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WITHDRAWAL SHEET

Ronald Reagan Library

Collection Name DOBRIANSKY, PAULA: FILES

Withdrawer

RBW 12/20/2016

File Folder COUNTRY FILES: ALBANIA (1983-1985)

FOIA

F1640/3

Box Number 1

HERSHBERG

2

ID	Doc Type	Document Description	No of Pages	Doc Date	Restrictions
185812	MEMO	ROBERT MCFARLANE TO MILITARY ASSIST. TO THE SEC. OF DEFENSE RE. NAVIGATIONAL FREEDOM OF US SECURITY INTERESTS	1	4/22/1983	B1
185813	MEMO	PHILIP DUR TO MCFARLANE RE. NAVIGATIONAL FREEDOM	1	4/14/1983	B1
185814	MEMO	CARL SMITH TO DEP. ASSIST. TO THE PRESIDENT FOR NAT. SECURITY AFFAIRS RE. NAVIGATIONAL FREEDOM	1	4/8/1983	B1
185815	MEMO	CHARLES HILL TO WILLIAM CLARK RE. NAVIGATION AND OVERFLIGHT RIGHTS	1	4/12/1983	B1
185817	PAPER	RE. NAVIGATIONAL FREEDOM OF US SECURITY INTERESTS	1	ND	B1
185818	MEMO	RICHARD BURT TO THE SECRETARY RE. U.S. POLICY TOWARD ALBANIA	2	ND	B1

Freedom of Information Act - [5 U.S.C. 552(b)]

B-1 National security classified information [(b)(1) of the FOIA]

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ID	Doc Type	Document Description	No of Pages	Doc Date	Restrictions
185820	MEMO	J.M. POINDEXTER TO COLIN POWELL RE. NAVIGATIONAL FREEDOM AND U.S. SECURITY INTERESTS	1	11/26/1983	B1
185821	MEMO	DUR TO POINDEXTER RE. NAVIGATIONAL FREEDOM AND U.S. SECURITY INTERESTS [W/NOTATIONS]	2	11/25/1983	B1
185822	MEMO	POWELL TO DEP. ASSIST. TO THE PRESIDENT FOR NATIONAL SECURITY AFFAIRS RE. NAVIGATIONAL FREEDOM	1	10/6/1983	B1
185823	PAPER	RE. NAVIGATION AND OVERFLIGHT RIGHTS	1	ND	B1
185824	MEMO	HILL TO MCFARLANE RE. NAVIGATION AND OVERFLIGHT	1	11/21/1983	B1
185825	MEMO	W.L. SCHACHTE TO DEP. ASSIST. TO THE PRESIDENT FOR NATIONAL SECURITY AFFAIRS RE. NAVIGATION AND OVERFLIGHT	1	11/15/1983	B1

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185826	REPORT	RE. NAVIGATION AND OVERFLIGHT	5	ND	B1
185827	CABLE	BELGRADE 9811	4	11/29/1983	B1
185829	REPORT	RE. ALBANIA	1	1/6/1985	B1
185831	MEMO	BURT TO THE SECRETARY RE. TALKS WITH ALBANIA ON CLAIMS/GOLD	3	ND	B1
185832	MEMO	DOBRIANSKY TO MCFARLANE RE. ALBANIAN LEADER'S HOXHA'S DEATH	1	4/26/1985	B1
185833	MEMO	NICHOLAS PLATT TO MCFARLANE RE. HOXHA'S DEATH	2	4/22/1985	B1
185835	CABLE		2	4/29/1985	B1 B3
	D	12/20/2016	NLR-145-1-2-10-6		

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185836	MEMO	POWELL TO DEP. ASSIST. TO THE PRESIDENT FOR NATIONAL SECURITY AFFAIRS RE. NAVIGATION AND OVERFLIGHT RIGHTS	1	7/5/1985	B1
185838	REPORT	RE. NAVIGATION AND OVERFLIGHT	2	ND	B1
185840	CABLE	MOSCOW 15318	2	10/28/1985	B1
185842	CABLE	MUNICH 04796	2	11/25/1985	B1
185843	MEMO	DAVID BROWN TO EXEC. SEC. OF NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL RE. NAVIGATION AND OVERFLIGHT	1	4/11/1986	B1
185844	APPENDIX	RE. NAVIGATION AND OVERFLIGHT	5	ND	B1

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2430 (add-on)
Navigational Freedom

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL

April 19, 1983

MEMORANDUM FOR ROBERT C. MCFARLANE

Further on the draft memo reply to DoD: PM did not concur on EUR's objection to the Albanian operation. The reasons against doing it are rather trivial, but inasmuch as Larry Eagleburger sided with EUR, I recommend you give him a call to prepare him for the formal reply.

Very respectfully,



Philip Dur

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185813	MEMO PHILIP DUR TO MCFARLANE RE. NAVIGATIONAL FREEDOM	1	4/14/1983	B1

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185814	MEMO CARL SMITH TO DEP. ASSIST. TO THE PRESIDENT FOR NAT. SECURITY AFFAIRS RE. NAVIGATIONAL FREEDOM	1	4/8/1983	B1

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185815	MEMO CHARLES HILL TO WILLIAM CLARK RE. NAVIGATION AND OVERFLIGHT RIGHTS	1	4/12/1983	B1

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185817	PAPER RE. NAVIGATIONAL FREEDOM OF US SECURITY INTERESTS	1	ND	B1

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185818	MEMO RICHARD BURT TO THE SECRETARY RE. U.S. POLICY TOWARD ALBANIA	2	ND	B1

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185820	MEMO J.M. POINDEXTER TO COLIN POWELL RE. NAVIGATIONAL FREEDOM AND U.S. SECURITY INTERESTS	1	11/26/1983	B1

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185821	MEMO DUR TO POINDEXTER RE. NAVIGATIONAL FREEDOM AND U.S. SECURITY INTERESTS [W/NOTATIONS]	2	11/25/1983	B1

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185822	MEMO	1	10/6/1983	B1
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POWELL TO DEP. ASSIST. TO THE PRESIDENT
FOR NATIONAL SECURITY AFFAIRS RE.
NAVIGATIONAL FREEDOM

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185826	REPORT RE. NAVIGATION AND OVERFLIGHT	5	ND	B1

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185827	CABLE BELGRADE 9811	4	11/29/1983	B1

Freedom of Information Act - [5 U.S.C. 552(b)]

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185829	REPORT RE. ALBANIA	1	1/6/1985	B1

Freedom of Information Act - [5 U.S.C. 552(b)]

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MEMORANDUM

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL

file Albania Paula



26

January 22, 1985

MEMORANDUM FOR NSC REGIONAL STAFFERS

FROM: STEVEN E. STEINER

SUBJECT: Annual Human Rights Report for 1984

The attached report(s) have been sent by the State Department for NSC clearance. Since these reports must go to the Hill in final form by the end of the month, we need to respond to State this week. Please let me know ASAP if you have any problems on the reports in your area. I need to hear them NLT COB Thursday January 24. Thanks.
(This is the first batch. More will follow soon!)

Seems to be

OK.

TD

1/23/85

Steve

FRAN - File in Albania / Bulgaria.

HUMAN RIGHTS REPORT OF 1984

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ALBANIA*

Albania is a one-party state ruled by a harsh Marxist-Leninist dictatorship. The Government proclaims itself a People's Socialist Republic. Enver Hoxha, the party leader since World War II, exercises personal leadership through the 125,000-member Albanian Workers' Party. A large, effective security service assists the party in maintaining repressive controls over the Albanian people who enjoy only very limited civil and political rights.

Human rights conditions in Albania appear to be exceptionally bad. There is substantial evidence, corroborated by private international organizations, of significant human rights violations. The Government has repeatedly refused to cooperate with any of the international organizations which investigate human rights complaints. The situation has not improved in 1984.

Living in a mountainous and remote land, Albanians have traditionally been isolated from their neighbors. The Hoxha regime has used this isolation as a tool to shield the populace from foreign influences. Nevertheless, the Government has recently shown signs of moving tentatively toward increasing its ties to Balkan and Western European states. Albania is a member of the United Nations, but has not signed the Final Act of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe.

RESPECT FOR HUMAN RIGHTS

Section 1 Respect for the Integrity of the Person, Including Freedom from:

a. Political Killing

Although Albania is shrouded in secrecy, it appears that the Hoxha regime has used political killing against its opponents. Hoxha has periodically purged the leadership and executed deposed rivals in order to eliminate challenges to his personal rule from within the party and the Government. In 1981, former Prime Minister and long-time Hoxha associate Mehmet Shehu was reported to have committed "suicide" in suspicious circumstances after policy disagreements with Hoxha. Four of Shehu's supporters were subsequently executed for conspiring with him, and many other supporters, including family members, were jailed.

b. Disappearance

Persons who have escaped from Albania report that disappearances occur, but specific corroboration is not available.

c. Torture and Cruel, Inhuman, or Degrading Treatment or Punishment

Torture and police brutality are reportedly used in Albania, particularly against persons accused of anti-state or

* The United States has not had diplomatic relations with or official representation in Albania since World War II. It is difficult therefore to comment authoritatively on conditions in Albania.

ALBANIA

religious activity. Because of insufficient evidence, however, it is difficult to corroborate such reports.

Private international humanitarian organizations have reported extremely harsh prison conditions in Albania, including a severe hard labor regime with inadequate food and clothing, long-term solitary confinement, cramped cells without room to lie down, and unheated, unfurnished cells lacking any sanitary facilities. The Burelli prison has been singled out for special mention in this regard.

Eyewitnesses have reported the exhibition of bodies of dead prisoners as a means of intimidating the populace. It is impossible to say how widespread this practice may be.

The Albanian Criminal Code lists 34 crimes, a number of which are political offenses, for which the death sentence may be imposed. Among them are agitation and propaganda against the state (Article 55), incitement of hatred or quarrels between nationalities and races (Article 56), creation of a counterrevolutionary organization or participation therein (Article 57), activity against the revolutionary movement of the working class (Article 60), and refusal to carry out a duty or coercing others to refuse (Article 144).

d. Arbitrary Arrest, Detention, or Exile

The Constitution provides that no one may be arrested without court or prosecutorial approval or be sentenced to jail without a court verdict or for an act which is not a crime. The Criminal Code however, provides that banishment or internment may be administratively imposed, without trial, for up to 5 years on persons whom the authorities consider a threat to the social system and on the families of fugitives. There are numerous reports that families of escapees from Albania are imprisoned as a deterrent to other potential illegal emigrants. In its 1984 report, Amnesty International notes a number of such cases in 1983.

e. Denial of Fair Public Trial

The judicial system in Albania includes the Supreme Court and regional and district courts. Like all organs of government and state authority, it appears to be under the total control of Hoxha and the Albanian Workers' Party. There is virtually no chance a court would render an independent verdict in conflict with the wishes or policies of the regime. Some trials are said to be held behind closed doors when it suits the purposes of the regime.

Reports of the number of persons in prison range from 4,000 to 40,000, including 300 members of the pre-World War II elite, as well as pro-Soviet, pro-Chinese, and other political prisoners. Many persons are serving sentences for expressing dissatisfaction with conditions in Albania or for trying to flee the country. Although an amnesty was approved in November 1982, there is no independent confirmation of the number of persons amnestied.

Amnesty International reports that political detainees have been held for up to 6 months in solitary confinement without access to lawyers or relatives. Defendants at political trials have usually been denied defense counsel and have had to conduct their own defense.

ALBANIA

f. Arbitrary Interference with Privacy, Family, Home, or Correspondence

The Constitution proclaims the inviolability of the home and the privacy of correspondence, but at the same time provides that these and other civil rights are subordinate to the general interest and cannot be exercised in opposition to the socialist order. It is generally accepted that the authorities can and do violate the privacy of the home whenever and to the extent necessary to achieve their ends. The Government uses its pervasive informer network to report on, among other things, the private lives of its citizens. Children are taught to report on their parents' activities in the home, such as whether they practice religion or speak against the Government. Contact with the outside world is carefully monitored. Members of the Greek minority who have escaped report that they had difficulty in receiving mail or telephone calls from relatives in Greece. Packages of food, medicine, and clothing sent to them were returned by the Albanian authorities to Greece without their knowledge.

Section 2 Respect for Civil Rights, Including

a. Freedom of Speech and Press

Although the Albanian Constitution states that citizens enjoy freedom of speech and freedom of the press, it provides that these rights cannot be exercised in opposition to the socialist order. Consequently, the Government has imposed rigid restrictions on the people's freedom of speech and press. The government-controlled press never criticizes the leadership or its policies, and any citizen who does so publicly is subject to swift and severe reprisals. Persons found listening to foreign radio broadcasts or exhibiting "alien manifestations" have in the past been reprimanded or jailed, although there is some indication that these restrictions may have been relaxed lately. Information from abroad is carefully controlled. Art and literature are deemed to be weapons of revolutionary change and are subject to rigid state control and censorship.

b. Freedom of Peaceful Assembly and Association

The security police deals severely with group activities that do not have government sanction or that might appear to be in opposition to the leadership. There are no independent associations or organizations. Nearly all Albanians belong to trade unions that are part of the United Trade Unions of Albania, an arm of the party. The unions have no significant voice in the field of labor relations, although they do play a key role in indoctrinating and propagandizing the workers, in maintaining labor discipline, and in organizing the periods of so-called "voluntary" manual labor in which all Albanians are expected to take part.

c. Freedom of Religion

All religious activity in Albania is expressly prohibited by the Constitution and by government policy. Historically, about 70 percent of all Albanians were Muslim, 20 percent were Orthodox, and 10 percent were Roman Catholic. However, in 1967 the Government abrogated all laws dealing with church-state relations and began an active campaign to banish all vestiges of religion. More than 2,000 mosques, churches,

ALBANIA

Section 4 Governmental Attitude Regarding International and Non-governmental Investigation of Alleged Violations of Human Rights

The Government denies any violations of human rights and refuses to cooperate in any investigation of allegations to the contrary. Amnesty International's 1984 report detailed numerous concerns about the human rights situation in Albania. Freedom House rates Albania "not free."

ECONOMIC, SOCIAL, AND CULTURAL SITUATION

With a population of 2.9 million and limited natural resources, Albania is the poorest country in Europe and has the least amount of arable land per capita. Given the poverty of the country and its self-imposed isolation, including the refusal to accept foreign credits to finance trade transactions, the regime has achieved significant economic development since World War II. Per capita gross income in 1984, the lowest in Europe, is estimated at about \$850, but no current figures are available.

The food supply is adequate, and there are no reports of chronic food shortages or rationing. The population receives more than the minimum daily per capita calorie intake, although the level (110 percent in 1977) is one of the lowest in Europe. Life expectancy is estimated at 71.7 years, and the infant mortality rate is about 42.3 per 1,000 births. Nearly all children are educated, but the overall literacy rate for all ages is estimated at about 75 percent.

All land is the property of the state, and individual citizens may own only such personal property as permitted by law. Housing rent is low, but there is a housing shortage, particularly for newly-wed couples. The economy is based on agriculture and the production of raw materials, especially minerals.

The Constitution states that women shall enjoy "equal rights with men in work, pay, holidays, social security, education, in all social-political activity, as well as in the family." Information on the extent to which these rights are exercised is not available, but there are indications that the regime has advanced the status of women. Women are said to participate equally in the obligatory labor and military service programs. There are several women in the party and government leadership. Albania is party to the International Convention of the Political Rights of Women and the Convention on the Nationality of Married Women.

ALBANIA

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Wang 0083Y

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E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR
TAGS: PREL, PGOV, AL, YL
SUBJECT: HOXHA'S DEATH

REFS: A) BELGRADE 2970, (NOTAL), B) BELGRADE 2987

1. (C - ENTIRE TEXT).

2. INTRODUCTION AND SUMMARY: INITIAL GOY REACTION TO HOXHA'S DEATH APRIL 11 HAS BEEN TERSE. SFRY (COLLECTIVE STATE) PRESIDENT DJURANOVIC DISPATCHED A CORRECT BUT UNUSUALLY BRIEF CONDOLENCE MESSAGE TO ALBANIAN ASSEMBLY PRESIDENT RAMIZ ALIA. THE OFFICIAL YUGOSLAV NEWS AGENCY TANJUG ISSUED A STATEMENT, PRINTED IN THE PRESS HERE APRIL 12, WHICH STRESSED CONTINUED GOY SUPPORT FOR ALBANIAN INDEPENDENCE AND GOY DESIRE FOR GOOD-NEIGHBORLY RELATIONS. PRESS REPORTING OF HOXHA'S DEATH HAS BEEN THIN AND SO FAR MAINLY LIMITED TO TANJUG ACCOUNTS. WE HAVE BEEN TOLD THAT THE SFRY PRESIDENCY INSTRUCTED THE YUGOSLAV PRESS TO POSTPONE ITS OWN COMMENTARY ON HOXHA'S DEATH. A SENIOR MONTENEGRIN OFFICIAL TOLD ENBOFFS VISITING TITOGRAĐ THE GOY EXPECTED ALBANIA TO HEV TO HOXHA'S FOREIGN POLICY LINE FOR THE FORESEEABLE FUTURE. THE OFFICIAL EXPECTED THE GOY POSTURE TOWARD ALBANIA DURING THE INITIAL POST-HOXHA PERIOD TO BE CAREFUL AND CORRECT. SEE LAST PARAGRAPH FOR LATEST INFO AS TO INTERNAL YUGOSLAV LEADERSHIP DIFFERENCES OVER HOW TO HANDLE THE PRESS ASPECTS OF HOXHA'S DEATH. END INTRODUCTION AND SUMMARY.

3. DCM AND POL COUNSELOR HAD THE OPPORTUNITY TO TALK WITH BRANKO LUKOVAC, PRESIDENT OF THE MONTENEGRIN REPUBLICAN COMMITTEE FOR FOREIGN RELATIONS, SHORTLY AFTER HOXHA'S DEATH WAS ANNOUNCED IN THE YUGOSLAV MEDIA. LUKOVAC SPOKE OPENLY AND KNOWLEDGEABLY ABOUT HOXHA'S PASSING AND THE ISSUES INVOLVED IN THE ALBANIAN SUCCESSION. LUKOVAC IMPLIED THAT

THE YUGOSLAVS HAD HEARD ABOUT HOXHA'S DEATH BEFORE RADIO TIRANA MADE THE ANNOUNCEMENT AT 1200 LOCAL TIME APRIL 11. HE STATED THAT THE YUGOSLAVS WERE SKEPTICAL THAT HOXHA DIED AT 0210, APRIL 11, AS ANNOUNCED, AND THOUGHT HOXHA PROBABLY HAD DIED EARLIER. HE REMARKED THAT THE FRENCH SHOULD KNOW, SINCE HOXHA HAD FRENCH MEDICAL CARE FOR YEARS.

4. LUKOVAC SAID HE EXPECTS PRESIDENT RAMIZ ALIA AND THE SUCCESSOR LEADERSHIP TO PURSUE HOXHA'S FOREIGN POLICY LINE FOR THE FORESEEABLE FUTURE. HE SAID ALIA WILL PERHAPS HAVE A HARD TIME ESTABLISHING HIS AUTHORITY, SINCE HE DOES NOT HAVE THE CHARISMA AND AUTHORITY WHICH HOXHA POSSESSED, DERIVED FROM THE SPECIAL CIRCUMSTANCES OF HAVING LED HIS PEOPLE SINCE WORLD WAR II. NONETHELESS, LUKOVAC CLEARLY REGARDED ALIA AS THE IMMEDIATE SUCCESSOR.

5. IN FOREIGN POLICY, LUKOVAC SAID HOXHA'S SUCCESSORS WILL PROBABLY CONTINUE RECENT POLICY OF MOVING SLOWLY TO OPEN UP BETTER RELATIONS WITH SELECTED WESTERN EUROPEAN COUNTRIES. HE CITED THE POSSIBILITY OF MOVEMENT IN ALBANIA'S RELATIONS WITH GREAT BRITAIN AND THE FRG. HE ANTICIPATED FURTHER IMPROVEMENT IN GREEK-ALBANIAN RELATIONS, DESPITE CONTINUING PROBLEMS OVER ALLEGATIONS OF ALBANIAN MISTREATMENT OF ITS GREEK MINORITY.
BT

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6. LUKOVAC SAID HE EXPECTED NO CHANGE IN ALBANIA'S ATTITUDE TOWARD THE U.S. AND THE USSR. HE CONSIDERED ESTABLISHMENT OF DIPLOMATIC RELATIONS WITH THE USSR AND U.S. AS POSSIBLE, BUT ONLY AFTER A CONSIDERABLE PERIOD OF TIME. LUKOVAC THOUGHT ALBANIA WOULD BE PARTICULARLY WARY OF BOTH SUPERPOWERS NOW, DURING THE TRANSITION PERIOD. SPEAKING HYPOTHETICALLY, HE VOLUNTEERED THAT IF ALBANIA WERE FORCED TO CHOOSE BETWEEN THE SUPERPOWERS AT THIS POINT IN ITS DEVELOPMENT, THE CHOICE WOULD LIKELY FAVOR THE USSR, SINCE THE CURRENT LEADERSHIP WOULD STRIVE TO PRESERVE THE EXISTING SOCIO-ECONOMIC SYSTEM, WHICH IS MORE COMPATIBLE WITH THE SOVIET MODEL.

7. AS FOR YUGOSLAV RELATIONS WITH ALBANIA, LUKOVAC EXPRESSED THE YUGOSLAV INTEREST IN AN INDEPENDENT ALBANIA, NOT AFFILIATED WITH EITHER SUPERPOWER OR BLOC. HE ANTICIPATES THAT ALBANIAN POLICY TOWARD YUGOSLAVIA WILL BE CORRECT, AND HE SAID HE HOPES AND EXPECTS THAT GOY ATTITUDE TOWARD ALBANIA DURING THE TRANSITION PERIOD WILL BE CAREFUL AND CORRECT.

8. A FRENCH EMBASSY SOURCE TOLD EMBOFF APRIL 12 THAT HE HAD NOT REPEAT NOT HEARD RUMORS THAT HOXHA WAS UNDER TREATMENT AT A HOSPITAL NEAR PARIS AT THE TIME OF HIS DEATH (REFTEL B), AND HAD NO INFORMATION TO INDICATE THIS WAS THE CASE. HOXHA HAS BEEN TREATED BY FRENCH DOCTORS FOR MANY YEARS, HE SAID, AND ADDED THAT HOXHA HAD TRAVELED MANY TIMES TO FRANCE FOR MEDICAL TREATMENT (SUGGESTING THAT THESE VISITS WERE ON THE ORDER OF PERHAPS ONCE A YEAR). THIS SOURCE ALSO STATED THAT THE SECRETARY OF STATE IN THE FRENCH FOREIGN MINISTRY, GEORGES BAILLIE (AS HEARD), WAS SCHEDULED TO VISIT ALBANIA IN LATE MAY, SHOULD THE VISIT STILL COME OFF AFTER HOXHA'S DEATH, HE THOUGHT, THIS WOULD PROVIDE A USEFUL WINDOW ON THE STATE OF DEVELOPMENTS IN POST-HOXHA ALBANIA.

9. ACCORDING TO TWO BELGRADE JOURNALISTS THE GOY IS CLOSELY ORCHESTRATING YUGOSLAV OFFICIAL AND PRESS REACTION TO HOXHA'S DEATH. ACCORDING TO ONE INFORMED BELGRADE JOURNALIST, THE SFRY (STATE) PRESIDENCY MET SHORTLY AFTER HOXHA'S DEATH AND INSTRUCTED THE YUGOSLAV PRESS TO ESCHEW A SEPARATE COMMENTARY ON THE EVENT AND TO RELY INSTEAD ON TANJUG NEWS AGENCY REPORTAGE AND THE CAREFULLY-CRAFTED TANJUG STATEMENT FOR USE IN THEIR APRIL 12 EDITIONS.

10. A SENIOR YUGOSLAV JOURNALIST, AT LUNCH WITH THE AMBASSADOR ON APRIL 12, TOLD OF THE INTERNAL STRUGGLES WITHIN THE YUGOSLAV LEADERSHIP AS TO HOW IT SHOULD REACT TO THE DEATH OF ENVER HOXHA. THE SENIOR LEADERSHIP OF POLITIKA, BELGRADE'S PRIME NEWSPAPER, WAS CALLED TO THE FOREIGN SECRETARIAT IN THE EARLY AFTERNOON OF APRIL 11. THEY WERE TOLD THAT THERE WAS TO BE NO REPEAT NO NEWSPAPER REPORTING ON THE EVENT AND PARTICULARLY NO COMMENT. THE POLITIKA LEADERSHIP WAS ASTOUNDED BY THIS COMMAND AND REPORTEDLY PROTESTED. THEY WERE TOLD THIS DECISION HAD BEEN MADE BY THE YUGOSLAV STATE PRESIDENCY WHICH AT THE VERY MOST WOULD ALLOW A BRIEF TANJUG REPORT ON THE ALBANIAN LEADER'S DEATH.

11. THE POLITIKA LEADERSHIP, ON ITS RETURN TO ITS HEADQUARTERS, BEGAN ITS USUAL PROCEDURE OF CALLING EVERYBODY IMPORTANT IN TOWN INCLUDING SENIOR MEMBERS OF THE YUGOSLAV PARTY PRESIDENCY TO PROTEST THE GAGGING. IT BECAME CLEAR IN THE COURSE OF THE POLITIKA GROUP'S CONVERSATIONS THAT THERE WAS WIDE DISAGREEMENT BETWEEN THE STATE AND THE PARTY PRESIDENCIES OVER HOW TO HANDLE THE PUBLIC ASPECT OF HOXHA'S DEATH. THE PARTY PRESIDENCY WAS OF THE VIEW THAT A TANJUG PIECE WAS REQUIRED AT THE VERY LEAST. THERE WAS APPARENTLY ENORMOUS WRANGLING IN THE COURSE OF THE AFTERNOON AND THE PARTY PRESIDENCY WON OUT. A VERY BRIEF TANJUG REPORT WAS ISSUED WITHOUT ANY COMMENTARY.
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CONFLICTING ADVICE AS TO WHETHER THEY SHOULD ATTEND THE FUNERAL OR NOT. AFTER MUCH TO AND FRO BETWEEN THE VARIOUS EMBASSIES AND THE ALBANIAN EMBASSY HERE, THE VAST MAJORITY OF AMBASSADORS HAVE DECIDED NOT REPEAT NOT TO ATTEND. MOST OF THEIR PROBLEMS SEEM TO CENTER ON TRANSPORTATION AND HOUSING. THE ALBANIAN CONTACTS OF THESE EMBASSIES HAVE BEEN DISTINCTLY UNEASY IN TRYING TO MAKE ANY DECISIONS OR PROVIDING ANY ADVICE THAT MIGHT RUN INTO CONFLICT WITH WHAT WAS COMING OUT OF TIRANA. THE LATEST READING IS THAT ONLY THE JAPANESE AND MEXICAN AMBASSADORS WILL TRY TO MAKE THE EVENT BY CAR THROUGH THE MOUNTAINS. EVEN THEY MAY BE DISCOURAGED BY LOGISTICAL PROBLEMS.

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16. COMMENT: THERE IS PROBABLY A MESSAGE IN ALL OF THIS FOR ALL OF US. IN THE AMBASSADOR'S VIEW, IT IS THAT NOBODY KNOWS WHAT TO DO ABOUT THE PASSING OF ENVER HOXHA OR HOW TO REACT TO IT, PERHAPS LEAST OF ALL THE YUGOSLAVS. WE WILL TRY TO PROVIDE SOMETHING MORE THOUGHTFUL ONCE ENVER'S DUST HAS DIED DOWN. ANDERSON
BT

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AMEMBASSY LONDON 4415
AMEMBASSY MOSCOW 6369
AMCONSUL MUNICH 1102
AMEMBASSY PARIS 4969
AMEMBASSY ROME 4871
AMEMBASSY SOFIA 5177
ZEN/AMCONSUL ZAGREB 7695

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ SECTION 03 OF 03 BELGRADE 3042

12. ACCORDING TO OUR SOURCE, THE DISAGREEMENT OVER THE PUBLIC HANDLING OF THE PROBLEM DID NOT BREAK DOWN OVER ANY REPUBLICAN LINES. IT WAS AN ALL-OUT BATTLE BETWEEN OLD GUARD TYPES, YOUNGER LEADERS, LIBERALS AND CONSERVATIVES WITH AN ENORMOUS AMOUNT OF BAD FEELING COMING TO THE FORE EVEN BETWEEN POWERFUL PERSONALITIES.

13. THE DECISION OF THE LEADERSHIP TO STICK WITH THE SIMPLE TANJUG REPORT WAS COMMUNICATED TO ALL REPUBLICAN AND PROVINCIAL CENTRAL COMMITTEES. HOWEVER, THESE COMMITTEES CHOSE TO ACCEPT OR IGNORE THE ORDERS FROM ABOVE IN ACCORDANCE WITH THEIR OWN SPECIAL CONDITIONS. OUR SOURCE'S CONTACTS IN SLOVENIA, FOR EXAMPLE, INFORMED HIM THAT THEY ACCEPTED THIS FEDERAL LCU DECISION AS ADVICE, BUT DID NOT FEEL BOUND BY IT. OTHER REPUBLICS REACTED IN THE SAME WAY. THUS THE GENERAL COUNTRYWIDE COVERAGE OF HOXHA'S DEATH HAS BEEN REPORTED IN THE YUGOSLAV PRESS IN A VARIED FASHION, INCLUDING SOME REPORTS WITH EXTENSIVE COMMENTARY. (FYI, WE SHALL BE CHECKING THE PROVINCIAL PRESS TO DETERMINE JUST HOW VARIEGATED THE COMMENTARIES WERE, THE BOSNIAN AND MONTENEGRIN PRESS WERE DEVOID OF COMMENTARY. (END FYI.)

14. OUR SOURCE SAID THAT THE LARGEST AND MOST POPULAR DAILY NEWSPAPER IN YUGOSLAVIA, POLITIKA, FOUND ITSELF EXTREMELY EMBARRASSED BY THE ENTIRE AFFAIR. HE POINTED OUT THAT IT SHOWED MORE CLEARLY THAN ANYTHING HE, A VETERAN OBSERVER OF THE YUGOSLAV SCENE, COULD DESCRIBE HOW WIDE THE DIFFERENCES WERE BETWEEN THE TWO PRESIDENCIES. HE ASSUMED THAT THESE DIFFERENCES MUST ALSO SPILL OVER INTO OTHER POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC AREAS.

15. THE ALBANIAN EMBASSY IN BELGRADE HAS ALSO BEEN VERY UNCERTAIN AS TO HOW TO REACT TO HOXHA'S DEATH. THE LOCAL AMBASSADORS IN BELGRADE ACCREDITED TO TIRANA HAVE BEEN GIVEN

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

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185832	MEMO DOBRIANSKY TO MCFARLANE RE. ALBANIAN LEADER'S HOXHA'S DEATH	1	4/26/1985	B1

Freedom of Information Act - [5 U.S.C. 552(b)]

- B-1 National security classified information [(b)(1) of the FOIA]**
- B-2 Release would disclose internal personnel rules and practices of an agency [(b)(2) of the FOIA]**
- B-3 Release would violate a Federal statute [(b)(3) of the FOIA]**
- B-4 Release would disclose trade secrets or confidential or financial information [(b)(4) of the FOIA]**
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- B-7 Release would disclose information compiled for law enforcement purposes [(b)(7) of the FOIA]**
- B-8 Release would disclose information concerning the regulation of financial institutions [(b)(8) of the FOIA]**
- B-9 Release would disclose geological or geophysical information concerning wells [(b)(9) of the FOIA]**

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185833	MEMO NICHOLAS PLATT TO MCFARLANE RE. HOXHA'S DEATH	2	4/22/1985	B1

Freedom of Information Act - [5 U.S.C. 552(b)]

- B-1 National security classified information [(b)(1) of the FOIA]**
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185835	CABLE	2	4/29/1985	B1 B3

Freedom of Information Act - [5 U.S.C. 552(b)]

B-1 National security classified information [(b)(1) of the FOIA]

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~~ALBANI~~ FILE
ID 8505388

NSC/S PROFILE

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TO MCFARLANE FROM POWELL, C

DOC DATE 05 JUL 85

43

KEYWORDS: NAVIGATIONAL FREEDOM ALBANIA
BARBADOS

SUBJECT: NAVIGATION RIGHTS AT SEA RE ALBANIA & BARBADOS

ACTION: PREPARE MEMO FOR MCFARLANE DUE: 11 JUL 85 STATUS S FILES PA

FOR ACTION

FOR CONCURRENCE

FOR INFO

STARK

WRIGHT

DOBRIANSKY

ROBINSON

BURGHARDT

NORTH

STEINER

TILLMAN

OK
PD
7/19/85

COMMENTS

REF# 35818

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185836	MEMO POWELL TO DEP. ASSIST. TO THE PRESIDENT FOR NATIONAL SECURITY AFFAIRS RE. NAVIGATIONAND OVERFLIGHT RIGHTS	1	7/5/1985	B1

Freedom of Information Act - [5 U.S.C. 552(b)]

- B-1 National security classified information [(b)(1) of the FOIA]**
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185838	REPORT RE. NAVIGATION AND OVERFLIGHT	2	ND	B1

Freedom of Information Act - [5 U.S.C. 552(b)]

- B-1 National security classified information [(b)(1) of the FOIA]**
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NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL

July 22, 1985

ACTION

MEMORANDUM FOR ROBERT C. MCFARLANE

FROM: *Eise* PAULA J. DOBRIANSKY/TY COBB *TC*

SUBJECT: Letter from Ambassador Wilson Re Albania

Ambassador Bill Wilson has forwarded material to you from Arslan and Kaplan de Libohava concerning Albania. He is seeking our recommendations for establishing Albania as a neutral nation.

We have examined the question of U.S. involvement in this issue and can only conclude that this would not be in our best interests nor those of Yugoslavia. Attached at Tab I is your response to Wilson explaining our position.

JKM Jack Hatlock and Bob Linhard concur.

RECOMMENDATION

That you sign the letter at Tab I

Approve _____ Disapprove _____

Attachments

- Tab I McFarlane Letter to Ambassador Wilson
- Tab A Ambassador Wilson Letter to McFarlane, June 20, 1985

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

Dear Bill:

Thanks so much for your letter of 20 June on the important question of Albania's place in international relations. The report which you forwarded has been reviewed by our staff and found to be both timely and interesting.

As you well know, the U.S. does not have official relations with Albania although we would not rule out any movement in that direction. Since there does not appear to be any indication that the Albanians are moving back under Soviet control, we believe that specific initiatives on our part are not desirable at this time, particularly given the problems such activities could create for our relationship with Yugoslavia.

On another matter, we were disturbed to read of the negative report on SDI produced by the Pontifical Academy of Sciences and the uneven composition of the membership of the body. We appreciate your cable clarifying the Holy See's position on that report, but we remain concerned that the President's program is not sufficiently understood. Although I know that a number of Americans have discussed this subject with senior Vatican officials, we would like to send our official SDI briefing team to explain our research program. We will ask State to be in touch with you when Colonel Bob Linhard of the NSC Staff is prepared to bring his team to Rome, subject, of course, to your concurrence.

Again Bill, many thanks for sending me the provocative background paper on Albania.

Sincerely,

The Honorable William A. Wilson
American Ambassador to the Holy See
Rome, Italy



EMBASSY OF THE
UNITED STATES OF AMERICA
TO THE HOLY SEE

Rome, Italy

20 June 1985

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35
→ Stopping for
RCM signature
cc: W. Hall

Dear Bud:

The enclosed material was given to me by the Libohava brothers who now live in Rome and who came to my office to present the idea of helping Albania establish itself as a neutral nation similar to Austria in order to prevent or avoid the possibility that Russia would exert its strength against the new prime minister with the result of obtaining important seaport at the Straits of Otranto which is the juncture of the Adriatic Sea and the Ionian Sea.

Obviously the Libohava's brothers are anxious to see their country return to a western form of government, but I think they are sincerely interested in seeing to it that the Russians do not get another seaport in a critical location, particularly as close to Italy as this would be.

I do not expect you to read this material, but it might be interesting to have your staff review it and give you a summary with possible recommendations.

With kindest regards,

William A. Wilson
Ambassador

Mr. Robert McFarlane,
National Security Advisor,
The White House,
Washington, D.C.

ALBANIA: The creation of a neutral country as a solution for its future.

by Arslan & Kaplan d^e Libohova

ALBANIA: The creation of a neutral country as a solution for its future.

In the search of a feasible solution for the South Eastern Europe, the future of Albania has always been, and still is, quite a serious problem. There are two keys to the door leading from the Adriatic Sea to the Mediterranean: one in the hands of Italy and the other in the hands of Albania.

It is a well known fact how Albania right after World War II fell under Russia's influence. After its first foothold the U.S.S.R. established a military base in Valona and fortified the island of Saseno, thus controlling the Strait of Otranto and the Adriatic Sea. The break between the Albanian and the Russian Communist Party in 1961 took place after Stalin's death with the consequent "alliance" between Albania and Red China. This was mostly due to the renewal of the relationship between Russia and Yugoslavia wanted by Krusciov and for the fear that Belgrade would exert again its control over Albania dislodging from power Enver Hoxha and his clan.

The existing tension between U.S.A. and U.S.S.R. as well as the precarious political military situation of Western Mediterranean area, can very well induce Russia's political leaders to exert their pressure in order to eliminate the only free existing Maxist - communist in Europe, and become once more the safe-keepers of Albanian gateway to the Adriatic provoking a drastic change in the East-West balance of power in the Mediterranean area.

One should not discard the possibility even of an eventual Russian attack directed towards Albania; this mostly in consideration of the presence of a part of the Russian fleet stationed in the Mediterranean area. No doubt this would increase the danger of the return of all of Albanian's air, navy and missile bases under the direct control of the Soviet Union.

If such event took place it would upset the political and strategic balance of the Adriatic, the Balkans and the whole of the Mediterranean area. To avoid that any strategic plans involving the Warsaw Pact countries may eventually be directed in the future towards member countries of the Nato (and in particular Italy, Greece and also Turkey), it is most opportune to take immediate steps in considering this danger and find a feasible solution for the future of Albania.

A Soviet diplomatic move against Albania could also very well be conceivable due to the fact that Albania, with an unilateral decision, withdrew from the Warsaw Pact in 1968 after the military occupation of Czechoslovakia by the red army.

Let us not forget that both Hungary, Czechoslovakia and Afghanistan were invaded for less important reasons.

Russia's control of the Albanian military and naval bases, situated as they are in the middle of the Mediterranean, would allow a most convenient bridgehead for the Moscow's fleet in this area instead of using as it is doing at the present, the politically unstable bases of the pro-Soviet Arab countries which offer us a future guarantee whatsoever of stability and security.

From the information gathered, it would appear that the Kremlin's political and military leaders are expecting secretly the return of Albania under Russian's influence if possible in a political - diplomatic way after Hoxha's death. Moscow's sense of opportunism is doubtless heightened by Albania's isolation.

Today, events in Albania may present the Kremlin with the opportunity it has patiently awaited since the capture of Tirana in 1978, with Red China. Communist party leader Enver Hoxha, 78 is reported to be seriously sick and the day of his succession appears not far.

Tangible part of Moscow's interest in subverting Albania has been evident. The K.G.B. using an extensive pro-Soviet fifth column in Albania, has been mounted at least three attempted coups.

Albania's strategic importance, though virtually forgotten in the West is fully understood by Kremlin's leaders since Yalta.

Bordering Yugoslavia, Greece and Italy, Albania with two excellent deepwater ports at Valona (military) and ~~Durazzo~~^{DURAZZO}, dominates the adriatic area and the entry to the Mediterranean Sea. The Italian coast is only 50 miles away, accross the narrow Strait of Otranto.

In 1961, Albania became the only country to successfully evict Soviet occupation forces and pro-consular establishment. In that time, the party leader Enver Hoxha, a great admirer of Stalin, abruptly broke all ties with Moscow especially because of Khrushchev's de-stalinization program and joint China keeping the alliance with Peking until 1978.

In the process of maintaining the ideological Marxist purity of his country, Hoxha has left it without any friends or allies. That isolation has strongly weakened Albania on the international field but also the murder of N^o2 man of Albania Communist Party and Prime Minister Shehu in 1981, ordered by Hoxha himself, shaked dangerously the regime of Tirana.

Once that Hoxha has left the political scene, a move that the Soviets have bee impatiently awaiting for 3 years, the powerful pro-Russian faction of the Albanian Communist Party, with a massive assistance from Moscow, has a very high possibility of assuming power in Tirana.

The consequences of this action would be:

- 1) The renewal of the diplomatic and party relationships between the two communist countries interrupted in 1961.

- 2) The reintegration of Albania into the Warsaw Pact, (Albania was one of the principal promoters of the Pact).
- 3) Tirana again would take part in the COMECON sessions, from which has never officially withdrawn.
- 4) The re-entry into the Warsaw Pact means that the Albanian naval bases will be open to the Soviet fleet on a permanent basis.

For the moment this seems to be the plan that the Kremlin's leaders prefer and they are most likely to carry out at the most opportune time.

If this "peaceful" plan cannot be carried out, reliable sources believe that the Soviets will not hesitate to take stronger action to repossess their ex-Albanian bases, this action could be achieved through a "coup de main" in which the Russians are masters and against whom, the modest and badly equipped Albanian military force could not hold out. The Soviet fleet could easily return to their ex base of Valona with the help of their fifth column in Albania. This could be realized by the presence of the Russian navy in the Mediterranean which is fully equipped with amphibious means of troop transportation.

Albania could become the Soviet Union's most important forward base, crucial to its age-old ambition to control the Mediterranean and the Middle-East. The political consequences of the red army's being 50 miles away from Italy and bordered Greece and Yugoslavia can be easily imagined.

Albania's total isolation leaves Moscow with the tempting target of a valuable strategic prize that may be seized without the danger of an effective Western response.

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The neutralization of Albania would be nothing new, since as far back as July 29, 1913 the six powers (France, Great Britain, Germany, Italy, Russia and Austria-Hungary) that took part at the Ambassador's Conference in London which recognized Albania as a free nation, agreed that the territory of Albania should be considered a neutral state and proclaimed under Art. III... "l'Albanie est neutralisée; sa neutralité est garantie par les six puissances", and as such was accepted by the first independent government of Albania headed by Vlora-Libohova.

Years after and regardless what has happened in the meantime, Albania would therefore once more become a neutral country, as was sanctioned in the past, in order to maintain the powers in the Adriatic.

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The plan of establishing Albania as a neutral territory might be developed through the following procedure:

- An agreement should be reached by the representatives of Italy, Greece, Turkey to protect the area from the influence and control of any big power. This, however, can be accomplished as it seems both Greece and Yugoslavia have given up their long standing territorial claims within Albania's borders.

Italy, as the major power in the area, could assume such a preliminary initiative, after the course, previous consultations with Washington and its allies.

- The agreement could then be broadened to include all countries members of the Nato and in particular U.S.A, since with the presence of its Sixth Fleet in the Mediterranean assures the required peace and security to the whole basin.
- The next step would be to start paving the road for cautious and secret contacts with the Albanian political leaders in order to convince them of the enormous advantages to be had by having Albania turned into a neutral state. The advantages would undoubtedly be immediate freedom from the Russia struggle, political independence, full protection of her borders, and last but not least, her economic expansion.

In the present situation it should not be so difficult to convince the Government of Tirana that neutrality would remove Albania from its present dangerous and practically total isolation from the rest of the world. This would definitely result in obtaining help from the various international organizations for her economic needs.

To be able to establish Albania once more as a neutral state should also convince Tirana's political leaders that it would protect their present regime and also their lives, against any move or threat on the part of the Kremlin that considers the present Albanian leaders as "traitors" of their cause.

- As the last step, diplomatic action should be taken preferably with the United Nations which could endorse the issue of Albania's permanent neutrality, and help the country obtain necessary status. No doubt it would be of great help if the United States would back Albania's cause when the United Nations takes up the issue.

In the meanwhile, while waiting for the full juridical recognition of the requested neutrality of Albania (which could be similar to that existing in Finland and Austria), an unilateral declaration should be issued by the countries involved as a warning to the Eastern Powers against any change in the present political equilibrium in the Southern Adriatic area.

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It would definitely be in the interest of the Western Powers to expedite and promote Albania's neutrality as this would not only be to their benefit but it would also lift them from a forty year of sterile immobility with regards to Albania.

It is obvious that the return of Russia in this nevralgic area would mean a constant threat to the member countries of Nato especially in case of an outbreak of war. Even discarding this possibility, Moscow's presence in Albania would still be far from desirable as it would always have its effects on all the democratic countries situated in the particular sensitive spot, and this time it would be permanent, in the Meditteranean.

Due to the recent international situation the Western powers and especially U.S.A. should not hesitate any longer in taking into consideration the neutralization of Albanian territory, as this would be the only solution to prevent, sooner or later, Russia's occupation of this territory.

Arslan & Kaplan da Libohova

Dobriansky
ALBANIA

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THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

August 5, 1985

Dear Bill:

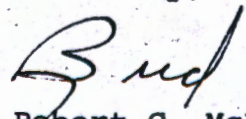
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Again Bill, many thanks for sending me the provocative background paper on Albania.

Sincerely,



Robert C. McFarlane


The Honorable William A. Wilson
American Ambassador to the Holy See
Rome, Italy

61



THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

The Honorable William A. Wilson
American Ambassador to the Holy See
Rome, Italy



NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL

July 22, 1985

ACTION

MEMORANDUM FOR ROBERT C. MCFARLANE

FROM: *E. J. [unclear]* PAULA J. DOBRIANSKY/TY COBB

SUBJECT: Letter from Ambassador Wilson Re Albania

SIGNED
[Signature]

Ambassador Bill Wilson has forwarded material to you from Arslan and Kaplan de Libohava concerning Albania. He is seeking our recommendations for establishing Albania as a neutral nation.

We have examined the question of U.S. involvement in this issue and can only conclude that this would not be in our best interests nor those of Yugoslavia. Attached at Tab I is your response to Wilson explaining our position.

[Signature]
Jack Hatlock and Bob Linhard concur.

RECOMMENDATION

That you sign the letter at Tab I

Approve Disapprove

Attachments

Tab I McFarlane Letter to Ambassador Wilson
Tab A Ambassador Wilson Letter to McFarlane, June 20,
1985



EMBASSY OF THE
UNITED STATES OF AMERICA
TO THE HOLY SEE

Rome, Italy

20 June 1985

Stopping for
Rem signature
cc: W. Hall

Dear Bud:

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William A. Wilson
Ambassador

Mr. Robert McFarlane,
National Security Advisor,
The White House,
Washington, D.C.

ALBANIA: The creation of a neutral country as a
solution for its future.

by Arslan & Kaplan d^e Libohova

ALBANIA: The creation of a neutral country as a solution for its future.

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A Soviet diplomatic move against Albania could also very well be conceivable due to the fact that Albania, with an unilateral decision, withdrew from the Warsaw Pact in 1968 after the military occupation of Czechoslovakia by the red army.

Let us not forget that both Hungary, Czechoslovakia and Afghanistan were invaded for less important reasons.

Russia's control of the Albanian military and naval bases, situated as they are in the middle of the Mediterranean, would allow a most convenient bridgehead for the Moscow's fleet in this area instead of using as it is doing at the present, the politically unstable bases of the pro-Soviet Arab countries which offer us a future guarantee whatsoever of stability and security.

From the information gathered, it would appear that the Kremlin's political and military leaders are expecting secretly the return of Albania under Russian's influence if possible in a political - diplomatic way after Hoxha's death. Moscow's sense of opportunism is doubtless heightened by Albania's isolation.

Today, events in Albania may present the Kremlin with the opportunity it has patiently awaited since the capture of Tirana in 1978, with Red China. Communist party leader Enver Hoxha, 78 is reported to be seriously sick and the day of his succession appears not far.

Tangible part of Moscow's interest in subverting Albania has been evident. The K.G.B. using an extensive pro-Soviet fifth column in Albania, has been mounted at least three attempted coups.

Albania's strategic importance, though virtually forgotten in the West is fully understood by Kremlin's leaders since Yaltar.

Bordering Yugoslavia, Greece and Italy, Albania with two excellent deepwater ports at Valona (military) and ~~Durazzo~~ ^{DURAZZO}, dominates the adriatic area and the entry to the Mediterranean Sea. The Italian coast is only 50 miles away, accross the narrow Strait of Otranto.

In 1961, Albania became the only country to successfully evict Soviet occupation forces and pro-consular establishment. In that time, the party leader Enver Hoxha, a great admirer of Stalin, abruptly broke all ties with Moscow especially because of Khrushchev's de-stalinization program and joint China keeping the alliance with Peking until 1978.

In the process of maintaining the ideological Marxist purity of his country, Hoxha has left it without any friends or allies. That isolation has strongly weakened Albania on the international field but also the murder of N^o2 man of Albania Communist Party and Prime Minister Shehu in 1981, ordered by Hoxha himself, shaked dangerously the regime of Tirana.

Once that Hoxha has left the political scene, a move that the Soviets have bee impatiently awaiting for 3 years, the powerful, pro-Russian faction of the Albanian Communist Party, with a massive assistance from Moscow, has a very high possibility of assuming power in Tirana.

The consequences of this action would be:

- 1) The renewal of the diplomatic and party relationships between the two communist countries interrupted in 1961.

- 2) The reintegration of Albania into the Warsaw Pact, (Albania was one of the principal promoters of the Pact).
- 3) Tirana again would take part in the COMECON sessions, from which has never officially withdrawn.
- 4) The re-entry into the Warsaw Pact means that the Albanian naval bases will be open to the Soviet fleet on a permanent basis.

For the moment this seems to be the plan that the Kremlin's leaders prefer and they are most likely to carry out at the most opportune time.

If this "peaceful" plan cannot be carried out, reliable sources believe that the Soviets will not hesitate to take stronger action to repossess their ex-Albanian bases, this action could be achieved through a "coup de main" in which the Russians are masters and against whom, the modest and badly equipped Albanian military force could not hold out. The Soviet fleet could easily return to their ex base of Valona with the help of their fifth column in Albania. This could be realized by the presence of the Russian navy in the Mediterranean which is fully equipped with amphibious means of troop transportation.

Albania could become the Soviet Union's most important forward base, crucial to its age-old ambition to control the Mediterranean and the Middle-East. The political consequences of the red army's being 50 miles away from Italy and bordered Greece and Yugoslavia can be easily imagined.

Albania's total isolation leaves Moscow with the tempting target of a valuable strategic prize that may be seized without the danger of an effective Western response.

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The neutralization of Albania would be nothing new, since as far back as July 29, 1913 the six powers (France, Great Britain, Germany, Italy, Russia and Austria-Hungary) that took part at the Ambassador's Conference in London which recognized Albania as a free nation, agreed that the territory of Albania should be considered a neutral state and proclaimed under Art. III... "l'Albanie est neutralisée; sa neutralité est garantie par les six puissances", and as such was accepted by the first independent government of Albania headed by Vlora-Libohova.

Years after and regardless what has happened in the meantime, Albania would therefore once more become a neutral country, as was sanctioned in the past, in order to maintain the powers in the Adriatic.

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The plan of establishing Albania as a neutral territory might be developed through the following procedure:

- An agreement should be reached by the representatives of Italy, Greece, Turkey to protect the area from the influence and control of any big power. This, however, can be accomplished as it seems both Greece and Yugoslavia have given up their long standing territorial claims within Albania's borders.

Italy, as the major power in the area, could assume such a preliminary initiative, after the course, previous consultations with Washington and its allies.

- The agreement could then be broadened to include all countries members of the Nato and in particular U.S.A, since with the presence of its Sixth Fleet in the Mediterranean assures the required peace and security to the whole basin.
- The next step would be to start paving the road for cautious and secret contacts with the Albanian political leaders in order to convince them of the enormous advantages to be had by having Albania turned into a neutral state. The advantages would undoubtedly be immediate freedom from the Russia struggle, political independence, full protection of her borders, and last but not least, her economic expansion.

In the present situation it should not be so difficult to convince the Government of Tirana that neutrality would remove Albania from its present dangerous and practically total isolation from the rest of the world. This would definitely result in obtaining help from the various international organizations for her economic needs.

To be able to establish Albania once more as a neutral state should also convince Tirana's political leaders that it would protect their present regime and also their lives, against any move or threat on the part of the Kremlin that considers the present Albanian leaders as "traitors" of their cause.

- As the last step, diplomatic action should be taken preferably with the United Nations which could endorse the issue of Albania's permanent neutrality, and help the country obtain necessary status. No doubt it would be of great help if the United States would back Albania's cause when the United Nations takes up the issue.

In the meanwhile, while waiting for the full juridical recognition of the requested neutrality of Albania (which could be similar to that existing in Finland and Austria), an unilateral declaration should be issued by the countries involved as a warning to the Eastern Powers against any change in the present political equilibrium in the Southern Adriatic area.

It would definitely be in the interest of the Western Powers to expedite and promote Albania's neutrality as this would not only be to their benefit but it would also lift them from a forty year of sterile immobility with regards to Albania.

It is obvious that the return of Russia in this nevralgic area would mean a constant threat to the member countries of Nato especially in case of an outbreak of war. Even discarding this possibility, Moscow's presence in Albania would still be far from desirable as it would always have its effects on all the democratic countries situated in the particular sensitive spot, and this time it would be permanent, in the Meditteranean.

- 9 -

Due to the recent international situation the Western powers and especially U.S.A. should not hesitate any longer in taking into consideration the neutralization of Albanian territory, as this would be the only solution to prevent, sooner or later, Russia's occupation of this territory.

Arslan & Kaplan da Libohova

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THOSE OF A YEAR AGO. REFERENCE TO A GENERAL SOVIET LINE OF IMPROVING RELATIONS WITH ALL SOCIALIST COUNTRIES IS NEW, AS IS INCLUSION OF A QUOTE FROM THE GENERAL SECRETARY ON IMPROVING RELATIONS.

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E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR
TAGS: PREL, UR, AL
SUBJECT: SIGNS OF INCREASED SOVIET ATTENTION TO ALBANIA

1. C - ENTIRE TEXT.

2. SUMMARY: SOVIET PRESS COMMENTED WARMLY ON 41ST ANNIVERSARY OF ALBANIAN INDEPENDENCE NOVEMBER 29. YUGOSLAV EMBASSY CONTACTS SEE SIGN OF HEIGHTENED SOVIET INTEREST IN IMPROVED RELATIONS WITH ALBANIA BUT ARE SKEPTICAL REGARDING SHORT-TERM RESULTS DUE TO TIRANA'S INTRANSIGENCE. A SOVIET JOURNALIST CONFIRMED MOSCOW IS ACTIVELY COURTING TIRANA BUT CLAIMED SOVIETS SEE NO FLEXIBILITY FROM ALBANIAN SIDE. END SUMMARY.

3. PRAVDA AND IZVESTIYA CARRY SIMILAR ARTICLES NOVEMBER 29 COMMENTING WARMLY ON THE 41ST ANNIVERSARY OF ALBANIAN INDEPENDENCE. A PRAVDA PIECE SIGNED "N. YURCHENKO" STRESSES THE SOVIET ROLE IN AIDING ALBANIAN DEVELOPMENT PRIOR TO THE "DIFFICULTIES" WHICH AROSE IN SOVIET-ALBANIAN RELATIONS IN THE EARLY 1960S. IN WORD AND DEED, THE ARTICLE CONTINUES, THE SOVIET UNION HAS CONSTANTLY EMPHASIZED ITS READINESS TO NORMALIZE RELATIONS WITH ALBANIA. IN THIS REGARD, PRAVDA QUOTES GORBACHEV'S SEPTEMBER 1984 SPEECH IN SOFIA CALLING FOR GOOD WILL ON BOTH SIDES TO SETTLE PROBLEMS. PRAVDA PLACES SOVIET POLICY TOWARD ALBANIA IN THE CONTEXT OF A "PRINCIPLED POLICY FOR THE IMPROVEMENT OF RELATIONS WITH ALL SOCIALIST COUNTRIES."

4. SIGNED V. PETROV, THE IZVESTIYA PIECE UNDERScores THE ATTENTION PAID TO ALBANIA IN THE SOVIET UNION: ALBANIAN LITERATURE AND POETRY ARE PUBLISHED, FILMS ON ALBANIA ARE SHOWN, ARTICLES ON ALBANIAN POLICY APPEAR IN THE PRESS, AND THE SOVIET-ALBANIAN FRIENDSHIP SOCIETY FOLLOWS AN ACTIVE PROGRAM.

5. COMMENT: THESE ARTICLES, WHICH MARK THE FIRST ALBANIAN INDEPENDENCE DAY SINCE HOXHA'S PASSING AND GORBACHEV'S ACCESSION, STRIKE US AS SLIGHTLY WARMER THAN

6. SENIOR YUGOSLAV DIPLOMATS IN MOSCOW BELIEVE THE SOVIETS ARE PAYING MORE ATTENTION TO ALBANIA, AT LEAST IN THE MEDIA, AS PART OF AN INCREASED EFFORT TO IMPROVE TIES WITH TIRANA. AS AN EXAMPLE OF INCREASED SOVIET MEDIA ATTENTION, YUGOSLAV CONTACTS POINT TO A MAJOR DOCUMENTARY FILM ON ALBANIA AIRED RECENTLY ON SOVIET TELEVISION, WITH MATERIAL REPORTEDLY PROVIDED TO THE SOVIETS BY THE HUNGARIANS. IN ADDITION, PRAVDA NOVEMBER 27 CARRIES A BRIEF BUT UNPRECEDENTED REFERENCE TO ALBANIA (ON CONSTRUCTION OF A HYDROELECTRIC STATION) UNDER THE REGULAR "FROM THE SOCIALIST COUNTRIES" RUBRIC. THE YUGOSLAVS CLAIM THAT THIS IS THE FIRST TIME IN YEARS THAT ALBANIA HAS BEEN SO TREATED, A DEVELOPMENT CONFIRMED TO US BY A SOVIET JOURNALIST.

7. YUGOSLAV EMBOFFS CLAIM THAT A MEMBER OF THE FIFTH EUROPEAN DIVISION OF THE SOVIET FOREIGN MINISTRY TOLD THEM THAT HE PERSONALLY HAD WRITTEN BOTH THE PRAVDA AND IZVESTIYA PIECES ON THE ALBANIAN ANNIVERSARY THIS YEAR UNDER THE PEN NAMES YURCHENKO AND PETROV AND THAT HE HAD BEEN PAID SEVEN HUNDRED RUBLES FOR HIS EFFORT. ACCORDING TO THE YUGOSLAVS, THIS MFA OFFICIAL SAID THERE HAD INDEED BEEN A SIGNIFICANT INCREASE IN SOVIET ATTENTION TO ALBANIA, WITH A MAJOR ARTICLE ON ALBANIA SCHEDULED TO APPEAR IN PRAVDA ON NOVEMBER 30.

8. YUGOSLAV PROXIMITY AND SENSITIVITY TO ALBANIAN ISSUES LEND CREDENCE TO THESE REPORTS OF MOVEMENT IN THE SOVIET APPROACH TO ALBANIA. OUR YUGOSLAV CONTACTS ARE QUICK TO DOWNPLAY ANY PROSPECT OF A POSITIVE ALBANIAN RESPONSE TO INCREASED SOVIET OVERTURES, HOWEVER, JUST AS THEY WERE RECENTLY IN SQUELCHING RUMORS REGARDING SOVIET ATTEMPTS TO HAVE A TASS CORRESPONDENT ACCREDITED TO TIRANA.

9. IN A NOVEMBER 29 CONVERSATION WITH EMBOFF, A SOVIET JOURNALIST DECLARED THAT THE SOVIET LEADERSHIP IS "ACTIVELY COURTING" ALBANIA. HE CLAIMED THAT SOVIET AIMS WERE LIMITED, HOWEVER, AND THAT MOSCOW PRIMARILY SOUGHT TO REESTABLISH A TRADE RELATIONSHIP WITH TIRANA. THE SOVIET NOTED THAT HUNGARY HAD RECENTLY EXPANDED ITS TRADE WITH ALBANIA AND QUIPPED "IF BUDAPEST, WHY NOT MOSCOW?" HE CONCLUDED, HOWEVER, THAT TO DATE ALBANIA HAS SHOWN "NO FLEXIBILITY" IN ITS POLICY TOWARD THE SOVIET UNION AND DENIED THAT ANY "PRIVATE CONTACTS" BETWEEN TIRANA AND MOSCOW ARE UNDERWAY. HARTMAN BT

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- Laux
- Lenczowski

- FYI Levine
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- Ringdahl
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- Small
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185843	MEMO DAVID BROWN TO EXEC. SEC. OF NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL RE. NAVIGATION AND OVERFLIGHT	1	4/11/1986	B1

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