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ALBANIAN PROGRAMMES

9th June 1952

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NEMESIS KNOCKS AT THE DOOR by T. Zavalani (S)

On May 1st the underground groups of the Soviet emigres political organisation in Western Germany distributed a leaflet among the Soviet occupation troops in the Eastern Zone. "We won the war" says the leaflet - "but nothing has changed. Kolhozes, Stakhanovism and concentration camps are the order of the day, just as before. The invalids of the 'Great Patriotic War' are reduced to begging in the streets of Moscow." On this 1st of May the Bolsheviks are celebrating their victory upon us, the Russians. They have stolen our victory. They are turning us into oppressors of other nations. But the day of uprising and liberation will come. Russia will be free again."

Thus the wheel of history has turned full circle. The Bolsheviks who were the master organisers of the underground struggle for power, are now being fought against with their own weapons. Soviet citizens, most of whom were born and brought under Bolshevik rule and who have taken great risks to escape from the clutches of the N.K.V.D., are carrying on the struggle for the overthrow of Stalin and his henchmen.

It is just over fifty years since Lenin started applying in his political articles and pamphlets Marxist principles, to

Tsarist Russian

Tsarist Russian economic and social conditions. Then in 1903 came the parting with the Mensheviks and the Bolshevik Party was born. Then came the abortive Revolution of 1905 which was called the dress-rehearsal of the successful one in 1917. During all those years the headquarters of the Bolshevik revolutionary movement were abroad. The birthplace of the Bolshevik Party itself had been London, as it were. Lenin, the guiding brain of the Revolution, lived in exile until April 1917. He went back to Russia when the Tsarist regime was no more. He worked successfully to turn the democratic revolution into the dictatorship of the Bolshevik Party. Stalin went a step further and made himself the all-powerful, absolute dictator of the Soviet Empire. To the Russian people. thirty-five years of Bolshevik rule have brought hard work, misery and oppression. These bitter fruits of the Revolution are presented in the official propaganda as collective farming, Stakhanovism, regenerating corrective labour, Soviet or people's democracy, and so on. But the Soviet citizens who suffer in their homes the hardships of Bolshevik tyranny are not taken in by the shameless self-praise of Communist propaganda. They are escaping from the "Soviet paradise" every time they get a chance. The ranks of the anti-Communist emigration all over the free world are increasing every day. People who fled from Tsarism were mostly intellectuals and professional politicians. While these who escape from Stalin's dictatorship are members of the toiling

masses, those

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masses, those very people for whom the Revolution was to open a new millenium. That is why the men of the Kremlin are so angry and scared. They are taking drastic measures in order to seal off the Eastern Zone of Germany. That part of the Iron Curtain gave the best chance of escape to people who wanted to shake off the yoke of Bolshevik tyranny. To the yearning of the Soviet people for freedom and a better life the men of the Kremlin answer by tightening the grip of the Secret Police and by raising new barriers around the Soviet Empire.

If that happens in Soviet Russia, the birthplace of Communism, how much worse things must be in the satellite countries. The hardships inflicted upon the subjugated peoples of Eastern Europe are infinitely greater because the men of the Kremlin besides imposing the dictatorship of their Communist stooges, are forcing the economic development of the satellite countries into the Soviet pattern. What is more, they want to carry out in Eastern Europe in a few years an economic upheaval which in Russia took thirty years. It means that in Russia there was a fairly long stretch of time during which the workers and the peasants truly believed in the good intentions of the Soviet regime. They earnestly thought that they had become the owners of the land and the means of production and that they would be working for themselves. Now they are realising the fallacy of their hopes and are turning more and more anti-Bolshevik.

In Albania, as in the other satellite countries, the illusions about the good to be expected from a Communist regime lasted a

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short while even among those followers of the National Liberation Movement who honestly and unreservedly fought for the freedom of our peoples. The subordination of our country to the economic and strategic interests of Soviet Russia showed the Communist ruling clique in their true role. The Albanian people and even many of the genuine patriots among the Communists soon realised that the quislings of Fascism had been replaced by the satraps of Stalinism. The Communist rulers, instead of striving to win the confidence of the people by promoting their well-being, struggled among themselves to become the trusted servants of the Moscow Politburo. The men of the Krealin with satanic cynicism played them against one another and secured the prompt carrying out of every change of policy aiming at the thorough exploitation of the country's resources and the people's energy to the greater benefit of the mighty Soviet Union. Therefore the crisis in the ranks of the Communist Party in Albania, as well as in the other satellite countries has been going on ever since they came to power.

Underneath the political crisis due to the frenzied efforts of every prominent Communist ruler to become the chief quisling of Moscow, there has been an acute economic crisis. This was due to the ruthless pressure of the Bolshevik rulers to carry through the Sovietisation of the satellite countries at a breakneck speed. When the resistance of the people, especially of the peasants,

became too

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became too strong and the countries were heading towards economic disaster, Moscow called a "halt." Each time a number of prominent Communists were made the scapegoats for the failure of the previous policy.

In 1951, while Enver Hodja was in Moscow imploring his Soviet masters for help to save his crumbling regime, Mehmet Shehu launched a raving campaign against the so-called Kulaks and for the compulsory collectivisation of agriculture. Then Enver Hodja came back and reversed the policy throwing the blame upon the Plenum of the Central Committee. Thus Enver Hodja recovered his leading position and Mehmet Shehu saved his skin. But for how long? This question is particularly appropriate these days when we see Mme Anna Pauker accused of ideological deviationism and taken down from her pedestal. Yet, until yesterday Anna Pauker was the admired and venerated Communist leader, she was the intimate friend of Stalin with whom she communicated through a direct telephone wire. Now we hear that she has sinned against Communist orthodoxy by deviating to the right and to the left. In reality Anna Pauker and the other dethroned Communist leaders of Rumania were made the scapegoats for the failure of the recent monstary reform to palliate popular discontent due to food shortages and a growing economic crisis.

Looking at the sudden disgrace of Anna Pauker, Enver Hodja and Mehmet Shehu must be trembling in their shoes. The day will come

for them

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for them too, to be used as scapegoats in order to appease the wrath of the Albanian people. When that happens the Albanian people will register their downfall as a major victory in their struggle against Communist and Soviet domination.

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ALBANIAN PROGRAMMES

ONE MORE PLAN By A. Andoni (S)

16th June 1952

By giving full details of the Five Year Plan, Radio Tirana unwittingly exposed once again the chaos of percentages that has overtaken that regime. We heard that Albania is going to have another Five Year Plan - a more comprehensive and a much better organised one. A master plan that will make her a shining star in the socialist firmament. According to the report, which Spiro Koleka submitted to an extraordinary session of the National Assembly on May 19th, this new plan "provides for the building of a strong industry to cover the country's needs and for the laying of the foundations of agriculture and the preparation of conditions essential to the gradual and voluntary transition of the peasants to the more advanced stage of agricultural co-operatives." In his long report Spiro Kolska told the frepresentatives of the people" that the plan aimed also "at eliminating the need to import cereals. fuel and a variety of consumer goods." As regards the spiritual elevation of the people, Koleka assured those assembled in council that his master plan was further framed "to speed up the cultural revolution, to liquidate illiteracy and to promote efficiency in the new working methods."

The report was as prolific in detail as it was pretentious and high-sounding in generalities. The manner in which Koleka presented

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it to the Assembly and the way the Assembly received it give us the impression that the Tirana Communists have themselves been stupefied by the smoke-screen of percentages originally intended to dassle their victims, the Albanian people. That the Tirana Communists needed some sort of sedative after a series of consecutive and disastrous failures is not difficult to appreciate. But that they should go and seek respite and refuge behind methods and projects already in disrepute can be expected only from coward puppets like Enver Hoxha and his clique whose subservience to the Kremlin has shorn them clean of any remnants of objective and independent judgment. Did they forget so quickly the public confessions they themselves made for having failed so miserably in 1948, 1950, 1951 and 1952?

In circumstances and content Koleka's report resembles an earlier one submitted by comrade Gogo Nushi to the First Party Congress in late 1948. With explosive suddenness the Tirana Communists realised - or at least so confessed - that their first Five Year Plan launched under Tito's patronage had crumbled to dust and ruins. Three years of hard work, sweat and privation suffered by the Albanian people had all been in vain. But then the Tito-Cominform dispute saved the day for Enver Hoxha's clique. A scapegoat was found in the person of the once mighty Koci Koxe. With "spontaneous enthusiasm" the Congress heard from Gogo Nushi

that a

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that a new Two Year Plan under Stalin's tutelage was going to achieve what the defunct Five Year Plan under Tito's guidance had failed to do. This report was followed by a year of confusion and internal struggle for party control. After Xoxe's execution in June 1949 and the emergence of Mehmet Shehu as the power behind the throns all the party machinery was geared to the fulfilment of this new plan. But it soon became clear that Mehmet Shehu was more interested in the class struggle as such and in the ruthless drive for collectivisation than in the actual working out of the plan. His measures intensified peasant resistance to the extent that in early 1950, a new purge swept the party and the country. But the drive went on. A dry summer and inefficient planning threatened the very foundations of the regime. For some time noone heard of the Two Year Plan. Then in early 1951 both Hoxha and Shehu had to admit the complete failure of collectivisation and had to reverse their decisions. Meanwhile two more extensive purges had sent many a Communist to where he belonged.

During the months of chaos that followed, Radio Tirana gave from time to time evasive percentages intended to show the gradual fulfilment of the Two Year Plan. According to statements made by Communist bosses the Maliq Sugar Factory had been completed, the Tirana Power plant had started to function, the output of the Patos and Kucove oilfields had tremendously increased - in short, everything had turned out so well, thanks to the miraculous touch of

the Great

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the Great Stalin!

And yet something seemed to have gone wrong with the timetable. From the time the First Party Congress has wound up its labours in November 1948 until the beginning of this year, three whole years had elepsed - three years with as many costly failures and even more ruthless and extensive purges. But the Tirana Communists, like very well trained parrots, kept singing praises to the Two Year Plant And in all probability they would have continued to do so for a much longer period had the alarm not been rung once again at the beginning of this year. After bitter and dissipating behind-the-scenes quarrels between Hoxha and Shehu the Second Party Congress was convened in March of this year. It fell to Enver Hoxha to talk of the past and to admit that collectivisation had completely failed, and the industrialisation campaign had met with very serious obstacles. When his turn came, Mehmet Shehu spoke of the future. He was the first to mention publicly the new Five Year Plan which is going to change the face of Albania and will make up for time and effort lost during the past three years. And then we heard from Enver Hoxha himself that over three thousand Party members had been purged. Some two months later Koleka gives full details of this new master plan.

Not only this report but the whole chain of events during and