ALBANIA

ATTITUDE OF THE UNITED STATES TOWARD THE ALBANIAN REGIME[1]

667.81/1-1450 : Telegram

The Secretary of State to the Embassy in Greece

TOP SECRET WASHINGTON, January 14, 1950—4 p. m.

74. Dept has recd memo from another agency stating . . . Athens [source] approached by Rendis[2] re Grk plan for Greco-Albanian confederation and requested by Rendis to discuss further with Papagos[3] and Pipinelis.[4] Emb reportedly informed by . . . [source] of conversation.

Dept's reply informs other agency that Dept already aware this project which it considers unfeasible and undesirable, especially in light of anti-Grk attitude majority Albanians, and containing danger of serious complications with Itals, Yugos and Soviet bloc. Reply adds . . . [source] shld not participate in discussion this polit subj with Grk officials who, if persistent, shld be referred to Amb. Also recommends against any operational arrangements by other agency designed promote Grk project.

Suggest you approach Grk FonOff and emphatically discourage them from undertaking any such plan. US wld give no support to project which Dept considers (1) inconsistent with Albania's right to independence to which US has subscribed since first World War (2) likely to embroil Grks with Albanians and also with Yugos and thus not only to damage Greece's own interests and position but also to provide new source of instability in Balkans and danger to world peace. You may tell Grks that we strongly oppose any operations or arrangements with *émigré* Albanians looking toward action in Albania with objective of establishing union or any other exclusive arrangement between Albania and neighboring countries (viz. Grk, Yugo or Ital).

Last connection Grk Emb here recently inquired re reported Ital proposal for US-UK-Fr-Ital conversations on Albania, and said

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[1] Previous documentation on this subject is presented in *Foreign Relations*, 1949, vol. v, pp. 298 ff.

[2] Constantine Rendis, former Greek Foreign Minister.

[3] Field Marshal Alexander Papagos, Commander in Chief of the Greek Army.

[4] Panayotis Pipinelis, Greek Foreign Minister, from January 6, 1950.

Grk Govt wld regard as "incompatible with friendly relations" any such discussions which excluded Grks. Emb was informed Ital has made no such *démarche* to US (though we have since learned *démarche* was made to Fr).[5] To sugar-coat above unpalatable remarks, you may assure Grks US does not contemplate any such conversations and in any event wld not agree to participate if Grks were excluded.

ACHESON

[5] In late December 1949 the Italian Government asked the French Government whether it was prepared to take part in four-power (Italian-French-U.S.-U.K.) consultations regarding Albania. The French Embassy on January 12, 1950, informed the Department of State that France had replied negatively to the Italian proposal. The remarks summarized here occurred during a conversation on January 6 between John D. Jernegan, Director of the Office of Greek, Turkish, and Iranian Affairs, and Greek Minister Paul Economou-Gouras (memorandum of conversation by Leonard J. Cromie, January 6, 1950: 667.81/1-650).

667.81/1-2050: Telegram

The Ambassador in Greece (Grady) to the Secretary of State

TOP SECRET ATHENS, January 20, 1950—10 a. m.

155. Deptel 74, January 14.[1]

[Here follows a paragraph reporting that the Embassy had been informed of the proposed meeting with Greek officials described in the first paragraph of telegram 74, to Athens, and the decision to decline the proposal.]

Pipinelis was today given verbal summary Department's reference telegram. He said he would not hide fact that he believes (and Cabinet recently approved idea) that there can be no settlement of Albanian question which does not envisage close Greek-Albanian relations. This does not mean, he said, that Greeks are pursuing a formal plan in this regard at the present time. Greek plan is long-range and Pipinelis feels it can be developed only (1) when there is a true and peaceful Albania, and (2) on Albanian initiative. He said that the Greeks have been willing to receive emissaries from Zog[2] and other Albanians for general discussions but that these emissaries are told Greeks are acting cautiously and avoiding immediate action. He added that Kupi[3] has been given visa to come to Greece. While I see no reason why we should not place credence in Pipinelis' assurances, it should be remarked that there has beeen of late unusual activity in Greek intelligence circles re Albania.

Pipinelis asked me to thank Department for its assurance that US does not contemplate conversations and would not agree participate

[1] *Supra.*
[2] Former Albanian King, living in exile.
[3] Abas Kupi, anti-Communist Albanian leader, living in exile.

if Greeks excluded. He added that he would be interested to know what American plans and views are regarding Albania and declared that Greece would be ready at any time to discuss such questions with American representatives to insure that we work in same direction.

GRADY

Editorial Note

Lord Jellicoe, the Second Secretary of the British Embassy in Washington, called on Llewellyn E. Thompson, Deputy Assistant Secretary of State for European Affairs, on February 15 to deliver a letter setting forth the British Foreign Office's considered comments on the Department of State policy paper of September 21, 1949 on Albania (*Foreign Relations*, 1949, volume V, page 320), a copy of which had been given to the British Embassy in October 1949. In his letter and orally, Jellicoe explained that the Foreign Office fully agreed with United States policy if its implementation were viewed as a long-term objective. On the other hand, the British felt that Yugoslavia was currently hard-pressed, that the pressure on Yugoslavia would increase during 1950, and that the current overriding consideration was to avoid any activity with respect to Albania which would increase the danger of Yugoslavia's position. Thompson indicated to Jellicoe that the British comments seemed in general to accord with the thinking of the Department of State (Jellicoe letter to Thompson, February 15 and memorandum of conversation by Thompson, February 15: 611.67/2–1550).

767.02/2–1650 : Airgram

The Secretary of State to the Embassy in Greece [1]

SECRET WASHINGTON, February 16, 1950.

A–103. Reurtel 155, January 20 [2] concur declination Rendis invitation talk regarding Albania.

You may pass following views Department regarding Albania to Foreign Office: (1) United States has no immediate "plans" for Albania beyond present policy (attitude non-recognition, condemning conduct regime, participating concerted measures against Albania such as GA arms embargo, and obtaining maximum intelligence). (2) As Greek Government previously informed, believe Albania has right

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[1] Copies of this airgram were sent for information only to Belgrade, London, Paris, and Rome.

[2] *Ante*, p. 364.

independence, self-government. While recognizing these two rights now denied by both Soviet domination and communist leadership, United States does not contemplate active measures against present regime other than indicated (1) above. (3) Believe neighboring states (Italy, Greece, Yugoslavia) despite provocation given latter two should also refrain intervention. United States would strongly warn any of them against intervention if seemed likely. In case of Yugoslavia, present events including Yugoslav-USSR situation and Yugoslav role United Nations, seem indicate that Yugoslav Government wishes avoid trouble over Albania and does not contemplate intervention.[3] (4) United States sympathetic towards efforts Albanian *émigré* leaders work for liberation of country but has no commitments to any leaders or groups and believes outside powers should not engage in activities these *émigrés* involving attempts overthrow present regime. Department observed with interest formation Free Albanian Committee by Albanian political exiles. However, Departments impression, death of leader Midhat Frasheri[4] has aggravated dissension among Albanian elements concerned with Committee and has kept it from making much progress. (5) At present Albania does not add element strength to Soviet bloc. While some threat renewal guerrilla war against Greece from Albania still exists, regard it unlikely and consider more to gain at present by limited policies extant than by active intervention. (6) Recognize importance Albanian question to Greece and particular danger which unfriendly regime in Albania now represents to Greek security. United States would consult Greece and other interested states in any general reconsideration Albanian problem as international issue.

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[3] On January 4 the British Embassy informed the Department of State of the substance of a conversation on Albania between the British Ambassador in Yugoslavia, Sir Charles Peake, and Yugoslav Foreign Minister Edvard Kardelj. Kardelj stated that Yugoslavia had no intention to intervene in Albania. To do so would destroy Yugoslavia's own position in defending its own independence against pressures from the Soviet Union. Kardelj stated further that he believed that the current Albanian regime should and would be changed but that such a change should be the result of Albanian enterprise (memorandum of conversation by John C. Campbell, January 4, 1950: 667.68/1–450). On January 26 Gabriel Van Laethem, the Second Secretary of the French Embassy in Washington, informed John C. Campbell, the Officer in Charge of Balkan Affairs of the Department of State, that the French Government believed that Albania should be left alone for the time being. The French felt that the consequences of intervention by Yugoslavia or Greece or the Western powers would be unpredictable and probably worse than the current state of affairs. Campbell stated that the United States had the definite impression that Yugoslavia felt it was in its own interest to avoid all appearances of intervention in Albania. Campbell added that if Yugoslav intervention appeared likely, the United States probably would wish to consult with the British and French Governments with a view to warning Yugoslavia against taking such action (memorandum of conversation by Campbell, January 26, 1950: 768.00/1–2650).

[4] Albanian exile leader and President of the Free Albania Committee who died in New York in October 1949.