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PAGE 01 BELGRA 03042 01 OF 03 121604Z
ACTION EUR-00

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INFO LOG-00 COPY-01 ADS-00 INR-10 SS-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00
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O R 121525Z APR 85
FM AMEMBASSY BELGRADE
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 1098
INFO AMEMBASSY ATHENS
AMEMBASSY BONN
AMEMBASSY LONDON
AMEMBASSY MOSCOW
AMCONSUL MUNICH
AMEMBASSY PARIS
AMEMBASSY ROME
AMEMBASSY SOFIA
AMCONSUL ZAGREB

RELEASED IN PART
B1, 1.5(B), 1.5(D)

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 01 OF 03 BELGRADE 3042

E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR
TAGS: PREL, PGOV, AL, YL
SUBJECT: HOXHA'S DEATH

REFS: A) BELGRADE 2970, (NOTAL), B) BELGRADE 2987

1. (C - ENTIRE TEXT).

2. INTRODUCTION AND SUMMARY: INITIAL GOY REACTION TO HOXHA'S DEATH APRIL 11 HAS BEEN TERSE. SFRY (COLLECTIVE STATE) PRESIDENT DJURANOVIC DISPATCHED A CORRECT BUT UNUSUALLY BRIEF CONDOLENCE MESSAGE TO ALBANIAN ASSEMBLY PRESIDENT RAMIZ ALIA. THE OFFICIAL YUGOSLAV NEWS AGENCY TANJUG ISSUED A STATEMENT, PRINTED IN THE PRESS HERE APRIL 12, WHICH STRESSED CONTINUED GOY SUPPORT FOR ALBANIAN INDEPENDENCE AND GOY DESIRE FOR
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PAGE 02 BELGRA 03042 01 OF 03 121604Z

GOOD-NEIGHBORLY RELATIONS. PRESS REPORTING OF HOXHA'S DEATH HAS BEEN THIN AND SO FAR MAINLY LIMITED TO TANJUG ACCOUNTS. WE HAVE BEEN TOLD THAT THE SFRY PRESIDENCY INSTRUCTED

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF STATE Page - 1
REVIEW AUTHORITY: WILLIAM J GEHRON
CLASSIFICATION: CONFIDENTIAL REASON: 1.6(5), 1.6(6)
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THE YUGOSLAV PRESS TO POSTPONE ITS OWN COMMENTARY ON HOXHA'S DEATH. A SENIOR MONTENEGRIN OFFICIAL TOLD EMBOFFS VISITING TITOGRAĐ THE GOY EXPECTED ALBANIA TO HEW TO HOXHA'S FOREIGN POLICY LINE FOR THE FORESEEABLE FUTURE. THE OFFICIAL EXPECTED THE GOY POSTURE TOWARD ALBANIA DURING THE INITIAL POST-HOXHA PERIOD TO BE CAREFUL AND CORRECT. SEE LAST PARAGRAPH FOR LATEST INFO AS TO INTERNAL YUGOSLAV LEADERSHIP DIFFERENCES OVER HOW TO HANDLE THE PRESS ASPECTS OF HOXHA'S DEATH. END INTRODUCTION AND SUMMARY.

3. DCM AND POL COUNSELOR HAD THE OPPORTUNITY TO TALK WITH

[REDACTED] SHORTLY AFTER HOXHA'S DEATH WAS ANNOUNCED IN THE YUGOSLAV MEDIA. [REDACTED] SPOKE OPENLY AND KNOWLEDGEABLY ABOUT HOXHA'S PASSING AND THE ISSUES INVOLVED IN THE ALBANIAN SUCCESSION. [REDACTED] IMPLIED THAT THE YUGOSLAVS HAD HEARD ABOUT HOXHA'S DEATH BEFORE RADIO TIRANA MADE THE ANNOUNCEMENT AT 1200 LOCAL TIME APRIL 11. HE STATED THAT THE YUGOSLAVS WERE SKEPTICAL THAT HOXHA DIED AT 0210, APRIL 11, AS ANNOUNCED, AND THOUGHT HOXHA PROBABLY HAD DIED EARLIER. HE REMARKED THAT THE FRENCH SHOULD KNOW, SINCE HOXHA HAD FRENCH MEDICAL CARE FOR YEARS.

4. [REDACTED] SIAD HE EXPECTS PRESIDENT RAMIZ ALIA AND THE SUCCESSOR LEADERSHIP TO PURSUE HOXHA'S FOREIGN POLICY LINE FOR THE FORESEEABLE FUTURE. HE SAID ALIA WILL PERHAPS HAVE A HARD TIME ESTABLISHING HIS AUTHORITY, SINCE HE DOES NOT HAVE THE CHARISMA AND AUTHORITY WHICH HOXHA POSSESSED, DERIVED FROM THE SPECIAL CIRCUMSTANCES OF HAVING LED HIS PEOPLE SINCE WORLD WAR II. NONETHELESS, [REDACTED] CLEARLY REGARDED ALIA

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 03 BELGRA 03042 01 OF 03 121604Z

AS THE IMMEDIATE SUCCESSOR.

5. IN FOREIGN POLICY, [REDACTED] SAID HOXHA'S SUCCESSORS WILL PROBABLY CONTINUE RECENT POLICY OF MOVING SLOWLY TO OPEN UP BETTER RELATIONS WITH SELECTED WESTERN EUROPEAN COUNTRIES. HE CITED THE POSSIBILITY OF MOVEMENT IN ALBANIA'S RELATIONS WITH GREAT BRITAIN AND THE FRG. HE ANTICIPATED FURTHER IMPROVEMENT IN GREEK-ALBANIAN RELATIONS, DESPITE CONTINUING PROBLEMS OVER ALLEGATIONS OF ALBANIAN MISTREATMENT OF ITS GREEK MINORITY.

CONFIDENTIAL

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Page - 2

UNCLASSIFIED

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1

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CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 01 BELGRA 03042 02 OF 03 121630Z
ACTION EUR-00

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O R 121525Z APR 85
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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 02 OF 03 BELGRADE 3042

6. [] SAID HE EXPECTED NO CHANGE IN ALBANIA'S ATTITUDE TOWARD THE U.S. AND THE USSR. HE CONSIDERED ESTABLISHMENT OF DIPLOMATIC RELATIONS WITH THE USSR AND U.S. AS POSSIBLE, BUT ONLY AFTER A CONSIDERABLE PERIOD OF TIME. [] THOUGHT ALBANIA WOULD BE PARTICULARLY WARY OF BOTH SUPERPOWERS NOW, DURING THE TRANSITION PERIOD. SPEAKING HYPOTHETICALLY, HE VOLUNTEERED THAT IF ALBANIA WERE FORCED TO CHOOSE BETWEEN THE SUPERPOWERS AT THIS POINT IN ITS DEVELOPMENT, THE CHOICE WOULD LIKELY FAVOR THE USSR, SINCE THE CURRENT LEADERSHIP WOULD STRIVE TO PRESERVE THE EXISTING SOCIO-ECONOMIC SYSTEM, WHICH IS MORE COMPATIBLE WITH THE SOVIET MODEL.

7. AS FOR YUGOSLAV RELATIONS WITH ALBANIA, [] EXPRESSED THE YUGOSLAV INTEREST IN AN INDEPENDENT ALBANIA, NOT AFFILIATED WITH EITHER SUPERPOWER OR BLOC. HE ANTICIPATES THAT ALBANIAN
CONFIDENTIAL

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PAGE 02 BELGRA 03042 02 OF 03 121630Z

POLICY TOWARD YUGOSLAVIA WILL BE CORRECT, AND HE SAID HE HOPES AND EXPECTS THAT GOY ATTITUDE TOWARD ALBANIA DURING THE

Page - 3

UNCLASSIFIED

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Date Printed:

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1

23-May-2003 DOC_NBR: 1985BELGRA03042

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TRANSITION PERIOD WILL BE CAREFUL AND CORRECT.

8. A FRENCH EMBASSY SOURCE TOLD EMBOFF APRIL 12 THAT HE HAD NOT REPEAT NOT HEARD RUMORS THAT HOXHA WAS UNDER TREATMENT AT A HOSPITAL NEAR PARIS AT THE TIME OF HIS DEATH (REFTEL B), AND HAD NO INFORMATION TO INDICATE THIS WAS THE CASE. HOXHA HAS BEEN TREATED BY FRENCH DOCTORS FOR MANY YEARS, HE SAID, AND ADDED THAT HOXHA HAD TRAVELED MANY TIMES TO FRANCE FOR MEDICAL TREATMENT (SUGGESTING THAT THESE VISITS WERE ON THE ORDER OF PERHAPS ONCE A YEAR). THIS SOURCE ALSO STATED THAT THE SECRETARY OF STATE IN THE FRENCH FOREIGN MINISTRY, GEORGES BAILLIE (AS HEARD), WAS SCHEDULED TO VISIT ALBANIA IN LATE MAY, SHOULD THE VISIT STILL COME OFF AFTER HOXHA'S DEATH, HE THOUGHT, THIS WOULD PROVIDE A USEFUL WINDOW ON THE STATE OF DEVELOPMENTS IN POST-HOXHA ALBANIA.

9. ACCORDING TO TWO BELGRADE JOURNALISTS THE GOY IS CLOSELY ORCHESTRATING YUGOSLAV OFFICIAL AND PRESS REACTION TO HOXHA'S DEATH. ACCORDING TO ONE INFORMED BELGRADE JOURNALIST, THE SFRY (STATE) PRESIDENCY MET SHORTLY AFTER HOXHA'S DEATH AND INSTRUCTED THE YUGOSLAV PRESS TO ESCHEW A SEPARATE COMMENTARY ON THE EVENT AND TO RELY INSTEAD ON TANJUG NEWS AGENCY REPORTAGE AND THE CAREFULLY-CRAFTED TANJUG STATEMENT FOR USE IN THEIR APRIL 12 EDITIONS.

10. A SENIOR YUGOSLAV JOURNALIST, AT LUNCH WITH THE AMBASSADOR ON APRIL 12, TOLD OF THE INTERNAL STRUGGLES WITHIN THE YUGOSLAV LEADERSHIP AS TO HOW IT SHOULD REACT TO THE DEATH OF ENVER HOXHA. THE SENIOR LEADERSHIP OF POLITIKA, BELGRADE'S PRIME NEWSPAPER, WAS CALLED TO THE FOREIGN SECRETARIAT IN THE EARLY AFTERNOON OF APRIL 11. THEY WERE TOLD THAT THERE WAS TO

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 03 BELGRA 03042 02 OF 03 121630Z

BE NO REPEAT NO NEWSPAPER REPORTING ON THE EVENT AND PARTICULARLY NO COMMENT. THE POLITIKA LEADERSHIP WAS ASTOUNDED BY THIS COMMAND AND REPORTEDLY PROTESTED. THEY WERE TOLD THIS DECISION HAD BEEN MADE BY THE YUGOSLAV STATE PRESIDENCY WHICH AT THE VERY MOST WOULD ALLOW A BRIEF TANJUG REPORT ON THE ALBANIAN LEADER'S DEATH.

11. THE POLITIKA LEADERSHIP, ON ITS RETURN TO ITS HEADQUARTERS, BEGAN ITS USUAL PROCEDURE OF CALLING EVERYBODY IMPORTANT IN TOWN INCLUDING SENIOR MEMBERS OF THE YUGOSLAV PARTY PRESIDENCY TO PROTEST THE GAGGING. IN BECAME CLEAR IN THE COURSE OF THE POLITIKA GROUP'S CONVERSATIONNS THAT THERE WAS WIDE

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23-May-2003 DOC_NBR: 1985BELGRA03042 HANDLING: n/a

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DISAGREEMENT BETWEEN THE STATE AND THE PARTY PRESIDENCIES OVER HOW TO HANDLE THE PUBLIC ASPECT OF HOXHA'S DEATH. THE PARTY PRESIDENCY WAS OF THE VIEW THAT A TANJUG PIECE WAS REQUIRED AT THE VERY LEAST. THERE WAS APPARENTLY ENORMOUS WRANGLING IN THE COURSE OF THE AFTERNOON AND THE PARTY PRESIDENCY WON OUT. A VERY BRIEF TANJUG REPORT WAS ISSUED WITHOUT ANY COMMENTARY.

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PAGE 01 BELGRA 03042 03 OF 03 121654Z
ACTION EUR-00

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O R 121525Z APR 85
FM AMEMBASSY BELGRADE
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 1100
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AMEMBASSY PARIS
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AMEMBASSY SOFIA
AMCONSUL ZAGREB

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 03 OF 03 BELGRADE 3042

12. ACCORDING TO OUR SOURCE, THE DISAGREEMENT OVER THE PUBLIC HANDLING OF THE PROBLEM DID NOT BREAK DOWN OVER ANY REPUBLICAN LINES. IT WAS AN ALL-OUT BATTLE BETWEEN OLD GUARD TYPES, YOUNGER LEADERS, LIBERALS AND CONSERVATIVES WITH AN ENORMOUS AMOUNT OF BAD FEELING COMING TO THE FORE EVEN BETWEEN POWERFUL PERSONALITIES.

13. THE DECISION OF THE LEADERSHIP TO STICK WITH THE SIMPLE TANJUG REPORT WAS COMMUNICATED TO ALL REPUBLICAN AND PROVINCIAL CENTRAL COMMITTEES. HOWEVER, THESE COMMITTEES CHOSE TO ACCEPT OR IGNORE THE ORDERS FROM ABOVE IN ACCORDANCE WITH THEIR OWN SPECIAL CONDITIONS. OUR SOURCE'S CONTACTS IN SLOVENIA, FOR EXAMPLE, INFORMED HIM THAT THEY ACCEPTED THIS

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1

FEDERAL LCY DEDISION AS ADVICE, BUT DI NOT FEEL BOUND BY IT.
OTHER REPUBLICS REACTED IN THE SAME WAY. THUS THE GENERAL
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PAGE 02 BELGRA 03042 03 OF 03 121654Z

COUNTRYWIDE COVERAGE OF HOXHA'S DEATH HAS BEEN REPORTED IN THE
YUGOSLAV PRESS IN A VARIED FASHION, INCLUDING SOME REPORTS WITH
EXTENSIVE COMMENTARY. (FYI. WE SHALL BE CHECKING THE PROVINCIAL
PRESS TO DETERMIN JUST HOW VARIEGATED THE COMMENTARIES WERE,
THE BOSNIAN AND MONTENEGRIN PRESS WERE DEVOID OF COMMENTARY.
(END FYI.)

14. OUR SOURCE SAID THAT THE LARGEST AND MOST POPULAR DAILY
NEWSPAPER IN YUGOSLAVIA, POLITIKA, FOUND ITSELF EXTREMELY
EMBARRASSED BY THE ENTIRE AFFAIR. HE POINTED OUT THAT IT SHOWED
MORE CLEARLY THAN ANYTHING HE, A VETERAN OBSERVER OF THE
YUGOSLAV SCENE, COULD DESCRIBE HOW WIDE THE DIFFERENCES
WERE BETWEEN THE TWO PRESIDENCIES. HE ASSUMED THAT THESE
DIFFERENCES MUST ALSO SPILL OVER INTO OTHER POLITICAL AND
ECONOMIC AREAS.

15. THE ALBANIAN EMBASSY IN BELGRADE HAS ALSO BEEN VERY
UNCERTAIN AS TO HOW TO REACT TO HOXHA'S DEATH. THE LOCAL
AMBASSADORS IN BELGRADE ACCREDITED TO TIRANA A HAVE BEEN GIVEN
CONFLICTING ADVICE AS TO WHETHER THEY SHOULD ATTEND THE
FUNERAL OR NOT. AFTER MUCH TO AND FRO BETWEEN THE VARIOUS
EMBASSIES AND THE ALBANIAN EMBASSY HERE, THE VAST MAJORITY OF
AMBASSADORS HAVE DECIDED NOT REPEAT NOT TO ATTEND. MOST OF
THEIR PROBLEMS SEEM TO CENTER ON TRANSPORTATION AND HOUSING.
THE ALBANIAN CONTACTS OF THESE EMBASSIES HAVE BEEN DISTINCTLY
UNEASY IN TRYING TO MAKE ANY DECISIONS OR PROVIDING ANY
ADVICE THAT MIGHT RUN INTO CONFLICT WITH WHAT WAS COMING OUT OF
TIRANA. THE LATEST READING IS THAT ONLY THE JAPANESE AND
MEXICAN AMBASSADORS WILL TRY TO MAKE THE EVENT BY CAR
THROUGH THE MOUNTAINS. EVEN THEY MAY BE DISCUOURAGED BY
LOGISTICAL PROBLEMS.

16. COMMENT: THERE IS PROBABLY A MESSAGE IN ALL OF THIS FOR
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PAGE 03 BELGRA 03042 03 OF 03 121654Z

ALL OF US. IN THE AMBASSADOR'S VIEW, IT IS THAT NOBODY KNOWS
WHAT TO DO ABOUT THE PASSING OF ENVER HOXHA OR HOW TO REACT

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CONFIDENTIAL

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1

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TO IT, PERHPAS LEAST OF ALL THE YUGOSLAVS. WE WILL TRY TO
PROVIDE SOMETHING MORE THOUGHTFUL ONCE ENVER'S DUST HAS
DIED DOWN. ANDERSON

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