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July 29, 1949

Dear Pilgrim:

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I enclose for your information a copy of an Aide-Memoire, dated July 21, 1949 but left at the Foreign Office on July 26, 1949, together with a memorandum addressed to me from the Officer of the Embassy who delivered the Aide-Memoire.

When [] was in Athens on July 16th he asked me to try to arrange for a statement, indicating what should be included, to be issued by the Greek Government soon after the public announcement of the formation of the Albanian Committee. We felt that in order to secure a satisfactory statement it would be necessary to use the prestige of Ambassador Grady through having him personally request the Foreign Minister to issue such a statement. At the time Alderdice and I discussed this project he was of the opinion that the Committee would be announced upon July 21st or 22nd, that is to say well before Ambassador Grady's scheduled departure for the United States.

As on July 23rd there had been no announcement of the formation of the Committee, nor indication of when such an announcement might take place, and as Mr. Grady was due to depart July 24th for the States, Horatio and I decided to take certain liberties with normal diplomatic procedures and prepare an Aide-Memoire of a conversation that was never to take place but which was to be hinted at in the course of a luncheon talk between Mr. Grady and Foreign Minister Tsaldaris. At that luncheon Mr. Grady told Mr. Tsaldaris that he had hoped to have a conversation on Albania with him but Secretary Snyder's arrival in Athens and his own (Grady's) departure with the Secretary had made it necessary to postpone that conversation. Nevertheless, he had found the time to put down some thoughts upon the subject and would send these around to the Foreign Minister in the course of the next few days. He added that he sincerely hoped that Mr. Tsaldaris would follow through upon the suggestion that he was making, treating it in the meantime as of confidential nature. We feared that if Mr. Grady really had the conversation and gave Mr. Tsaldaris an Aide-Memoire there might have been a leak or a plant in the Greek press which could be harmful to us.

Mr. Grady left and, although the beginning of the week came without an announcement of the formation of the Albanian Committee, we were faced with an additional complication. Sir Clifford Norton, the British Ambassador, announced that he was leaving in two days for a month's holiday and that before leaving he would see the Foreign Minister or Acting Foreign Minister and he wished to discuss, among other things, Greek-Albanian relations. As we desired to have Sir Clifford's support of Mr. Grady's request it was necessary that we deposit Mr. Grady's Aide-Memoire at the Foreign Office before Sir Clifford's call. We followed this course. In so doing we realized that we risked a leak but that risk seemed less important than the risk of not having a satisfactory preparation for a favorable statement from the Greek Government soon after the formation of the Albanian Committee.

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There has been no leak to date and the background seems now to be prepared so that we will have the statement desired when the occasion arises. I am hoping, however, that this occasion will come soon as the Greeks are very poor at keeping secrets.

Sincerely yours,

Cim

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MEMORANDUMSECRET

TO:

FROM:

DATE: July 27, 1949

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As Tsaldaris was not scheduled to return until late Wednesday, I presented the Aide-Memoire to Pipinelis, on Tuesday at 12:30 p.m. Pipinelis studied the document closely and promised to bring it to the personal attention of Tsaldaris as soon as possible. With regard to the specific points, Pipinelis made the following comments:

1. The Greek Army would undertake no military adventures in Albania. This, he believed, could be stated categorically. However, this would not solve the problem of guerrillas taking refuge in Albania and returning for another round. Greece hopes and expects some measures will be taken to prevent Albania from continuing to serve as a refuge and base for guerrilla activity against Greece.

2. Successful efforts have been made to bring the broadcasts in Albanian, Bulgarian, and Serbo-Croat under the control of the Foreign Office. At present, he stated, these broadcasts to Albania and Bulgaria make a clear distinction between the peoples and the Governments of those countries. He agreed that the other broadcasts of Radio Athens on international affairs should be brought into line. He stated that he had, within the past few days, addressed a letter to the Minister of Information, strongly requesting that Foreign Office approval be secured for all broadcasts by Radio Athens dealing with international affairs.

3. The forthcoming formation of the Albanian Committee would be a very important step. He believed that all the Balkan peoples would see in this development a new departure in foreign policy of the Western countries and consider it the first move in a campaign to roll back the Iron Curtain. The composition of the Committee, he felt, was of great importance, particularly in that it should not come under the domination of either Zog or the

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Italians. The former he characterized as the most unreliable Albanian with whom he had to deal during his pre-war mission in Albania. The ex-King, he felt, had almost no influence in the country, but was forced to be reckoned with because of his financial resources, his political acumen, and his ruthlessness. The Italians, he said, had already begun to renew their efforts in Albania and were working through the Independent Bloc, a group of former collaborationists now headed by Verlaci. All collaborationists, he felt, should be excluded from any position on the Committee, especially any persons who had cooperated with the Italians. In general, Pipinelis believes, that none of the exiles has any real following within Albania since political parties and national consciousness are not developed to any degree in that country. In his opinion, any government that succeeds the present regime will have to look to the United States for the actual direction of its efforts. He expressed the belief that the formation of a Committee would be the occasion for great unrest in Albania, which is, according to his information, in a desperate economic situation. He expressed great interest in knowing what steps would be taken after the Committee had been formed and hoped that these steps would include concrete action to overthrow the Hoxhi regime.

Pipinelis promised that the Greek Government would issue a statement upon the formation of the Albanian Committee and showed no objection to any of the points mentioned in the relative portion of the Aide-Memoire. He said that the Foreign Office's recent statement to UNSCOB concerning the possibility of the means of improving Greek-Albanian relations contained almost the same wording concerning the Greek territorial claims on Albania. I thanked him for his interest and said that if we had advance notification of the formation of the Committee, we would endeavor to inform him.

Sir Clifford Norton also saw Pipinelis Tuesday and told him much the same sort of thing.

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July 21, 1949

AIRTEL MEMOIR

I have noted with increasing concern statements and editorials appearing in the Greek press urging in fiery terms that the Greek National Army put an end to Albanian aid to the Greek guerrillas by pursuing retreating guerrilla forces across the frontier and by conducting military operations in Albanian territory. My concern is the greater in that I understand these sentiments to represent not merely the opinions of journalists but also the view of some Greek officials.

As Your Excellency is aware, any such action by Greek National Forces would greatly damage the Greek case before the United Nations and before world public opinion in general. I urge, therefore, that Your Excellency make clear at an early opportunity that the Greek Government has no intention of embarking upon any military adventures upon Albanian territory.

More generally with regard to Greece's relations with Albania, I should like to express to Your Excellency the view that long range prospects for peace in the Balkans would be enhanced if the Greek Government should make a clear distinction between the present Albanian Government and the Albanian people. In this connection, I have learned with pleasure that an effort is being made to improve in this respect the Albanian language broadcasts on Radio Athens although unfortunately a similar

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improvement does not appear to have been registered with regard to the remarks of the principal commentator on Radio Athens, in his analysis of international developments, originally broadcast in Greek but subsequently rebroadcast in French and other foreign languages. It seems to me important that the same general line followed in the Albanian language broadcasts of Radio Athens be used in all emissions of Radio Athens.

An opportunity may be provided in the near future for Your Excellency to clarify Greece's position toward Albania and the Albanian people. I am informed that a group of prominent Albanian exiles may shortly announce the formation of a Committee to work for the liberation of their country from the present Communist regime. In my opinion a brief statement from Your Excellency soon after the announcement of the formation of this Committee will be most helpful in improving the long term relations between Greece and Albania. In the statement I hope you will say that the formation of a Committee of prominent Albanian exiles arouses hope for the improvement of Greece's relations with Albania. And, further, that, provided Albania has a representative government not hostile to the Greek nation, Greece affirms that it will take no aggressive steps against Albania nor seek any territorial adjustments except through friendly negotiations within the framework of the United Nations. I shall appreciate Your Excellency's comments on this suggestion as soon as possible as I would like to inform my Government by telegraph that you are planning to make a statement and include in my message the text of your statement.

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