

*Dosti's recommendation
to convert NCFA into
a provisional
Government in Exile*

The formation of the National Committee for a Free Albania was received with enthusiasm by all the Albanians in exile and by those who live in Albania under the tyranny established by the Kremlin. Its formation was greeted with sympathy also by the groups and organizations of exiles from countries behind the Iron Curtain. Similarly, the Committee viewed with sympathy by the diplomatic circles of democratic and peace-loving foreign states.

By all of these, the National Committee for a Free Albania is conceived as an organization with a political and military program which has for its purpose the overthrow of the present regime imposed upon Albania by Soviet Russia and its replacement by a democratic, liberal government which will be in conformity with the traditions and aspirations of the people.

During its nearly three years in existence, the National Committee for a Free Albania has functioned ably, within as well as without Albania. We hope that the future will see an increase of its activity.

II

In Albania, the formation of the National Committee for a Free Albania has strengthened the spirits of the people. They have placed their hopes of deliverance from the Red regime and of the establishment of order, harmony, peace and democracy in the present political activity of the National Committee for a Free Albania. They expect the Committee to lead towards the

RESTRICTED COPY

NAZI WAR CRIMES DISCLOSURE ACT

- EXEMPTIONS Section 3(b)
- (2)(A) Privacy
- (2)(B) Methods, Sources
- (2)(G) Foreign relations

Declassified and Approved for Release
by the Central Intelligence Agency
Date: 2003 2005

creation of conditions of an international character which may make the destiny of Albania secure in future developments.

In fact, after the founding of the Committee, the propaganda as well as the armed resistance in Albania have increased, in great proportions. Undoubtedly, this has cost the Albanian people sacrifices which, taking into consideration the limited resources of our country, may be called quite severe. However, the Albanians do not draw back from war. They have the consciousness of their responsibility. They are aware that without sacrifices, the liberty of the nation cannot be won, the territorial integrity of the homeland cannot be secured.

III

The Albanian people are traditionalists, attached to the family, liberty and the land. The Marxist ideas are ideas that have been imported from abroad through certain circumstances of international policy and later imposed through military force. It may be said that even today when Moscow is exercising over Albania its heaviest rule, 95% of the Albanians have not converted to the Marxist-Leninist-Stalinist dogma.

Communism, trained through long experience, is conducting its work in all sectors. In Albania, to assure the influence of Enver Hoxha and Mehmet Shehu in power, it has to do with the head of the government of the country, the police, the press and radio. These are the main pillars of the Government since the first day of its formation, the mechanism of its clever diplomacy.

BEST AVAILABLE COPY

3.

Through its methodical propaganda, it has been able to convince a goodly number of the non-Communist Albanians, inside and outside Albania that the government of Enver Hoxha has reached its highest peak in prestige. That, it is recognized officially by the entire world and by the Popular Republics of Korea and Peiping China. That, it has signed treaties of an international character and of various content, with many states. That, the government of Enver Hoxha through its own means, with the moral authority it enjoys in foreign countries and with the moral, political and material aid of the Soviet Union, is the only one which defends the independence of the Albanian State and its territorial integrity, particularly that of the Southern borders, threatened by Greek claims which have the support of the English and Americans. That, these latter, in order to execute their imperialistic plans in Albania, use as their instrument, a committee with the name "Free Albania", an amorphous puppet of which not a single political or juridical individuality is recognized in the international field.

Therefore, with this condition of political affairs, both internal and external, of Albania and after nearly three years of Committee experience, we feel it permissible to submit to you in a private and friendly fashion, the following suggestions.

We think it would be well if the members of our Committee at an opportune time would propose the possibility of transferring the Committee into a provisional government.

This would be an act of extraordinary great significance. Its repercussions would not be too far from the Albanian shores.

BEST AVAILABLE COPY

Albanian policy. It may extend even further....to the fields of international policy.

We believe that the advantage would be great:

- a) The transformation of the Committee into a provisional government would electrify the Albanian people. The forces of resistance against Enver Hoxha would be increased in incalculable proportions.
- b) The prestige of Enver Hoxha's government would suffer a strong blow. His soldiers and police would be greatly demoralized.
- c) In a future government such as the one we suggest other persons could be called upon also to take part in the responsibilities.
- d) The Soviet Union itself would lose the effectiveness of a good part of its reasons and arguments advanced today in favor of maintaining Enver Hoxha's government. The propaganda of Moscow would no longer find the broad field it has occupied up to the present.

Undoubtedly, Russia and Enver Hoxha would fight to the last. They would probably revert to the most extreme measures of torture and massacres, in the mass deportation of Albanian Nationalists. But this, also, is a danger which must be accepted. These sacrifices have always been and are even today, great. In the future they may be even more serious, perhaps tragic. The independence and territorial integrity of Albania are far above all other political considerations and sacrifices.

- e) The existence of an Albanian government would permit Albania to participate in the International Conference on the Balkans, from

SECRET

In the first place, when in the possibility of the recognition of the condition of belligerency. This has a special significance. It may perhaps find a kind of application in a future phase of military operations of an internal character. It is sufficient to recall that even Hitler himself was forced to recognize the condition of belligerency, in the sense of International Law, of the government of Marshal Tito, proclaimed in the Spring of 1944.

Naturally, the condition of belligerency would have its greatest value in case of the fatal outbreak of a third world war. In this eventuality, the provisional Albanian government in exile would obviously be placed in the ranks of the Atlantic Pact States to all effects. A logical and natural consequence of the recognition of belligerency would be the other important political question: the possibility which Albania would have of taking her place, or officially representing in the future international conferences in order to defend her own rights and interests.

1) The transformation of the National Committee for a Free Albania into a provisional government, would be received with great satisfaction by all the other committees and organizations of the exile elements from countries behind the Iron Curtain.

It is obvious that this act would contribute to the encouragement of the resistance in the satellite countries, from the Baltic to the Black Sea, in the internal forces of resistance, as well as their representatives in exile. We believe that the transformation of the National Committee for a Free Albania into a government would become a necessary step in the further development of the resistance in the Balkans.

BEST AVAILABLE COPY

Curtain.

As a practical people, with full awareness of the heavy responsibilities that circumstances have imposed upon us, we realize that this change of the Committee into a government is a delicate act which cannot be achieved without long, patient discussions and negotiations in high diplomatic circles. For the present, this proposition is nothing more than a suggestion of a private character which may be the object of study and deep examination when circumstances permit.

Naturally, the transformation of the Committee into a government, like any other political act of this category, is subject to certain patterns of form. The forms have their own value. At a propitious time when we may see that these suggestions are being taken seriously and have reached the point of practical realization, we will be ready to broaden our discussions. We are sure that as far as the forms of things within the Committee are concerned, there will be no problem.

We do not lose sight of the fact that the transformation of the National Committee for Africa into a government,

BEST AVAILABLE COPY

is an act which must be placed in certain forms of International Public Law. Practical needs demand this.

We feel that the finding of these forms is not a very difficult enterprise. The State Department and Foreign Office are not bound to the present Tirana government through diplomatic relations nor by the links of official recognition. It is Enver Hoxha's government itself, mistakenly recognized in certain ways in 1945, which refused the recognition and establishment of diplomatic relations. By this gesture the Enver Hoxha government has committed a violent and unilateral act.

It seems to us that this is a theoretical point of International Law which may be invoked in the sense that Washington and London are not connected with Tirana in the international diplomatic order and that they are within their rights to reserve every freedom of action. In other words, we may say that Washington and London, from a formal standpoint, are in a radical position, in regard to Tirana, which is completely different from their relations with other satellite states. We think that this is a particularly strong juridical argument.

VII

International law has no fixed, rigorous and definite regulations like those of the internal law of the countries themselves. The doctrine of International Law is undergoing complete evolution. It consistently follows the progress of mankind, political activities, nations and the aspirations of the people which are expressed in different periods.

BEST AVAILABLE COPY

The two World Wars have revolutionized the classic theoretical regulations of International Law, not only in an academic fashion but also in practical applications.

During the First World War, there were governments like Belgium and Serbia, which with their kings left the land in which they exercised their sovereignty to establish themselves temporarily in foreign countries, France and Greece. In these countries they found not only asylum but also a free field for the exercise of the attributes of sovereignty. In these countries which were in agreement with the conditions of the countries which had received them.

These happenings were repeated in the case of the governments of Poland, Holland, and others. These governments were forced into exile and exercised whatever it was possible of their sovereignty.

The old, rigorous principle of territorial sovereignty by the governments within the territorial limits of their country suffered changes imposed upon it by the circumstances of the times.

VIII

An innovation occurred in International Public Law during World War I concerning the point of diplomatic recognition of states. Naturally, this has followed its own process. The State Department inspired by practical reasons and by the

BEST AVAILABLE COPY

doctrines of jurists of liberal and evolutionist schools has agreed that it is no longer the time for respecting old rules which require that a state be recognized diplomatically if it were established with its organs on a defined territory over which it exercised its sovereignty effectively.

The State Department thought that simpler and more elastic forms which would correspond with the times should be found. These it found, in the first phase, in the recognition of the nationalities of Poland, Czechoslovakia and Yugoslavia, which were under the rule of Russia, Germany, Austria and Hungary, as destined to be organized as independent states.

The State Department, in the second phase of the developments, passed on to the recognition of belligerence and in the third, to the official recognition of these governments.

The right of independence of the peoples of Poland, Czechoslovakia and Yugoslavia has been recognized gradually. They have been for centuries under the domination of the Russia of the Czars and the Germany of the Hohenzollerns and of the Austria of the Hapsburgs.

The law of parallelism follows its cycle in time and space. Stalin's Russia is much more terrifying for the peoples which rule directly and indirectly and much more dangerous for western civilization than was that of the Czars.

Russia of the Soviets, with its doctrine, military force, policy, propaganda and particularly the fifth column, is working methodically and energetically in the five continents to overthrow the ancient civilization and to establish its brutal law.

It is the duty of all the democratic elements of the world

BEST AVAILABLE COPY

to organize in self-defense against these evil forces.

The mission of the United States in the two world wars, was the political and armed intervention to rescue Europe from the peril of the militarism of the Germany of the Kaiser and of Hitler. The mission of the United States cannot be considered achieved while there is a Red army which threatens western civilization.

Albania is a small country but its geographic position is important.

From a fatal flow of international happenings, Stalin's Russia through Albania, has virtually secured an outlet to the Mediterranean, and has established its advance guard on the most extensive point of the East, at the headbridge of the West.

The Albanian people are ready to accomplish that which their history and geography impose upon them. It waits to be led in the political as well as the military field, by England and America, countries of great experiences upon which the responsibility for the defense of the values of civilization rests.

Therefore, in conclusion, we permit ourselves to say that, in our modest judgment, the transformation of the National Committee for a Free Albania into a government when the time and circumstances allow, may be a political act which may signify the opening of a new phase in international development.

BEST AVAILABLE COPY