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GEHEIM

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Aan Zijne Excellentie Prof. Dr. J.E. de QUAY
Minister-President

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GEHEIM

ALBANIAN-BLOC RELATIONS

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Albania's growing isolation from the Soviet bloc over the past several months apparently has been self-imposed as well as forced on it by Moscow. While the USSR has been seeking, by various forms of pressure, to force Albania back into line, Tirana--particularly since the first week of August--has also taken steps to lessen its dependence on the bloc, to protect itself from Soviet interference, and to deprive Moscow of certain Albanian services.

It now seems likely that party leader Enver Hoxha was the only East European party leader absent from the Warsaw Pact meeting held in Moscow from 3 to 5 August. This is suggested by Albania's failure to comment on the composition of its delegation, as well as by the wording of the introduction to a statement purportedly delivered by the "head" of the delegation to the meeting and published by Tirana on 8 August. Hoxha would probably have been mentioned by name if he had in fact led the group. The Yugoslav ambassador in Moscow claims that the Albanians did not send a delegation at all but merely deputized an embassy official in Moscow to attend as an observer--the status held by Asian Communist delegates at Warsaw Pact meetings.

The 8 August statement is only slightly more aggressive in tone than recent Soviet statements on the German problem, but is unusual by the mere fact of its publication. Albania presumably is exercising the right and obligation--implied in the December 1960 declaration of 81 Communist parties--for each party to make its own views known in international Communist meetings. Normally such views, however, emerge only in the consensus made public by the meeting as a whole. The only

precedent for Albania's insistence on making its individual voice heard is the publication by Peiping of the Chinese delegate's speech to the February 1960 pact meeting.

Apparently as a result of Soviet rebuffs, Tirana has reversed its policy during the past two months of abstaining from propaganda attacks on Yugoslavia. During this period, the Albanians--probably as a gesture to Moscow, which has adopted a favorable attitude toward the summit conference of neutral nations to take place next month in Belgrade--had not published any articles devoted solely to attacks on the Yugoslavs. On 13 August, however, the leading regime paper published an article claiming that Yugoslavia is neither socialist nor neutral. This attack was followed on 17 August with another article delineating the allegedly deleterious effect of revisionist policies on Yugoslavia's economy.

Albania may also be boycotting meetings of the bloc's Council for Mutual Economic Assistance (CEMA). Albanian representatives were not noted at the four subcommittee meetings held in July. Although not every bloc state is represented on every CEMA commission or subcommittee, it is likely that Albania's absences were more than mere coincidence.

Recent reported bloc pressures on Albania, in addition to continued economic measures, have included calling home some Soviet and satellite citizens from Albania and the expulsion of Albanians from elsewhere in the bloc. Albanian students reportedly will not be permitted to resume their studies this fall in Rumania and Czechoslovakia. The USSR, Czechoslovakia, and Hungary, furthermore, canceled planned tourist excursions this summer to Albania.