

FEATURES OF THE ALBANIAN TOTALITARIAN STATE RELATIONS BETWEEN RELIGION AND THE STATE

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Abstract

After the end of World War II, it was established the totalitarian regime. Albania was transformed into the country where the most severe and intolerant form of Communism originated and developed from, and which isolated the country from the outer world and put it in a state siege. Years went by and every power was concentrated in the hand of one single man, The Dictator Enver Hoxha. the totalitarianism that was being established in Albania, considered all as being equal and aimed at having the whole nation under its control. In this paper I will present the features of the Albanian totalitarian state during 1945-1990. I will introduce the way the state was organized, how the leadership of that time, headed by the state chairman Enver Hoxha, managed to run the state. how did such a system manage to change, transform the whole social life and why was Religion exactly impinged? I will focus on the aspect of human freedoms and rights such as: practice of religious freedoms, imprisonings, murders of the clergymen, and why was the state interested in invading the Clergy. What was the real reason of religion prohibition?

Keywords: Dictature, communism, totalitarianism, religion, state, prosecution

Albanian totalitarianism and the commons of totalitarian systems

Totalitarianism is the activity of one single political party which monopolizes all political activity and the ideology of this party is turned into the official law of state. Political system that was installed in Albania after the Second World War was “ The regime one-party has in its hands all of national structures and is turned into a political dominated force where has a total control over all society.”¹⁵² At the outset, the state-party had the strategy of domination of each sector of society, elimination of all opposing parties and specially the religion that was seen as the single real obstacle in establishing the new communist order. “ First of all, totalitarsim is a certain outlook. Before it is showed in a shape of prison, concentration camp, police controle, totalitarianism comprises a thought; it is expressed through a certain social logic, comprises a special inventive configuration and a legitimation of a precise frame of the truth and of a special unchangeable group of transconception”¹⁵³ . According to philosopher Artan Fuga totalitarianism can be studied and explained through three conceptual frames: Spatial- Totalitarianism in different countries. The common philosophical logic of totalitarian regimes installed in different countries, despite different socio-cultural conditions of their determining. Time- Philosophical logic and social of authoritarianism, dictatorship and authoritarian regime showed by history. Cultural- Philosophical logic of totalitarianism and its relations with whole spiritual and intellectual creativity of society.”¹⁵⁴

Function of totalitarian power in Albania was based on certain ideas they hold for half of century this political idea lived in state-party. “The thought that it is completely

¹⁵²Skura, Gentjana, “Experience in construction of Albanian state 1945-2005”, p 79, “SHBLU”, Tirana, 2011.

¹⁵³ Fuga, Artan, “Paths towards cave of snake ”, p. 18, “Ora”, Tirana 2001.

¹⁵⁴ Fuga, Artan, “Paths towards cave of snake p. 18, “Ora”, Tirana 2001.

possible to know reality in a objective manner, the thought that a politic based on a Leninist ideology is unmistakable, that determinism is essential and that can be done long predictions, thought for necessity of directive role of communist party in the state`s structure.”¹⁵⁵

Every other thought that left towards these ideas was seen as a ideological mistake, sabotage or enemy with new power and order that was being established. Albanian totalitarianism that was situated from 1945 to 1990`s was characterized by: One single official ideology it is refered all of aspects and activites of human existence. The sole ideology must be embraced and absorbed by all members of totalitarian society without any exemption. Everyone that go controversary with official ideology or with principles of new communist state establishing, was seen as an obstacle for aid of system. One single massive party directed by dictator , framed in a restricted hierarchy shape. Each sector and piece of of state, party, society is concenstrate in leadership`s state-party hands. A police terror system connected narrowly with single party and it has the essential activity the war with enemies of regime and class or arbitrary layers. Totalitarian terror, differently from that of previous autoritary regimes, was not simply a repressive means, but a means that liquidated opponents and kindled fear, extraordinary pressure. According to Fuga, all totalitarian state`s activity consisted in: “ Ateism, thus war against religion, religious institutions and religious consciousness, equality in living conditions and life style of citziens, proletarian internationalism, collectivisation of agriculture, politisation of customs and traditions, political totalitarianism, personal life asketism of people in conditions of material poverty¹⁵⁶. State, society, individuals, party become one. The state has everything in its hands, the state has in its hands the state its self. The state, state-party organizes, leads, ménages everything. “ The state becomes Lord for every possible decisions in economic field. So the functionary of state is he mobilizing the economy” ¹⁵⁷ and each life sector of Albanian society in totalitarianism. According to social scholar Hysamedin Feraj “ Enverism totalitarian rule, its penetration in all fields of thought and feelings, by Albanian nationalism sight, composes penetration of Russian, serb and greek nationalism thought, panslavism and panhelenism byzantine- orthodox in thinking, feelings and in general spiritual world of Albanians”. ¹⁵⁸ Totalitarianism is a term that is used for the first time in Italy in 1922, realting to fascism movement of Benito Mussolini. In this year the word “totalitarianism” was codified in Italian Enciclopedy, while in Great Britain the term “totalitarianism” was treated at “Time” Journal in 1928 codifying in four years late,r also in Social Scientific Encyclopedia of United States. Hana Arendt in her book” Origin of totalitarianism” see the totalitarianism as a form completely new of domination that characterized bolshevism and nazism as political systems bazed over terror and “totalitarian ideology”, which didn`t aim simply to transform subordination of human nature itself through creation of “new man” or “new order”. In political discours of communism period in Albania, “new communist man” cleaned from dogmas, belief or whatever foreign show was the appropriate man for construing the system governes in Albania for 45 years.Arendt insisted the totalitarian regime had not as goal to organize citziens, classes or social group, but so called “masses” such as employee masses, cooperative masses, popular or actioner masses, terms meted in every speech of Albanian`s communist leaders and beyond. Hana Arendt insisted that only German Nazism and soviet bolshevism can be classified as totalitarian meaningful systems. In Albanian case this was not authentic because it was a copy of Russian bolshevism.

¹⁵⁵ Fuga, Artan, “Paths towards cave of snake p . 67, “Ora”, Tirana 2001.

¹⁵⁶ Fuga, Artan, “Left no right”, p. 90, “Ora”, Tirana 2003.

¹⁵⁷ Fuga, Artan, “Left no right”, Fq. 92, “Ora”, Tirana 2003.

¹⁵⁸ Feraj, Hysamedin, “Sketch of Albanian political thought”, p.360, “Pegi” Tirana 2006 .

Totalitarian agenda: Tortures, imprisonings, arrests, executings

Executings, imprisoning, tortures were in agenda of the day”¹⁵⁹. Totalitarian system had exactly determinate the agenda for establishing new communist order. The fear and panic were disseminated at the people everywhere with only the aim to convince opponents and disseminating everywhere the idea that tragic fate waits everyone which don't obey or oppose to the new system. Albanian totalitarian regime was terribly cruel against its opponents. According to they that have passed on the back suffers and unexampled cruelty of totalitarian activity of state and segments of investigation, torture and prisons. "Against all of they which didn't want, it was turned furthermore into a hunger “ to eat” people. To eat people each-other. “To eat” people alive. Also courage to say a word that didn't belong to the long line of praise for power, kindled power's hating and its mechanisms were applied immediately by their unfinished hunger to eat people. Worst for any citizens when he say any word against “primary leader”¹⁶⁰. All society life and its whole activity, totalitarianism took understand if it relied with dictator's name. “

Arrests and uninterrupted condemnations held the people in a permanent state of attention and fear. The accused people were not any more “collaborationist” of occupant. At the halls of courts were appeared many outstanding figures of “ National Liberation War” and of resistance against occupant. Was clear that new regime was conducted toward totalitarian political monism, without conditions, without reserves”¹⁶¹. Totalitarian tide had catch everyone and everything, system's members too. The system seeked sacrifices and from inside of frame, system didn't ask for no one and nothing, its only aim was its establishment. Ejëll Çoba tells for communist terribles and tortures quoting his roommate “ One day Salih Vuçitëri told me: I'm ready to sign my decision of death, but only to rescue from tortures. Me too – I replied”¹⁶². The system tagged him that wanted to eliminate and afterwards did his elimination binding to subscribe for charge from his activity that and in a dream had not seen. Activity of totalitarian order installing in Albania caused imprisoning, tortures also elimination in this country from elite people to simple people was a clear activity of genocide. “Genocidisation of this elite continued systematically through structures of dictatorship's machine, prisons, working camp, seizing, exile, depersonalization... The prison, this monstrous institution of communist dictatorship was a real hell: officially the capacity of these places in prisons and camps was approximately 3000 individuals, and in fact their number every year passed 5000”¹⁶³

Religious reprisal as a fenomen in albanian totalitarianism

In 19 november 1967, albanian communist regime drew badnamed decret no.4337 « On abrogation of some decrets ». It stopped a normative decrets in years 1949-1951, which legitimate religious activity in Albania and agreement of state with religion. With this were stopped religious rituals and it predicted hard condemnations for all deviants of this decret and proclaimed Albania officially as a state without God. Absolut power installed in Albanian post-Second World War saw religion as an obstacle for unifying of society and spiritual power, saw it as an obstacle for establishing of new totalitarian order. At the beginning of establishment of communist order in Albania, religion was in target with the only goal to eliminate it slowly until fatal fighting in the year 1967. Communist propaganda brought the argument that revealed nationalist degree reigning in that time. « Religions cannot fit to

¹⁵⁹ Çoba, Ejëll, “Lost life” p. 12 “Adel Print”, Tirana 2010

¹⁶⁰ Gumeni, Daut, “Notebook from School of Party”, fq. 365, “Dudaj”, Tirana 2012

¹⁶¹ Repishti, Sami, “Under shadow of Rozafa”, fq.121, “Onufri”, Tirana 2004.

¹⁶² Çoba, Ejëll, “Lost life”, p. 43, “Adel Print”, Tirana 2010

¹⁶³ “Albanian Rehabilitation Center of Trauma and Torture” “ Antology of Communism Crime” p.5, “ARCT”, Tirana 2006.

Albanians people until they were not autoctones, but were created outside the country and were brought by occupants. This means that until the God was not Albanian, He cannot be believed »¹⁶⁴, thus in consolidation of society and order on new communist man, totalitarian systemsaw the religion as a serious obstacle and were found arguments to persuade public opinion that elemination of religion was something right. Dictator Enver Hoxha in the summet of Albanian-Chinese friendship, taking as exemple Chinese ally, specially in February 1966 when it took a tide of changes in the culture sectors calling Chinese cultural revolution. The goal of revolution was « attempt of PPSH leaders to install their authority in local organizations of Party, to subordinate again the people, to fight all « dangerous mentalities inherited from the past » and to re-establish its impact over all sectors of life »¹⁶⁵, where without a doubt religion was the primary goal after there were eleminated almost phisically and institutionally, still had remained one year from final knock. When the state put the mattock over religion, except brutal destroy of essential object , some mosques, churches, monasteries, religious schooles, libraries were turned into appropriated places for activity of power, turning into sport places, various stalls, cultural centers, theatres, fitness center, dancing halls, ateliers, cafes, warehouses, museums, public baths, homes for the elderly etc. Heavenly God was substituted with terrestrial God (dictator). The walls of mosques were filled by slogans that praised the Party, which has closed them. In that eventfull year (1967), afarist visitors said that in Tirana « beautiful orthodox church of pilgrimage in south party of the city is turned into a night club for party members. The chancel is used as a brasserie with a cafe machine and plein of ordinary beverages». According to researcher Hysamendin Feraj the dictator Enver Hoxha and enverists, the war against religious beliefs, have legitimated also with « nationalist » arguments, as the war to secure and force national unity from disruption that encourage « traditionally » religious clergy, war started also by « renaissance » expressed by the slogan « The religion of Albanians is Albanianhood ». « E. Hoxha, presenting himself as continous of Albanian nationalism idea of the past century, writes, according to him, from the First Consult of PKSH had said « Our Renaissancers said « Albanian`s religion is Albanianhood ». This argument of Hoxha is believed and supported verbatim as a real motif of him for the war aganist religion in Albania »¹⁶⁶.

Conclusion

Totalitarian that was installed in Albania almost for 45 ago was the activity of a single party which monopolized all political activity and the ideology of this party was turned in a official law of state. State-party had at the beginning the strategy of domination over all society sectors, elimination of all opponent parties or opponents of regime and particularly of religion that was seen as the single real obstacle in construing new communist order. One single party massive leading by dictator, framed in a rigorous hierarchy shape. Each sector and segment of state, party, society is concentrated in leader`s state-party hands. A police terror system related closely with single party and has the essential activity to fight against enemies of regime and classes or arbitrary layers. All the activity of totalitarian stateconsisted in: war against religion, religious institutions and religious consciousness, equality in living conditions and lifestyle of citiziens, proletarian internationalism, agricultural collectivisaton, politisation of customs and traditions, asketism of personal life , in conditions of material poverty. Executions, imprisoning, tortures were in agenda of the day during all totalitarian system. All the life of society and its activity in totalitarianism obtain sense if it was related with the name of dictator. The system tagged him that it wanted to eliminate and after that

¹⁶⁴ Pol Shanse, Elizabet e Zhan, “Albania or logic of disappoint”, p.51, “Elena Gjika”, Tirana 2000.

¹⁶⁵ Duka, Valentina, “History of Albania 1912-2000”, p.282, “SHBLU”, Tirana 2007.

¹⁶⁶ Feraj, Hysamedin « Sketch of Albanian political thought”, p.352, “Pegi” Tirana 2006.

made his elimination binding sign for charges that had never dreamed . Absolute power which was installed in Albanin after Second World War looked the religion as an obstacle in unifying Albanian society, and spiritual power it looked as an obstacle for construing new totalitarian order. At the beginning of construing new communist order in Albania, religion was targeted in order to eliminate it slowly until destructive strike in 1967.

Except the brutal destruction of essential objects of some some mosques, churches, monasteries, religious schooles, libraries were turned into appropriated places for activity of power, turning into sport places, various stalls, cultural centers, theatres, fitness center, dancing halls, ateliers, cafes, warehouses, museums, public baths, homes for the elderly etc. Heavenly God was subsituted with terrestrial God (dictator).

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