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DECADAL Views on NCFA Reorganization .

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### DECADAL VIEWS ON NCFA REORGANIZATION.

After over four years of existence, NCFA, which has the good fortune to enjoy the support of the United States and British Governments, as well as personal direction by representatives of those Governments, has finally been reorganized and broadened.

This transformation, by permitting the entrance into NCFA of two parties and of a few individual independents not previously represented, appears to the Albanians in general as a form of appeasement. To the American and British representatives to NCFA such a move undoubtedly seemed urgent and timely in the effort to eliminate the useless quarreling which existed, and continues to exist, among the Albanians in exile.

It is most regrettable, however, that this step towards pacification came not from the various Albanian leaders and preachers of diverse ideologies themselves in an effort to settle their own differences, but was made at the instance of Albania's American and British friends. No fault is to be found with this initiative, certainly, and it is to be hoped that the lesson will have a useful effect on those Albanian brains which had engaged in fighting each other in exile instead of neglecting what should be their sole objective: the liberation of their country and of their people from the Communist slavery of the past nine years.

Executive Committee members, to say nothing of those taking part in the General Committee, are still completely unaware of the details of the transformed NCFA's program and new plans. Nevertheless, as an initial step, it would be most useful to attempt to determine just what gifts and abilities the old, as well as the new members possess and are prepared to place at the service of NCFA, and to determine to just what extent they are prepared to act as a team for the liberation of their homeland. Their responsibility, viewed in its true terms, is a heavy one. Thus it is necessary to subject the productive power of the previous NCFA to detailed examination in an attempt to assess the extent to which hopes for positive results from the present Committee may be justified.

The previous Executive Committee headed first by the late Mithat Bey FRASHERI, later by Hasan DOSTI, was not formed under conditions which permitted of any large-scale consultation of the Albanian emigration. Nevertheless, as the first organization of exile Albanians in the free world, NCFA was greeted enthusiastically by all, particularly by Albanians within their enslaved homeland. In the new organization they saw evidence of American and British intention to support an undertaking whose sole objective was that of bringing bread, justice, and liberty to the people of Albania.

At that early period, the Executive Council was composed of representatives of two exile political groupings, Balli Kombetar and the Legalitet. Sait KRYEZIU was called in because of merits earned during the last war. Other political groupings were barred from NCFA membership because of their war-time collaboration with the enemies of the Allies.

No fair-minded Albanian would deny the fact that that criterion was totally fallacious, and that it was either based on incomplete knowledge of Albania's short history, or on a deliberate misinterpretation of it. In reality, the political groups in exile had not previously existed as such within Albania. None, therefore, could with any logic present itself as more unsullied or as more democratic than any other. Above all, none of them could by any stretch of the imagination present itself as representing a political party with its roots in Albania. The programs of these exile parties are in no way similar to those which may exist in the various countries under Soviet domination. These exile political groupings, then, must be regarded as political tendencies or movements. And, even so, Albania with its population of 1,200,000 inhabitants could not possibly absorb so many different movements.

The following brief review of the history of Albanian political groupings will serve to illuminate the obscure present-day manifestations of their leaders:

1. Balli Kombtar (The National Front) .

The precise date of Balli's foundation cannot be fixed, but let us say that it was in 1941. Balli Kombtar was established as a resistance movement, or, as its moderate exponents prefer, as an organization to combat the enemy, i.e., Albania's Italian occupier. This step was taken primarily as the result of its leaders' conviction that the Axis no longer had any chance of emerging victorious from the conflict. The same leaders, of course, were also influenced by propaganda spread by British operational teams which has been air-dropped into the mountains of Albania. These missions insisted on the formation of a resistance movement which, linked with the Communist movement, was to engage in military operations against Axis occupation forces. In some regions of southern Albania Balli units were operating against Italian forces at precisely the same time that its representatives were serving with the Governments under the Italian occupation. A living example is NCFA Chairman Hasan DOSTI himself. During the German military occupation of Albania which followed Italy's 8 September 1943 capitulation, Balli Kombtar was permanently represented in all Governments. Among such representatives, Rexhep MITROVICA and Koco MUKA are still living; Kol TROMARA and Bahri QMARI have been executed by the Communists. Later, after escaping with the aid of the Germans from their country's new Communist masters, Balli Kombtar leaders began to attempt to monopolize the Albanian exile scene. They presented themselves as the sole Albanian resistance movement of the war-time period; they speciously exonerated themselves of all charges of collaborationism with the erstwhile enemies of the Allies; and, at the same time, they smeared all others as collaborationists, small-time dictators, etc. But, stripped to its essence, Balli Kombtar was at all times so poorly organized and so confused by its own concurrent double-dealings with Axis and Ally that it never became aware of its primary patriotic duty. It utterly failed to comprehend the necessity for uniting with its country's national forces to destroy Communism with or without Allied approval whether or not

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such a course involved "collaboration" with the Germans.

2. Legalitet (Monarchists).

This group can well be regarded as the promoters of a one-point program focused on the person of ex-King Zogu. Its sole objective is the re-creation of the monarchy which was destroyed by Italian occupation of Albania on 7 April 1939.

Unlike those of Balli Kombtar, Legalitet leaders did not collaborate with the Governments under Italian occupation. They did, however, take part in Governments of the German occupation period. Among such individuals were Eng. Asim Abdurahmani, Rok Kolaç, Rok Gera, Misa Gjylbegaj, and others. In early 1944, following attack by Communist elements, with or without the knowledge of British missions attached to Abaz Kupi, this movement received the full support of the Albanian Government then in power in the form of money, food, arms, and ammunition.

Under ZOG's control and authority, this movement has not accused other nationalists of past collaboration with the enemy, but has demonstrated its own anxious desire for the union of all sound nationalists in exile into an effective anti-Communist front.

3. Partija Bujqve dhe te Katundarve  
(Farmers and Peasants Party).

This political party was established in exile in early 1950. With the exception of its president, Sait Kryeziu, all its members have collaborated with the various Governments under Italian and German military occupation of their country. This party's leaders, in general, demonstrate a desire for the union of all anti-Communist Albanians in exile.

4. Bloku Kombtar Indipendent  
(National Independent Bloc).

BKI was established in 1946 for primarily defensive motives in the face of Balli Kombtar's vociferations of its right to the title of the "sole Albanian resistance movement in exile" in the years 1945-46-47. These claims were accompanied by the accusation that BKI's membership was made up of enemies of the Allies, of old Nazi-Fascist collaborators. This group, in reality, escaped its country, as did Balli Kombtar leaders, with German help which permitted it to reach Germany and Italy. Its ranks, in truth, are made up exclusively of individuals who collaborated with the Italian and German Governments of pre-war and war-time days. None denies this fact. But, just as importantly, none pretends to have belonged to a resistance group or movement.

The leaders of this group are desirous of achieving union with other anti-Communist elements for the liberation of their country.

What are the differences among the above listed political groups, parties, organizations, or movements, as they variously call themselves? Does any one of them have greater rights or more valid interests in its country than do the others? And, finally, how much longer are they going to continue to regard their brothers and sisters inside Albania as objects, as pawns in their political game, instead of regarding themselves as the subjects of their enslaved compatriots, as the instruments of their eventual liberation?

The principal differences among the groups in exile lies in the fact that the majority of them comprehends the absolute necessity for Albanian union, without group or party distinctions, under the leadership of honest and capable Albanians deserving of the enormous responsibilities which are to be entrusted to them. A minor group of fanatics, however, desires only to continue along its present absurd and utterly unrealistic course of sowing discord among the emigration in order to reap personal prosperity from the resultant divergencies.

No single party or group can pretend to have a preponderance of rights or interests in the country itself. Every good Albanian, once he will have fulfilled his obligation towards his compatriots within the homeland, will return to his liberated country. There he will join his people in assisting them to make of their country a constitutional state in order to be able to enjoy full liberty and to exercise his profession for the good of his family and to the benefit of society.

As long, however, as the various exile political groups are allowed to continue their present destructive factiousness, each pretending to be backed by Albania's enslaved populations, no progress will be made towards achievement of the objective.

At this point it is well to note that the Albanians in exile are in reality divided into three principal categories:

1. 90% of Albanian emigrants, scattered among many continents, are engaged in honestly earning their livings as do the other inhabitants of the earth. In the factories, mines, restaurants, etc., where they find employment they do not raise the question of previous professions they may have practiced or of offices they may once have held. All Albanians can justly be proud of them.
2. A second group consists of the so-called leaders, politicians, and their satellites who, consciously or not, infest the emigration with their own partisan machinations, thereby contributing to the perpetuation of the power of Enver Hoxha and Mehmet Shehu in Albania.
3. The last category is comprised of those who, because of old age, can neither emigrate nor earn their livings where they find themselves. In that situation they are practically forced to become followers of one or another of the political groupings.

Regarding public opinion in Albania itself, to the extent, that is, that there exists a public opinion outside the prisons and concentration camps, it can logically be concluded that the majority of the populace desires its liberation from Communism. It by no means follows, however, that this longing is a conditional one, viz., that liberation should come only at the hands of Balli Kombtar, or of Legalitet, or of Katundar, or at those of Bloku Kombtar Independent.

As improbable as this range of views may sound to the various Albanian leaders, they represent present and future reality. As such they must serve as a point of departure for any realistic undertaking in the Albanian field.

NCFA's previous Executive Council was based on a coalition of political groupings whose sole inspiration was their varying prejudices. During its tenure of over four years it was unable to demonstrate any capabilities for the tasks confronting it. The interests of the suffering Albanian people were lost in the maze of party interests. Particularly inexcusable was the conception that the only Albanian exiles worthy of consideration were those who had passed through the "epuration centers" of the different parties. Typical of its incongruous procedures was its manner of recruitment of Albanian members of the Hohenbrunn labor company in Germany; these, instead of being brought together as members of a team, were thrown together under the standards of the various political groups.

The balance sheet of that Executive Committee's activities shows negligible results, if any, in most fields. Results in the operational field of endeavor have been nothing short of disastrous. This directive group, it is obvious, does not deserve the slightest praise.

This, then, is the writer's judgement of the activities of the previous Executive Committee. No change is foreseen as regards future accomplishments of the present committee, although its shortcomings may be on an even larger scale owing to its increased membership.

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Having reached this point of these gloomy observations, the reader is fully entitled either to cast them aside as of doubtful validity or to ask which alternate measures are to be adopted.

At the outset it must be confessed that the problem is by no means a simple one as it is most difficult to find able collaborators among Albanians who have spent ten years in exile. Albanians in general are deeply attached to their country, but they love their differences and quarrels of the past no less. Except for those few who have somehow acquired an appreciation and a sense of collectivity, the Albanians are extremely individualistic in their social conceptions which do not extend far beyond the framework of blood kinship. This is also due in part to their short and stormy history which does not include the happy experience of a totally independent constitutional state. And, finally, for economic reasons Albania has always been a sort of satellite,

at one time of the Austro-Hungarian Empire, more recently of the Italians. In their present exile, as a consequence, the Albanians fall under the sway of either the United States or Great Britain.

Because of past criteria, and precedents established thereby, it is not now possible to change the basic NCFA structure. In order, therefore, to set up an effective instrument for collaboration with the Albanians in exile, there should be formed a directive council consisting of not more than five persons. This body would represent for Albanians within the homeland as well as for those of the emigration the highest authority in exile. This group should be composed of individuals possessing the following qualities:

1. they must be completely uncompromising in their anti-Communism ;
2. they must be influential persons of unsullied and uncorrupted past ;
3. they must not be members of any exile political group; if now members of such groups, they must be required to resign from them and give their oaths that in the future they will act exclusively as patriotic Albanians without regard to party considerations ;

In collaboration with the American and British representative to NCFA this council would elaborate the regulations and program of the reorganized Committee.

A staff of experienced and truly capable Albanians, limited to the number actually required by NCFA's program, should be chosen among all Albanians, not limiting the choice to only those located in Italy or Greece. Such staff members should be possessed of the same qualities outlined above, and their definitive appointment would be dependent on their ability to pass stiff examination of their actual capabilities, skills, and knowledge in the fields in which they are to work.

Apportionment of directive and staff posts on the basis of religious representation should be on the following scale: Moslems, 70%; Orthodox, 20%; Roman Catholics, 10%.