTEL INTEL

SUPDATA: ZRW4DDO FOR HQS REVIEW OF CONTENT. SEE ( ) 15911  
(SENT DIRECTOR ONLY) FOR OPS DETAILS AFFECTING DISSEM.  
NO LIAISON. DECL OADR DRV HUM 4-82. ALL SECRET.

- 1. DIR-55183
  - 2. E J
  - 3. C-1-A
  - 4. 052608
  - 5. N/A
  - 6. INDEX:
  - 7. FILE: DEFER
  - 8. E J
- FILED: 291649Z  
LIFTED.

NAZI WAR CRIMES DISCLOSURE ACT

- EXEMPTIONS Section 3(b)
- (2)(A) Privacy
  - (2)(B) Methods/Sources
  - (2)(C) Foreign Relations

06/CFS  
29 May 84

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FURTHER DISSEMINATION AND USE OF THIS INFORMATION SUBJECT TO  
CONTROLS STATED AT BEGINNING AND END OF REPORT.

IN 84 4277031A  
PAGE 001 OF 001



STATE/INR JCS/MC(DIA) CIA/NMCC  
SWS NSA TREAS SOO DDI WHSITRM NSC/S  
(HARD COPIES TO: OCR).

THIS IS AN INFORMATION REPORT, NOT FINALLY EVALUATED INTELLIGENCE

TDFIR DB-315/13220-84

REPORT CLASS S E C R E T--WNINTEL--NOFORN--NOCONTRACT--DRCON

DIST: 30 MAY 84  
COUNTRY: ALBANIA

SUBJ: APPEARANCE OF ALBANIAN LEADER HOXHA AT MAY DAY  
CELEBRATIONS

DOI: 1 MAY 1984

SOURCE: A GENERALLY RELIABLE SOURCE WITH ACCESS TO THE INFORMA-  
TION.

TEXT: 1. ACCORDING TO A WEST EUROPEAN DIPLOMAT IN TIRANA, ON 1  
MAY 1984 ALBANIAN LEADER ENVER ((HOXHA)) ATTENDED THE MAY DAY  
CELEBRATIONS IN TIRANA. HOXHA APPEARED TO BE IN GOOD HEALTH BUT  
REMAINED SEATED -- THUS CHANGING PROTOCOL -- DURING MOST OF THE  
PARADE. HE SEEMED TO HAVE CONSIDERABLE DIFFICULTY IN MOVING HIS  
ARMS AND LEGS. THE PRESENCE OF ALL OF THE HIGHEST LEADERS ON THE  
PRESIDENTIAL PLATFORM WITH HOXHA CONFIRMED THE STRUCTURE OF THE  
ALBANIAN LEADERSHIP.

2. THE MAY DAY CELEBRATIONS INCLUDED A PARADE OF WORKERS AND  
FARMERS, FOLKLORE GROUPS, GIANT POSTERS OF THE REGIME'S HIGHEST  
OFFICIALS, AND FOUR MILITARY DIVISIONS CONSISTING MOSTLY OF WOMEN.  
AS IN THE PAST YEARS, EAST EUROPEAN AND CUBAN DIPLOMATIC REPRE-  
SENTATIVES LEFT THE PLATFORM WHEN POSTERS APPEARED EXTOLLING THE  
FIGHT AGAINST SOCIAL-IMPERIALISM AND REVISIONISM. THE YUGOSLAV  
REPRESENTATIVES REMAINED EVEN THOUGH YUGOSLAV REVISIONISM WAS  
INCLUDED IN THE CONDEMNATION, BUT NOT SINGLED OUT. THE ONLY FOUR  
FOREIGN TRADE UNION REPRESENTATIVES WERE FROM PALESTINE, DENMARK,  
COLOMBIA, AND PORTUGAL.

3. THE MAY DAY CELEBRATION FOCUSED ON YOUTH PARTICIPATION.  
THE YOUNGEST PARTICIPANTS MARCHED LAST AND STOPPED UNDER THE  
PRESIDENTIAL PLATFORM CHANTING "PARTY-ENVER" TO SIGNIFY THE DELIVERY  
OF HOXHA'S MESSAGE TO THE YOUNGER GENERATIONS. THE OFFICIAL  
ADDRESS WAS GIVEN BY THE SECRETARY OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE. THE  
THEME WAS: "ALBANIAN SPIRIT OF SACRIFICE FOR THE NEW LIFE AND  
VIGILANT PROTECTION OF FREEDOM, INDEPENDENCE, AND PEACE."

ACQ: (10 MAY 1984)

DISSEM: FILED: SENT [REDACTED] ZAGREB.

WARNING: REPORT CLASS S E C R E T--WARNING NOTICE--INTELLIGENCE  
SOURCES OR METHODS INVOLVED--NOT RELEASABLE TO FOREIGN NATIONALS--  
NOT RELEASABLE CONTRACTORS/CONSULTANTS--DISSEMINATION AND  
EXTRACTION OF INFORMATION CONTROLLED BY ORIGINATOR.

DECL: OADR DRV HUM 4-82 BY RECORDED REPORTING OFFICER. ALL  
PORTIONS CARRY CLASSIFICATION AND CONTROLS OF OVERALL DOCUMENT.  
END OF MESSAGE SECRET

SECRET

SECRET

EUDORECORD  
INCOMING

/26/ DISSEM PER SOP#115

PRIORITY

FRP: .2. . . . .

STAFF

ACTION: EUR/1-3 (133) INFO: ODPD-D, VR, FILE, EUDORECORD, EA/CO10-2,  
EUR/CGT-3, EUR/CI, EUR/RR-2, SE/BB-3, SE/OPB, SE/ORP, SE/RBE, SE/RR-3,  
SE/SAIA, SE/USSR-2, SE/XEU-2, SE/XO, CI/EU, CI/SE, EPO/EUR, INT/RR,  
PCS/AA, (33/W)

85 6534576 ASP

PAGE 001  
TOR: 221748Z FEB 85

IN 6534576  
EJ 58601

SECRET 221746Z FEB 85 STAFF

CITE EJ 58601

TO: PRIORITY DIRECTOR.

WNINTEL INTEL EJ EJ

SUBJECT: ACCOMPANYING CABLE FOR ZRWAHOO REPORT

REF: EJ EJ 58602 (OIR-55908) 285 EJ EJ

1. REF INFORMATION IS BASED ON EJ DEBRIEFING OF  
ALBANIAN EMIGRE, EJ ON 13 FEBRUARY 1985  
AT LNYUMA IN ROME. INFO IS NOT APPROPRIATE FOR PROCESSING IN  
POSEEK CHANNELS, AND UNDAUNTED BY RECENT N.D. OF EJ'S  
OIR-55895, WE THOUGHT IT MIGHT BE WORTH DISSEMINATING IN OURS.

2. EJ DPOB: 28 MAY 1950, TIRANA, ALBANIA, ESCAPED FROM  
ALBANIA TO YUGOSLAVIA ON 3 JULY 1984. HIS INS NO: A26 821 965.  
HE COMPLETED TECHNICAL HIGH SCHOOL IN TIRANA. WORKED IN TIRANA  
FACTORY PRODUCING MECHANICAL SPARE PART TOOLS, 1968-69. HE  
SERVED IN A SPECIAL TANK UNIT WITH THE MILITARY FROM DEC 69 TO  
DEC 72 IN THE REGION OF BERAT.

3. EJ SAID THERE ARE 100 ALBANIAN TANK UNITS. ALL TANKS  
ARE CHINESE-MADE, T 54, 36 TONS WITH 100 MILLIMETER GUNS. THEY  
ARE LOCATED IN TEN ALBANIAN TOWNS. THERE ARE SOME 300 TANKS IN  
TIRANA.

4. EJ WAS ARRESTED IN 1974 AFTER A FAILED ATTEMPT TO  
ESCAPE TO GREECE. HE WAS SENTENCED TO 10 YEARS: HE SPENT 1974-81  
IN SPAC JAIL IN TIRANA, 1981-83 IN QAFE BAR JAIL IN FUSHE ARZE,  
AND HIS FINAL YEAR IN BUREL JAIL. DURING THIS TIME HE MET SOME  
OR ALL OF THE FORMER ALBANIAN OFFICIALS CITED IN REF REPORT.  
THE POLITICAL COMMENTARY THEREIN IS BASED ON HIS CONVERSATIONS  
WITH THESE INDIVIDUALS AND HIS OWN KNOWLEDGE. HE DID NOT,  
OF COURSE, SPECIFICALLY ATTRIBUTE HIS INFORMATION TO ANY PARTICULAR  
INDIVIDUAL.

5. EJ ASSESSES EJ AS FRIENDLY AND COOPERATIVE.  
BESIDES ALBANIAN, HE SPEAKS SOME ITALIAN. HE IS PROCESSING  
THROUGH IRC. HE IS TRAVELING ALONE. HE ESCAPED FROM ALBANIA WITH  
HIS BROTHER, WHO WAS PROCESSED BY INS VOLUNTARY AGENCY IN  
BELGRADE AND ENTERED THE U.S. IN NOVEMBER 1984.

BROTHER'S ADDRESS IN THE U.S:

EJ EJ  
HACKENSACK, NEW JERSEY 07601.

6. INFO IN SOURCE COMMENTS IS FROM EJ PERSONAL  
KNOWLEDGE OR BASED ON CORRESPONDENCE/CONVERSATIONS WITH HIS  
NAZI WAR CRIMES DISCLOSURE ACT

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EXEMPTIONS Section 3(b)

- (2)(A) Privacy
- (2)(B) Methods/Sources
- (2)(C) Foreign Relations

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22 Feb 85  
200-8-9912

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Date: 2005

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PAGE 002  
TOR: 221748Z FEB 85

IN 6534576  
C 7 58601

SISTER WHO STILL LIVES IN ALBANIA. (SEE C 7 48369 FOR BACK-  
GROUND ON SISTER.)

7. RE: ENVER ((HOXHA))'S LIKELY SUCCESSOR: RAMIZ  
((ALIA)). C 7 STATES THAT HE KNEW ALIA WELL. THEY MET IN  
SKHODER IN 1941.

8. FILE: C 7. INDEX: C 7).

DECL OADR DRV HUM 4-82. ALL SECRET.

END OF MESSAGE

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/ /85

FRP: .2. . . . .

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ACTION: SE/RR-4 ( ) INFO: EUREPORT, OOPD-D, OOPR-R, VR, FILE,  
SEDORECORD, EUR/BC, EUR/CGT-2, EUR/CT, EUR/F-2, EUR/G-4, EUR/I-4,  
EUR/RR-2, EUR/SA-2, SE/BB, SE/IO, SE/OPB/V, SE/XO, CI/SE, CPN/CTG-5,  
CPN/OCG, CTG/ISB-3, EPI/EE, IID, IMS/RSS, INT/RR-3, NC/RR, OCG/PEL,  
PPS/AO-2, PPS/PO-2, PPS/SEO-3, SOGMAB, (54/W)

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PAGE 001  
TOR: 230847Z FEB 85

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TDFIR 314/00317-85  
OIR-55908 OMIT

CITE 58602 ZNY XXXXX

*OFA DEL EGN EYB EHA*

TO: DIRECTOR INFO

WNINTEL INTEL

SUPDATA: ZRWALOO FOR HOS REVIEW OF THIRD COUNTRY CONTENT.  
SEE 58601 (DIRECTOR ONLY) FOR OPS DETAILS AFFECTING  
DISSEM. DECL OADR DRV HUM 4-82. ALL SECRET.

1. OIR-55908
2. NRS
3. C-1
4. 043344
5. N/A
6. INDEX: ALL NAMES
7. FILE: DEFER
8. [ ]

FILED: 221748Z

EDITS/DELETIONS/LOWERED CONTROLS: LIFTED BY RELAY.

NAZI WAR CRIMES DISCLOSURE ACT

EXEMPTIONS Section 3(b)

- (2)(A) Privacy
- (2)(B) Methods/Sources
- (2)(G) Foreign Relations

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INTELLIGENCE INFORMATION CABLE  
FURTHER DISSEMINATION AND USE OF THIS INFORMATION SUBJECT TO  
CONTROLS STATED AT BEGINNING AND END OF REPORT.

IN 85 6534776A  
PAGE 001 OF 002

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SWS NSA TREAS SOO DDI WHSITRM NSC/S  
( ).

THIS IS AN INFORMATION REPORT, NOT FINALLY EVALUATED INTELLIGENCE

TDFIR 314/00317-85

REPORT CLASS SECRET--WNINTEL--NOFORN  
DIST: 26 FEB 85  
COUNTRY: ALBANIA

SUBJ: ALBANIAN EMIGRE'S COMMENTS ON THE SUCCESSOR TO  
ENVER HOXHA, THE HOXHA FAMILY, THE ECONOMY, AND  
PROMINENT PRISONERS IN ALBANIAN JAILS

DOI: EARLY FEBRUARY 1985

SOURCE: AN ALBANIAN REFUGEE WHO ESCAPED ALBANIA IN JULY 1984  
AFTER HAVING SERVED A 10-YEAR PRISON SENTENCE WHICH ENDED  
IN 1984. THE ALBANIAN'S INFORMATION IS BASED ON HIS  
CONVERSATIONS WITH FORMER ALBANIAN LEADERS HE MET IN  
PRISON AND FROM HIS OWN PERSONAL KNOWLEDGE. BEFORE HIS  
ARREST IN ALBANIA IN 1974 FOR A FAILED ESCAPE ATTEMPT,  
THE ALBANIAN COMPLETED TECHNICAL HIGH SCHOOL, WORKED IN A  
FACTORY, AND SERVED IN A MILITARY TANK UNIT. HIS  
BORN DATE HAS NOT BEEN ESTABLISHED.

TEXT: 1. SINCE THE ASSASSINATION OF ALBANIAN PREMIER ~~SHEHU~~  
(SHEHU) AND THE ELIMINATION OF HUNDREDS OF HIS SUPPORTERS IN  
ALL BRANCHES OF THE GOVERNMENT AND THE PARTY, THE STRUGGLE  
FOR POWER HAS CONTINUED UNABATED. (HEADQUARTERS COMMENT: SHEHU  
"OFFICIALLY" COMMITTED SUICIDE IN 1981, BUT PERSISTENT RUMORS  
IMPLY HE WAS MURDERED.) IT IS KNOWN THROUGHOUT ALBANIA THAT  
ALBANIAN PARTY CHIEF ENVER ((HOXHA)) IS SICK. IT IS BELIEVED THAT  
HOXHA HAS CHOSEN PARTY SECRETARY AND CHAIRMAN OF THE PEOPLE'S  
ASSEMBLY PRESIDUM (CHIEF OF STATE) RAMIZ ((ALIA)) TO BE HIS  
SUCCESSOR. IN ANY CASE, ALIA IS THE STRONGEST CANDIDATE.  
HOXHA'S SONS, ILIR AND SOKOL ((HOXHA)), DO NOT HAVE THE COURAGE  
TO ACT OR THE ABILITY TO COMMAND. ALIA IS GETTING READY TO  
REPLACE HOXHA WHENEVER THE TIME COMES. SO FAR, ALIA HAS PUT HIS  
OWN PEOPLE FROM NORTHERN ALBANIA IN KEY POSTS, SUCH AS  
SECRETARY POSTS IN DURRES, VLORE, GJROKASTER, AND BERAT.

2. NEXHIJE HOXHA IS ACTIVE BOTH IN THE GOVERNMENT AND  
THE PARTY. THE HOXHA CLAN CONTROLS THE COUNTRY. ENVER SPENDS  
MOST OF HIS TIME IN HIMARE IN SOUTHERN ALBANIA. IN 1984, ILIR  
HOXHA, ENVER'S OLDEST SON, RAN BOTH THE MINISTRIES OF FOREIGN  
AFFAIRS AND INTERIOR. ENVER'S OTHER SON, SOKOL HOXHA,  
APPROXIMATELY 34, WAS APPOINTED IN 1984 AS AN ADVISER TO THE  
MINISTRY OF FOREIGN TRADE, WHICH MEANS HE HAS CONTROL OF THE  
COUNTRY'S ECONOMY. (HEADQUARTERS COMMENT: WE CANNOT CONFIRM THE  
DEGREE OF INFLUENCE THE SONS HAVE IN THE ALBANIAN GOVERNMENT.  
NEITHER HAS BEEN IDENTIFIED PUBLICLY IN GOVERNMENT POSTS.)

3. ALBANIAN INDUSTRY AND AGRICULTURE IS IN POOR SHAPE,  
ESSENTIALLY BECAUSE THERE IS A LACK OF MACHINERY AND SPARE PARTS.  
PEOPLE MUST WAIT IN LONG LINES FOR FROZEN BEEF, PORK, CHICKEN,  
OR MILK. PRODUCTS SUCH AS OLIVE OIL, VEGETABLE OIL AND FISH ARE  
RATIONED AND NOT ALWAYS AVAILABLE. TWICE A YEAR PEOPLE ARE  
ENTITLED TO TWO LITERS OF WINE. MEDICINES, ESPECIALLY ANTIBIOTICS,  
ARE AVAILABLE ONLY TO PARTY MEMBERS AND THEIR FAMILIES.

4. AS A CONSEQUENCE OF THE POLITICAL PURGE IMMEDIATELY  
AFTER SHEHU'S ASSASSINATION, A NEW JAIL -- NUMBER 302 -- WAS  
BUILT IN PLLANE-LEZHE (SIC). THE JAIL HOLDS MAINLY HIGH-RANKING

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CONF: PCS/DPG-2 INFO: ODPD-D, RF, FILE, PCDORECORD, QA/STAFF, DDO-4,  
EUR/CI, EUR/1-3, EUR/RR-2, SE/OPB, SE/OREE, SE/ORP, SE/RBE, SE/RR-3,  
SE/SAIA, SE/XEU-2, SE/XO, SEOROV, C/PCS, C/PPS, DDO/SAG, EPO/EUR,  
PPS/AO-3, PPS/SEO-5, (39/P)

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PAGE 001  
TOT: 280103Z FEB 85

DIRECTOR 275016

SECRET  
STAFF 280103Z DIRECTOR 275016  
TO: PRIORITY

WNINTEL

SUBJECT: DEBRIEFING OF ALBANIAN EMIGRE

REF: A. 58601 6534576  
B. 58602 6534776

1. HQS APPRECIATES (REF B) REPORT. IT IS BELIEVED THAT SOURCE'S INFORMATION ON THE ALBANIAN PRISON SYSTEM AS WELL AS HIS MILITARY INFORMATION (ALTHOUGH WOULD BE OF INTEREST TO THE COMMUNITY. THEREFORE, REQUEST PREPARE A KNOWLEDGEABILITY ASSESSMENT THROUGH ROME PDSEEK MECHANISM ON SUBJECT FOR SVNICK TRANSMITTAL TO COMMUNITY. THIS WILL ENSURE THAT ALL ELEMENTS OF THE COMMUNITY ARE AWARE OF SUBJECT'S EMIGRATION AND WILL PERMIT COMMUNITY CONUS FOLLOW-UP IF DESIRED.

2. FILE: PCS/DPG AUTH: C/PCS/DPG COORD: SE/RR  
REL: C/E/1. (IN DRAFT), EUR/RR (IN DRAFT), E/1/R (IN DRAFT);

END OF MESSAGE

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Date: 2005

NAZI WAR CRIMES DISCLOSURE ACT

EXEMPTIONS Section 3(b)  
(2)(A) Privacy   
(2)(B) Methods/Sources   
(2)(C) Foreign Relations

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28 Feb 85  
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STAFF

CONF: PCS/DPG-2 INFO: ODPD-D, VR, FILE, PCDORECORD, QA/STAFF, DDO-4,  
EUR/CI, EUR/1-4, EUR/RR-2, SE/OPB, SE/OREE, SE/ORP, SE/RBE, SE/RR-3,  
SE/SAIA, SE/USSR-2, SE/XEU-2, SE/XO, SEOROV, C/PCS, C/PPS, DDO/SAG,  
EPO/EUR, IID, INT/RR, PPS/AO-3, PPS/SEO-5, (44/P)

85 6659798

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PAGE 001

TOT: 072225Z MAR 85

DIRECTOR 286320

SECRET  
STAFF 072225Z DIRECTOR 286320  
TO: [ ]

WNINTEL [ ] INTEL [ ]

SUBJECT: 0 BRIEFING OF ALBANIAN EMIGRE ILIR HENRIK ((PAVLO))

1. HQS APPRECIATES [ ] PREPARING KNOWLEDGEABILITY  
ASSESSMENT ON SUBJECT FOR THE INTELLIGENCE COMMUNITY. [ ] WILL  
DISSEMINATE THE ASSESSMENTS THROUGH ESTABLISHED [ ] CHANNELS AND  
WILL INCLUDE STATEMENT THAT SUBJECT WAS DEBRIEFED AND REPORT (TDFIR  
314/00317-85) HAS BEEN PUBLISHED. IC WILL BE ADVISED THAT  
REQUIREMENTS FOR FURTHER DEBRIEFING OF SUBJECT SHOULD BE FORWARDED TO  
[ ] FOR SERVICING.

2. FILE: [ ] 21. DECL OADR DRV HUM 4-82. ALL SECRET.>  
ORIG: PCS/DPG ([ ] [ ]); AUTH: C/PCS/DPG [ ] [ ]; COORD: SE/RR,  
E /I/R; RELS: C/E/RR. CL BY 0388253.

END OF MESSAGE

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Date: 2005

NAZI WAR CRIMES DISCLOSURE ACT

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- (2)(C) Foreign Relations

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07 Mar 85  
200-8-99/2

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FRP: . . . . .

STAFF

ACTION: SE/RR-3 (201) INFO: ODPD-D, VR, FILE, SEDORECORD, EA/J-4, EUR/CI,  
EUR/F-4, EUR/G-5, EUR/I-4, EUR/RR-2, EUR/SA-2, SE/BB-3, SE/OPB, SE/ORP,  
SE/RBE, SE/XEU-2, SE/XO, C/PPS, CI/EU, CI/SE, EPO/EUR, IID, INT/RR,  
PPS/PO-3, (45/W)

85 6795646 ASR

PAGE 001  
TOR: 211747Z MAR 85

IN 6795646  
E 3 10232

SECRET 211754Z MAR 85 STAFF

CITE E 3 60232 I E 3 ACTING)

TO: DIRECTOR.

WNINTEL E 3 INTEL

SUBJECT: OVERVIEW OF STATUS OF ENVER HOXHA'S HEALTH

REF: E 3 60231 6795614

1. DURING HIS CURRENT TDY TO E 3 STATION E 3  
PREPARED A SUMMARY/OVERVIEW OF HIS PAST REPORTING ON THE  
HEALTH OF ENVER (HOXHA). WE ARE FORWARDING HIS REPORT IN  
OPS INTEL FORMAT FOR HEADQUARTERS BACKGROUND USE.

2. ENVER HOXHA'S HEALTH:

A. 1976: PROFESSOR GIUSEPPE ((ZORZOLI)) E 3  
A FRIEND OF E 3, TRAVELED TO ALBANIA TO ATTEND A MEDICAL  
SEMINAR. PROF. ZORZOLI, A SURGEON AND A SPECIALIST IN LUNG  
DISEASES, ON THAT OCCASION EXAMINED ENVER HOXHA. ACCORDING TO  
ZORZOLI, HOXHA HAD DIABETES AND SOME PROBLEMS WITH THE  
CIRCULATION OF THE BLOOD.

B. 1976: ALBERT ((ZURANI)) E 3, A CLOSE FRIEND  
OF E 3'S, VISITED ALBANIA WITH A GROUP OF WEST GERMAN  
BUSINESSMEN. ON THAT OCCASION IN TIRANA, ZURANI MET  
DR. NIKOLL ((SHURBANI)) (NO STATION TRACES) A CLOSE FRIEND OF  
BOTH ZURANI AND E 3. ALL WERE SCHOOL MATES AT THE HIGH  
SCHOOL IN SHKODER, ALBANIA FROM 1934 TO 1938. DR. SHURBANI,  
A HEART SPECIALIST, IS ENVER HOXHA'S PRIVATE PHYSICIAN.  
SHURBANI TOLD ZURANI THAT HOXHA HAD LIGHT HEART TROUBLE IN  
1976 AND THAT HE CONSTANTLY BEING TREATED AND PERIODICALLY  
CHECKED. ACCORDING TO ZURANI, DR. SHURBANI HAS ORDERED HOXHA  
TO AVOID STRESS AND TO SPEND WINTERS IN HIMARE (SOUTHERN  
ALBANIA) NEAR THE SEA.

DR. NIKOLL SHURBANI GRADUATED FROM THE UNIVERSITY OF  
BOLOGNA IN 1943 AND HE HAD THREE YEARS OF INTERSHIP IN MOSCOW  
IN THE LATE FORTIES.

C. 1983: IN 1983 A FRENCH PHYSICIAN (NF1) TRAVELED TO  
ALBANIA. THIS PIECE OF INFORMATION WAS RECEIVED FROM DR. ANGELO  
((SFERRAZZA)): DURING A CHAT WITH E 3 IN ROME IN 1984.  
(NO IDENTIFIABLE STATION TRACES.)

D. 1984: NEATHOLD LEARNED FROM HIS SISTER THAT IN THE  
SPRING OF 1984 TWO JAPANESE KIDNEY SPECIALISTS VISITED ALBANIA.  
E 3'S SISTER LEARNED THIS IN TIRANA IN APRIL 1984 FROM  
KATRINA ((POLFENA)) (NO STATION TRACES) (SEE E 3 48389/1)

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Date: 2005

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EXEMPTIONS Section 3(b)

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(2)(E) Methods/Sources

(2)(G) Foreign Relations

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PAGE 002  
TOR: 211747Z MAR 85

IN 6795646  
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68390/01R-55360), A PHYSICIAN IN TIRANA, WHO LIVES IN TIRANA AND WHO IS A CLOSE FRIEND OF [ ]'S SISTER. DURING THE 1984 MAY DAY PARADE IN TIRANA, [ ]'S SISTER SAW HOXHA ON TV AND FELT THAT HE HAD GROWN REALLY OLDER IN ONE YEAR. DURING THAT PARADE, AND FOR THE FIRST TIME, 12 EASY CHAIRS WERE PUT ON THE PLATFORM FOR AUTHORITIES. OBVIOUSLY THAT ARRANGEMENT WAS DONE TO AVOID EFFORT AND PAIN TO HOXHA. THE PARADE LASTED SOME TWO HOURS AND HOXHA REMAINED SEATED MOST OF THE TIME AND SO DID THE OTHER 11 MEMBERS OF THE POLITBUREAU. SISTER NOTED THAT HOXHA HAD LOST QUITE A BIT OF WEIGHT, HIS COMPLEXION WAS PALE AND HE MOVED BOTH HANDS WITH SOME DIFFICULTY.

E. ANOTHER IMPORTANT FACTOR REGARDING THE HEALTH OF HOXHA IS THAT BECAUSE OF HIS HEALTH CONDITION HE HAS BEEN UNABLE TO TRAVEL AND HE HAS CANCELLED ALL PERIODIC VISITS TO ALBANIAN TOWNS.

F. 1985: [ ] HAD A CHANCE TO TALK TO ~~PRENDUSHI~~ (NO STATION TRACES) IN TRIESTE ON 11 MARCH 1985 (SEE REF). PRENDUSHI ARRIVED THE SAME DAY FROM ALBANIA. AMONG VARIOUS SUBJECTS, THE HEALTH OF HOXHA WAS MENTIONED. PRENDUSHI SAID THAT HOXHA IS REPORTED TO BE SICK AND NO ONE HAS SEEN HIM EITHER ON TV OR IN PERSON FOR AT LEAST FOUR MONTHS.

G. [ ] SHOULD HAVE FURTHER INFORMATION ON HOXHA'S HEALTH FROM MRS. SILVIA ((ZORZOLE)), [ ] A CLOSE FRIEND OF THE ALBANIAN AMBASSADOR IN ROME. SHE IS ALSO A FRIEND OF DR. SELMERJIN ((BEGTESHI)), (NO STATION TRACES), AN ALBANIAN PHYSICIAN WHO TRAVELS TO ITALY, FRANCE AND SWITZERLAND AT LEAST TWICE PER YEAR. BEGTESHI IS IN CHARGE OF BUYING MEDICINES ABROAD.

H. FILE: DEFER. INDEX: ALL NAMES. DECL OADR DRV HUM  
4-82 ALL SECRET.

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CONF: SE/BB-5 INFO: ODPD-D, RF, FILE, QA/FILE, SEDORECORD, AF/OPS,  
AF/RB, AF/SB-4, DC/AF/RB, C/EUR, EUR/BC-4, EUR/BNL-3, EUR/CGT-3, EUR/CI,  
EUR/F-4, EUR/G-5, EUR/I-4, EUR/NOR-3, EUR/RR-2, EUR/SA-3, C/FR/RB,  
DC/FR/RB, FR/E-4, SE/IO, SE/OPB, SE/OREE, SE/ORP, SE/RBI, SE/RR-3,  
SE/XAF-2, SE/XEU-2, SE/XFR-4, SE/XO, EPO/AF, EPO/EUR, EPO/FD, (74/P)

85 6997031 ASO PAGE 001  
TOT: 120039Z APR 85 DIRECTOR 333406

SECRET

STAFF 120031Z DIRECTOR 333406

TO: IMMEDIATE INFO

WNINTEL

SUBJECT: DEATH OF ENVER HOXHA CFS

1. AS YOU KNOW, THE DEATH OF ENVER ((HOXHA)) HAS BEEN OFFICIALLY ANNOUNCED. WHILE OUR IMMEDIATE INTEREST IS IN ACQUISITION OF INTELLIGENCE ON ALBANIA IN THE FORESEEABLE FUTURE, WE ARE HOPEFUL THAT THE EVOLVING SITUATION WILL PRESENT OPERATIONAL OPPORTUNITIES SIMILAR TO THOSE WHICH OCCURRED WITH CHINA FOLLOWING THE DEATH OF MAO. WE ARE NOT BEING OVERLY OPTIMISTIC, BUT SIMPLY WISHED TO ALERT YOU, THE STATIONS AND BASES WHICH HAVE SHOWN INTEREST AND CAPABILITY IN THE ALBANIAN AREA, THAT ALBANIA IS CONSIDERED AN IMPORTANT TARGET AT THIS MOMENT AND WILL CONTINUE TO BE SO IN THE NEAR FUTURE.

2. WE WOULD GREATLY APPRECIATE YOUR ASSISTANCE IN THREE GENERAL AREAS. FIRST, WORKING WITH THE REQUIREMENTS LISTED BELOW, PLEASE TASK YOUR CURRENT ASSETS WHO HAVE ANY CONTACTS OR OPS RELATIONSHIPS WITH ALBANIAN OFFICIALS OR SOURCES. SECONDLY, WHERE YOUR LIAISON RELATIONSHIP IS APPROPRIATE, PLEASE DISCUSS THESE REQUIREMENTS WITH YOUR LOCAL LIAISON SERVICES AND ASK FOR THEIR ASSISTANCE IN REPORTING ON KEY AREAS. FINALLY, PLEASE BE ALERT FOR QUICKLY DEVELOPING OPPORTUNITIES TO EITHER ENHANCE AN ONGOING OPERATION OR TO DEVELOP NEW SOURCES ON ALBANIA. WHILE WE HAVE NOT HAD MUCH SUCCESSFUL EXPERIENCE WITH ALBANIAN OFFICIALS AND WHAT MOTIVATES THEM, IT IS POSSIBLE THAT SOME WILL BE SEEKING OR WILLING TO ACCEPT INSURANCE AGAINST DRASTIC POLITICAL AND PERSONNEL CHANGES IN ALBANIA.

3. ANY VIEWS OR SUGGESTIONS YOU MAY WISH TO OFFER ON HOW TO APPROACH THE ALBANIAN TARGET, EITHER IN A GENERAL SENSE OR IN A SPECIFIC OPERATION, WOULD BE GRATEFULLY RECEIVED AND REVIEWED.

4. ALBANIAN BACKGROUND: THE DEATH OF ALBANIAN PARTY LEADER ENVER HOXHA WAS ANNOUNCED ON ALBANIAN RADIO 11 APRIL. THE FUNERAL HAS BEEN SCHEDULED FOR 15 APRIL, WITH AN OFFICIAL MOURNING PERIOD LASTING BETWEEN 11 AND 18 APRIL. THE 76-YEAR-OLD PATRIARCH, WHO HAD BEEN IN POWER SINCE 1943, HAD BEEN IN ILL HEALTH FOR SEVERAL YEARS. HE AND HIS WARTIME COLLEAGUE THE LATE PREMIER MEHMET ((SHEHU)) FIRST ALLIED ALBANIA WITH THE USSR. IN 1961, HOWEVER, RELATIONS WERE BROKEN WITH THE SOVIET UNION, AND ALBANIA WITHDREW FROM THE WARSAW PACT IN 1968. THE COUNTRY'S ASSOCIATION WITH CHINA BEGAN

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12 Apr 85

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EXEMPTIONS Section 3(b)  
 (2)(A) Privacy  
 (2)(B) Methods/Sources  
 (2)(C) Foreign Relations

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PAGE 003  
TOT: 120039Z APR 85 DIRECTOR 333406

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ORIG: C/SE/BB-SE/RR/EE ( ) ; AUTH: C/SE/IO ( ) ;  
COORD: C/SE ( ) SE/X/EU ( ), FR/E ( ), DC/EUR/RR ( )  
AF/SB/R ( ) ; REL: C/EUR ( ) . CL BY ( )  
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ADV EUR 2055Z STAFF

ACTION: SE/RR-3 (578) INFO: ODPD-D, VR, FILE, MONITOR, SEDORECORD,  
SESUSPENSE, DDO-4, EUR/CI, EUR/1-4, EUR/RR-2, SE/BB-3, SE/IO, SE/OPB,  
SE/OREE, SE/ORP, SE/RBE, SE/USSR-2, SE/XEU-2, SE/XO, C/CPN, C/PPS, CI/EU,  
CI/SE, CPN/OCG, EPI/EE, EPO/EUR, IID, INT/RR, OCG/ICB-2, OED, PPS/AO-3,  
PPS/PO-3, PPS/SEO-5, PWSTAFF/BJ, (55/W)

85 7113923 ASP PAGE 001 IN 7113923  
TOR: 241634Z APR 85 [ ] 61971

S E C R E T 241631Z APR 85 STAFF

CITE ( 161971

TO: PRIORITY DIRECTOR INFO ( )

WNINTEL INTEL [ ] FGI

SUBJECT: ALBANIA - AFTER HOXHA

REF: DIRECTOR 333406

1. AS A DIRECT RESPONSE TO REFERENCE, [ ] HAS PROVIDED THE FOLLOWING REPORT, DATED 27 APRIL, WHICH WAS OBTAINED FROM A RELIABLE SOURCE. THE [ ] REPORT DOES NOT RESPOND TO THE REQUIREMENTS LISTED IN REF BUT WE FORWARD IT TO HQS FOR WHAT IT MAY BE WORTH.

2. THE ELECTION OF RAMIZ ((ALIA)) TO THE OFFICE OF SECRETARY OF THE PLA SOON AFTER HOXHA'S DEATH, AND ALIA'S FUNERAL ORATION DEALING WITH THE USUAL THEMES OF U.S. AND SOVIET IMPERIALISM, SUGGEST THAT EVERYTHING HAD BEEN PREPARED SEVERAL MONTHS IN ADVANCE WITH THE APPROVAL OF THE LATE LEADER.

3. THE INTERVAL BETWEEN THE DATE OF HOXHA'S DEATH, OFFICIALLY ANNOUNCED ON 11 APRIL, AND THAT OF THE FUNERAL (15 APRIL) MAY HAVE BEEN DUE TO THE TIME REQUIRED FOR THE NEW LEADERS, WHOSE VIEWS DIFFER, TO DECIDE WHETHER OR NOT TO INVITE CERTAIN FOREIGN DELEGATIONS, WHOSE ATTENDANCE WOULD HAVE REQUIRED TALKS OF A POLITICAL NATURE BY DELEGATION CHIEFS AND THE ALBANIAN LEADERS. IN THIS CONNECTION, THE FACT THAT THE OFFICIAL ALBANIAN PRESS SPOKE OF A FIRST HEART ATTACK ON 9 APRIL AND A SUBSEQUENT SHORT RECOVERY OF THE PATIENT CAN REASONABLY SUGGEST THAT THE DEATH TOOK PLACE 48 HOURS BEFORE THE DATE DECLARED.

4. THE SUBJECTS TOUCHED UPON IN ALIA'S SPEECH AND THE ALBANIAN REFUSAL TO ACCEPT THE SOVIET CONDOLENCE MESSAGE UNDERLINED THE ALBANIAN INTENTION TO CONFIRM PREVIOUS POLICY. THE NON-INVITATION OF FOREIGN DELEGATIONS DOES NOT NECESSARILY MEAN A BREAK IN THE POLICY OF "OVERTURES" RECENTLY UNDERTAKEN, BUT ONLY A WISH TO AVOID SUDDEN ACCELERATIONS OF THIS PROCESS BEFORE THE NEW LEADERSHIP HAS FIRMLY CONSOLIDATED ITS POSITION.

5. THE CIRCUMSTANCE THAT RECENT ALBANIAN "OVERTURES" COINCIDED WITH THE DETERIORATION OF HOXHA'S HEALTH SUGGESTS THAT ALIA WAS POSSIBLY THE AUTHOR OF THESE OVERTURES WHICH, HOWEVER, DO NOT REFLECT PRO-WESTERN POSTURES, BUT A CAUTIOUS ECONOMIC RELATION BOTH WITH WESTERN AND COMMUNIST COUNTRIES, CONFIRMING THE FIRM EXCLUSION OF BOTH SUPER POWERS.

24 Apr 85

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SUBJECT: BACKGROUND AND REQUIREMENTS FOR [ ] REGARDING ALBANIA

REF: FR/[ ] 12773 2108546

1. FOLLOWING UP OF [ ] AND HQS DISCUSSIONS WITH NEW CASE OFFICER OF [ ] WE OFFER THE FOLLOWING BACKGROUND AND REQUIREMENTS FOR [ ] USE WITH HIS ALBANIAN CONTACTS, ESPECIALLY IN THE EVENT OF A VISIT TO ALBANIA.

2. WITH THE DEATH OF LONG-TIME ALBANIAN STRONGMAN ENVER (HOXHA) IN 1985, ALBANIA IS IN THE MIDDLE OF A TRANSITION PERIOD. THE LIMITED INFORMATION WHICH WE HAVE AVAILABLE TO US SUGGESTS THAT ALBANIA IS CONTINUING TO MODIFY SLOWLY ITS LONG-HELD ISOLATIONIST AND OVERLY XENOPHOBIC VIEW VIS-A-VIS THE REMAINDER OF THE WORLD; THIS ACTIVITY CONTINUES EFFORTS BEGUN IN THE LAST DAYS OF THE HOXHA REGIME. THE INTELLIGENCE SIGNALS ARE FAIRLY CLEAR THAT ALBANIA SEEKS IMPROVEMENT WITH AT LEAST SOME OF ITS NEIGHBORS, ESPECIALLY GREECE AND ITALY. (AS THE STATION IS AWARE, RELATIONS WITH YUGOSLAVIA REMAIN QUITE STRAINED BECAUSE OF DIFFERENCES OF VIEW OVER THE ALBANIANS LIVING IN THE YUGOSLAV REGION OF KOSOVO, WHICH HAS A VERY SIZABLE ETHNIC ALBANIAN POPULATION. ASIDE FROM ITS IMMEDIATE NEIGHBORS, ALBANIA REPORTEDLY HAS TRIED TO IMPROVE RELATIONS WITH WEST GERMANY AND FRANCE.) HOXHA WAS REPLACED AS LEADER OF THE ALBANIAN WORKERS' PARTY BY RAMIZ (ALIA). BUT THE CONTINUED POLITICAL PROMINENCE OF HOXHA'S OLD ALLIES AND HOXHA'S WIDOW, NEXHMIJE ((HOXHA)), SUGGESTS TO SOME OBSERVERS THAT POLICIES OF THE DECEASED LEADER WILL NOT BE DISPOSED OF IN ANY WHOLESALE MANNER; CONTINUED INDICATIONS OF DEMARCHES TO OUTSIDERS ALSO SUGGEST THAT THE POLICIES OF THE FORMER ALBANIA LEADER ARE NOT SACROSANCT, HOWEVER.

3. IT IS AGAINST THIS BACKGROUND THAT CURRENT INTELLIGENCE COLLECTION AGAINST ALBANIA MUST BE VIEWED. WHILE THERE ARE OBVIOUS OVERLAPPING OF INTERNAL AND EXTERNAL FACTORS IN COLLECTING AGAINST ALBANIA, WE ARE SEPARATING SUGGESTED REQUIREMENTS INTO THE FOLLOWING AREAS:

- TEAR LINE-----
- A. FOREIGN POLICY CONSIDERATIONS, WHICH COULD BEST BE ANSWERED BY SENIOR-ECHELON OFFICIALS OF THE FOREIGN MINISTRY OR SENIOR MEMBERS OF THE ALBANIAN PARTY, ESPECIALLY POLITBURO AND SECRETARIAT MEMBERS.
- (i). IF ALBANIA IS, IN FACT, SEEKING TO ALTER ITS FOREIGN POLICY BY EXPANDING RELATIONS, WHAT ARE ITS BASIC GOALS AND OBJECTIVES? (FOR EXAMPLE, DOES IT SEEK ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENTAL ASSISTANCE, TECHNICAL DEVELOPMENTAL ASSISTANCE, OR POLITICAL SUPPORT FOR SOME REASON? IF THE LATTER, EXPLAIN FULLY. RECALL THAT ALBANIA HAS A CONSTITUTIONAL PROHIBITION AGAINST ACCEPTING FOREIGN CREDITS; ANY INDICATIONS THAT THIS POSITION MIGHT BE CHANGED IS OF INTEREST.)
- (ii). WHAT IS THE THINKING OF THE ALBANIAN LEADERSHIP ON EXPANDING RELATIONS WITH ITS NEIGHBORS OR OTHER EUROPEAN NATIONS, E.G., WEST GERMANY OR FRANCE? (NOTE ALSO THAT ALBANIA AND SPAIN HAVE JUST ESTABLISHED DIPLOMATIC RELATIONS.) WHAT FACTORS--BOTH POSITIVE AND NEGATIVE--ARE PIVOTAL IN THE DECISION-MAKING PROCESS WITH REGARD TO EACH COUNTRY BEING CONSIDERED FOR EXPANDED RELATIONS? HOW DOES THE ALBANIAN LEADERSHIP RANK ORDER COUNTRIES FOR POSSIBLE EXPANSION OF FOREIGN RELATIONS? AND WHY?
- (iii). TO WHAT EXTENT IS ANY SUCH DISCUSSION OF

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EXPANDED FOREIGN RELATIONS CAUSING CONTENTION WITHIN THE ALBANIAN LEADERSHIP? WHICH OFFICIAL(S) HAS EMERGED AS PERHAPS CHAMPIONING SUCH A DEMARCHE(S)? AND WHO REPRESENTS THE KEY OPPOSITION?

(IV). TO WHAT EXTENT IS THERE EVIDENCE OF SOVIET MEDDLING IN EFFORTS TO CHANGE ALBANIAN FOREIGN POLICY, AS WELL TO SUPPORT OR TO UNDERMINE THE POSITIONS OF GOVERNMENTAL OR PARTY OFFICIALS INVOLVED IN MATTERS OF KEY CONCERN TO THE SOVIETS? (IT SHOULD BE RECALLED THAT THE SOVIETS HAVE LONG COVETED A NAVAL BASE IN ALBANIA WHICH WOULD ALLOW BOTH A STRATEGIC FOOTHOLD IN THE MEDITERRANEAN BASIN AS WELL AS A POINT OF POLITICAL LEVERAGE FOR USE AGAINST YUGOSLAVIA.) IDENTIFY THOSE OCCUPYING LEADERSHIP POSITIONS WHO ARE SYMPATHETIC TO THE SOVIETS.

B. INTERNAL POLITICAL DEVELOPMENTS, WHICH COULD BEST BE ANSWERED BY SENIOR ALBANIAN PARTY OFFICIALS OR GOVERNMENTAL OFFICIALS WITH SENIOR PARTY CONTACTS:

(I). HOW POLITICALLY SOLID IS THE POSITION OF ALBANIAN FIRST SECRETARY ALIA? WHO ARE HIS KEY PARTY AND GOVERNMENTAL SUPPORTERS? TO THE EXTENT THAT ALIA IS STILL CONSOLIDATING HIS POLITICAL POWER AND POSITION, WHAT SENIOR-LEVEL PERSONNEL CHANGES WITHIN THE GOVERNMENT OR PARTY ARE IN THE OFFING? (OR PERHAPS THERE HAVE BEEN SUCH CHANGES WHICH HAVE NOT YET BECOME KNOWN IN THE WEST. NOTE THAT THE ALBANIAN PARTY CONGRESS IS SCHEDULED FOR EARLY NOVEMBER 1986, AND THIS EVENT WOULD LIKELY PROVIDE THE SETTING FOR PERSONNEL CHANGES WHICH ALIA DESIRES TO MAKE.) VIEWED SLIGHTLY DIFFERENTLY, A WELL-SOURCED CHARACTERIZATION OF ALIA'S CURRENT RELATIONS WITH KEY OFFICIALS--E.G., PREMIER ADIL ((CARCANI)), MINISTER OF DEFENSE PROKOP ((MURRA)), MINISTER OF INTERNAL AFFAIRS HEKURAN ((ISAI)), OR OTHER INFLUENTIAL PARTY LEADERS--WOULD BE USEFUL.

(II). WHAT IS THE POLITICAL RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN ALIA AND MEKHMJIJE HOXHA?

(III). TO WHAT EXTENT IS THERE ANY "OPPOSITION FACTION" IN ALBANIA AT THIS JUNCTURE? WHO COMPRISES IT? AND WHAT ARE ITS POLITICAL GOALS? ARE CLAN RIVALRIES INVOLVED IN THIS MATTER?

(IV). HOW IMPORTANT A POLITICAL ROLE IS CURRENTLY PLAYED BY THE MILITARY? BY THE INTERNAL SECURITY APPARATUS?

(V). TO WHAT EXTENT IS THE SOVIET UNION--OR ONE OF ITS EASTERN EUROPEAN SURROGATES--ATTEMPTING TO INFLUENCE INTERNAL ALBANIAN POLITICAL DEVELOPMENTS? TO WHAT END(S)?

C. THE ECONOMIC SITUATION, WHICH COULD BEST BE ADDRESSED BY KNOWLEDGEABLE OFFICIALS IN THE MINISTRY OF FOREIGN TRADE, MINISTRY OF DOMESTIC TRADE, MINISTRY OF FINANCE, OR SENIOR PARTY OFFICIALS HAVING RESPONSIBILITIES FOR ECONOMIC POLICY-MAKING.

(I). WHO ARE ALBANIA'S PRINCIPAL CURRENT TRADING PARTNERS AND WHAT ARE THE TYPES AND LEVELS OF GOODS BEING TRADED?

(II). WHAT TYPES OF WESTERN TECHNOLOGY DOES ALBANIA SEEK TO ACQUIRE AND FROM WHOM? HOW SUCCESSFUL HAVE THE ALBANIANS BEEN IN FULFILLING THEIR NEEDS/DESIRES?

(III). ANY FIGURES ON THE ALBANIAN TRADE/FINANCIAL SITUATION WOULD BE USEFUL: EXPORT EARNINGS, GROSS NATIONAL PRODUCT (USUALLY RENDERED AS NATIONAL INCOME IN EASTERN EUROPEAN ECONOMIES), PER CAPITA INCOME.

-----TEAR LINE-----

FOR [ ] DEF QUERY ABOUT ACQUIRING USEFUL INTELLIGENCE [ ] WE DO NOT BELIEVE (NOR DID WE STATE) THAT IT IS "UNCONCEIVABLE" THAT [ ] COULD PROVIDE DISSEMINABLE INTELLIGENCE; BASED ON WHAT HE HAS PROVIDED TO DATE, HOWEVER, [ ] COMMENTS AND OBSERVATIONS ARE TOO SKETCHY OR REPRESENT BOILERPLATE VIEWS AND THUS ARE OF BACKGROUND INTEREST TO ANALYSTS. FOR [ ] TO STATE THAT THE U.S. IS ATTEMPTING TO DESTABILIZE ALBANIA BEGS THE QUESTION OF SPECIFIC ACTIONS WHICH ARE GENERATING SUCH CONCERNS AMONG THE ALBANIAN LEADERSHIP. ADDITIONALLY, [ ] COMMENTS ABOUT THE INAUGURATION OF THE ALBANIAN--YUGOSLAV RAIL LINE, WHICH WAS OFFICIALLY OPENED ON 6 AUGUST, CLOSELY PARALLEL TO PRESS REPORTING AND COMMENTARY ABOUT THIS EVENT. IN SUM, [ ] COMMENTS HAVE PROVIDED NO TRULY PRIVILEGED INFORMATION ON ALBANIAN DEVELOPMENTS; RATHER, HE IS REINFORCING BASICALLY STANDARD ANALYTICAL VIEWS.

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Document Date:

Document Type: Report

From: FBI, New York, New York

To:

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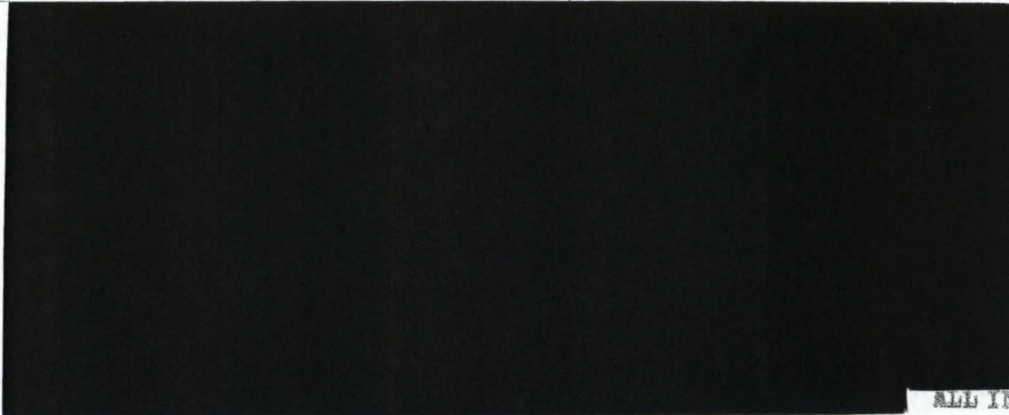
New York, New York



This communication is classified "Secret" in its entirety.

On June 12, 1987, NY T-1, a source of the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) that has provided reliable information in the past, provided the following insights concerning [

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To:

Subject: Albanian matters

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MAR 11 1988  
New York, New York

[REDACTED] (S)

This communication is classified "Secret" in its entirety.

NY T-1 is an Albanian scholar who is extremely knowledgeable reading Albanian matters. NY T-1 has some first hand knowledge of Albanian political leaders, including [REDACTED] on numerous occasions in the past, NY T-1 has provided the Federal Bureau of Investigation with reliable information. The following information was provided by NY T-1 on February 25, 1988:

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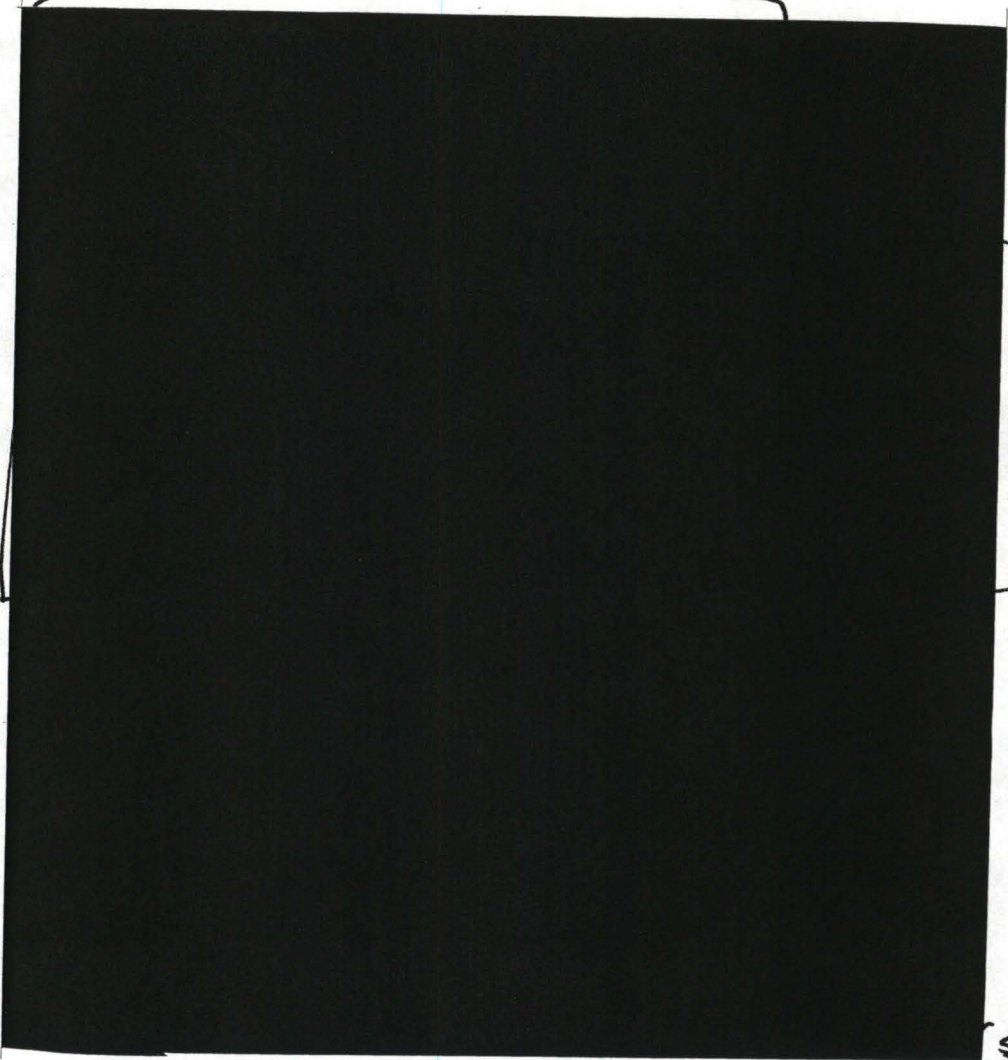
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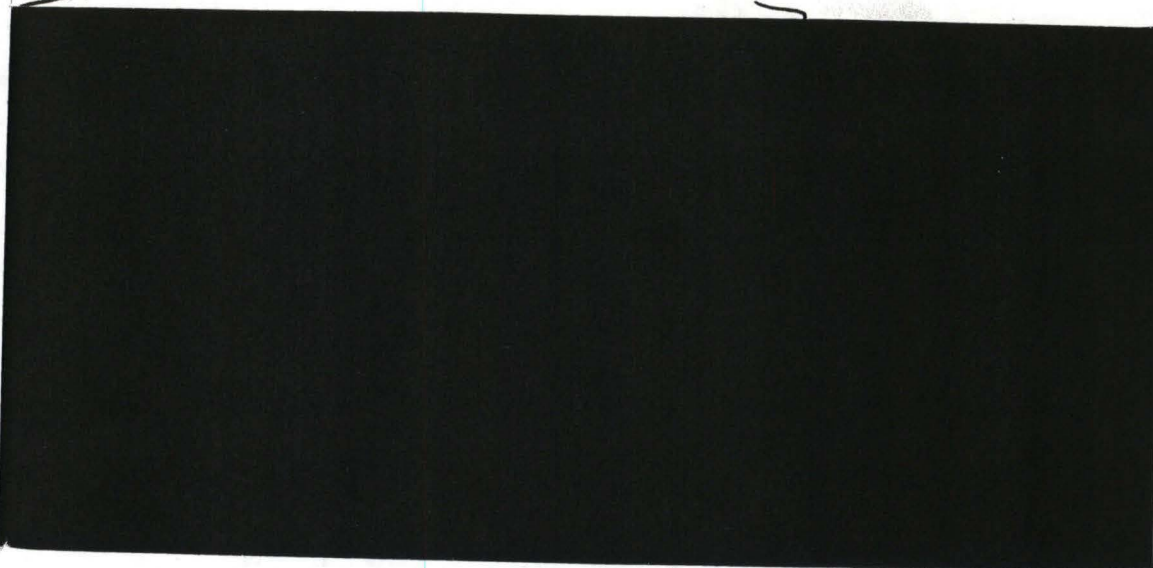
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NY T-1 views these developments as a precursor to establishing diplomatic relations between Great Britain and Albania. Within the past year Albania has established relations with Canada, West Germany and Greece.

Because of pressing internal economic problems, NY T-1 believes that the Albanian Government recognizes the urgency of developing its economy through trade with the West, in particular with West Germany. The West Germans have brought up the issue of human rights, for the first time the Albanian Government is beginning to show some sign of sensitivity to world opinion regarding their human rights record. In a recent speech reported in the Albanian press, Foto Cami, Secretary of the Central Committee of the Albanian Communist Party,

mentioned the fact that Albania is being pressured to improve its human rights record. Cami denied there were any problems, claiming that Albania had freedom of speech, assembly and a good human rights record. Cami also claimed that Albania had done a great service to her people by liberating them (S)

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from religious prejudices. Though Cami's speech was one of denial of any abuses, it was the first time that human rights issues have been discussed by such a high level official publicly in Albania.

[REDACTED]

With the notable exception of the United States and Soviet Union, NY T-1 believes Albania will continue to move away from its past isolationism, and will probably soon establish diplomatic relations with Great Britain. This opening up to the West is already bringing greater concern in Albania regarding their reputation for human rights abuses. Such abuses still abound, but NY T-1 believes Albania will make progress, though agonizingly slow, on its human rights record, because of the new sensitivity to world opinion.

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