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MEMORANDUM

POLICY TOWARDS ALBANIA

The Foreign Office have now considered the State Department's memorandum of November 16th 1951 regarding the future status of Albania and desirable action on the part of the U.S. and U.K. Governments.

2. The Foreign Office are substantially in agreement with the State Department's memorandum. They are glad to note that the State Department, like the Foreign Office, desire to see an independent Albania, and for the same reasons. The Foreign Office likewise agree that the Western Powers should continue their diplomatic and other efforts to undermine the present regime, with a view to overthrowing it at some future date. Within this framework there remain a few points of detail to be concerted.

3. It will be remembered that paragraph 8 of the Foreign Office's memorandum of the 20th June 1951 listed three recommendations. These were that the U.S. and U.K. Governments should jointly:

- (i) urge the Yugoslavs and Greeks not to enter Albania in the event Albania in the event of a communist attack on Yugoslavia, and if they insisted on entering the country, try to persuade them to agree on a suitable line beyond which they would not advance;
- (ii) in the event of any such Greco-Yugoslav occupation of Albania, ensure that a public declaration be made to the effect that it was only temporary, in order to reassure the Italians;
- (iii) tell the Yugoslavs and Greeks, when raising the question of Albania with them, that if the present Communist regime in that country collapsed from internal stresses we should wish to consult with them and with the Italians about the most suitable regime to succeed it.

4. The State Department in their memorandum of 16th November, 1951 accepted the first two recommendations, but only if "the imminence of actual outbreak of hostilities in the Balkans required". The Foreign Office have doubts about the wisdom of leaving these approaches to the Yugoslav and Greek Governments so late. It is clear that satellite Albania, by its

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very existence, constitutes a continuing potential military threat to Yugoslavia and Greece. Both these countries must obviously make their war plans regarding Albania, and cannot be expected to change them at the last moment, when war is either imminent or has actually broken out. Prior discussion therefore seems essential to the Foreign Office. Furthermore the Foreign Office feel that the approaches suggested by the State Department would not in themselves be sufficient unless linked with approaches to the Yugoslav and Greek Governments regarding their attitude in the event that an invasion of Albania becomes in the end a military necessity.

5. The Foreign Office therefore hope that the State Department will agree that our two Governments should approach the Yugoslav and Greek Governments. On the other hand, the Foreign Office recognize that the time for this is not yet ripe. They would prefer to say nothing to the Yugoslav and Greek Governments until the position of Greece in Admiral Carney's southern flank command is firmly established, and until some definite progress has been made in defence discussions with the Yugoslav Government. The State Department will appreciate that this order of priorities makes the proposed approach to the Yugoslav and Greek Governments a matter of no special urgency.

6. The Foreign Office are glad to see that the State Department have fully accepted the last recommendation quoted above. Indeed, the Foreign Office note that the State Department go further in Section C of their memorandum and suggest that our two Governments should obtain assurances from the Yugoslav, Greek and Italian Governments that they do not "profess claims to privileged positions in reference to Albania", and that the NATO should be used as a forum to discuss Yugoslavia's position towards Albania. The Foreign Office, for their part, accept the State Department's view that our Governments should seek assurances from the three Governments concerned. But they feel that it would not at the present time be suitable to discuss

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the question of Albania or Yugoslav-Albanian relations in the NATO. In this context, the Foreign Office do not like the prospect of asking the Italian Government to give an assurance in NATO about Albania; which the Italian Government would certainly not welcome.

7. The Foreign Office look forward to learning the views of the State Department on these points.

10 March, 1952.