

DISPATCH

SECRET

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1. Attached herewith are E - J's comments on certain personalities of the Central Committee of the Albanian Workers' Party. The officials in question are: Enver HOJRA, Mehmet SHASHU, Spire KOLXHA, Hysni KAPO, Riqir BALLUKU, and Gogo MUSLI.

2. E - J will continue to prepare such analyses and they will be forwarded to Headquarters as the information is produced.

Enver Hoxha - E

*FILE NUMBER IS THE
BASIS OF THIS DOCUMENT.*

28 December 1962
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Komiteti Qendror -

PYRQJA POLITIKE.

ENVER HOXHA

E kam njojur per here te pare ne Liceun francez te Korçës. ~~Atesh~~Here, sekretari i pare i sotem i Partise se. Punes se Shqipërise ish profesor i lendetë Moral, ne klasat e ulta te Liceut. Une ndodheshë nxenes ne klasen e III-te (Sixième). Detyren e profesorit, Enveri e ushtroi per nje vit vete, mësasi u dbua nga Liceu per idetë e tij majtiste.

Jemi rritkuar disa vjete me vone, kur, une sapo kisha mbaruar Liceun dhe, sipas urdherit te Partisë, nisje është na mal. Gjate tere përdes se okupacionit e te Lumes jemi takuar siu me pak here. Sidoqoftë, njihejshim e bisedonim me njeri tjeterin si tijeshit te njojur, pa asnjë intimitet. Ne fakt, sa kohe që Partia nuk kish marrë pushtetin ne dore, udheheqesit e saj (dhe ne keta rumin edhe Hoxha) mbanin një qendrim te thjeshtë e miqësor me anëtarët e Partise. Nje here bile, se bashku me dy rroje personale te tij, i kam shërbyer si udheheqes per ta futur ne qytetin e Korçës e fshetur ne një bazi (shtepi) ilegale.

Heren e ~~xx~~ fundit jemi rritkuar në verën e 1946-ës, ne Beograd. Ateher, Enver hoxha kish arritur si kryetar i delegacionit shqiptar ne negocjimi dëshmorëtë shqiptarë e njësisë, te boshkëpunimit e të ndërmec rruajtësve shqiptarë. Përveç kësaj, i kishte qenë i caktuar ne Beograd, "Kosova" (në qytetin e Prishtinës) (në qytetin e Prishtinës) ne Enveri beri një çmimi i madhi (100,000, Kilo g, Shqipëri).

CS COPY

ENVER FOXHA
(Face 2)

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Komiteti Qëndror HYPOJA POLITIKE

Ishë e fundit here që pata rrethin ta shoh se afermi e të bisedoi me tjetra. Qysh atehere e kam pare vetem prej se largu, ne ndonje parade ase rruges kur kalonte me automotillin e tij.

Opinionet që pasojnë mbi personin e tij, pra, jene pjeserisht personale dhe pjeserisht te deduktura nga të kam degjuar prej mëve e shkeve te mij te diku shen ne Shqiperi.

Ka qendruar, kurdoher, permbl te gjithe udheheqesit e tjere, dhe kjo, qe nga themelimi i Partise. Eshte i veimi qe ka mbetur nga i pari Komitet Qendror (zgjedhur nga Miladin Popoviçi) qe ne Nendorin e 1941-se. Qysh atehere kish postin e pare: ate te sekretarit politik. Embajtji deri me sot duke kaperxyer te gjitha krizat. Veten per nje moment, por shume te shkurter, iu avit Koçi i Xoxes, ish sekretar organizatif i Partise ~~qe u~~ (1941).

Zakonishit, e sidomos ketu ne Greqi, (me sa kam kuptuar) mendohet se frenat e situate ne Shqiperi i ka me Teper Mehmet Shehu. Nuk jam i ketij mendimi. Mendoi se frenat e Shqiperise, edhe ne momentet me kritike per 'te (1948), i ka patur Enveri. Opinion tim eshte ky: Mehmeti eshte bashkepuntoni i tij me i ngsushte; dora e djathtete e tij. Diktatori i vertete ka gene qe mbetet Enveri. Ne rast se Mehmet Shehu eshte pese koke permbi udhehegesit e tjere te Partise, nuk pushon, prape se prape, te jete nje koke ne poshte se su Enveri. Enveri ka qendruar kurdohere ~~peshki~~ 6 koke permbi te tjerit. Mehmeti, nga i barabarte midis te barabarteve (1949) bari nje karriere vertikale qe sot ndodhet (1962) pese koke me lart.

Tek-tuk, ne shtypin e lire, figuron gjykimi se Enveri nuk eshte njeri me puls, se ka nje karakter me teper te bute e qe peson ndikimin e ndonje tjetri. Nuk pajtohem esme kete opinion. Edhe puls ka, edhe karakter ka. Pa asnjë dyshim, Mehmeti eshte me i eger; Temperamenti i tij me i spikatur. Merita te domosdoshme keto per nje udheheqes ne nj regjim totalitar. Mirepo ketu nuk duhet harruar fakti se krahas ketyre meritave. Mehmeti ka edhe te meta te medha: eshte kapricioz, i rrembyer dhe ka kurdohere nevoje per ndokeng te qa ta permbeje. Aqe me teper sepse deshirat e tij i mer per realitetet, sepse udhehicet shume nga pasionet e tij personale, sense rrembehet nga sukseset e castit.

Ndryshe nga Mehmeti, Enveri eshte me teper politik, me teper diplomat, me realist. E, tere jetë e tij tregon se sekretari i pare i sot em i K.C. eshte udhehequr nga paftimi: "mat shtate here e prit nje hero". Ndryshe nga Mehmeti ce zekte **zgjedhje** sanguinj, Enveri di te shtrije kembet sa eshte krevati. Nuk i munçon, pastaj, as guximi, as pulsë. Enveri nuk ka guximin e një vërtetaku kapësai (siç eshte Mehmeti) por ate te nje informanti te filosuar, se di te bëje leshime e këncsione (ndryshe nga Mehmeti që as është intendent i këtij ministri) atëherë kur keto janë të dominojnë, t'ju rrujnë. Ze mos kritik **zgjedhje** bon sëns. Di t'ju jepim këtë këshilloje në mënyrë, kur si i përvjet, nuk çake te llogarishem, kjo është një dëm i këshillimit.

On Aug. 10, 1945, he was admitted to the Mayo Clinic, Rochester, Minn., where he died on Aug. 12.

ENVER MOXHA
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Komiteti Qendror
BYROJA POLITIKE

Nga te gjithe udheheqesit e Partise, Enveri gezon sympathine me te madhe te mases se Partise. Ne kete, natyrish, perveç meritave te tij reaktive, ka influencuar edhe i ashtuqajturi kult i personalitet-it, kultivuar per vjetje e vjete me radhe rath personit te tij.

Në 1952 Komiteti gendror mori ne diskutim te veçante "problemin buqesor", nje nga me te veshtirat. Studimin e raportit e te masave, Enveri ia la Mehmetit. Rezultati: Plenumi, sipas direktivave qe vermbante reporti i Mehmetit, vendosi te hedhe parullen e "kolektivizimit integral". Dikjete dite me vone (sigurisht sepse te tilla ~~raza~~^{Kishin} gene ate here udhezimet e Moskës qe bente ligjin ne Tiranë) plenumi i K.Q. f^{or}ke saj here ~~ndezza~~ sipas nje reporti te dyte, te mbajtur nga Enver Hoxha, demon parullen e kolektivizimit integral.

Thuaqse ne te njejeten periode Partia meq ne diskutim qeshtjen e ashpersinjt te Luftes se klasave. Te gjithe perjegjesine e kesaj luftë antipopullore (pushkatime pa gjyqe, arrestime massive, pushime ne-punesishë "te dyslimte" ne administratë, etj), Enveri ia le perseri Mehmetit Hoxha, qendron ne hije, qellimisht... Por disa muaj me vone, kur mbahet Kongresi i ardhshëm i Partise dhe kur konstatohet se ashpersimi i Luftes se klasave kish shkuar shume larg ne Shqiperi, (perjegjesi Mehmet Shehu), Enveri nuk mungon te dale rerseri si shpetimitar i situates. Kujme cilesin e tij, si u është hesges Nr. 1, propozon perberjen e Byrose politike te atelieresh, ~~me~~ Hoxha e cileson Mehmetin nje nga "udheheqesit me te cuuar te Partise, me te talentuar, ~~me~~ te domosdoshem" por... "qe ka nevoje te frenohet disi sepse shkthe shume i rrembyer", te njejeten kohe.

Kur sjell nader mend retrospektivisht personalitetin e profesorit te ri te Liceut ne njohje ne Korgje, nuk mund te mos habitem me fektin ce sot, my mesues insinjipient, drejtton fated e Shchiprise. Asje te vecante nuk kish. Mirepo por hic te se vejetet duhet te prandje personi insinjipient of ish professor me 1977-78 ne Korgje, nuk dujk fare i mëryshen kure e teknike per mal si partiten. Dhe kjo i kushtahet prezent, i cili, qe nuk gjeneronit ne imponues kui mëson, nuk dëmarron i tilla. Përveç se është i liri, i cili te kuptit, te jeshit i tij. Nuk mund te kuptoj, i cili qe gjithashtu, i cili

ENVER HOXHA
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Komiteti Qendror
BYROJA POLITIKE

THJEËSHTE, komunistin e mesme, fshatarin e bariun. Gruan dhe te riun. Në te njejtën kohe nuk duhet haruar se pergjegjesite te kalitin. Njerez që gjër dje te dukën zero, po i ve ne një post me rendesi, te imponojne me vone me funksionet e tyre. Enveri ka bere per shume vjetë me radhe shkollën e pushtetit. Dhe e verteta eshte se ka dijtur te perfitoje nga eksperanca e tij, nga personalisht personale, nga ushtrimi i fuqise q'i iu dha. Pergjegjesite te smadhojne ne sht e te tjereve. (natyrishët me konditen që te dish t'i perballosh me sukses deri ne një fare pike). Kjo ka ndodhur edhe me Enverin.

Si qdo njeri ka te metat e tij. Natyrishët keto fshihen ne Shqipëri. Personalisht mendoj se midis te metave te tij duhet te permdndur:

a) megollamia e tij. Kulti i personalitetit që i eshte bere per vjetë te tera, ia ka fryre mente. Enveri i 1954-es, e pa dysim edhe i sotme nuk eshte Enveri i kohes se okupacionit. Atehere, ne takimet me njerezit e popullit ishte me i dashur, me njeri. Tani, kur del per fja lime, eshte me teper robot se sa njeri, me teper theatrel se sa natyral. Ka veteopindonin se eshte i vetmi, i rezevendesuar.

b)Ketu ne Greqi kam degjuar se eshte edhe pedernast. Sa kohe isha ne Shqipëri nuk me kish zene veshi diçka te tillë. Ketu, kete te mete, e konsiderojne si një fekt te kryer. Percekojne bile se Mari Samarxhiu, një tregetar lekuresh i emigruar që nga 1943 ne Greqi, - ne gjendje te mirë ekonomike tanë ne Selenik-, e ka patur dylber te tij. Natyrishët, personalisht, es mund ta përgjenjeshtroi, es mund ta vertetoj kete aksaze.

c)Dobesi te theksuar mëaj grave. Sa kohe që ish profesor ne Korçë, kish famen e një Don Juan-i. Me kete e ndihmonte edhe paraqitja e tij. Bile nje nga "amantet" e tij -vazze nga me te bukurat atehere ne Korçë, ndodhet tanë e martuar ne Selatikë Tanca MXXXXX MISHU (me surir e çuperise Tanca XXXXX Manu). Si ndjekes fastanesh njiheshë edhe gjate kohes se okupacionit. Që nga 1945-të e ketej, nuk kam degjuar gje mbi aventurat erotike te tij.

d) Mungesen e qëd sentimmësi. Ka djegur, kurdochere, bashkëpunetë sretë tij me te aferte. Jashtë karrierës, jashtë jetes politike te tij, nuk ka llogaritur gje. As mëqesit e vjetra, as lidhjet familjare, ka patur ndanjet e paraçysht (dergoi ne vdekje burrin e se motres, Oma rin, nje nga kryeret e Ballit Komitetar, ne shkëpin e te cilin edhe kish vendruar por t'u fshëllur gjate okupacionit si ilegal; Koçin e Xoxes, që te gjithe miqt' e tij te dikurset; "Mëvojat e keterore" dhe "ambiciojet personale" kane qenë kurdochere permbi sentimentet. Ka treguar një egersi, e cilë, ne të shumten e rastive, ish jo e domosdoshme. Ka preferuar kurdochere zgjigjet ekstremitate, radikale. Dhe te gjitha këtë ka dijtur t'i paraqise si Pont Pilati.

Translation

The Central Committee

The Political Bureau

Enver HOXA

I made his acquaintance at the French classical school of Korce. Enver HOXA 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 HOXA was expelled from the school because of his leftist ideas. I met Enver HOXA 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 HOXA to a safe-house in Korce. In 1946 I met Enver HOXA in Belgrade for the last time. Enver HOXA 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-attaché by the Albanian delegation in Belgrade. I accompanied Enver HOXA 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 HOXA 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 anticomunist Albanian.) Enver HOXA always has been political secretary of the Party. For a short time only, his position was in danger when Koci XOLE became organizer secretary of

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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, i.e. 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 intrasigent. 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,

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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 socalled cult of person ality 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 manouvre in charging others to put into execution the orders. The example of Koci XOLE'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 administratiion), 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 aggraviation of the struggle among classes, Enver HOXHA showed up as the savior of the situation.

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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/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 excite better than anybody else the simple partisan, the average communist, the farmer, the shepherd, 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 SAMARHIIU, a dealer in skins, migrated in 1943 to Greece. Hari SAMARHIIU lives in Salonica at the present time. He is a wealthy man. I cannot neither deny nor confirm the news about HOXHA's immorality.

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- 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 OMARI, his brother-in-law, one of the leaders of the Balli Kombetar. Enver HOXHA found shelter in OMARI'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 BRAHIMI lives today with his family in Paris. He knows everything about Enver HOXHA.