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FILE TITLE: Relations					SERIES				
ANNEXA: BACKGROUND BRISKING FOR PM VISIT-MAY 99					PART:				
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24/10/00

Series: ALBANIA

File Title: Relations

Part: 1

Date	From	То	Subject	Class	Secret
25/04/1999	FA/APS	FCO	(M) - Bilateral with President Of Albania	С	
25/04/1999	FA/APS	PM	Brief - President	С	
28/04/1999	DID	FA/APS	Bilateral with President of Albania	U	
05/05/1999	FA/APS	FCO	Prime Minister's Visit to Bulgaria and Albania	С	
13/05/1999	FCO	FA/APS	Brief - PM and President	С	
13/05/1999	FA/APS	PM	Checklist for Thaqi/Qosja	С	
13/05/1999	DID		Kosovo refugees - Albania	С	
14/05/1999	FA/PS	FCO	(M) - Call by Ibrahim Rugova	R	
14/05/1999	FCO		Annex A: Background Briefing for PM visit - May 1999	С	
16/05/1999	DID		DFID help for refugees in Albania	С	
17/05/1999	POLY CONTRACTOR	PM	Programme and media arrangements fosr visit	С	
18/05/1999	FA/APS	FCO	(M) Call on Albanian President	R	
18/05/1999	FA/APS	FCO	(M) Call on Albanian Prime Minister	R	
18/05/1999	FA/PS	FCO	(M) Prime Minister's meeting with Kosovar Albanian representatives	С	
20/05/1999	PM	Albania/HMA	Thanks for visit	C	
28/05/1999	PM	Albania/Pres	thank you for receiving me in Tirana	C	
28/05/1999	PM		to HE Mr. Majko:thank you for receiving me in Majko	C	
28/05/1999	PM .		to Gen John Reith: thank you for making my visit a success	C	
20/07/1999	FCO	FA/APS	Letter from the Albanian prime minister	C	
28/07/1999	FCO	FA/PS	Albania	C	
02/08/1999	PM	Albania/Pres	(H) Kosovo crisis	U	
06/08/1999	FCO	FA/APS	Albania: Youth Sports Training	U	
27/10/1999	FCO	FA/APS			
28/10/1999	100	FA/PS	/albania: message from the prime minister	С	
15/11/1999	Albania/Pres	PM	From Francesco Olivieri: Support for Albania and new Prime Ministe		
15/02/2000	FA/APS	FCO	(H) Thankyou for your letter of congratulations`	U	
18/02/2000	FCO	FA/APS	Kukes, Albania	U	
24/02/2000	PM	FAIAPS	Nobel Peace Prize: Nomination of Kukes, Albania	U	
23/03/2000	Albania/Pres	DM	(H) To Prime Minister Meta of Albania: Nomination of Kukes for the	U	
	FA/APS	PM	Kosovo	U	(
30/03/2000		FCO	Letter from Albanian PM	U	(
05/04/2000	FCO	FA/APS	Letter from Albanian Prime Minister	U	(
07/04/2000	PM	Albania/Pres	(H) UK's role in Kosovo	U	(
02/05/2000	FA/APS	FCO	Albania	U	(
24/05/2000	FCO		To Anthony Cavnedish: Ex-King Leka's Visa Problems	U	(
25/05/2000		Ch.Staff	From Anthony Cavendish: Ex-King Leka's Visa Problems	U	(
02/06/2000	Ch.Staff		To Anthony Cavendish: Ex-King Leka's Visa Problem	U	(
24/07/2000	FA/PS	FCO	King Leka of the Albanians	R	(
25/07/2000	Telegram/IN		Telno 1 Tirana: King Leka of the Albanians	R	(
25/07/2000	FCO	FA/APS	Visit of PM Meta of Albania	С	(
31/07/2000	FCO	FA/PS	King Leka of the Albanians	R	
05/09/2000	FCO	FA/APS	Brief - President in New York	С	(
07/09/2000	FA/APS	FCO	(M) Albania: Meeting eith President Meidani	U	(
12/09/2000	Telegram/IN		Telno 928 Western Balkans: Autonomous Trade Measures	U	(
15/09/2000	FCO	FA/APS	Albania: EU Stabilisation and Association Agreement	U	(
02/10/2000	FA/APS	FCO	standard letter - 'I enclose top copy of letter the PM has written to Ch	С	
02/10/2000	PM		To Chris Patten - EU stabilisation and Association agreement (SAA)	С	(
04/10/2000		Ch.Staff	From Anthony Cavendish-Redlands; King Leka's visit to London	U	(
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24/10/2000	Ch.Staff		To Anthony Cavendish-Redlands; King Leka's visit to London	С	(

Series: ALBANIA

File Title: Relations

Part: 1

Date	From	То	Subject	Class	Secret
24/02/1997	PA/PS	PM	Presents from Albania		
02/03/1997	Albanian ambo	PM	The Riots currently taking place in Albania		
03/03/1997	FA/PS	FCO	Current situation - request for FCO advice and draft		
03/03/1997	W'ton		Tel no 499 : - State of Emergency		
03/03/1997	FCO	FA/Ps	Sitrep		
05/03/1997	FCO	FCO/EAD	FS summary of policy		
05/03/1997	UKDEL		Tel no 57 : OSCE Team		
06/03/1997	UKREP		Tels 499 , 450 - Sitrep		
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11/03/1997	со	FA/PS	Sitrep		
13/03/1997	FA/PS	PM	Evacuation		
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16/03/1997	Vienna	I IVI			į
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24/03/1997	НО	FCO	Declaration of upheaval for the perposes of the Social Security Regul		
24/03/1997	Brussels		Tel No 614 Albania		
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26/03/1997	FA/PS	PM	Foreign Affairs update - Albania		
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30/07/1997	FCO	FA/APS	Congratuatory message to Fatos Nano PM	С	C
25/08/1997		PM	Letter from Sali Berisha - Pjeter Arbnori	С	0
28/08/1997	FA/PS	FCO	Request for draft reply	С	C
13/10/1997	FCO	FA/APS	Guest of Government Visit by Albanian Prime Minister	С	C
13/10/1997	FA/APS	FCO	Visit of Albanian Prime Minister	С	0
05/12/1997	FCO	FA/APS	Message from the PM to the PM of Albania	С	0
14/12/1997	PM	Albania/Pres	(H) Promotion of a national consenus on Albania's future	U	
22/12/1997			Press Release:Police Beats and arrests 15 Judges in Tirana	С	
13/02/1998	FCO	FA/APS	Gonzalez - possibility he will ring the PM	U	
24/07/1998	MOD	FCO	Enhanced Military assistance to Albania	U	
14/09/1998	MOD	FA/PS		S	2107
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18/09/1998	MOD	FA/PS		C	2004
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06/10/1998	Ch.Sfaff	FCO		U	C
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				U	0
20/04/1999	PM	Albania/Pres	Support for Albania	U	0

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From the Prime Minister's Chief of Staff

24 October 2000

Der Anthony

Thank you for your letter of 23 October about King Leka's visit. I have briefed those who need to know.

J75 500 V172 A2

JONATHAN POWELL

Mr Anthony Cavendish

Ade

ANTHONY CAVENDISH **REDLANDS** SHERFIELD-ON-LODDON 1) SO - JC 24/10 **HAMPSHIRE** RG27 OJQ 01256 880475 Telephone: 01256 880476 Fax: E-mail: a.cavendish@dial.pipex.com 23rd October, 2000 Jonathan Powell, Esq., Chief of Staff, 10 Downing Street, LONDON SW1A 2AA King Leka of Albania eventually turned up and I arranged various meetings for him and gave lunch for him. He was received in the Foreign Office by David Musgrave and his boss, Charles Crawford. A point of interest was that Leka arrived here from Saudi Arabia where he had been the guest for two weeks of H.R.H. Prince Turki bin Feisal, who as you know is Head of the Saudi Intelligence Service. He left here to return to South Africa with the intention of returning to Saudi Arabia in about a month's time. I attach a note the King left me on the situation in Albania. He was not happy with his visit to the Foreign Office since they expressed their doubts about the Referendum being in his favour. The King also went to Sandhurst where he and his son were given a friendly reception by General Arthur Denaro. Best Wishes.

Enc.

# THE POLITICAL SITUATION IN ALBANIA

The biggest events were the developments after the local elections of October 1. Immediately after the elections, in the morning Of October 2, but also during the late night hours of the election day the P.S. (Socialist Party) declared a massive victory in all Albania.

According to them this victory was from 80 to 60% of the municipalities and counties, whereas, according to them, the PD(Democrat Party) did not win even 30%. In spite of these announcements they did not celebrate their victory. The opposition started in the election day to denounce the manipulations of the Socialists: The missing of 300000 voters in the voters list. The missing of voting ballots in the zones, where it was thought that the opposition would win. Police terror in the zones where the opposition candidates were stronger, for instance in Durres where during the whole voting day the mayor's office was surrounded by police and the electoral staff of the opposition was arrested.

In many instances the police seized the voting boxes and falsified affidavits. These violations had occurred also in 1997 when they manipulated the Referendum for the Monarchy and they forced the opposition to declare yesterday and today that it does not accept these election results and declares them worthless. But the OSCE hurried yesterday to make the declaration that it accepts the election results and that these elections were "a visible progress towards the democratic standards of Europe "(?!). On October 4 the Ambassador of the USA in Tirana, Joseph Limprecht made a declaration where he calls these elections a "success of the Government and of the Albanian people on the road towards democracy". In spite of all this, as of today, October 4 the KQZ(voting commission) has not yet given the official results of the election.

8.

The situation looks like this: The opposition is determined not to recognize the election results because of the manipulations or to recognize only part of the results, after it verifies the voter's lists and where there is no fraud, whereas in those locations voters are missing,

where ballots to vote were missing or the results falsified, voting should be repeated. but this must start with the changing of the personnel of the KQZ (Vote Control Commission) which is entirely named by the PS (Socialist Party) and serves it. So that the KQZ is not independent or arrived by consensus of the political parties, as was requested by Mrs.Allbright when she visited Albania a few months ago.

The conclusion of the opposition is that in the name of stability that is requested by the International Community for Albania, we cannot permit the internal destruction of the Albanian Democracy.

On the other hand, the PS( Socialist Party) is determined to preserve these results, assuring them the local power that was missing after their "victory" of the central power in 1997. This may bring new clashes in Albania, because many zones have warned that they will be out protesting in all the country.

The official position is that on the 15<sup>th</sup> of October there will be a runoff election for 28 municipalities and 98 counties but also other parties of the Right. Thus the Legality Party has won two counties in Derjan (Burgajet is included in this county) and Lis and is in the runoff ballot for the municipality of Klos and the county of Puke. Also other Parties such as Balli Kombetar, Republicans, the United Right etc. All in all there are 40% of the Municipalities and counties will be in runoff election of October 15. From the large municipalities: Tirana and Durres have been won by The Socialists, whereas Shkodra was won by the Democrats.

In spite of all this, these results are contested for instance Tirana and Durres are contested by the PD, whereas Shkodra by the PS. The opposition continues to protest and asks that they give it the hard disk of the registered voters for verification.

This election used 13000 police joined by military Commandos to guard buildings of special importance. These forces are still in place. The government has declared that it has information about groups that want to organize terror and sabotage. The secret police declared that one plane with forces of Bukoshi which was coming from Switzerland was not allowed to land in the Rinas airport. This is not verified from any other source but it is possible that the Socialists open the psychose of anarchy to strengthen their terror before the elections as it is now before the runoff of October 15.

# THE POLITICAL SITUATION IN KOSOVA

It centers on the electoral campain for local elections of October 28. Up till now the different pols indicate an increase of the LDK of Rugova (Information received by HM King Leka indicates that the UCK of Thaci has formed alliance and strong ties with Fatos Nano of the socialist party in Albania). Of special note was a declaration of the Serb community in Kosova ,which accepts the elections in Kosova but will not take part. This may be due to the news of the opposition victory in Serbia, although Slobodan does not accept it and is asking for a runoff on October 8. The situation may get worse although Sadam Husein has offered his services and political asylum in Irak.

Other problems in Albania and Kosova continue to be difficult especially the economy. Thus in our country there is a big problem of unemployment and high prices of poverty and hunger crisis in many zones. Dissatisfaction is very big where we went Vlore, Durres, Peshkopi, Korce etc many say that if they want to save us send us the King of Albania because only he can save this land by saving it from corruption and the lack of law and order everywhere. But the people say the return of the King is prevented by the Socialists and foreign forces who do not know well Albanian History where only in the time of the Kingdom there was order, justice and economic progress for all based on property and work for all.

H.M.KING LEKA I OF THE ALBANIANS

04/10 2000 11:46 FAX 01256 880476

ANTHONY CAVENDISH

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4th October, 2000

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CONFIDENTIAL

Jonathan Powell, Esq., Chief of Staff, 10 Downing Street, LONDON SW1A 2AA

Sent by fax: 0207 925 0918

I've told foo to animer there letter. I fewly a neither at official level . I Cavendish is banking, Leka is a crook and we should keep on distance from both.

Chier " fur Further to my earlier correspondence, King Leka is due to arrive in London on Saturday next, the

7th, and is talking about staying for between seven and ten days. That means he is here for all of

next week. I have been seeking financial support for Leka from various Moslem potentates and indeed he is arriving here from Saudi Arabia.

I think the note I wrote about him some months ago, of which I enclose a copy, is even more to the point in view of the present problems in Yugoslavia. I spoke to Crown Prince Alexander yesterday and for the first time he said he would be willing to have a drink with Leka next week.

You will also have noticed that the Crown Prince of Montenegro paid a visit to his Homeland only to be greatly surprised by the warm reception he received.

I really believe that if the Government thought it was worthwhile to try and organise something in the Balkans, now is a time when there are more good omens than usual.

Perhaps you would be kind enough to let me know who you would like to have a discussion with Leka.

I am planning to give a lunch for the King on either Tuesday, the 10<sup>th</sup> or Thursday, the 12<sup>th</sup> October, and would be happy to invite anybody you wished.

Best Wishes.

Enc.

# The future of a stable Albania in the Balkans

The continued confusion and unsettled situation in Albania and the neighbouring territories calls out for a just solution.

For the past ten years or so I have been an Adviser to King Leka, the exiled King of Albania who lives in South Africa.

Until the death of Lord (Julian) Amery, Amery, with his knowledge of that country since his service there during the war, had sought to negotiate a new start for the Royalist Faction. In 1996 Julian had visited President Berisha and had negotiated a tentative return of Leka. Leka indeed visited Albania and his visit showed the considerable support he had then.

There is no doubt today that Leka has a considerable following in Albania, Kosovo, southern Serbia and western Macedonia and I have been in touch with the Prime Minister's Chief of Staff, and the Foreign Office, and there is interest in discussing with him how a return of Leka to Albania could strengthen the Loyalist Faction (supported by the Legality Party) with the possibility of a peaceful outcome and the development of this most beautiful country on the Adriatic.

Until the death of His Majesty King Hussein of Jordan, King Leka was supported financially, adequately but not extravagantly, both by King Hussein and Sultan Qaboos of Oman.

This support has stopped

I am therefore seeking to find sufficient funding to enable the King to visit the United Kingdom for discussions with the Government and also then for the King to be able to make an exploratory visit to Albania.



From the Private Secretary

2 October 2000

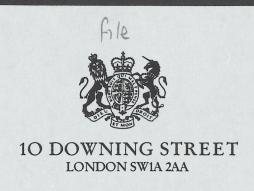
Dear Tim

I enclose the top copy of a letter the Prime Minister has written to The Rt Hon Chris Patten CH. I have <u>not</u> faxed a copy of the letter to his office and I should be grateful if you could arrange for it to be delivered as soon as possible.

I am copying this letter by fax to Nigel Sheinwald (UKRep Brussels).

Your ene Michael MICHAEL TATHAM

Tim Barrow FCO



THE PRIME MINISTER

29 September 2000

Jea Uni

I am writing to you about the prospects for an EU Stabilisation and Association Agreement (SAA) with Albania, which I discussed with President Meidani of Albania on 6 September in New York. He and the Albanian government are clearly anxious for negotiations on an SAA to start as soon as possible. I think it is important that we in the EU support this objective and I would welcome your views on how best to work towards this.

President Meidani said he hoped the EU would agree by the end of this year to open SAA negotiations, with negotiations beginning at the start of next. This is obviously an ambitious target; Albania has a considerable way to go before it will be ready to assume the responsibilities of an SAA, as the Commission's feasibility study last year showed. Nevertheless, the Albanian government is determined to make the necessary reforms to secure an SAA and, eventually, EU membership. We need to encourage them along that road and demonstrate publicly that the EU supports their aspirations. This is in all our interests – a prosperous, democratic Albania is an important component of peace and stability in the Balkans. We must now allow Albania to languish in a backwater of the SAA process while Croatia and Macedonia speed ahead.

The Right Honourable Chris Patten, C.H.

Foreign & Commonwealth Office 15 September 2000 London SW1A 2AH Albania: EU Stabilisation and Association Agreement I am writing in reply to your letter of 7 September to Patrick Davies about the Prime Minister's meeting with President Meidani of Albania in New York on 6 September. Prime Minister asked for a draft letter to Chris Patten supporting an EU Stabilisation and Association Agreement (SAA) with Albania, and for the Foreign Secretary to speak to Vedrine. The Commission feasibility study on the possibility of an SAA with Albania last year concluded that, unlike Croatia and Macedonia, Albania was not ready for an SAA and needed first to make substantial progress in structural reform, governance and law and order. Neither EU member states nor the Commission were convinced by the Albanian status report (produced shortly afterwards in response to the feasibility study) that Albania had made enough progress to justify moving to SAA negotiations. Although the Albanian government is undoubtedly committed to reform, their actual implementation of change is patchy. Our support for an early SAA, then, needs to be accompanied by practical, concrete suggestions as to how the EU can help Albania prepare. The enclosed draft letter from the Prime Minister to Chris Patten contains several ideas. The draft letter proposes that we start work on the SAA negotiating mandate this year. In practice, it will not be possible for the Commission to propose a mandate, to get it approved by the Council by end-2000, and for negotiations to start at the start of 2001, as President Meidani hoped. Experience suggests it will take six months or more to draft, and agree among EU member states, the terms of the mandate (and probably much longer in practice because Albania's SAA is likely to deviate more from the Macedonia/Croatia model). Even the Croatia mandate - requested by the Council in June will not be agreed until November, and Croatia is far more ready for an SAA than Albania.

The fact that Meidani suggested this timetable probably reflects Albanian lack of knowledge of EU procedures. But what really matters to Albania is not the precise timetable of EU agreement on the mandate, but the political signal of getting some sort of work underway on the SAA this year. To meet these aspirations, the Council would have to request a negotiating mandate, and the Commission would have to start work on it, this year. By proposing this to the Commission we would send a strong signal of support to Albania of their SAA aspirations, thereby fulfilling the Prime Minister's promise to Meidani. If we could subsequently secure Commission and Member State agreement - though this will be difficult given the level of scepticism - the Albanians would regard it as a coup, for which we could take the credit. The Foreign Secretary hopes to find an opportunity to speak to Vedrine along these lines in the margins of the GAC on 18 September. (Tim Barrow) Private Secretary Anna Wechsberg 10 Downing Street

DRAFT LETTER FROM THE PRIME MINISTER TO CHRIS PATTEN The Rt Hon Christopher Patten CH Member of the European Commission for External Relations Brussels I am writing to you about the prospects for an EU Stabilisation and Association Agreement (SAA) with Albania, which I discussed with President Meidani of Albania on 6/ September in New York. He and the Albanian government are clearly anxious for negotiations on an SAA to start as soon as possible. I think it is important that we in the Ex support this objective and I would welcome your views on how best to work towards this. President Meidani said he hoped the EU would agree by the end of this year to open SAA negotiations, with negotiations beginning at the start of next. This is obviously an ambitious target; Albania has a considerable way to go before it will be ready to assume the responsibilities of an SAA, as the Commission's feasibility study last year showed. Nevertheless, the Albanian government is determined to make the necessary reforms to secure an SAA and, eventually, EU membership. We need to encourage them along that road and demonstrate publicly that the EU supports their aspirations. This is in all our interests - a prosperous, democratic Albania is an important component of peace and stability in the Balkans. We must not allow Albania to languish in a backwater of the SAA process while Croatia and Macedonia speed ahead. I hope that we can do this in two ways. First, by agreeing that the Commission should start preparing Albania's SAA negotiating mandate this year. will be important in giring them a sense of momentum and reinforcing their commitment to making the difficult changes required to join the European mainstream. If we avoid discussing dates then we risk increasing Albanian suspicions that the process wil / be strung out indefinitely. I hope that you could endorse this objective. Second, I hope that the Commission can work with member states in devising imaginative ways of helping Albania make progress in the priority areas identified in the Commission's feasibility study and the Albanian status report. For example, we might set up a new EU/Albania consultative task force such as we have for Bosnia and Croatia; tailor EU aid more closely to the key targets of structural reform, governance and law and order; or establish new SAA

"partnerships" with all potential SAA countries which would map out clearly the path ahead. We might also consider ways in which Albania's SAA could be tailored to fit their circumstances, for example by lengthening the transition period during which they have to assume their reciprocal obligations on trade.

I believe that by making their SAA prospects clearer in this way, we will give the Albanian government the reassurance and sense of momentum they need to justify and reinforce their reform policies — as well as stepping up our own assistance to them in their preparations. That is in all our interests. The signs of new stability and progress in Albania are encouraging: we must not weaken them by failing to respond constructively, and imaginatively, ourselves.

# **UNCLASSIFIED**

**WESTERN BALKANS: AUTONOMOUS TRADE MEASURES** From: UKREP BRUSSELS

TO IMMEDIATE FCO **TELNO 928** OF 120730Z SEPTEMBER 00 INFO PRIORITY EU POSTS FORMER YUGOSLAVIA POSTS, PRISTINA INFO PRIORITY BIS BELGRADE, HMT, DFID, DTI

PLEASE PASS TO BIS BELGRADE

FRAME EXTERNAL

**FCO TELNO 226 TO PARIS** SUMMARY

1. Following its passage through Coreper today (13 September), the way is clear for the Commission's proposal for the extension of autonomous trade measures (ATMs) for Bosnia, Croatia, Albania and Kosovo to be agreed at the 18 September GAC without further discussion. The measures provide duty-free access for 95 per cent of imports from the region, with only limited quotas for fish, beef, wine and textiles. FYROM to be granted equivalent concessions. Also provides support for Montenegro via aluminium imports. Major success for UK in obtaining radical liberalisation of EU/Balkans trade, and resisting attempts to water down proposal.

DETAIL

2. Coreper agreed the Balkans ATMs proposal on 11 September. This fulfilled the commitment at the Lisbon and Feira European Councils to grant assymetrical trade preferences to the Western Balkans. The Commission proposal, which was presented to the Council in June 2000, is genuinely radical. It will increase duty-free access from the current 80 per cent of imports up to 95 per cent. The main provisions of the final regulation are:

- the abolition of remaining tariff ceilings for industrial products from Croatia, Bosnia and Albania;

- vastly improved access for agricultural products, including processed agricultural products and some fisheries;

- the extension of preferences to Kosovo;

- the granting of tariff quotas for aluminium products produced in Montenegro;

- rationalisation of the separate regulations for Albania and the republics of the firmer Yugoslavia into a single instrument;

- removal of Albania, Croatia and Bosnia from the GSP.

3. As Montenegro does not constitute a distinct customs territory for the purposes of EC legislation, tariff quotas are extended to the FRY for aluminium products manufactured at the plant in Montenegro (but not elsewhere). But the functioning customs service set up by UNMIK allows the extension of preferences to Kosovo. Equivalent, separate preferences should be granted to FYROM in advance of the new Stabilisation and Association Agreement. Negotiations will also be opened with Bosnia and Croatia on textile agreements to remove them from quota restrictions.

4. Discussion in the relevant Council working group inevitably focussed on agricultural products. The Commission proposal kept restrictions for beef (with a tariff quota for Bosnian and Croatian "baby beef" exports), fish and wine (with tariff quotas

A Sig ruccess for Chris Patter. get me to with for certain fisheries products and wines). France, Italy, Spain and Portugal - with some sympathy from other MS - argued that this went too far, and proposed either returning to a standard quotabased system for all agricultural products, or expanding the list of exceptions to cover a wider range of sensitive products.

- 5. The UK and the Commission, supported by Northern MS, resisted any dilution of the proposal, pointing to commitments made at Lisbon and Feira and to the political importance of EU relations with the region. We also argued that the measures proposed would have a minimal impact on the EC market, but would be of real benefit to the countries concerned. This firm stance, together with lobbying in key capitals (TUR), eventually convinced a majority of MS to support the proposal. The Commission proposal therefore survived largely intact, with only minor amendments to cover concerns on fraud, and separate declarations on safeguard action and wine imports.
- 6. The ATMs package will now be approved by the 18 September GAC as an A-point. It should then provide the basis for negotiations with FYROM, Croatia and (eventually) Albania for new Stability and Association Agreements. Southern MS can be expected to resist setting the ATMs (which are temporary measures) in stone in these bilateral agreements. But we will continue to point to the exceptional nature of the Balkans and the impossibility of going back on our support for the region.

## COMMENT

7. At Mr Vaz's conference on the Balkans in July, Chris Patten said he wanted to get the ATMs agreed before the Balkans summit. In the event, he will have achieved that with a comfortable margin. That represents a very good result for him and for the UK. The ATMs send an important signal to the region of the EU's willingness to support reform-minded countries. And for the first time, much of the benefit will be felt by exporters of agricultural products.

Contact: Ken O'Flaherty 00322 287 8377; e-mail ken.o'flaherty@ukrep.mail.fco.gov.uk

**SHEINWALD** 

Sent by UKREP BRUSSELS on 12-09-2000 07:30 Received by No10 on 14-09-2000 07:19

FILE (In Matrix) 10 DOWNING STREET LONDON SW1A 2AA From the Private Secretary 7 September 2000 Dear Patrick ALBANIA: MEETING WITH PRESIDENT MEIDANI The Prime Minister had a 20 minute bilateral with President Meidani in New York on 6 September. Serbia/Montenegro Meidani said he had spoken to Djukanovic. He believed Djukanovic was right not to participate in the elections. To do so risked legitimising Milosevic's process. And in any event, the size of the possible anti-Milosevic vote in Montenegro would not make any significant difference to the overall outcome. Stabilisation and Association Agreement (SAA) Meidani said the key issue for Albania now was their Stabilisation and Association Agreement with the EU. They had submitted their Status Report to Brussels earlier in the year, and had since been diligent in ensuring that all queries were answered. He therefore hoped that Albania would be given permission to open formal negotiations by the end of the French Presidency, with negotiations beginning at the start of 2001. The Prime Minister promised Meidani his full support on the SAA. Meidani was very grateful. He already had strong Italian support and hoped for support from Greece; but tt would be particularly helpful if the Prime Minister could speak to Jospin, or the Foreign Secretary to Vedrine. The Prime Minister said we would certainly talk to the French. He also offered to write to Chris Patten, and to speak to Simitis if that would be useful. Economic reform/global integration Meidani hoped that Albania's membership of the WTO - an example of Albania's readiness to integrate into the international system – would help his case with the EU and the international community. The Prime Minister agreed. But he noted that strong signals of continuing economic reform would also be important.

-2-Meidani said he was making good progress on reform. The government had privatisation programmes in the telecoms, mining and financial sectors. The economy grew 8 per cent last year, and 7-8% growth was forecast this year. The Prime Minister said the process of change was always difficult. It was important to remind people what they were aiming for – the vision for which they were working. He said he would be happy to consider writing an article for an Albanian newspaper setting out a vision for reform, if that would be helpful. Stability Pact Meidani was critical of the Stability Pact. It was not delivering results. The Prime Minister said he understood the concerns. While there were lots of initiatives under the Stability Pact they were not co-ordinated properly. He had told Chris Patten that he would like to see the Commission taking a more active role. The political will existed in the EU, but we needed to be sure there was someone pushing things forward on a day-to-day basis. Comment The Prime Minister would be grateful if the Foreign Secretary could speak to Vedrine about Albania's SAA negotiations. I would also be grateful for a draft letter for the Prime Minister to send to Chris Patten. I am copying this to Julian Miller (MOD) and Richard Abel (Cabinet Office). Yours ever Ana Wichsber ANNA WECHSBERG Patrick Davies FCO

PRIME MINISTER'S BILATERAL WITH PRESIDENT MEIDANI Points to make - Welcome stability of past two years. Opportunity for Albania finally to move forward. - Crucial that municipal elections on 1/15 October meet required standards of transparency. There should be no opportunity for anyone to cry foul. - EU will continue to support reform process in Albania. The Commission feasibility study showed areas where more work is needed before negotiations on Stabilisation and Association Agreement can start. The UK is a strong supporter of Albanian aspirations but an SAA carries considerable obligations too. Albania needs to continue in its reforms. - Next week's visit by Public Order Minister Poci (PO-CHI) will give opportunity to discuss cooperation in the important areas of immigration and organised crime. - Appreciate Albanian government's continuing restraining hand over radical elements in Kosovo. Welcome opening of Albanian office in Pristina. Prospects? - Expectations for Serbia and Montenegro?

# PRIME MINISTER'S BILATERAL WITH PRESIDENT MEIDANI Background 1. The Prime Minister last met Meidani in Tirana on 18 May 1999, at the height of the Kosovo crisis. Meidani will be keen to hear our views on Kosovo, and our assessments for Serbia and Montenegro. But he is likely to push Albania's EU hopes, seeking assurances of continuing support for Albania's strong determination for an early start to negotiations on a Stabilisation and Association Agreement (SAA) and to seek eventual NATO membership. We need to reaffirm our support, while stressing the amount of work the Albanians still need to do in terms of internal reform (public order, economic reform, public administration) before SAA negotiations can begin. were areas highlighted in the Commission's feasibility study concluded in November 1999 and acknowledged in the status report submitted by Albania to the Commission in March 2000. Albanians have submitted a Membership Action Plan in anticipation of the review of the enlargement process due to take place in 2002, but there is much work to do. While Albania has enjoyed growing stability since the major disturbances in 1997/98 (following the collapse of pyramid schemes), political tension is likely to increase in the run-up to the first round of municipal elections on 1 October (second round to follow where necessary on 15 October). Opposition leader ex-President Berisha has not cooperated in practical preparations including the setting up of a Central Electoral Commission. He may well cry foul if the vote goes against his Democratic Party: this is likely since the municipalities were last contested when he was at the height of his popularity in 1996. Hence the need for everything to be done to ensure that the elections are demonstrably free and fair: we will be contributing to an OSCE observer mission. The Public Order Minister Spartak Poci is making an official visit to London on 11/12 September, to discuss cooperation on immigration and international crime. He will also visit Essex Police, who provide a substantial part of the 20-strong British police contingent with the WEU's police training mission in Albania.

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Foreign & Commonwealth Office

outstanding letter from Cavedish needing a reply?

London SW1A 2AH

Der John

31 July 2000 ferdal?

King Leka of the Albanians

Your letter to Andrew Patrick of 24 July asked for comments on King Leka of Albania.

King Leka of Albania (the pretender to the Albanian throne) is unsuitable for any role in establishing stability, either in Albania or in a wider regional context. He has no formal position and has limited support in Albania. The June 1997 referendum on whether to reinstate the monarchy was roundly defeated.

The King has lived in exile in South Africa for the past twenty years. It is rumoured he has dealings in arms smuggling operations. He was arrested and charged under the South African Firearms Act in February 1999 for hoarding a small arsenal of weapons in his home in Johannesburg.

Leka met with Ministers of State Wargrave and Hogg in 1990 and 1991 respectively. The impression left was negative and we would advise against any further Ministerial contact. Should the King visit the UK again, we would aim to arrange a meeting with officials at the FCO. FCO officials wrote to Anthony Cavendish on 24 May suggesting a call with Charles Crawford.

I attach a copy of Tirana's further comments on the subject.

Private Secretary

John Sawers 10 Downing Street

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### RESTRICTED

RESTRICTED
FM TIRANA
TO DESKBY 260730Z CABINET OFFICE
TELNO 1
OF 251501Z JULY 00
AND TO IMMEDIATE FCO

YOUR TELNO MISCTEL 060 REFERS

SUBJECT: KING LEKA OF THE ALBANIANS

### SUMMARY

1. We advise you to keep King Leka at arms length.

# DETAIL

- 2. Leka has no legal standing in this country. His father, King Zog, declared himself king in 1929 and amended the Constitution. He was the first and only monarch of Albania. After the overthrow of communism, and further change in the constitution, there is no legal case for Leka declaring himself king. Leka was sentenced to 3 years imprisonment, although the prosecutor wanted a 24 year sentence, for his part in riots after the referendum in March 1997. He paraded around in military uniform, carrying weapons and firing into the air causing panic in the population. It could be said in his defence that thousands of other Albanians did much the same. His lawyers have appealed against the sentence.
- 3. If Leka returned to Albania he would probably be arrested. The Legality Party (Monarchists) invited him to be present at a ceremony when a main boulevard in the capital, Tirana, was renamed after his father. Leka wisely stayed away. Leka and the Legality Party claim between 5% and 25% (depending on who is asked) of the population support them.
- 4. He would have no influence with the present government and would be unlikely to be of any use in regional affairs.
- 5. We suspect Leka is making approaches for his own benefit. We would gain nothing by having a dialogue with him and it might be detrimental to our relations with the government of Albania if we did.

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FM TIRANA
TO DESKBY 260730Z CABINET OFFICE
TELNO 1
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YOUR TELNO MISCTEL 060 REFERS

SUBJECT: KING LEKA OF THE ALBANIANS

SUMMARY

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### DETAIL

- 2. LEKA HAS NO LEGAL STANDING IN THIS COUNTRY. HIS FATHER, KING ZOG, DECLARED HIMSELF KING IN 1929 AND AMENDED THE CONSTITUTION. HE WAS THE FIRST AND ONLY MONARCH OF ALBANIA. AFTER THE OVERTHROW OF COMMUNISM, AND FURTHER CHANGE IN THE CONSTITUTION, THERE IS NO LEGAL CASE FOR LEKA DECLARING HIMSELF KING. LEKA WAS SENTENCED TO 3 YEARS IMPRISONMENT, ALTHOUGH THE PROSECUTOR WANTED A 24 YEAR SENTENCE, FOR HIS PART IN RIOTS AFTER THE REFERENDUM IN MARCH 1997. HE PARADED AROUND IN MILITARY UNIFORM, CARRYING WEAPONS AND FIRING INTO THE AIR CAUSING PANIC IN THE POPULATION. IT COULD BE SAID IN HIS DEFENCE THAT THOUSANDS OF OTHER ALBANIANS DID MUCH THE SAME. HIS LAWYERS HAVE APPEALED AGAINST THE SENTENCE.
- 3. IF LEKA RETURNED TO ALBANIA HE WOULD PROBABLY BE ARRESTED. THE LEGALITY PARTY (MONARCHISTS) INVITED HIM TO BE PRESENT AT A CEREMONY WHEN A MAIN BOULEVARD IN THE CAPITAL, TIRANA, WAS RENAMED AFTER HIS FATHER. LEKA WISELY STAYED AWAY. LEKA AND THE LEGALITY PARTY CLAIM BETWEEN 5% AND 25% (DEPENDING ON WHO IS ASKED) OF THE POPULATION SUPPORT THEM.
- 4. HE WOULD HAVE NO INFLUENCE WITH THE PRESENT GOVERNMENT AND WOULD BE UNLIKELY TO BE OF ANY USE IN REGIONAL AFFAIRS.
- 5. WE SUSPECT LEKA IS MAKING APPROACHES FOR HIS OWN BENEFIT. WE WOULD GAIN NOTHING BY HAVING A DIALOGUE WITH HIM AND IT MIGHT BE DETRIMENTAL TO OUR RELATIONS WITH THE GOVERNMENT OF ALBANIA IF WE DID.

SCOTT

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Foreign & Commonwealth Office

London SWIA 2AH
Telephone: 0171-

25 July 2000

Michael Tatham 10 Downing Street

JS JP Prom KG

VISIT OF PRIME MINISTER META OF ALBANIA

1. Julian Evans (CNWED) has reported on the meeting of the Visits Committee on 24 July, which Alison Blake was unable to attend due to illness. I understand that the forthcoming visit of the Prime Minister of Albania was mentioned, and that your view was that this was a very low priority indeed.

2. We had a brief word about this visit a few days ago. Albania is, and will remain, important to us in connection with Kosovo (senior Albanians have direct personal links to some of the key players on the Kosovo Albanian side), and with the fight against organised crime (the Albanian Minister for Public Order, Poci, is coming to London in September; Meta's visit will provide a chance to follow up). We will of course need to look at the programme in detail closer to the time. All I am asking at this stage is that you should not mentally rule anything out. Five minutes of Prime Ministerial time, much on the lines of your recent very successful breakfast meeting with President Trajkovski, is all that the Albanians are asking for, or will need. Meta is a serious player, who wants to be helpful. From the EAD point of view, it would be a good investment.

Stephen Wordsworth

Eastern Adriatic Department

270 3013

cc: Julian Evans, CNWED
Alison Blake

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10 DOWNING STREET LONDON SW1A 2AA

From the Private Secretary

24 July 2000

Dear Auden.

# KING LEKA OF THE ALBANIANS

We are receiving various approaches of behalf of "King" Leka of Albania who seems to want to establish a direct link here. We have given those acting on his behalf no encouragement. It would be helpful to have an assessment of Leki's relevance to the situation in Albania, and at what level the Government should receive him if, as expected, he turns up here in the autumn. What useful role, if any, could Leka play at the present juncture?

I am copying this letter to Peter January (Tirana).

Your ever,

**JOHN SAWERS** 

Andrew Patrick FCO

ANTHONY CAVENDISH **REDLANDS** SHERFIELD-ON-LODDON **HAMPSHIRE** yords ex-logs!

I have some only

ecogne m. RG27 OJQ Telephone: 01256 880475 Fax: 01256 880476 E-mail: a.cavendish@dial.pipex.com 19th July, 2000 PRIVATE & CONFIDENTIAL Jonathan Powell, Esq., Chief of Staff, 10 Downing Street, LONDON SW1A 2AA Erik Bennett was kind arough to have a word with me about your conversation with him the other week. I have spoken to King Leka who was planning his trip in August and I told him that would be a most unsuitable time to come as everyone would be on holiday. I told him he should plan to arrive here in September. My friend, and Leka's lawyer, James Ramsay, is in South Africa at the moment and will bring back the ideas which we will work into a plan and submit to you based on what Leka, and we, believe he could do with the hopeful beneficial results for the stability of the Albanian region. I am most grateful to you for the interest you have shown and I will advise you when I have the firm date for Leka's visit. I hope you are planning a restful holiday. Best Wishes.



(Paper fried-GR "Caveraise"

# 10 DOWNING STREET LONDON SW1A 2AA

From the Prime Minister's Chief of Staff

2 June 2000

Der m,

Thank you for your letter of 25 May. This evidently crossed with one from David Musgrave in the Foreign Office addressing the points made in your earlier letter. I hope this is helpful – David will be happy to deal further with you on any of these matters.

Joseph Jo

JONATHAN POWELL

The state of the second second

Anthony Cavendish

Not on darabese Not in The filis/folder 1 2618 **REDLANDS** SHERFIELD-ON-LODDON **HAMPSHIRE** RG27 OJQ

ANTHONY CAVENDISH

Telephone: Fax:

01256 880475 01256 880476

E-mail:

a.cavendish@dial.pipex.com

25<sup>th</sup> May, 2000

Jonathan Powell, Esq., Chief of Staff, 10 Downing Street, **LONDON SW1A 2AA** 

C. & S.,

I troubled you again with my letter of the 25th April, 2000, about matters Albanian.

For ease of reference I enclose a copy of that letter.

Norman Lamont has stopped travelling sufficiently long enough to drop a line to Jack Straw and I enclose a copy of his letter.

When Leka does arrive, perhaps you would get someone to let me know if they would like to have a discussion.

Best Wishes.

you show ( arb)?

Enc.

marked the eatier letter to Fco to reply to (my letter attached). I've fold them to get a reply ant now. I'm arrandy you're happy to to try t get Comedia to deal with few direct rather than this No 10. Wichael.

1-JUN-2000 20:49 FROM SOS PRIV OFF - F(A) P.02/07 02072702144 Foreign & Commonwealth Office London SWIA 2AH Telephone: 020 770 3712 www.fco.gov.uk 24 May 2000 ! cc. Anna Weekslerg, No10 2. BIM Mr Anthony Cavendish Redlands Sherfield-on-Loddon Hampshire RG27 0JQ Dear Mr Carndish, No 10 have passed to me your letter of 25 April to Jonathan Powell about ex-King Leka's visa problem. I apologise for the delay in replying: it has taken some time to find out exactly what had happened. The problem seems to have been a purely bureaucratic one. ex-king's application was referred to London on a routine basis and apparently mislaid on arrival. Instructions have now gone to Pretoria to treat the application on its merits: unless there are specific local difficulties, the visas should now be issued very shortly. Please get back to me direct if this does not happen. We would be happy to receive the ex-king at official level in the FCO: I am sure that Charles Crawford, the Deputy Political Director, would be prepared to see him. Please let me know if you would like to set a meeting up. Your succeedy,
David Many David Musgrave Eastern Adriatic Dept

10 DOWNING STREET LONDON SW1A 2AA From the Private Secretary 2 May 2000 Dea Andrew **ALBANIA** I attach a letter from a Mr Anthony Cavendish intervening on behalf of the former King of Albania who appears to be having difficulty securing a visa for entry to the UK. I would be grateful if FCO officials could take whatever action is appropriate and for a suitable reply to be sent to Mr Cavendish. Your ere Michael Andrew Patrick Esq FCO

ANTHONY CAVENDISH

Mills forware as dot TS

REDLANDS SHERFIELD-ON-LODDON HAMPSHIRE RG27 OJQ

Telephone: Fax:

01256 880475 01256 880476

E-mail:

a.cavendish@dial.pipex.com

25th April, 2000

Jonathan Powell, Esq., Chief of Staff, 10 Downing Street, LONDON SW1A 2AA

Last summer you were kind enough to ask the Foreign Office to receive the two Aibanian delegates representing King Leka.

I attach copies of three faxes I have received from the King, who is anxious to visit the U.K. and appears to be having difficulties. Norman Lamont has been travelling a great deal and as of last Thursday had not had time to deal with this matter so I said I would.

However, I would like to leave a thought with you.

Leka has a large following in Northern Albania and in Kosovo. It seems to me that with some sophisticated management, use could be made of the King to western advantage. He is a Sandhurst graduate and an Anglophile. He wants nothing more than for his young son to follow his footsteps at Sandhurst.

I hope you would feel able to help with the visa and when that is achieved and the King is in the U.K., there might be some interesting discussion where he might prove useful.

Please excuse me interrupting your busy workload but you were kind enough to help before.

Best Wishes.

Enc.



OBORRIT MBRETNOR ROYAL COURT OF ALBANIA TELEPHONE, (011) 465-4810 FAX: (011) 465,4718

FAX Nº: 437/00

P.O. BOX 70303 2021 BRYANSTON REPUBLIC OF SOUTH AFRICA TELEGRAMS, ROYAL COURT BRYANSTON, R.S.A.

MARCH 27, 2000

FOR ATTENTION: MR. ANTHONY CAVENDI

FROM: ROYAL COURT OF ALBANIA

Dear Tony,

As you will see from the letter I have just written Lord Lamont, I am having problems getting a visa of

I would appreciate anything you could do to help in this particular case as I may well be travelling shortly and may need to stop over in London for a day or two. Infact, my son will probably accompany me.

I will certainly notify you in good time as I would like to see

the second of th

you.

In deepest friendship,



HIS MAJESTY KING LEKA I OF THE ALBANIANS



OBORRIT MBRETNOR ROYAL COURT OF ALBANIA TELEPHONE (011) 465-4510 FAX: (011) 465-4518

FAX N°: 436/00

P.O. BOX 70503 2021 BRYANSTON REPUBLIC OF SOUTH AFRICA TELEGRAMS, ROYAL COURT BRYANSTON, R.S.A.

MARCH 27, 2000

THE RIGHT HONOURABLE LORD LAMONT OF LERWICK HOUSE OF LORDS.

Dear Lord Lamont,

I wish to apologise for bringing this matter to your attention, but I feel strongly that it is a situation that needs to be resolved.

Two weeks before my last visa to the United Kingdom expired I requested visas for my son, Queen Susan aswell as myself. We have been awaiting a reply from the British Government and despite repeated telephone calls to the Embassy, we are still without a visa. My fast visa ran out on the 2nd February of this year.

I therefore request of you to use your undoubted influence on our behalf as it is extremely inconvenient for me to be unable to visit the U.K. from time to time as I have done in the past.

I add the copies of the last two visas that I received in my passport and you will see that they are two year multiple entry visas each.

I would very much appreciate anything that you could do on this question on our behalf.

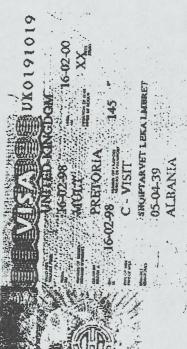
Please accept my assurances of the highest esteem that I hold you in.



HIS MAJESTY KING LEKA I OF THE ALBANIANS



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### 10 DOWNING STREET LONDON SW1A 2AA

THE PRIME MINISTER

7 April 2000

Dear Mine Minister

Many thanks for your letter of 23 March and for your kind remarks about the UK's role. I believe now as strongly as I did a year ago that we were right to intervene in Kosovo.

I do not underestimate the difficulties and dangers remaining in Kosovo and the wider region. But I take pride in the progress that has been made possible by the action we took a year ago. I am also gratified by the strengthening of relations between our two countries over this period, highlighted by the recent visit to London by your Foreign Minister Paskal Milo.

Last week's regional funding conference for the Stability Pact, at which Keith Vaz represented the UK, underlined the will of the international community to support the countries of the region: your country will continue to play a pivotal role in that process of regional stabilisation. Your influence on the Kosovo Albanians is particularly important. I would personally welcome anything you can do to counsel them to reject violence and intimidation and embrace peaceful progress and co-operation with UNMIK.

Thank you for your invitation to visit Albania again. I am afraid that other commitments rule out such a visit for the time being. I remember well my visit

last May at the height of the refugee crisis. Thanks to NATO's steadfastness and Albania's support, the hundreds of thousands of refugees expelled by Milosevic are now back in Kosovo.

your siverely Tony blair

His Excellency Mr Ilir Meta



aps/pahrul as

## 10 DOWNING STREET LONDON SW1A 2AA

From the Private Secretary

12 April 2000

I enclose the top copy of a letter the Prime Minister has written to His Excellency Mr Ilir Meta, Prime Minister of Albania. I have <u>not</u> faxed a copy of the letter to his office and I should be grateful if you could arrange for it to be delivered as soon as possible.

I am copying this letter to by fax to HM Ambassador, Tirana.

MICHAEL TATHAM

Mr Andrew Patrick
Foreign and Commonwealth Office

Foreign & Commonwealth 120133 Office 5 April 2000 London SW1A 2AH Dear Michael Letter from Albanian Prime Minister You enclosed with your letter of 30 March one from the Albanian Prime Minister. I enclose a short draft reply as requested. Yansares Andrew Parine (Andrew Patrick) Private Secretary Michael Tatham Esq 10 Downing Street

DRAFT MESSAGE FROM THE PRIME MINISTER TO: His Excellency Mr Ilir Meta Prime Minister of the Republic of Albania TIRANA Many thanks for your letter of 23/March and for your kind remarks about the UK's role. I believe now as strongly as I did a year ago that we were right to/intervene in Kosovo. I do not underestimate the difficulties and dangers remaining in Kosovo and the wider region. But I take pride in the progress that has been made possible by the action we took a year ago. I am also gratified by the strengthening of relations between our two countries over this period, highlighted by the recent visit to London by your Foreign Minister Paskal Milo. Last week's regional funding conference for the Stability Pact, at which Keith Vaz represented the UK, underlined the will of the international community to support the countries of the region: your country will continue to play a pivotal role in that process of regional stabilisation. Your influence on the Kosovo Albanians is particularly important. I would personally welcome anything you can do to counsel them to reject violence and intimidation and embrace peaceful progress and cooperation with UNMIK. Thank you for your invitation to visit Albania again. am afraid that other commitments rule out such a visit for the time being But I would like to take up the invitation at some future stage. I memember well my visit to your country last May at the height of the refugee crisis. Thanks to NATO's steadfastness and Albania's support, the hundreds of thousands of refugees expelled by Milosevic are now back in Kosovo. David Musgrave EAD, FCO 7270 3712



# 10 DOWNING STREET LONDON SW1A 2AA

From the Private Secretary

30 March 2000

Dea Andrew

#### LETTER FROM ALBANIAN PRIME MINISTER

I attach a letter from the Albanian Prime Minister thanking the Prime Minister, on the anniversary of the Kosovo conflict, for the British contribution to the military campaign. It would be nice to have a short draft reply (which includes a strong message about our continued commitment to the region).

Your ever

**MICHAEL TATHAM** 

Andrew Patrick Esq FCO

Received 30/7 (DCO

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CORRESPONDED SECTION RECEIVED

TOJS.

CC: JRO

MT

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JR

NOTE NO.: 293/00

London, 29 March 2000

The Embassy of the Republic of Albania presents its compliments to the Cabinet of the Prime Minister and has the honour to forward to it the copy of the letter(message) of the Albanian Prime Minister, H. E. Mr. Ilir Meta addressed to the British Prime Minister, the Rt. Hon. Tony Blair. The original letter will follow later.

The Embassy of the Republic of Albania avails itself of this opportunity to renew to the Cabinet of the Prime Minister the assurances of its highest

consideration.

Cabinet of the Prime Minister 10 Downing Street LONDON SUBJECT

"llen on:

Unofficial translation

## REPUBLIC OF ALBANIA PRIME MINISTER

Tirana on 23.3.2000

Honorable Mr. Prime Minister,

On the occasion of 24-th of March, the anniversary of the military and humanitarian campaign carried out by NATO in order to halt the genocide and ethnic cleansing of the Albanians of Kosova, it is my pleasant obligation to express to You the warmest thanks on behalf of the Albanian Government and the Albanian people. Your personal assistance has helped in achieving the success of the special mission of NATO in Kosova, and is also an unforgettable commitment which has been respected by the peoples of the region towards your country and You personally. Your firm and wise contribution together with the participation of Great Britain into the unique action of NATO has ensured a new mission and role of your country for establishing peace in our region.

Great Britain together with the USA and others NATO's allies have offered unforgettable contribution toward freedom and peace. We address our deep gratitude to your country's sons and daughters, during the NATO military campaign. They followed up the noble tradition of their descendants, who have shown the same heroism during the Second World War, easing the freedom movements in the Balkans.

You and Great Britain justified the deepest respect and honor of the Albanian nation as a whole with your determination and commitments in preserving peace, freedom and existence of the small nations. We bow to the contribution and courage of your soldiers both during the military campaign and the difficult mission to restore peace in Kosova. Your contribution for peace, Honorable Mr. Prime Minister has won the hearts of the Albanians everywhere in the world. You already have seen that deep gratitude during your visit and the meeting with the Albanians, and I would like to ensure you that these feelings are strengthening further on.

My Government considers of great importance the strengthening of the relation with Great Britain, and I would like to ensure, Honorable Prime Minister for our unanimous appreciation for You, as a great friend of Albanian people who desires to see you again, an on behalf of the Albanian people, I forward You the invitation to visit Tirana.

Ilir META

The Rt Hon. Tony BLAIR MP Prime Minister of Great Britain



Tiranë, më 23.3.2000

I nderuar Zoti Kryeministër,

e ndiej si një detyrim të veçantë t'ju shkruaj për t'ju shprehur falenderimet më të ngrohta të Qeverisë dhe të popullit shqiptar për Ju, si Kryeministër i Britanisë së Madhe, me rastin e 24 marsit, përvjetorit të aksionit të madh ushtarak dhe human të NATO-s, për të ndaluar genocidin dhe spastrimin etnik të popullit shqiptar të Kosovës. Ndihmesa juaj personale, në realizimin me sukses të këtij misioni të veçantë të NATO-s për Kosovën, përbën një vepër të paharruar që shton nderimin e popujve të rajonit për vendin tuaj dhe për Ju personalisht. Udhëheqja Juaj e urtë dhe e vendosur me pjesëmarrjen e Britanisë së Madhe në aksionin unik të NATO-s, i dha vendit tuaj një rol dhe një mision të ri e të madh në vendosjen e paqes në rajonin tonë.

Britania e Madhe, së bashku me SHBA-në dhe aleatët e tjerë të NATO-s, dhanë një kontribut të paharruar në mbrojtje të lirisë dhe të paqes. Ne drejtojmë mirënjohjen tonë të thellë për vetmohimin e bijave dhe bijve të vendit tuaj në fushatën ushtarake të NATO-s. Ata vazhduan traditën fisnike të paraardhësve të tyre, që kanë dëshmuar të njëjtin guxim edhe gjatë Luftës së Dytë Botërore, ku u kanë dhënë një ndihmë të shquar luftrave të lirisë në rajonin e Ballkanit.

Ju dhe Britania e Madhe fituat nderimin dhe respektin më të thellë të popullit dhe mbarë kombit shqiptar për vendosmërinë dhe angazhimin tuaj në mbrojtje të paqes, lirisë dhe ekzistencës së popujve të vegjël. Ne përulemi përpara veprës dhe guximit të ushtarëve tuaj, si në ditët e ndërhyrjes për çështjen e Kosovës, ashtu dhe tani në misionin e vështirë të ruajtjes së paqes në Kosovë. Me veprën Tuaj në mbrojtje të paqes, Ju, i nderuar Zoti Kryeministër, keni fituar zemrat e gjithë shqiptarëve kudo që ndodhen. Ju keni patur rastin të provoni ndjenjat e thella të mirënjohjes gjatë vizitave dhe takimeve tuaja me popullin shqiptar dhe unë do të desha t'ju siguroj se këto ndjenja sa vijnë dhe forcohen.

Qeveria ime i jep një rëndësi të veçantë zhvillimit të marrëdhënieve me Britaninë e Madhe dhe unë do të desha t'ju siguroj, i nderuar Kryeministër, për vlerësimin tonë unanim për Ju, si një mik i madh i popullit shqiptar, i cili ka dëshirë t'ju takojë përsëri dhe, në emër të të cilit, unë ju drejtoj ftesën për të ardhur në Tiranë.

Shkëlqesisë së Tij, Z. Tony BLAIR Kryeministër i Britanisë së Madhe Ilir META

2

10 DOWNING STREET LONDON SW1A 2AA

SUBJECT

KK

CC: FCO

MMA

Filed or

24 February 2000

THE PRIME MINISTER

Lear hime Misster,

Many thanks for your letter of 5 February about the nomination of Kukes for the Nobel Peace Prize.

The contribution of the people of Kukes in receiving hundreds of thousands of destitute refugees into their homes last year was admired around the world. Although I cannot take a position on the award of the Peace Prize, I wish you well in your endeavours to obtain further recognition of that remarkable effort.

your Friedly Imy Blai

His Excellency Mr Ilir Meta

Right 1640 Foreign & Commonwealth 118151 Office 18 February 2000 London SW1A 2AH Dear Mortiael Nobel Peace Prize: Nomination of Kukes, Albania Thank you for your letter of 15 February, enclosing a Note from the Albanian Embassy with a letter from the Albanian Prime Minister, seeking our support for the nomination of the town of Kukes for the Nobel Peace Prize. The people of Kukes have a good claim to the Prize, for the generosity with which they welcomed the hundreds of thousands of Kosovars who fled across the border during last spring's crisis. But we do not as a Government take positions on the award of such prizes. I therefore attach a draft reply which expresses our appreciation for what the people of Kukes did, but does not offer specific support for the Peace Prize bid. Yamsen Patrick (Andrew Patrick) Private Secretary Michael Tatham Esq 10 Downing Street

DRAFT MESSAGE FROM THE PRIME MINISTER TO: His Excellency Ilir Meta Prime Minister of the Republic of Albania TIRANA Many thanks for your letter of 5 February about the nomination of Kukes for the Nobel Peace Prize. The contribution of the people of Kukes in receiving hundreds of thousands of destitute refugees into their homes last year was admired around the world. Although I cannot take a position on the award of the Peace Prize, I wish you well in your endeavours to obtain further recognition of that remarkable effort. David Musgrave EAD, FCO 270 3712



## 10 DOWNING STREET LONDON SW1A 2AA

From the Private Secretary

15 February 2000

Dea Tim

## KUKES, ALBANIA

I attach a letter to the Prime Minister from the Albanian Prime Minister requesting British support for the nomination of the town of Kukes for the Nobel Peace Prize in view of its role during the Kosovo conflict. I would be grateful for advice and a draft reply.

Your ever Michael

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**MICHAEL TATHAM** 

Tim Barrow Esq FCO

**NOTE NO.: 112/00** London, 11 February 2000 The Embassy of the Republic of Albania presents its compliments to the Cabinet of the Prime Minister and has the honour to send to it the copy of the letter of the Albanian Prime Minister, H. E. Mr. Ilir Meta addressed to the British Prime Minister, the Rt. Hon. Tony Blair. The original letter will follow later... The Embassy of the Republic of Albania avails itself of this opportunity to renew to the Cabinet of the Prime Minister the assurances of its highest consideration. Cabinet of the Prime Minister 10 Downing Street London Foreign and Commonwealth Office LONDON

unofficial translation

REPUBLIC OF ALBANIA
PRIME MINISTER

Tiara, 05/02/2000

The honourable Mr. Blair,

It is my special pleasure to address this letter to you, and with my deepest respressed to the Committee of the Norwalds and generous involvement to the Norwalds and generous involvement to the Commit

It is my special pleasure to address this letter to you, and with my deepest respect to request your valuable and generous involvement to the Committee of the Norwegian Institute for the "Nobel" Prize for Peace in order to support and back up as a candidacy for such a high prize the Albanian northern city of Kukes.

On this occasion, on behalf of the Albanian Government, allow me, Your Honourable Excellency, to introduce the Albanian city of Kukes, its role and burden it carried out during the Kosova crisis.

The city of Kukes, during the crises, bore and carried out the heaviest burden of the consequences of the crises. From the beginning to the end of the crises, the city gave shelter, food, cure and treatment to 450.000 Kosova Albanians deported by the Serbian oppression, who transited through this city.

The city of Kukes and its suburbs welcomed over 150.000 Kosovars during the whole period of the crises. 90% of them were received and sheltered into the houses of the Kukesi people. They carried such a human act without considering their extreme economic poverty. There were many families, who gave shelter to up to 50 Kosovars in their small and few rooms and shared with them everything they had.

In this city of only 15.000 inhabitants, but which was increased tenfold by the Kosovan refugees, a single incident, robbery, killing or suchlike never happened, even in the suburbs or damaged roads during the transportation of the deported Kosovars. The citizens of the Kukes city took special care of the Kosovan refugees and this kind of treatment prevented the spread of epidemics and deaths.

It is worth mentioning the fact that many mothers from Kukes became mothers for a lot of Kosovan children, who were orphaned after their parents were slaughtered by the Serbian police forces.

During the Kosova crisis the city of Kukes became a living symbol of humanism and peace. Such an estimation for the city of Kukes were given by a lot of visitors from all over the world, among whom there were high official authorities and those of international organisations. All these were reflected by the world massmedia which put this city at the centre of attention.

After the entrance of NATO troops into Kosova, it was the city of Kukes which became a crossing bridge for the Kosovan refugees to return to their homes in Kosova.

I would like to mention that the city of Kukes and its inhabitants showed a full and fruitful spirit of cooperation with the international factor, to whom gratitude is expressed for the support given. By expressing my preliminary thanks for your attention, please accept, Excellency, the expression of my highest consideration. Ilir META The Rt. Hon. Tony BLAIR, MP Prime Minister of the United Kingdom London



Tiranë, më 5.2.2000

Shumë i nderuari Z. Blair,

kam kënaqësinë time të veçantë t'ju drejtohem juve me ndjenjën e respektit tim më të thellë për të kërkuar ndërhyrjen tuaj të çmuar dhe bujare pranë Komitetit të Institutit norvegjez të Çmimit "Nobel" për Paqen, për të përkrahur e mbështetur si kandidaturë për dhënien e Çmimit të lartë "Nobel" të Paqes qytetit shqiptar verior të Kukësit.

Më lejoni, Shkëlqesia juaj e nderuar, që, me këtë rast, në emër të qeverisë shqiptare, t'ju prezantoj qytetin shqiptar të Kukësit, rolin e peshën që ai mbajti gjatë krizës së Kosovës.

Qyteti i Kukësit, gjatë kësaj krize, mbajti dhe përballoi barrën më të rëndë të pasojave të krizës. Që nga fillimi i krizës e gjer në mbarim të saj, në këtë qytet u strehuan, u ushqyen, u kuruan dhe u trajtuan plot 450 000 kosovarë të shpërngulur nga represioni serb, të cilët tranzituan përmes këtij qyteti.

Kukësi dhe rrethinat e tij mikpritën mbi 150 000 kosovarë gjatë gjithë kohës së krizës, 90% e të cilëve u pritën nga familjet kuksiane, në shtëpitë e tyre. Këtë akt human, banorët e Kukësit e bënë pa marrë parasysh varfërinë e tyre ekonomike pothuajse të tejskajshme. Ka patur familje, dhe këto nuk ishin të pakta në numër, që kanë strehuar rreth 50 kosovarë në dhomat e tyre të vogla e të pakta dhe kanë ndarë me ta gjithçka që kishin.

Në këtë qytet prej vetëm 15 000 banorësh, të mbi-dhjetëfishuar nga refugjatët kosovarë, nuk pati asnjë incident, asnjë grabitje, asnjë vrasje dhe asnjë akt tjetër të tillë, madje as në rrethinat dhe rrugët e rrënuara, gjatë transportit të të shpërngulurve kosovarë. Vetë qytetarët e Kukësit treguan një përkujdesje të veçantë në trajtimin e refugjatëve kosovarë, kujdes i cili i vuri pritë përhapjes së epidemive dhe vdekjeve.

Nuk është e tepërt të kujtojmë se shumë nëna kuksiane u kthyen në nëna edhe për shumë fëmijë të Kosovës, të ngelur jetimë mbas masakrimit të prindërve të tyre nga forcat policore serbe.

Gjatë kohës së krizës së Kosovës, qyteti i Kukësit u bë një simbol i gjallë i humanizmit dhe paqes. Kështu u vlerësua ky qytet edhe nga vizitorët e shumtë nga e gjithë bota, ndër të cilët autoritete të larta shtetërore e të organizmave

ndërkombëtare, gjë që dëshmohet edhe nga massmedia botërore që e vuri këtë qytet në qendër të vëmendjes. Pas hyrjes së trupave të NATO-s në Kosovë, ishte po ky qytet që u bë urë kalimi për të gjithë refugjatët kosovarë për kthimin në shtëpitë e tyre në Kosovë. Dua të shtoj këtu që Kukësi dhe banorët e tij treguan frymë bashkëpunimi të plotë e të frytshëm me faktorin ndërkombëtar, të cilit i janë mirënjohës për përkrahjen e Duke ju falënderuar paraprakisht për vëmendjen, pranoni, ju lutem, Shkëlqesi, shprehjen e konsideratës sime më të lartë. Dir META The Rt. Hon. Tony BLAIR, MP Kryeministër i Mbretërisë së Bashkuar Londer

file pag 1. cc ins pay to PBonton No 10, (No reply needed) from
2 letwin & submulum to Unofficial copy
But to Anenow Patrick The Rt Hon Tony Blair Prime Minister of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland London 15.11.1999 The Honorable Prime Minister, It was a great pleasure to receive your congratulations on the occasion of my appointment as the Prime Minister of the Republic of Albania and I cordially thank you for the message. I take this opportunity, Your Excellency, to mention that the Albanian people and Albanian Government that I chair, being conscious for our European identity, share the same values and objectives with you and the civilized Europe as a whole. I would like also to mention the crucial role of the United Kingdom and your Government for supporting Albania towards the development of democracy, democratic institutions and economy, in order to speed up the integration of Albania into the European family.

Honorable Prime Minister, the Albanian people never forget the assistance of the United Kingdom in the critical moments for our nation during Kosova crisis and they never forget your visit in Albania. The visit has been encouraging and has boosted the moral of all Albanians.

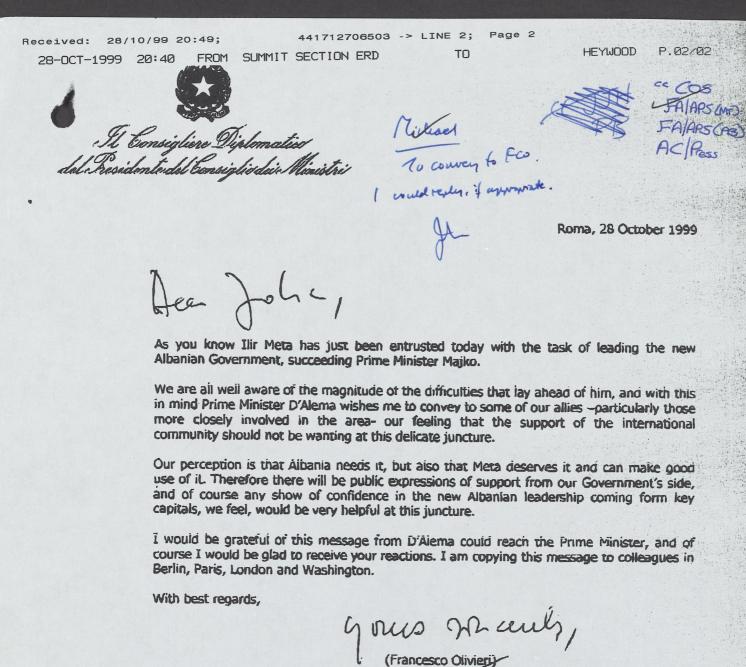
Thanking again for every thing you have done and are doing for Albania, I ensure, Your Excellency, that the excellent existing relations between our two countries will strengthen further on, strongly believing on your generous support in the future.

Please accept Your Excellency the assurances of my highest consideration.

Sincerely Yours

Ilir Meta

REPUBLIKA E SHOIPËRISË KRYEMINISTRI 15. 11. 1999 Z. TONY BLAIR. KRYEMINISTER I MRETERISE SE BASHKUAR LONDER I nderuar zoti Kryeministër. Me kënaqësi të vecantë mora urimet tuaja të ngrohta me rastin e zgjedhjes sime si Kryeministër i Republikës së Shqipërisë, për të cilat ju falenderoj perzemersisht. Shkëlqesi, duke përfituar nga rasti nuk mund të le pa vënë ne dukje se populli shqiptar dhe Qeveria që unë kam nderin të kryesoj, të ndërgjegjshëm për indentitetin tonë evropian, ndajnë së bashku me ju dhe gjithë Evropën e civilizuar të njëjtat vlera dhe objektiva. Këtu nuk mund të mos përmend gjithashtu rolin e veçantë, që ka luajtur Mbretëria e Bashkuar dhe Qeveria që ju kryesoni për të ndihmuar Shqipërisë në zhvillimin e demokracisë, të institucioneve të saj demokratike dhe zhvillimit të ekonomisë, me qëllim që të shpejtohet integrimi i saj me familjen e madhe evropiane. I nderuari zoti Kryeministër, populli shqiptar nuk harron ndihmën e dhëne nga mbretëria e Bashkuar në momente kritike për kombi tonë, nuk mund të harrojë as vizitën tuaj në Shqipëri në ato momente krize të ngjarjeve të Kosovës. Vizita juaj ishte inkurajuese dhe ngriti moralin e gjithë shqiptarëve. Duke ju falenderuar për gjithçka kini bërë e bëni për Shqipërine, e siguroj Shkëlqesinë Tuaj se marrëdhëniet e Shqipërisë, tashmë të shkëlqyera, me Mbretërinë ë Bashkuar, do të vinë gjithmonë në rritje, me besimin se edhe në të ardhmen do të kemi mbështetjen e përkrahjen tuaj bujare. Ju lutem shkëlqesi, pranoni sigurimet e konsideratës sime më të lartë. Singerisht i Juani. thele



Grus Mauls,
(Francesco Olivieri)

Las Co

Mr. John Sawers, The Prime Minister's Office, LONDON

Agned with Feo as reply appropriate.

RESTRICTED Foreign & Commonwealth Menager approved to Office 27 October 1999 issue by telegram London SW1A 2AH Dear Michael Albania: Messages from the Prime Minister Prime Minister Majko of Albania lost the Party leadership post to former Prime Minister Nano earlier this month. left his position as Prime Minister severely weakened. several weeks of deliberation, Majko concluded that his position was untenable and resigned on 26 October. Deputy Prime Minister Meta has been nominated by the Socialist Party to be his successor. The Socialist Party has a large majority in parliament; Meta was a close ally of Majko and there is unlikely to be any change in Albanian government policy. The Prime Minister met Majko during his visit to Tirana on 18 May and may wish to send a message to Majko. This would also be a suitable opportunity to send a congratulatory message to his successor. HMA Tirana underlines the importance of sending messages to both (or neither) to preserve balance. I enclose draft messages for your consideration. Yamaner Patrick (Andrew Patrick) Private Secretary Michael Tatham Esq 10 Downing Street RESTRICTED

RESTRICTED DRAFT MESSAGE FROM THE PRIME MINISTER TO: HE Ilir Meta Prime Minister The Republic of Albania I should like to congratulate you on your new appointment as Prime Minister of the Albanian Republic. As a result of our co-operation during the Kosovo crisis, relations between Albania and the United Kingdom are close and warm, and I am sure that this friendship will continue. I wish you every success in your new office, and hope that we will have an early opportunity to meet. Dave Lingwood EAD, FCO 270 1414 RESTRICTED

Foreign & Commonwealth Office 6 August 1999 London SW1A 2AH Albania: Youth Sports Training You will wish to be aware that the Youth Sports Training programme in Albania is being launched on 9 August, funded by the Foreign and Commonwealth Office. I enclose a selfexplanatory press release from the Youth Sports Trust office. This is one of the projects we are working on with NGO's and other institutions, in the wake of Mrs Blair's visit to the Balkans, with the Prime Minister. The English Football Association have also agreed to send out an assessor to Kosovo in mid-August as a separate project. They will be examining the practicalities of establishing a youth football league in the province. June Ce, (Tim Barrow) Private Secretary Michael Tatham Esq 10 Downing Street





**News Release** 

## TOP TRAINING GOES TO ALBANIA

On Monday 9 August two members of staff from the Loughborough University based charity, the Youth Sport Trust, will be flying out to Albania to provide training in a range of sporting and physical activities for local coaches and teachers. The ten day working visit has been organised by the Foreign and Commonwealth Office (FCO) in partnership with the international charity Children's Aid Direct.

Ken Black, Disability Sport Officer, and David Haskins, Programme Trainer, will demonstrate the activities, known as the TOP programmes, which are currently being delivered by the Youth Sport Trust in schools and community groups throughout the UK. They consist of child-friendly sports equipment, practical resource cards and a quality training package and are designed to improve sporting opportunities for all young people.

The official launch of the programme will take place at the National Football Stadium in the capital of Albania, Tirana, on the evening of 9 August. In attendance will be the British Ambassador, the Albanian Minister of Education as well as national Albanian sports personalities.

Training sessions will take place in three centres in Albania: Tirana, Pogradec and Kukes. Sports covered will include football, athletics, volleyball and gymnastics, and ways of using the TOP programme resources to support local sports specific coaching and teaching will be emphasised throughout. Thanks to generous funding provided by the FCO Human Rights Project Fund, bags of equipment and resources will remain in Albania following training for deliverers and children to use.



"We are delighted to be working with Children's Aid Direct to bring the TOP programmes to Albania" said Sue Campbell, Chief Executive of the Youth Sport Trust. "We hope that the training provided by Ken and David will support local coaches and teachers in their work with young people."

Boots the chemist of Market Place Loughborough have kindly supplied a number of single use cameras which will be used to record the training activities in Albania.

ends

5 August 1999

### Further information:

Sara Wright, Youth Sport Trust, T. 01509 228293 F. 01509 210851 Mobile.0797 494 3033 Emma Thom, Third Sector PR, T. 0171 828 7720 F. 0171 828 7730 Mobile 0958 558172 Tim van der Eyken, Foreign and Commonwealth Office, T. 0171 270 3883 F. 0171 270 1415 David Witcomb, Children's Aid Direct, T. 0118 958 4000 F. 0118 958 8988

#### Note to editors:

- The Youth Sport Trust was set up in 1994 to improve sporting provision for children in the UK. Its mission is to develop and implement quality sports programmes for all young people aged 18 months to 18 years in schools and the community, including young disabled people.
- 2. Children's Aid Direct seeks to make an immediate and lasting improvement to the lives of children and their carers who are affected by conflict, poverty or disaster. Founded in 1990, it responds to emergencies and works with communities to assist in rehabilitation during and after crisis.

In nine years, Children's Aid Direct has made an effective and measurable contribution in the field of humanitarian relief, distributing over £52 million worth of aid and reaching over one million children and their carers.

### 10 DOWNING STREET **LONDON SW1A 2AA**

THE PRIME MINISTER

2 August 1999

Hear Mine Minister

Thank you for your two letters expressing your gratitude for our efforts to find a solution to the Kosovo crisis. It was good of you to write. I in turn am conscious of the heavy burden you have had to bear in the last few months. Our military campaign achieved its aims, ending the humanitarian catastrophe which flooded Albania and its neighbours with refugees deliberately driven from their homes. There is much still to do. We need to ensure that those now returning home from Albania and elsewhere do so in safety; that perpetrators of atrocities against them - and against Serb civilians - are brought to justice; and that Kosovo becomes a secure and democratic society.

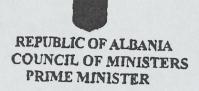
Javier Solana made clear during the crisis that the security of NATO's Partners was of direct and material concern to the Alliance. We attach great importance to the security of South-Eastern Europe. The Sarajevo Summit on 30 July marks the start of a new phase in European co-operation, including on regional security issues.

You raised the possibility of the continuing presence in Albania of AFOR, the NATO forces deployed at the time of the refugee crisis. NATO discussion on the future role of this force is under way. We understand your interest in keeping a NATO presence in Albania.

Nonetheless, NATO Allies do need to examine closely the scope of their commitments in the area now that the conflict has ended. I understand that you have also written to Javier Solana on this issue. I encourage you to keep in close touch with him as NATO thinking develops.

Finally, we know that, despite the end of hostilities, there are still people and groups seeking to bring weapons into Kosovo. This is an unhelpful development which adds to KFOR's burden and undermines the prospects for calm dialogue among all sides as Kosovo's new civil administration is built up. The active support of your government in ensuring that no more weapons are smuggled into Kosovo will make a welcome practical contribution to our shared objectives after the conflict.

your lue Tony



9 July 1999

H. E. Tony Blair The Prime Minister

Dear Mr. Prime Minister,

When you visited Albania May 18, people here were delighted because after more than 50 years the real friends of Albania were re-finding again the long forgotten sincere feelings and sentiments of a small but very friendly country. Your visit was important to tell people that it does not matter how big or small you are, it is important how you do things and for what values you decide to stand. Many leaders, countries, institutions and others contributed very significantly to the positive end of the conflict in Kosovo. We owe them a lot of respect and gratitude. On behalf of these sincere sentiments of my people I want to let you know that together with the leadership of the United States, your country, your leadership and you personally in particular have taken a very special place in our hearts, a place which you won with your support, contribution, involvement and that unforgettable visit paid to Albania. All these were followed by your very encouraging letter which was another sign of your Government's commitment to stand and support our country on its difficult road of establishing once and for good democratic principles and institutions.

The first part of the battle is over and we are very proud we faced it together. We are very proud we forged some qualities, which will stay there as solid foundations of our still fragile democratic society. A second part has just started and it looks that it may be even more difficult and challenging than the first one. We must construct now, we must prove that we are able to uphold these values and we must tell our friends and allies that yes, we can walk together for a better future of our region, for a better life of our children. On behalf of the Government that I chair I want to assure you that we are committed to do that. And we will do it.

Foreign & Commonwealth Office 20 July 1999 London SW1A 2AH Dear Michael Letter from the Albanian Prime Minister I enclose a copy, received by fax through the Albanian Embassy here, of a letter to the Prime Minister from the Albanian Prime Minister, Pandeli Majko. Majko expresses gratitude in fulsome terms for our support through the Kosovo crisis, and looks forward to ways (EU Association, Stability Pact, investment) in which the relationship can be developed. He also helpfully reemphasises his government's commitment to press for continuing unity of purpose among the Kosovo Albanians. No reply is needed. Your ever Andrew Patrick (Andrew Patrick) Private Secretary M Tatham Esq 10 Downing Street

In this process we need your assistance and we are quite confident we will keep up the standards of performance required. There is an "Association Agreement with the EU" under discussion and we believe that a team of your experts could help in working with our people on the details and technicalities of the process. We see also, a very important role you can play in developing the future strategy of the Stability Pact and the role that Albania will play there. Lastly but not least, the door is open to the British investments in our region. We are sure they will soon come and we are working very hard on certain important issues, corruption and security in particular. It is a Government priority and we are focusing a lot of our time and efforts in the strengthening our economy and stablising rule of law throughout the country. The changes and improvements we have made and will continue to make in the future aim in particular at these two areas of critical importance to Albania. We are at the same time been justified in an intensive relation in eventualistic information and increasing co-operation with our neighbours, of course excluding Serbia. There is a long way to go for the people of Serbia which first of all must start by changing its own leadership and electing a Government which is real committed to democratic principles and values. With the other neighbours we are working especially on those programs which involve many of our countries and which will create in some years time a wonderful network of communication, exchanging and flow of goods, trade, people, and information. Your country's role I believe is very important here.

Lastly, we are also maintaining close relations with the political class and leaders of Kosovo. We are urging them to continue act and speak the way they did in Ramboillet. That is the only way I believe that Kosovo and its people may look and think for a better future. The Albanian leadership in Albania will continue tirelessly to do its best in this respect.

Let me close my thoughts by once again very deeply and sincerely thank you for all you have done and will continue to do in the future for my country and for our region.

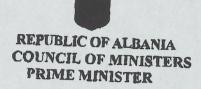
Mosi sincerely.

Randeli Majke

Foreign & Commonwealth Office 28 July 1999 London SW1A 2AH Albania I wrote to you on 20 July enclosing a letter from the Albanian Prime Minister, Pandali Majko, in which Majko expressed gratitude for the Prime Minister's personal contribution to resolving the Kosovo crisis. Since Majko was replying to a letter from the Prime Minister, I saw no need for a further reply. Majko has sent a further letter, dated 18 July, making the case for the continued deployment of NATO troops in Albania in the interests of regional stability. This contentious issue is under discussion in NATO. Some Allies, particularly the French, are firmly opposed to maintaining a 'stabilisation force' in Albania. A small deployment to protect lines of communication to KFOR can probably be justified, however, and might have useful stabilising effects. In principle, we would support this. Such a force would be unlikely to involve British troops. Majko has written in almost identical terms to Solana, who will reply in detail when the NATO position is clearer. We recommend that the Prime Minister reply in broader terms, drawing attention to the non-military means by which we are seeking to promote security in the Balkans. We should also take this opportunity to remind Majko of the need to stop Albania from being used as a conduit for arms smuggling into Kosovo. I enclose a draft. I am copying this letter and enclosure to Tom McKane (MoD) and Sebastian Wood (Cabinet Office). Your en, Chema (Sherard Cowper-Coles) Principal Private Secretary John Sawers 10 Downing Street SKP 28/7/99

DRAFT REPLY FROM THE PRIME MINISTER TO ALBANIAN PRIME MINISTER PANDELI MAJKO Thank you for your two letters expressing your gratitude for our efforts to find a solution to the Kosovo crisis. It was good of you to write. I in turn am conscious of the heavy burden you have had to bear in the last few months. Our military campaign achieved its aims, ending the humanitarian catastrophe which flooded Albania and its neighbours with refugees deliberately driven from their homes. There is much still to do. We need to ensure that those now returning home from Albania and elsewhere do so in safety; that perpetrators of atrocities against them - and against Serb civilians - are brought to justice; and that Kosovo becomes a secure and democratic society. Javier Solana made clear during the crisis that the security of NATO's Partners was of direct and material concern to the Alliance. We attach great importance to the security of South-Eastern Europe. The Sarajevo Summit on 30 July marks the start of a new phase in European co-operation, including on regional security issues. You raised the possibility of the continuing presence in Albania of AFOR, the NATO forces deployed at the time of the refugee crisis. NATO discussion on the future role of this force is under way. We understand your interest in keeping a NATO presence in Albania. Nonetheless, NATO Allies do need to examine closely the scope of their commitments in the area now that the conflict has ended. I understand that you have also written to Javier Solana on this issue. I encourage you to keep in close touch with him as NATO thinking develops. Finally, we know that, despite the end of hostilities, there are still people and groups seeking to bring weapons into Kosovo. This is an unhelpful development which adds to KFOR's burden and undermines the prospects for calm dialogue among all sides as Kosovo's new civil administration is built up. The active support of your government in ensuring that no more weapons are smuggled into Kosovo will make a welcome practical contribution to our shared objectives after the conflict. [Gillian Cull, EAD, 270 3086]

Foreign & Commonwealth Office 20 July 1999 London SW1A 2AH Dear Michael Letter from the Albanian Prime Minister I enclose a copy, received by fax through the Albanian Embassy here, of a letter to the Prime Minister from the Albanian Prime Minister, Pandeli Majko. Majko expresses gratitude in fulsome terms for our support through the Kosovo crisis, and looks forward to ways (EU Association, Stability Pact, investment) in which the relationship can be developed. He also helpfully reemphasises his government's commitment to press for continuing unity of purpose among the Kosovo Albanians. No reply is needed. Your ever Patrick (Andrew Patrick) Private Secretary M Tatham Esq 10 Downing Street



9 July 1999

H. E. Tony Blair The Prime Minister

Dear Mr. Prime Minister,

When you visited Albania May 18, people here were delighted because after more than 50 years the real friends of Albania were re-finding again the long forgotten sincere feelings and sentiments of a small but very friendly country. Your visit was important to tell people that it does not matter how big or small you are, it is important how you do things and for what values you decide to stand. Many leaders, countries, institutions and others contributed very significantly to the positive end of the conflict in Kosovo. We owe them a lot of respect and gratitude. On behalf of these sincere sentiments of my people I want to let you know that together with the leadership of the United States, your country, your leadership and you personally in particular have taken a very special place in our hearts, a place which you won with your support, contribution, involvement and that unforgettable visit paid to Albania. All these were followed by your very encouraging letter which was another sign of your Government's commitment to stand and support our country on its difficult road of establishing once and for good democratic principles and institutions.

The first part of the battle is over and we are very proud we faced it together. We are very proud we forged some qualities, which will stay there as solid foundations of our still fragile democratic society. A second part has just started and it looks that it may be even more difficult and challenging than the first one. We must construct now, we must prove that we are able to uphold these values and we must tell our friends and allies that yes, we can walk together for a better future of our region, for a better life of our children. On behalf of the Government that I chair I want to assure you that we are committed to do that. And we will do it.

In this process we need your assistance and we are quite confident we will keep up the standards of performance required. There is an "Association Agreement with the EU" under discussion and we believe that a team of your experts could help in working with our people on the details and technicalities of the process. We see also, a very important role you can play in developing the future strategy of the Stability Pact and the role that Albania will play there. Lastly but not least, the door is open to the British investments in our region. We are sure they will soon come and we are working very hard on certain important issues, corruption and security in particular. It is a Government priority and we are focusing a lot of our time and efforts in the strengthening our economy and stablising rule of law throughout the country. The changes and improvements we have made and will continue to make in the future aim in particular at these two areas of critical importance to Albania. We are at the same time been involved in an intensive relation in eventualistic intermental and increasing co-operation with our neighbours, of course excluding Serbia. There is a long way to go for the people of Serbia which first of all must start by changing its own leadership and electing a Government which is real committed to democratic principles and values. With the other neighbours we are working especially on those programs which involve many of our countries and which will create in some years time a wonderful network of communication, exchanging and flow of goods, trade, people, and information. Your country's role I believe is very important here.

Lastly, we are also maintaining close relations with the political class and leaders of Kosovo. We are urging them to continue act and speak the way they did in Ramboillet. That is the only way I believe that Kosovo and its people may look and think for a better future. The Albanian leadership in Albania will continue tirelessly to do its best in this respect.

Let me close my thoughts by once again very deeply and sincerely thank you for all you have done and will continue to do in the future for my country and for our region.

Most sincerely,

Rambeli Ma



10 DOWNING STREET LONDON SW1A 2AA

THE PRIME MINISTER

28 May 1999

SUBJECT MASTER

Filed on:

Da h. Mesident,

I am writing to thank you for receiving me in Tirana last week. I was glad to have the opportunity to meet you again during such a short visit and appreciated our discussions. It was useful to have a firsthand account of the Kosovar refugee situation and your perspective on the situation inside Serbia.

Thank you also for allowing me to use your offices for media interviews.

With all good wishes,

your tirely Tony Blair

His Excellency Mr Rexhep Meidani



# 10 DOWNING STREET LONDON SW1A 2AA

Le chnc Trona FCO

THE PRIME MINISTER

28 May 1999

len Tom.

I am writing to thank you for everything you did to make my visit to Albania last week so successful. I realise how much work goes into even such a short visit. Please pass on my thanks to all those involved. I was particularly grateful to have the use of your helicopters.

I very much welcomed the opportunity to have a frank exchange of views with you on the situation in Albania and Kosovo. I was also impressed by all that you are doing to help the refugees inside Albania. Please keep up the good work.

your sirerely Tony Blair

General John Reith

J.



# 10 DOWNING STREET LONDON SW1A 2AA

a hma Trana

THE PRIME MINISTER

28 May 1999

MAST

Den hime Mister

I am writing to thank you for receiving me in Albania last week. I am grateful to you for accompanying me on my visit to the refugee camp at Elbasan. I am glad that we have been able to help in this area.

I found our talks useful and was grateful to you for updating me on the Kosovar refugee situation.

With all good wishes,

ynn tidelly Tony Blair

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20 May 1999

I was grateful to you for all the arrangements you made for my visit to Albania.

I do appreciate all the hard work that goes into these visits and would be grateful if you could pass on my thanks to all your staff.

Thank you in particular for turning over your house to us. I really am very grateful.

With best wishes,

THE PRIME MINISTER

ynn eur Imy

Peter January, Esq.

CONFIDENTIAL



# 10 DOWNING STREET LONDON SW1A 2AA

to all 18/5

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From the Private Secretary

18 May 1999

Dear Andrew

# PRIME MINISTER'S MEETING WITH KOSOVAR ALBANIAN REPRESETATIVES, 18 MAY

The Prime Minister spent an hour with political leaders of the Kosovar Albanian in Tirana earlier today – 25 minutes with Qosja of the United Democratic Movement; a further 25 minutes with three KLA representatives, the spokesman, Krasniqi, the KLA Representative in Tirana, Haliti and the adviser to Thaci, Sherifi; and at the end, the Prime Minister brought the two groups together for a final ten minutes.

## Qosja

Qosja (who was accompanied by his son) warmly thanked the Prime Minister for his personal role in the conflict. Civilised values were at stake in the Balkans. After the war, human rights would be more important, as far as he was concerned, than the question of sovereignties. The key question was "would the essentials of civilisation be defended?" He had worries and doubts on that score. After 56 days of airstrikes, cross-border attacks continued, as did ethnic cleansing and genocidal killing by the Serbs. The exodus from Kosovo had been of biblical proportions. Qosja raised three issues:

- (i) are the airstrikes sufficient? They had wounded Milosevic, but Qosja thought they would not knock him out. There were only two ways ahead: either arming the KLA and intensifying air strikes, or using NATO ground troops;
- (ii) interim status of Kosovo. To defend human rights, Qosja called for an international military and civilian protectorate in Kosovo. He argued that that would bring US and European values to the Balkans and speed up the process of integration with Europe. He believed, in due course, that there should be a referendum on the future of Kosovo.

(iii) unity among Kosovar Albanians. Sadly, the Kosovars were divided. At Rambouillet there had been three factions - the KLA, led by Thaci, the LDK, led by Rugova, and the LBD, led by Qosja. But the LDK were now refusing to join an interim government. Rugova had declared yesterday that he would not join the government in exile, and that he was against the war being waged in Kosovo by the KLA. Qosja argued that it was impossible to separate NATO airstrikes from the KLA's struggle. He would work for continued unity among the Kosovars. But Western support for Rugova was disturbing. He believed it might be inspired by pro-Serb countries such as Russia, Greece and Italy. The only countries the Kosovars could trust were the UK and the US.

The Prime Minister assured Qosja that his support for the people of Kosovo would continue and strengthen. What was happening in Kosovo was a crime against civilisation. NATO's demands had to be met, in full. We would do whatever was necessary to achieve that. Kosovar Albanian spokesmen could help in two ways. First, they could contribute to NATO unity by keeping in the public mind what had happened in Kosovo, providing evidence. Secondly, as much unity as possible was needed from the Kosovar Albanians. Disunity would be seized upon. Their cause had caught the imagination of the Western world and had been presented simply, clearly and on humanitarian grounds. The Kosovar Albanains had to speak with one voice.

The Prime Minister stressed that there would be a place for all democratic countries in the Europe of the future. But there could be no place for a Serbia which remained committed to ethnic cleansing.

## Krasniqi, Haliti and Sherifi

Krasniqi did all the talking. He warmly thanked the Prime Minister for British support and NATO action which had a clear humanitarian justification. Milosevic's war aim was to ethnically cleanse Kosovo. There had been massive killings as well as expulsions. Kosovar Albanians now fell into three categories:

- those in refugee camps, who led a difficult life but were, at least, safe from the Serbs;
- the 500,000 internally displaced Kosovars who were short of food and medical help but were less exposed to Serb aggression (though were still at risk from Serb artillery);

those who remained in their homes in towns, who were at constant risk of violence from the Serbs.

Krasniqi also introduced the question of Kosovar unity. They had kept open places in the provisional government for the LDK but were disappointed Rugova had not taken them up. He stressed that the KLA was a young organisation, consisting of young people who wanted Western-style democracy.

Krasniqi asked the Prime Minister for military support for the KLA. They were the only organisation helping to protect civilians. They had never committed atrocities against Serb civilians, and had fought only against the military.

In answer to the Prime Minister's questions, Krasniqi confirmed that the NATO bombardment was helping the situation of the Kosovars. But ground troops were needed for maximum effect. The Prime Minister said that some NATO countries feared being locked into a guerrilla war. Krasniqi said his first choice would be for the West to arm the KLA. The Prime Minister pointed out that that was unlawful at present. We were also concerned about what happened to the weapons at the end. Krasniqi said the KLA would be willing to sign a statement undertaking to respect the wishes of NATO and the international community about the fate of the weapons.

## Both Groups Together

In front of both the KLA and Qosja, the Prime Minister emphasised again the vital importance of Kosovar Albanian unity in their cause. An impression of unity existed at the moment but it would become increasingly important as the struggle continued. He understood the difficulties, in communication let alone in joint decision-making but the best way the Kosovars could help NATO continue the campaign was to speak with one voice. The Kosovar "yes" at Rambouillet had been an essential pre-condition of NATO action. There would be attempts to divide both NATO and the Kosovar Albanians. Unity on our basic demands was essential. Brian Donnelly added that the Prime Minister had made exactly the same point to Rugova when he had seen him last week in London.

Krasniqi said that the Kosovars would hold to the agreement reached at Rambouillet. They had had regular collective meetings of the Kosovar groups there, to promote openness and transparency. The KLA were ready to work with all those who had helped the Kosovar cause.

Qosja emphasised that he, too, would make every effort to maintain a single Kosovar voice. He was in no doubt that NATO/UK support was irreplaceable for the Kosovars and they could not put it at risk.

## Comment

The Prime Minister has now had four meetings in the last two weeks with Kosovar spokesmen - Tahiri in Skopje, Rugova in London and now these two in Tirana. There are clear splitist tendencies among the Kosovar Albanians, with Rugova's reknown and status a particular irritant to those groups based in Albania. In Tirana itself, the mood was very strongly pro-KLA, judging by the chants of those in the crowd in Tirana, and the absence of any LDK Representative in the Albanian capital.

I am copying this letter to Chris Deverell (Ministry of Defence), Sebastian Wood (Cabinet Office), John Goulden (UKDel NATO), Christopher Meyer (Washington).

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JOHN SAWERS

Andrew Patrick, Esq., Foreign and Commonwealth Office.



## 10 DOWNING STREET LONDON SW1A 2AA

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From the Private Secretary

18 May 1999

Dear Andrew,

## CALL ON ALBANIAN PRIME MINISTER

The Prime Minister called on Pandeli Majko for 40 minutes on 18 May. Majko was accompanied by his Deputy Prime Minister, Foreign Minister, Minister of Information and a raft of other officials. Peter January, General Reith, John Vereker, Brian Donnelly, John Sawers, Alastair Campbell and I were also present. The meeting was conducted through an interpreter.

Majko started by welcoming the Prime Minister's historic visit. He hoped that the Kosovo conflict would be resolved in accordance with the five conditions laid down by NATO. Although Albania was paying a higher price than most, he wanted the bombing to continue until its demands had been met. The Prime Minister said that he knew Albania had been bearing the brunt of the conflict. It was in a just cause. NATO's demands had to be met. Success would strike a blow for civilisation. Failure would do the opposite. We also had to give a sense of a different future for the Balkans. Albania was a beautiful country, with much potential. If anything good was to come out of the conflict, it was the possibility of building a better future.

Majko agreed. They were working for a better future for the Balkans. That was why they were improving their links with Macedonia, for example. Meanwhile, Milosevic was doing the opposite - trying to destabilise Albania, foment civil war in Montenegro and so on. He was proud of the hospitality that the Albanian people had shown the refugees from Kosovo, including some ethnic Serbs. They had also kept their borders open to Macedonia and Montenegro. They were beginning to build for the future. They saw the UK as a key ally. The conflict had shown that some of their friends of the past had not come up to the mark. They had therefore decided to change their attitude and to defend their national interest. UK investment and military cooperation were most welcome. We would find Albania's doors open. They looked on the UK as one of their most significant partners. The UK/US strategy was the clearest of all.

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The <u>Prime Minister</u> said that we were willing to provide more help with refugees, including more shelter at Elbasan, support for the host community in the health, water and education centres and a one-stop shop for the refugees.

<u>Majko</u> said that, as well as an excellent Ambassador, we had a very good British NATO Commander in Albania. Cooperation with General Reith had been excellent, particularly over the possibility of building refugee camps in the South.

Majko said that their long term strategy was integration into the EU. It had already been agreed that there should be an Association Agreement. But they would appreciate any help we could give to achieve this. The Prime Minister said that we stood ready to help Albania get the best possible agreement with the EU. We were also giving £5 million to help Albania's political and economic reform programmes. We were happy to promote investment in Albania also.

Majko said that they would welcome British investment in the telecoms, energy and mining fields in particular. He also wanted to underline the importance they attached to military cooperation. They wanted to apply the standards of the British army to their own Armed Forces. The Prime Minister said that we were committed to assisting Albania. We had secured the EU's commitment to upgrade its relations. We wanted a new type of Association Agreement that could better meet Albania's requirements, in particular for increased trade access.

Milo asked whether NATO was determined to pursue its objectives to the end. There appeared to be divisions. The Prime Minister said that while one or two NATO members were less enthusiastic than others, NATO's demands were very clear. The NATO Summit in Washington had stated clearly that there could be no compromise on them. Put simply, Serb troops had to leave; our troops had to go in and the refugees had to return. Our position on ground troops was well known. The air campaign was doing significant damage to Milosevic. He could not be allowed to think that our determination to win had slackened in any way. He only understood diplomacy when this was backed by force. There could only be a diplomatic solution on the basis of NATO's demands being met.

Milo asked about the unity of the Kosovar Albanians. They did not want the unity shown at Rambouillet to be lost. The Prime Minister strongly agreed. He had spoken to Rugova the previous week and some of the different faction leaders earlier that day and had made clear nothing would make NATO question the wisdom of the action it had taken more than disagreements between the various groups. They had some differing views, but all were united behind NATO's demands. Rugova had been emphatic in his support. We needed a

unified Kosovar Albanian voice to help counter refugee fatigue in the Western media. The credibility of NATO was at stake. We could not afford to lose.

Majko strongly agreed. People needed to understand what would happen if the air strikes stopped. Only Milosevic would rejoice. There would be instability in Macedonia, Montenegro and Albania. The refugees would go to other countries. We needed to spell this out. Alastair Campbell asked whether Majko would participate in the NATO briefing at 1730 (Albanian time) on 21 May following the meeting between the Ambassadors of the front line states and the NAC. Majko readily agreed. The Prime Minister commented that the issues became more real when people heard different voices. He had come to the region because he had wanted to hear people's views. The position in Albania had always been clear. But even in places where public opinion was more difficult, the last thing people wanted was for Milosevic to be left in power undefeated

I am copying this letter to Chris Deverell (Ministry of Defence), Anthony Smith (Department for International Development), Sebastian Wood (Cabinet Office), Sir John Goulden (UKDel NATO), Sir Christopher Meyer (Washington) and Peter January (Tirana).

Yours ever, Philip

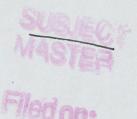
Andrew Patrick Esq Foreign and Commonwealth Office



10 DOWNING STREET LONDON SW1A 2AA

to all inc POILLICE + COBRISTS 60 JPO ACC

From the Private Secretary



18 May 1999

Dear Andrew,

## CALL ON ALBANIAN PRESIDENT

The Prime Minister called on Rexhep Meidani for 30 minutes on 18 May. Mediani was accompanied by his Foreign Minister and a number of others. Peter January, General Reith, John Vereker, Brian Donnelly, John Sawers, Alastair Campbell and I were also present.

The <u>Prime Minister</u> asked Meidani for his assessment of the latest situation. <u>Meidani</u> said that we needed to consider the effect of the coming summer. There was a shortage of water and a need to build new pipes. We also needed to look ahead to the winter. Even if the conflict ended now, not all the refugees would return immediately. We needed to build proper structures. It was particularly cold in the North during winter, although the South was better. We also needed to plan for the future. The <u>Prime Minister</u> agreed.

Meidani said that we should consider air drops for those still inside Kosovo. We should also support those fighting the Serbs. They were our Allies now. The Prime Minister said that air drops were difficult as they would inhibit NATO action. General Reith added that they only had about a 20 per cent success rate. The UN was looking at civilian air drops into the most difficult areas. But we would need to find a way to deconflict this from the NATO campaign. Meidani wondered about the possibility of opening a corridor. Some of the people inside Kosovo had reached the end of their food reserves.

The <u>Prime Minister</u> asked Meidani for his assessment of Milosevic's position. <u>Meidani</u> said that there was some positive signs, including declarations from the opposition. But it was too early to tell. The opposition were afraid and might need more time.

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<u>Meidani</u> said that we should not create different zones in Kosovo as happened in Berlin. The Kosovar Albanians would not return to an area controlled only by the Russians. We needed mixed units, otherwise we would only assist the process of partition. The <u>Prime Minister</u> agreed. The key test was that the refugees should feel safe to go home.

The <u>Prime Minister</u> asked how much damage we had done to the Serb forces. <u>Meidani</u> said that we had destroyed about 10-15 per cent of Serb tanks and armoured vehicles, but had done more damage in other areas. The UCK had also inflicted some damage. There had been Serb bombardments of the border area in Albania, including some civilian casualties. But the situation had improved after they moved their own units there.

The <u>Prime Minister</u> said that we needed to carry on our campaign. Milosevic only understood diplomacy backed by force. Elements from the Serb population would start to question his actions. We needed also to ensure that his troops on the ground were frightened. Although there were some signs of weakness, NATO was united in believing that it could not lose. <u>Meidani</u> agreed that NATO had to win.

Meidani said that in the interim period, we should speak of an international authority, rather than autonomy, or independence. The refugees would not go back if we talked of autonomy as they would be afraid they would be under Serb rule again. The Prime Minister agreed. Some countries in the region were nervous about changing borders. As he had said to the Kosovar Albanian groups, it was better to concentrate on the NATO demands than to talk of independence. Meidani agreed. We should worry about the final political solution later. The Prime Minister said that this would depend on what happened in Serbia. A democratic Serbia would be a different kettle of fish. He believed that if Milosevic were defeated, he would be severely weakened. Meidani agreed. He was like a wounded animal. We should not negotiate with him. He would be seen as a war criminal before too long. He had gone too far. The Prime Minister said that he believed Milosevic would make an offer soon. This would be aimed at dividing the Alliance. It would be an offer we should not accept, but some people would want to. We needed to prepare for this and ensure that the offer was refused.

<u>Milo</u> asked about the Russian position. The <u>Prime Minister</u> said that they were close to NATO on our demands, but opposed to the military action. It was sensible for us to keep the Russians involved and to make clear that NATO was

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not involved in aggrandisement. John Sawers added that discussions with the Russians continued to flesh out the G8 document. Milo asked where we were on Serb forces remaining in Kosovo. John Sawers said that we wanted all the Serb forces out, although there was a possibility that a handful might return for liaison purposes and to guard Serb monuments. Milo said that the withdrawal of Serb forces was linked to disarmament of the UCK. They would not disarm unless all Serb forces withdrew. The Prime Minister agreed.

The Prime Minister said that the EU was committed to the recontruction of the Balkans. Countries like Albania, who had a long way to go, needed to prepare for the future and to work out its priorities. Money for Balkan reconstruction would be generous, but tough in its conditions. The West would not want a repeat of what had happened in Russia. Those countries that had thought ahead and prepared themselves would benefit most. We were happy to help Albania in any way we could. Meidani was grateful. He was convinced that South East Europe would only become more stable through rapid economic development.

I am copying this letter to Chris Deverell (Ministry of Defence), Anthony Smith (Department for International Development), Sebastian Wood (Cabinet Office), Sir John Goulden (UKDel NATO), Sir Christopher Meyer (Washington) and Peter January (Tirana).

Your ever, Philip

Andrew Patrick Esq. Foreign and Commonwealth Office

## CONFIDENTIAL

File

From: ANJI HUNTER
Date: 17 May 1999

PRIME MINISTER

cc: Alastair Campbell

John Sawers
Philip Barton
David Peel

## ALBANIA - PROGRAMME AND MEDIA ARRANGEMENTS

It is absolutely essential that you leave Bulgaria on time. This is because your slot in Albania is carefully timed to be between humanitarian aid flights – any delay on your part will delay humanitarian flights and will incur media attention.

## Arrival at Rinas airport

You will be met by Prime Minister Majko with full red carpet treatment. (Media photo op). All officials and staff must leave the aircraft prior to the PM and HMA descending – Gavin will escort them to the helicopters nearby. Apart from the military guard they are very keen to have half the government out there, as well as playing national anthems etc. We are still trying to negotiate this downwards.

As you know, the military presence here is humanitarian and the Brits are a small contingent although they ostensibly have control of the airport. You will see the Apaches and the large American presence as you taxi in.

## Plepa

This is the AFOR HQ – 560 military personnel, all nationalities. Plepa was built as a holiday resort for senior military personnel in the old regime; it borders a beautiful but totally contaminated beach – human effluence flows down the river

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bordering the camp. The only media here are our own pool who I will have landed with slightly ahead. You will be met by General Reith and be filmed walking through the low-rise block of flats where the multinational force is housed (their national flag flying from their balconies). The entourage should stay at a reasonable distance.

You will receive a briefing from all the NATO personnel – only senior aides attend - for 10 minutes and then venture into the courtyard to meet 'the boys'. We decided to include all of them, not just focus on the Brits, so you will stand and address a group of 400 multinationals. You then go into the Operations Room – videos, screens, hi tech tracking of refugee camps as well as of the whole military operation. There is not enough room for an entourage and I recommend you enter by yourself (leaving officials etc to mill with troops). And I will escort the pool for the first few minutes.

John Reith will then take you upstairs for a one to one in his office. Again, it is important that this intimacy is adhered to – he wants to be able to be full and frank. He is particularly exercised about the winter timeline and he is very knowledgeable on 'flatpack' cold weather houses. You will change from your suit into civvies at the end of this meeting.

## Elbasan

This is a Turkish Red Crescent camp, which we have selected for typicality and accessibility. There is another camp nearby which has British backing but it is much smaller, not full and will not convey adequately the refugee plight. There has also been recent 'unexploded ordnance'.

Only Jospin and Solana have been to Albanian camps and Solana came to this one last week where he was involved in a terrible press melée. I have instituted exactly the same arrangements as in Stenkovich (ie flatbed lorries holding the media and a promise that if they stay there they will get great arrival pics and you will do a piece to camera prior to departure). And – if you have decided on it – this would be the time to make any announcement of UK funding for a 'one stop shop' for refugee services. Majko will be accompanying you round the camp. One half of the inhabitants are from Preszna and you will meet a typical family in their tent to hear their story. The camp opened on 20 April, is capable of holding 5,000 and at present has 4,000. You also meet a medical team, on their rounds, on your way round. It is important that the media (to contain them in their spot) have a good view of you walking down the alleyway in front of them so it is important that your entourage show sensitivity to this.

There is much less central UNHCR control here which has led to the various NGOs (over 100 of them) vying with each other as to who provides the best camps. This has led, for example, to a situation in the border area of Kukes (from where the authorities are trying to move people out) where the UAE camp is so palatial – hot meals, hot showers, phones and TV – that local Albanians are queuing up to get in. A Dutch Major told me today that they are deliberately trying to 'downgrade' some of the camps.

## Tirana

A 20 minute helicopter ride will bring you back here, where you will go straight to the Residence. You will go upstairs, wash/change into suit. Over snack lunch you will meet, in order, Patrick Wilson (Liaison with KLA), Thaci and Qosja. Patrick will advise on how long you see them individually and how long together.

CONFIDENTIAL

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He is very keen on a joint meeting as it is important these people work together. They will take nobody in with them except an interpreter and on our side they would prefer an interpreter and one official. The rest of the party have a good lunch served and there is a very comfortable, shady courtyard (this is where the Private Office will be situated.)

You will then go to the Prime Minister's office for a meeting in the usual format (HMA, Donnelly, Vereker, General Reith, Sawers, Campbell, Barton).

This will be followed by a joint press statement, as in Macedonia. No questions from media.

After the press statement, you will go back upstairs in order to give the media time to get to the President's Palace. This should take 10 minutes and has been requested locally.

The final call is on President Rexhep Meidani where the press get arrival shots only. There will be the same line up of officials. Prior to departure you will do an interview with the Albanian Service of BBCWS, followed by an interview with Albanian TV. These take place in adjoining room and all officials should remain with President and his officials in small talk whilst this takes place. The President will then join you for the departure on the steps of the Palace.

Manji Hunter

# File PRB, 8/6 DFID HELP FOR THE REFUGEES IN ALBANIA

## I. <u>Existing Programme</u>

We have since 24 March:

- Funded 36 airlifts (tents, sleeping bags, blankets, rations, forklifts, vehicles).
- Deployed 2 convoy teams and an aircraft handling team, to speed up the movement of supplies and eventually to run supplies into Kosovo.
- Started the construction of **Fushe Labinot refugee camp** at Elbasan, including 960 tents.
- Made cash grants totalling some £10m to international agencies and NGOs working in Albania.
- Funded a daily half hour programme on Radio Tirana addressed to refugees, and provided 3,000 wind-up radios (developed following DFID-funded research) so the refugees can listen to it.
- Established an office in Tirana of 10 professional staff to run health, logistics, engineering programmes, to coordinate with the Albanian government and other aid organisations and to manage a total of 30 DFID-funded staff in Albania.

## II. New Initiatives

The Prime Minister can also say that we are ready to provide further help - more shelter for the refugees in Elbasan; support for the host community; a "one stop shop" for refugee services; and construction of a new camp in the south, if a suitable site is found.

- More shelter in Elbasan. Together with the local authorities in Elbasan we are looking for additional shelter for 5,000 people, in a second campsite and/or refurbished buildings, which we will fund (up to £1m).
- Support for host community. We propose to help the local community in Elbasan cope with the refugees living with local families, through improving health and education services and water supply (up to £1m).
- "One stop shop" for refugee services. We propose to establish a centre for refugee services in Elbasan combining an information centre, access to the internet and telephones, family tracing service and planning for refugee return (up to £1/4m).
- New camp. DFID engineers and NATO are working together to identify a site for a new camp in the south of Albania (possibly at Korce, more likely Delvine; not yet costed).

**DFID** 

16 May 1999



# 10 DOWNING STREET LONDON SW1A 2AA

90 016

From the Private Secretary

14 May 1999

Dear Andrew.

## CALL BY IBRAHIM RUGOVA

The moderate Kosovar Albanian leader, Ibrahim Rugova, called on the Prime Minister on 14 May.

Rugova began by thanking the Prime Minister for his commitment to the cause of the Kosovar Albanians, for his visit to the region, and for the solidarity of the British people. The Prime Minister assured Rugova that the position was clear and that it would not change. The key NATO demands would have to be met. All Serb forces would have to withdraw, an international force with a NATO core should go into Kosovo, and enable the refugees to return in safety. We had adopted the cause of the return of the Kosovar refugees as our cause; and having adopted it, we had now to achieve it. We hoped Russian diplomatic efforts would succeed, but we could not depend on it. We had to stick to our objectives, intensify action and prepare our force for the time it could go into Kosovo. Rugova nodded in agreement and appreciation of the Prime Minister's position. It was important that NATO demands were met.

The <u>Prime Minister</u> encouraged Rugova to ensure a flow of news, information and statements from Kosovar spokesmen. The most persuasive voices were those of the Kosovar Albanian people themselves. Any doubts that occasionally crept in about our involvement were dispelled after talking to the refugees. <u>Rugova</u> said he was putting together an information effort, working with Albanian TV. The <u>Prime Minister</u> urged Rugova to let us know what help he needed and we would respond positively. He set out the "no camera, no news" problem. <u>Rugova</u> understood and agreed.

The <u>Prime Minister</u> asked about the state of the people still inside Kosovo. Rugova said Kosova had been largely emptied. Many villages had been

destroyed and Pristina and other cities had been damaged. There was a lack of food. Despite the serious difficulties, there were still some reserves and the people were managing. But of the Kosovar Albanians still inside Kosovo, some 80 per cent were in hiding and subject to threats by paramilitary forces. The ethnic cleansing continued – there were still Serb groups who wanted to rid Kosovo of all its ethnic Albanians. Groups of volunteers were still committing massacres: they came for a period of ten days and then returned to Belgrade.

Rugova said he was now reorganising the political life of his party, and trying to locate where his people were. The Prime Minister said how sorry he was to hear of Mr Agani's death. Rugova said he would be much missed.

The <u>Prime Minister</u> asked about the KLA. <u>Rugova</u> said there were several groups of KLA fighters inside Kosovo, but the KLA were mainly in Albania. Revealing an illiberal streak, Rugova said he had to work to discipline the KLA and make them recognise "our authority". But he was trying to assure the extremist wing in Tirana that he would work with them.

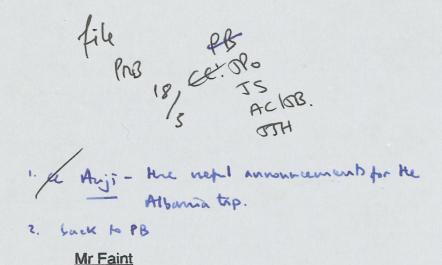
Brian Donnelly stressed the importance of political unity among the Kosovar Albanians. There was a real danger if different groups of Albanians pursued different strategies. The Prime Minister agreed.

I am copying this letter to Tom McKane (Ministry of Defence) and Sebastian Wood (Cabinet Office).

Your we.

**JOHN SAWERS** 

Andrew Patrick Esq Foreign and Commonwealth Office



FROM: John Vereker DATE: 13 May 1999

cc PS/Secretary of State
Mr Ireton
Mr Ray
Dr Kapila o/r
Mr R Clarke
Mr D Manning, FCO
Angus Morris, MOD
Mr Barton, No 10
Mr Gibbons, CO

## **KOSOVO REFUGEES: ALBANIA**

I had a read out (by Satphone) from Dr Kapila in Albania this morning. This was timely in relation to preparations for the Prime Minister's visit which (though we were both careful to avoid explicit reference to it) will focus as far as refugees are concerned on Elbasan.

## Elbasan

- 2. The camp at Elbasan, built by a mixture of civilian contractors and French NATO troops, is now ready for around 5,000 people, who will start to be moved in next week. Dr Kapila envisages the Prime Minister being able to make a three part announcement during his visit:
  - (i) UK funding for construction of additional capacity in Elbasan, which will be welcomed by the local authorities; this may largely be in the form of refurbishment of public buildings currently being used by refugees, rather than tented camps. Again, the work to be done by a combination of NATO assets and civilian contractors. Additional shelter provision would be "for several thousand".

- In order to provide support for refugees within the community, UK (ii) funding for upgrading of selected public services within Elbasan town, especially schools and local health centres. Dr Kapila advises against involvement in direct support for host families, which is already being piloted by UNHCR and ICRC.
- UK funding for a one stop shop for refugee services within Elbasan, (iii) combining an information centre, access to the internet and telephones, family tracing services and planning for refugee return: a pilot scheme, which could be rolled out more widely.

I told Dr Kapila that all this was fine and he should continue to work on it; and that I particularly liked the last of these. I asked him to try to put some figures on them; he and I will then discuss when he is back on Sunday afternoon.

## **New Camps**

The position on new camps remains open. My own scepticism about Korce 3. (deriving from our earlier look at it) is reinforced by Dr Kapila: KFOR has apparently identified a site but there remain doubts about its suitability. Engineers from our office in Tirana are going down to check it out and will know tomorrow. Meanwhile, the Albanians have identified what sounds like a more suitable site at Delvine (right down in the south, about 16 km inland from the Port of Sarande). Dr Kapila - whose flight to Skopje has been postponed - is trying to arrange today for further details, and is well aware that it will not look too clever to have additional NATO assets deployed to Albania but continuing uncertainty as to where they are to work. He is keeping in close touch with General Reith.

lovaine Histed

13 May 1999

THAQI/QOSJA: CHECKLIST

- Any news of family? Are they now safe? (Qosja)
- Determined to win to allow <u>refugees</u> to go home. Will put in NATO-led ground force to ensure stability.
- Conditions <u>inside Kosovo</u>? Prospects for opening corridor across border?
- Important outside world knows what is going on inside Kosovo. Can we get <u>TV footage</u> out?
- Want an <u>interim solution</u> that gets refugees back. Options open for <u>longer</u> term.
- Kosovar <u>unity</u> important. West will not understand if you become embroiled in in-fighting after all our effort. Contacts with Rugova?
- UK willing to host <u>round-table</u> of major Kosovar groups to discuss the way forward. Would this help?

thaqi qosja

1:4 pr. 8/5 MAJKO/MEIDANI CALLS: CHECKLIST Kosovo NATO determined to win to allow refugees to go home. Will put in NATO-led ground force to ensure stability. Want an interim settlement that gets refugees back. Long-term options open. Applaud Albania for taking so many refugees. UK providing immediate financial and practical assistance: bilaterally and through EU. Realise great burden on Albania. Glad World Bank already offered \$30m credit and \$1m grant. 62 meuro EU budgetary support. Donor meeting on 25 May. **International** Secured EU commitment to examine upgrading of relations with Albania. Working to develop new type of Association Agreement to meet your requirements: better trade access; support for democratic institutions. arentral See Albania as essential EU member once met criteria and ready for succession. Will take time, but right to build now. Committed to NATO enlargement. Will help Albania with its candidacy. majko meidani

RESTRICTED MC AM 13 May 1999 HH/NM BJP Dear Philip Visit by the Prime Minister to Albania, 18 May This will be the first ever visit by a British Prime Minister to Albania. The Prime Minister met President Rexhep Meidani in the margins of the Washington NATO Summit on 25 April with Foreign Minister Paskal Milo and Defence Minister Luan Hajdaraga. The Prime Minister has not met Prime Minister Pandeli Majko but has written to him three times since the conflict began. Our objectives are: to emphasise our determination to win in Kosovo; and to thank Albania for its staunch support for NATO military action; to praise the Albanians for welcoming Kosovo refugees into their country and to demonstrate the continuing UK commitment to providing humanitarian support to the refugees in Albania; to set out our vision of a stable and prosperous region once Kosovo is settled and the Milosevic regime has foundered; to reassure Albania that we take both her security concerns and her EU/NATO aspirations seriously; to signal appreciation of the job being done by the British Forces in Albania. The Albanian objectives will be: to secure a fast-track to EU and NATO integration; to secure a renewed commitment from the international community that it will not concede to a compromise with Milosevic which gives the Kosovo Albanians less than the highest degree of autonomy; RESTRICTED



- to secure a commitment that the international community will meet all the costs of the Kosovo conflict incurred by Albania (in particular refugees);
- to secure medium-term financial support;
- to secure an assurance that NATO will protect Albania's borders and that NATO action will not impinge on Albania's security;
- to press for material assistance for the KLA from the international community.

Yamaner Andrew Patrick

(Andrew Patrick)
Private Secretary

Philip Barton Esq OBE 10 Downing Street

## region not stable until Milosevic has gone;

For Kosovo Albanian leaders (Thagi and Qosja)

- conditions inside Kosovo? prospects for opening corridors across the border?
- importance of world knowing plight of displaced people/extent of atrocities. How to get TV footage out of Kosovo?
- Kosovar unity important if Kosovo to have future;
- UK willing to host round table of major Kosovar groups to discuss way forward (tbc - submission with Foreign Secretary);

### 2. Humanitarian

- warmly support Albanian efforts in taking in so many refugees, including so many into people's homes;
- UK providing immediate financial and practical assistance, and contributing to EU assistance. International community will continue to support you.

### 3. Economic effects

- understand economic burden crisis has put on Albania;
   glad that World Bank has responded quickly with \$30m
   credit and \$1m grant;
- UK taking leading role with EU and IFIs to ensure you get economic help fast to deal with lasting effects;
- look forward to successful donor meeting on 25 May;

- Macedonia and Montenegro);
- partners for long term: committed to your participation in European and Transatlantic structures. New Agreement will help you to develop politically and economically. Accept perspective of eventual EU membership if you meet Copenhagen criteria and are ready for accession. A long way off, but can start to build now;

### 7. NATO

- UK committed to NATO enlargement. Will help Albania with its candidacy;
- UK Forces on the Ground (Lt General John Reith)
- UK and NATO forces have done outstanding work with the refugees.

### BACKGROUND

### INTERNAL POLITICAL

- 1. Albania is parliamentary republic, led by a Socialist coalition Government. Pandeli Majko is the Prime Minister. Albania, the least developed and most isolated of the Eastern European states, pursued a bizarre brand of Chinese-style communism under Enver Hoxha. It was the last state in Europe to overthrow communism (in 1991). Impetus for change came from internal unrest and student demonstrations over the pace of reform. In 1990 the ban on religion was lifted after 23 years and opposition parties were legalised.
- 2. Albania experienced a period of political and economic turmoil in 1997 following the collapse of financial pyramid schemes. Fresh parliamentary elections, in the summer of 1997, led to the defeat of President Berisha's Democratic Party (DP). Fatos Nano formed a new Socialist Party government. In September 1998 a further violent crisis erupted in Tirana following the assassination of an opposition (DP) MP. The DP unsuccessfully attempted to overthrow the government. Nano resigned and Majko was appointed Prime Minister. Rexhep Meidani (also a Socialist) is President.
- 3. Berisha's DP is not playing a constructive opposition role in the political process. It has boycotted parliament almost continuously since it lost power in 1997. Berisha, whose power base is in the north, has tried to manipulate the Kosovo issue to his personal political advantage.

### KOSOVO

- 4. Albania is a staunch supporter of NATO military action. There is no significant opposition to the government's stance. Public opinion is firmly behind NATO. The government is opposed to the partition of Kosovo: it believes that an international protectorate over Kosovo is the best interim solution. The government has not, so far, publicly called for independence for Kosovo. Nor has the government prosecuted the concept of a "Greater Albania", though some elements in Albania now support this.
- 5. The Albanian government is increasingly open in its support for the KLA. Foreign Minister Milo has raised with the Foreign Secretary the possibility of international (NATO) assistance to supply arms to the KLA. We should continue to remind the Albanians of their obligations under the UN Arms Embargo (UNSCR 1160). We should also urge them not to undermine moderate Kosovo Albanian leaders by overtly supporting the KLA leadership (the KLA-dominated Kosovo "government" under Thaqi sits in Tirana).

6. There is growing realisation and concern amongst the Albanians of the risk of being drawn into conflict with Belgrade as a result of recent VJ incursions into north-east Albania. The most recent incidents (11-12 May) involved Albanian Army tanks joining the police for the first time in shelling VJ units who crossed the border. But the Army is poorly equipped and has generally avoided contact with the Serbs.

### HUMANITARIAN

## UK Assistance

- 7. The UK is a major contributor to regional refugee costs: £40 million committed so far. DFID is also providing technical assistance to strengthen the capacity of the government and civil society. A new pledge of £5 million is proposed. The UK is contributing to (and speeding up) EU and IFI budgetary and balance of payments support. Albania's 62 million Euro share of EU budgetary assistance should be released next week. An IMF Enhanced Structural Adjustment Facility of \$47 million is in place. A World Bank fast disbursement credit of \$30 million has been agreed to cover the costs of the crisis.
- 8. Albania will get a share of the recently agreed 150 meuros of EU humanitarian aid for the region (on top of the 32 meuros agreed earlier). The EU Phare programme budget for Albania for 1999 is 42.5 million Euro. The World Bank have committed \$145 million in major lending programmes in next 3 years. The UK is exploring ways of promoting Albania's trade and investment, including through the mechanism of the EU Presidency's Stability Pact. A Donors Conference (co-hosted by the EU and the World Bank) for Albania will take place on 25 May.

### Refugees

- 9. There are currently some 420,000 Kosovar refugees in Albania. Newcomers continuing to arrive (including via Montenegro). 120,000 are in tented camps or collective centres. Around 250,000 are with host families. Around 100,000 refugees are still in the North, near Kukes and Has. UNHCR are trying to move them South, away from danger. A new airstrip has just been built at Kukes, which will speed up transfers. But many refuse to go, either because they want to stay near to Kosovo or because they refuse to leave tractors and trailers behind.
- 10. DfID is funding a camp for 5,000 refugees near Elbasan. British Engineers, temporarily transferred from KFOR in Macedonia, will be involved (the Albanians do not want work on 'overspill' camps to divert AFOR NATO forces from other

humanitarian tasks). Planned extra capacity at NATO-built camps is 65,000. This will help accommodate refugees from the North, and also overspill from Macedonia. But few refugees from Macedonia want to leave as the Albanian authorities resist evacuations from Albania to Europe (so those who choose to go to Albania forsake the possibility of transfer to countries outside the region).

11. Armed crime is a serious problem for international organisations in Albania: their workers are rich targets. (An Embassy officer, Ms Catherine Jones, was shot and injured by a gunman in April 1998). Also a problem in the camps (prostitution rings and enforced KLA recruiting). DFID are providing an experienced security adviser for UNHCR (arrives in Tirana 15 May). A separate DFID mission is looking at ways of providing support including to families who are hosts to refugees.

#### ECONOMIC EFFECTS

- 12. The economic impact of the crisis will be substantial. The government is already incurring higher expenditure associated with the inflow of refugees. This has particularly affected health, education and public order. The budget deficit is expected to worsen by at least 4% of GDP. None of this increase can be domestically financed; indeed revenues are down as tax collection is disrupted and imports now contain a large element of untaxed humanitarian aid. The current account is expected to worsen by about 3% of GDP as exports slow and higher government expenditure draws in more imports. The projected balance of payments gap for 1999 is \$150 million.
- 13. The medium term risk is to the good progress that had been made on stabilisation, and structural reform. Trade flows will have to be re-established, investor confidence restored before privatisation efforts can be resumed, and government capacity refocused on its reform programme.

#### FOREIGN POLICY AND REGIONAL RELATIONS

14. Albania's key foreign policy objectives are to join the EU and NATO. Relations with its neighbours are good with the exception of the FRY, who broke off diplomatic relations with Albania on 17 April. Relations with Macedonia are usually good, though the recent treatment of Kosovo Albanian refugees by the Macedonians has led to strains. The Albanian government considers the continued existence of Macedonia as an important factor in Balkan stability. Relations with Greece are good (there is a small Greek minority in southern Albania which is a potential source of tension).

#### **EUROPEAN UNION**

- 15. Like Macedonia, Albania wants to move towards an Association Agreement and EU membership. They will compare the Prime Minister's words with his promise to the Macedonians that he would do everything possible to help them reach an Association Agreement.
- 16. The Commission is likely to propose new EU agreements with Macedonia and Albania. However, they recommend a cautious approach to the question of eventual membership. The UK will be arguing for language in the Agreements which envisages the possibility of membership so is an incentive to reform but which also emphasises the strict conditionality (Copenhagen criteria) which must apply. Some EU partners, including France and Germany, may want something less forward. We should not raise Albanian hopes too high. Nor should we promise eventual EU membership without conditions, or an Association Agreement committing us in the near term to membership. Albania is still a very long way away from being ready (its GNP per capita is half that of Romania).

#### NATO

- 17. At the Washington Summit NATO recognised Albania's membership aspirations, welcomed its co-operation on Kosovo and agreed a Membership Action Plan (MAP) to help Albania and other aspirants with their preparations for possible membership. The MAP builds on and incorporates existing Partnership for Peace (PfP) activities, but places the onus on aspirants to identify the areas in which they need to make progress. We should be positive in offering to help Albania with development of its MAP, building on our modest but well targetted bilateral military assistance programme. NATO has committed itself to review the enlargement process at the next Summit, to be held no later than 2002.
- 18. NATO also agreed in Washington to establish a <u>South East Europe Security Forum</u>, bringing together NATO and the 7 Front Line States. We are working with Allies to give substance to the Forum as part of our overarching regional strategy (PS to PS/No10 letter on Kosovo: Regional Strategy of 7 May). We envisage (though still to be agreed within NATO) a meeting of the Forum at Ambassadorial level before the 27 May meeting in Bonn to discuss the Stability Pact and a Ministerial meeting at the time of the proposed NAC Ministerial on 7-8 July.
- 19. There have been on-going VJ attacks in north-eastern Albania. The NATO Summit reiterated the unacceptability of any threats by the FRY to the territorial integrity of Albania. NATO confirmed that it would respond to any challenge by the FRY to the security of Albania (and Macedonia) stemming from the presence of NATO forces and their

activities on their territory. The Prime Minister may wish to reinforce this message.

#### WEU

20. The WEU has a (136 strong) Multinational Advisory Police Element (MAPE) in Albania which trains advises the Albanian police force. The UK contributes five officers (Essex Force). We have announced our commitment to increase the UK contingent to 20. The senior UK police officer is <a href="Chief Inspector Steve-Golding">Chief Inspector Steve-Golding</a>.

### UK FORCES ON THE GROUND (OPERATION ALLIED HARBOUR)

21. There are currently 7,500 NATO Forces in Albania who provide logistical support to the relief agencies (Operation ALLIED HARBOUR also known as Albania Force (AFOR)). The Commander of Operation Allied Harbour is British: Lieutenant General John Reith (ex-Parachute Regiment). The UK currently contributes some 1127 personnel to the operation: 1,000 British troops were transferred from Macedonia to Albania last week to build camps for 65,000 refugees. They will remain in Albania for 3/4 weeks to complete this work and then return to Macedonia. In Albania, they are based at AFOR Headquarters in Durres.

#### BILATERAL

- 22. Bilateral relations are excellent. There has been a succession of high level visits to Albania since the conflict began: Clare Short on 4 April; Tony Lloyd on 15 April; Paddy Ashdown on 18-20 April; and George Robertson on 30 April.
- 23. The Albanian Foreign Minister visited the UK from 4-6 May for the Council of Europe 50th anniversary celebrations (he had a bilateral with Tony Lloyd).

I enclose a visit programme; bullet points on UK assistance to Albania; a scenesetter telegram; an economic fact-sheet; personality notes on President Meidani and Prime Minister Majko; and a map.

# .

## PROVISIONAL RESTRICTED

## PROGRAMME FOR VISIT TO ALBANIA BY THE RT HON MR TONY BLAIR, PRIME MINISTER, TUESDAY 18 MAY

0905	Arrive Rinas. Met by Mr Pandeli Majko, Prime* Minister and HMA
0910- 0920	Briefing by HMA in VIP lounge
0925	Leave by helicopter for AFOR HQ at Plepa
0930	Arrive Plepa. Met by General Reith
0935- 1000	Briefing by General Reith
1005	Leave by helicopter for Elbasan
1030	Arrive Elbasan
1035- 1115	Visit Turkish camp. Met by Commander Taskforce South, Col Jean-Francois Gros. Meet Mr Jacques Mouchet, Head UNHCR and Mr Erkam Samal, Turkish Red Crescent representative
1120	Leave by helicopter for Tirana
1135	Arrive Qemal Stafe Stadium
1145- 1250	Meet KLA leaders Qosja and Thaci (probably separately) over a light snack at HMA's Residence
1300- 1340	Call on Mr Pandeli Majko, Prime Minister
1340- 1350	Joint press statement at Prime Minister's Office
1355- 1420	Call on President Rexhep Meidani
1430- 1450	Interview with the Albanian Service of BBCWS at Residence
1455- 1515	Interview with [TVSH] at Residence
1525	Leave for Qemal Stafe Stadium
1530	Leave by helicopter for Rinas airport
1545	Depart Rinas for London.

\*Mr Majko will accompany the Prime Minister throughout the programme except for the meetings and press interviews at the Residence and the call on President Meidani.

RESTRICTED

### SUPPORTING ALBANIA

### The UK is

## 1. Helping the Refugees

- Regionally, major contributor to refugee costs: £40m committed.
- In Albania: [details to follow]

## 2. Supporting development

- Glad to make new pledge of £5 million over 3 years to help Albania pursue its economic and social reforms.
- programme will include health reform, development of economic expertise, local government training, rural development, citizens advice bureaux, and a pilot project to collect arms from communities in exchange for development aid.

## 3. Contributing to substantial multilateral support

- IMF Enhanced Structural Adjustment Facility of \$47 million in place.
- A World Bank fast disbursement credit of \$40 million agreed to cover costs of crisis.
- World Bank have committed \$145 million in major lending programme over next 3 years.
- EU budgetary assistance of 62m euro agreed. First tranche of funds should be transferred next week.
- EU Phare programme's budget for 1999 42.5m euro.

## 4. Promoting trade and investment

 Exploring ways of promoting Albania's opportunities for trade and investment as part of broader plans for stability in the region.

DFID May 1999

PESTRI ED TIRANA TO IMMEDIATE FCO TELNO 169 OF 121100Z MAY 99 INFO IMMEDIATE FORMER YUGOSLAVIA LIMITED, DFID, CABINET OFFICE INFO IMMEDIATE ACTOR, WHIRL, MODUK SIC ISA/ISC SUBJECT: VISIT OF PRIME MINISTER TO ALBANIA 18 MAY: SCENESETTER SUMMARY 1. - Prime Minister will receive warm welcome. UK's stock here is high. - Currently around 440,500 Kosovar refugees in Albania (of which 196,000 sheltered in Albanian homes). Reith (Commander AFOR) has attained status of virtual supremo over refugee crisis - No perceptible opposition to government's storng support for NATO policy on Kosovo. Majko government secure for the short term at least. Berisha's Democratic Party inactive. - Spin off benefits for Albania from Kosovo crisis: reconstruction of infrastructure, improvement in internal security situation resulting from NATO presence, closer association with NATO and EU? DETAIL Since Easter, Tirana has been awash with western ministers, parliamentarians and officials. (The city's service sector has had a field day). Even so, when informed of the Prime Minister's intenti to come to Tirana next week, the offices of both Meidani and Majko impressed on us how much they welcomed the visit. Majko will revel in the role of host and will doubtless fish for an official invitation to London. HMG's stock is high here. We along with the US are regarded as NATO's vanguard when it comes to support for the Kosovar cause. We are also seen as sympathetic to Albania's aspirations for closer association with both NATO and the EU. REFUGEES 3. So far around 440,000 Kosovar refugees have arrived in Albania. Credible worst estimates suggest that this figure could rise to 800,000. Last week, Majko announced that Albania would offer haven to as many Kosovars as wished to come here, but he emphasised that to achieve this Albania needed even more help from the international community. In making the latter point, he was clearly reflecting the growing resentment in Albanian government circles at what they perceive as the international community's over-generous treatment of Macedonia. The Prime Minister may pick up hints of this resentment, particularly in his discussions with Majko. 4. Although UNHCR's performance here has improved markedly since the first days of the crisis, I understand that Majko is still disappointed in them. Hence the key role of General Reith and AFOR. Reith takes every opportunity to boost UNHCR's standing by insisting that NATO is here merely to provide them with logistical support. However, Reith is a far more powerful influence on government thinking than either the UNHCR

representative or the government's own emergency co-ordinator, and hardined the status of virtual supremo over the refugee crisis. The challenge which faces him is immense - the construction for the growing refugee population (including for those 196,000 currently housed on a temporary basis in private homes) of camps which have adequate sanitation (bearing in mind Mediterranean Summer temperatures) and which are sufficiently durable to last the whole of next winter. Such camps, Reith contests, cannot be thrown up overnight. Majko too has emphasised the importance of quality in camp construction and is particularly concerned that some of the camps built here so far, on marshy sites, are unsuitable for the upbringing of young children; however, this issue is now being actively addressed by UNICEF. Meanwhile UNHCR, OSCE and others are facing up to a host of other refugeerelated problems, e.g. registration and the deteriorating security situation in some camps.

### ALBANIAN POLITICS

5. There is no perceptible opposition here to the government's policy of full support for NATO policy on Kosovo. Meidani remains a bastion of experience, strength and security at the top and Majko's government is still secure at least for the duration of the crisis. (However inter-faction fighting within the ruling Socialist Party continues and Majko's relationship with several of his ministers remains very fraught. The Interior Minister, Koci, a close associate of ex-prime minister Nano, submitted and withdrew his resignation the course of last weekend). Berisha's Democratic Party has been uncommonly inactive of late except for ritualistic attacks on the competence and probity of the government's aid distribution machinery and the occasional expression of goodwill towards the LDK. The internal security situation remains precarious, particularly in the far north and the far south where the government has no effective control.

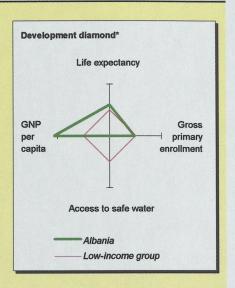
#### SPIN-OFF BENEFITS OF THE CRISIS

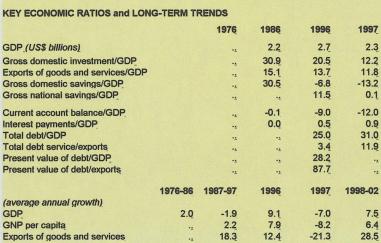
6. The Albanian government is not blind to the potential benefits which it might derive from the current crisis. The NATO presence will contribute significantly to the rule of law in Albania and hence to the stability of Majko's government. NATO has also pledged itself to an extensive programme of infrastructure reconstruction. In addition, Albania hopes that its staunch support for the current allied action will ease its path towards closer association with NATO and the EU. Doubtless this theme too will emerge in the talks on 18 May.

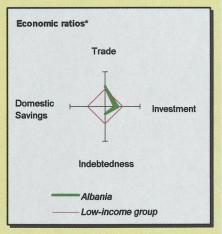
**JANUARY** 

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[EMBASSY IN BELGRADE ADD CHKD]
[PC PS, PC MW]

POVERTY and SOCIAL	Albania	Europe & Central Asia	Low- income
1997 Population, mid-year (millions) GNP per capita (Atlas method, US\$) GNP (Atlas method, US\$ billions)	3.3 750 2.5	ACTION CONTRACTOR OF THE PARTY.	2,048 350 722
Average annual growth, 1991-97			
Population (%) Labor force (%)	0.3 0.8	0.2 0.5	2. <u>1</u> 2. <u>3</u>
Most recent estimate (latest year available, 1991-97)			
Poverty (% of population below national poverty line) Urban population (% of total population) Life expectancy at birth (years) Infant mortality (per 1,000 live births) Child malnutrition (% of children under 5) Access to safe water (% of population) Illiteracy (% of population age 15+) Gross primary enrollment (% of school-age population) Male Female	20 38 71 33  88	67 69 25  92	28 59 78 61 71 47 91 100 81
KEY ECONOMIC RATIOS and LONG-TERM TRENDS			







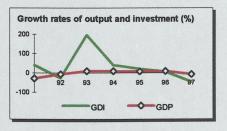
(% UI GDF).				
Agriculture		34.0	55.4	62.6
Industry		44.2	21.1	18.2
Manufacturing	•			
Services		21.8	23.5	19.2
Private consumption	.,	60.2	94.1	102.6
General government consumption		9.3	12.6	10.6
Imports of goods and services		15.5	41.0	37.2
	1976-86	1987-97	1996	1997
(average annual growth)				
Agriculture	2.8	5.7	8.1	5.0
Industry	1.9	-12.0	7.7	-19.4
Manufacturing				.,
Services	1.2	-1.3	12.9	-24.2
Private consumption	.,	6.2	19.9	-1.3
General government consumption		-5.0	2.6	-23.9
Gross domestic investment	0.1	20.7	7.1	-46.7
Imports of goods and services		21.1	27.6	-17.6
Gross national product		2.5	9.1	-7.1

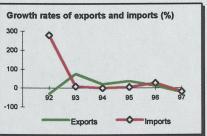
1976

1986

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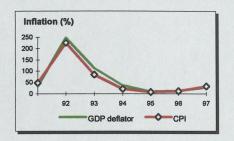


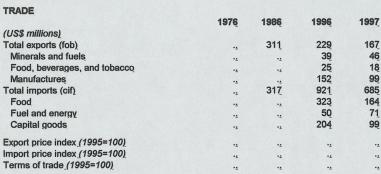
Note: 1997 data are preliminary estimates.

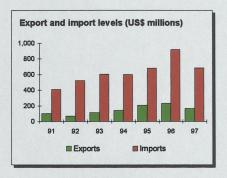
STRUCTURE of the ECONOMY

\* The diamonds show four key indicators in the country (in bold) compared with its income-group average. If data are missing, the diamond will be incomplete.

PRICES and GOVERNMENT FINANCE				
	1976	1986	1996	1997
Domestic prices				
(% change)				
Consumer prices	.,		12.7	33.2
Implicit GDP deflator		-2.4	14.6	29.7
Government finance				
(% of GDP, includes current grants)				
Current revenue		48.7	18.3	17.4
Current budget balance		25.0	-7.5	-8.2
Overall surplus/deficit		-0.1	-11.9	-12.0
TRADE				





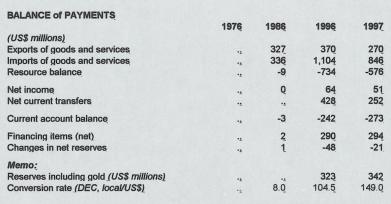


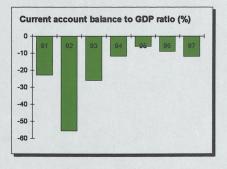
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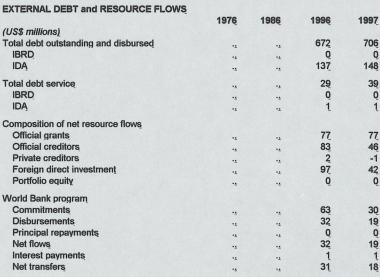
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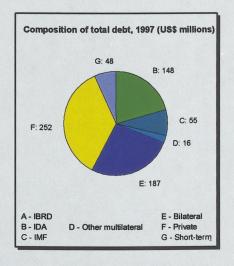
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## Albania Bilateral Trade

UK Exports to Albania	1996 1997 1998	£14.7 bn £9.1 bn £7.2 bn	Increase 96% Decrease 38.1% Decrease 20.9%	
UK Imports to Albania	1996 1997 1998	£0.3 bn £2.1 bn £0.5 bn	Decrease 70% Increase 600% Decrease 76%	
Currency & exchan (19 May 12, 1999)	ge rate		anian Lek 228.610 = £ anian Lek 141.100 = US\$	

Sourcs: HMCE Business Monitor

### LEADING PERSONALITY NOTES

MEIDANI, REXHEP

## President of the Republic of Albania

Elected President on 24 July 1997.

Born 1944 in Tirana. Educated at Tirana University where he graduated in physics in 1976. He received the title Doctor of Speciality from Paris University II (ORSEI). In 1984 he gained a Doctorate of Sciences from Tirana University. He became a professor in 1988.

Meidani has been a lecturer at Tirana University in theoretical physics, heading the department. In 1992 he was appointed Dean of the Natural Sciences Faculty at Tirana.

Meidani has published monographs, school texts for students and post-graduates, scientific articles and numerous reports in Albanian and English, which have been published in various international reviews.

Additionally, Meidani has been chairman of the Balkan Association of Physics, local coordinator of one of the TEMPUS projects, coordinator of the Solid Body Institute in Salonica, member of some scientific councils, chairman of the Board of the Centre of Human Rights Documentation.

Meidani entered politics in September 1996 when elected Secretary General of the Socialist Party. His election at the time was a surprising one as he had not long been a member of the SP, nor was he one of its predominant personalities. He was regarded as a reformist. He had never been a member of the Albanian Workers' (Communist) Party. After his election, he said no-one in his family had ever been a member of the Party and that his father had been an "officer of King Zog". He has described himself as not being a socialist, but a liberal. He served briefly in Ramiz Alia's Presidential Council set up in 1991.

Meidani is married with two children, one boy and one girl. He speaks English, French, Russian, German and Italian.

He has a quiet, unassuming personality. Rather home-spun. He has had academic links with Portsmouth University.

## CURRICULUM VITAE

Name, Name of father, Surname:

Date of birth: Marital status: PANDELI SOTIR MAJKO

15 November 1967 Married, has one child

EDUCATION

1992

Graduated the University of Tirana, Faculty of

Engineering, Branch Mechanical Engineering.

1995

Graduated the Jurisprudence Branch of the University of Tirana

POLITICAL EXPERIENCE 1990

Representative of the December 1990 Movement. Writer of the public letter addressed to the then Prime Minister Adil Çarçani for better conditions for the students and the reformation of university text-books and curriculum.

Representative of students in the meeting of December 1990 with the then President Ramiz Alia. One of the 300 founders of the first party legalised after the establishment of pluralism, the Democratic Party (DP).

1991

Left the DP to join the ranks of the Socialist Party of Albania (SP), and founded, with 5 other friends, the Forum of Euro-Socialist Youth (FRESSH), a youth organisation, with left political orientation, which was incorporated within the structures of the SP.

May 1992-1995

Chairman of the Euro-Socialist Forum, elected in its First Congress.

1992

Member of the Parliament

1993

Honoured with the award "Torch of Democracy" by the former President of the Republic, Sali Berisha

Summer 1996

After the motion send by the Chairman of the SP from the prison, where the "policy of change" was put forward, was elected Secretary of Public Relations of the SP

Beginning 1997

Representative of the SP, together with Mr. Meidani, to take part in the political negotiations with the then President Berisha, to reach a political compromise.

1997

Secretary General of the SP

1997

Leader of the Parliamentary Group of the SP. Head of the OSCE Delegation.

October 1998

Prime Minister of Albania

Foreign languages:

English





## Peter January

Ambassador in Tirana since 17 April 1999.

Born	1952
1974	B. A (First Class) in Modern History and Italian
1975 – 1980	Schoolmaster in Kent
1983	PhD in Italian History (War, Defence and Society in the Venetian Terrafema,
	1560 – 1630)
1983	Joined FCO as Desk Officer for Thailand and Laos
1985 – 1988	Following Hungarian Language Training, First Secretary (Commercial) in
	Budapest
1988 – 1991	Head of Dependent Territories Section, West Indian Atlantic Department, FCO
1991 – 1993	Following Portuguese Language Training, Deputy head of Mission in Maputo
1993 – 1995	Deputy Head of Non-Proliferation Department, FCO
1995 – 1998	Head of Permanent Undersecretary's Department, FCO





## LIEUTENANT GENERAL JOHN REITH CBE

Lieutenant General John Reith was born in 1948. He was educated at Eliots Green and Sandhurst before being commissioned into The Parachute Regiment in 1969. He has served in Malta, Cyprus, Norway, Belize, West Germany, Northern Ireland, the Gulf and the Former Republic of Yugoslavia.

On completion of the Army Staff Course at Camberley in 1980 he became Chief of Staff of 20 Armoured Brigade in Detmold in West Germany. On return to England in 1983 he was appointed Project Officer for the Presentation of Colours to the 10th (Volunteer) Battalion The Parachute Regiment, and on completion of that task in June he joined the 3rd Battalion The Parachute Regiment as a company commander. He was selected for promotion to Lieutenant Colonel in 1984 and in that December was appointed as Military Assistant to the General Officer Commanding Northern Ireland. He completed that tour in August 1986 and assumed command of the 1st Battalion The Parachute Regiment.

He completed his tour as a commanding officer on a deployment to South Armagh, for which he was awarded the OBE. He then became Chief of Staff 1(UK) Armoured Division in Verden, West Germany in December 1988 and was extended in post when the Headquarters was deployed to the Gulf. For his part in the Gulf War he was awarded a CBE. For the remainder of 1991 he completed a study on the future management structure for the Army in Germany and, after attending the Higher Command and Staff Course in early 1992, he assumed command of the 4th Armoured Brigade, initially at Munster and subsequently at Osnabruck. He was extended in post to take his Headquarters to the Former Republic of Yugoslavia. He was Commander British Forces and subsequently Commander UN sector South West from November 1993 to May 1994. In July 1994 he was appointed Director International Organisations and Director Military Operations in July 1995. On 1 July 1997 he assumed the appointment of Commander Allied Command Europe Mobile Force (Land).

He is married with 4 children and his wife's name is June. His interests include gardening and good food.

CONFIDENTIAL - VISITS



be AS/QH

## 10 DOWNING STREET LONDON SW1A 2AA

From the Private Secretary

5 May 1999

Dear Andrew,

## PRIME MINISTER'S VISIT TO BULGARIA AND ALBANIA

As you know, the Prime Minister is planning to visit Bulgaria and Albania on 17/18 May. I enclose an outline draft programme. It is not yet clear whether Mrs Blair will accompany him.

As we agreed, I have forewarned Dickie Stagg and Peter January (to whom I am copying this letter) of our plans and asked them to establish whether the Bulgarian and Albanian Presidents and Prime Ministers will be available on these dates, but without finally committing the Prime Minister. It would also be helpful to have advice from Sofia and Tirana on the detailed elements of the programme, if possible by 1100 on Friday, 7 May as follows:

Sofia

Speech venue – the Prime Minister will not want to give another speech to a Parliament after the one in Bucharest. We therefore need to find an alternative venue. What we are looking for is a venue that is striking and/or has a particular resonance. We will also need an organiser who can ensure slick production and a high-level audience covering the range of Bulgarian opinion.

Meeting/dinner – our normal preference is for meetings, rather than meals. We would only agree to a dinner if this were a strictly working occasion.

**Bulgarian media** – we will not decide until very much nearer the time whether to include this. It would, however, be helpful to know what the priorities would be for, say, one television and one newspaper interview.

Tirana

Meetings – we assume that, apart from the Albanian President and Prime Minister, the Prime Minister should also meet the Kosovar Albanian leadership. Who should he see? Should we include Thaqi?

Refugees - would there be time for the Prime Minister to visit Kukes, if he travelled by helicopter? What other alternatives are there? We are attracted to the idea of the Prime Minister visiting an Albanian home which is housing refugees, either instead of, or as well as, a visit to a camp.

Troops - the Prime Minister spent some time with 4 Armoured Brigade in Macedonia. It would be good for him to visit troops carrying out a different role. Please could we have suggestions.

Albanian media - same as for Sofia.

I am copying this letter and enclosure to Tom McKane (Ministry of Defence), Anthony Smith (Department for International Development), Sebastian Wood (Cabinet Office), Dickie Stagg (Sofia), Peter January (Tirana), Sir John Goulden (UKDel NATO) and Sir Christopher Meyer (Washington).

Your ever, Philip

PHILIP BARTON

Andrew Patrick Esq. Foreign and Commonwealth Office

## PRIME MINISTER'S VISIT TO BULGARIA AND ALBANIA

## 17-18 MAY 1999

## **OUTLINE DRAFT PROGRAMME**

1130 Depart No10

1200 Depart Northolt

1745 (local) Arrive Sofia

Speech

?Meetings or dinner with Bulgarian leadership

?Bulgarian media

Overnight Sofia

## Tuesday, 18 May

0900 Depart Sofia

0905 (local) Arrive Tirana

Meetings with Albanian President and Prime Minister

Meeting with Kosovar leadership (?Thaqi)

Visit refugee camp/Albanian home housing refugees

Visit British troops

? Albanian media

1500 Depart Tirana

1740 Arrive Northolt

aps\bulgaria and albania



From the Private Secretary

Philip Barton Esq OBE 10 Downing Street London SW1A 2AA DFID Department for International Development

94 Victoria Street, London SW1E 5JL

Telephone: 0171-917 0419 E-mail: a-smith@dfid.gov.uk

28 April 1999

HL

Der Philip,

## **BILATERAL WITH PRESIDENT OF ALBANIA**

Clare Short saw your letter of 25 April to Andrew Patrick recording the Prime Minister's meeting in Washington with President Meidani. On the question of a possible visit to Albania, she recalled that the Albanian Prime Minister spoke very warmly of Tony Blair during her meeting with him in Tirana on Easter Sunday. She is confident that a visit by the Prime Minister would be welcomed by the Albanians.

I am copying this to Andrew Patrick (FCO), Tom McKane (MOD) and Sebastian Wood (Cabinet Office).

Anthony Smith
Private Secretary

FILE RESTRICTED



## 10 DOWNING STREET LONDON SW1A 2AA

From the Private Secretary

25 April 1999

Dear Andrew,

## BILATERAL WITH PRESIDENT OF ALBANIA

The Prime Minister had a short bilateral with the President of Albania in the margins of the NATO Summit in Washington on 25 April. Meidani was accompanied by the Albanian Foreign and Defence Ministers and three others. Emyr Jones Parry, John Sawers and I were also present.

The Prime Minister said that he meant what he had just said in the NATO Heads meeting with Front Line States. We would translate words into action. It was important to know how we could help, in particular on refugees. He would welcome Meidani's assessment of the situation on the ground, particularly inside Kosovo, his assessment of the position of the KLA and his suggestions for possible long-term solutions.

Meidani said that there were now 360,000 refugees in Albania. To provide them with the barest of necessities cost about \$3 per day per refugee, which meant spending \$32.5 million every month. This was a real problem for Albania even before taking account of the loss of trade and other effects on the economy of the conflict. There were still some refugees in the open. We also needed to think about the future of all the refugees, their possible return and whether to build better camps. They had avoided a humanitarian catastrophe in Albania, but feared a real catastrophe inside Kosovo. The Serbs had pushed the ethnic Albanians to the border and then back again. Some of them might now be being used as human shields.

The Prime Minister said that he had been worried about the people left inside Kosovo for some time. We need to find a way to assist them. Air drops were, however, difficult unless all military activity was stopped. Meidani said that the KLA were saying that they were possible. There were some regions which were not under the control of the Serbs. NATO should create corridors. They

were gathering information from inside Kosovo and trying to keep in contact with the KLA in case such an option could be explored later.

Meidani said that Milosevic had been trying to carry Rugova with him. As a result, Rugova was now finished as a leader, even though he had been acting under duress. Meidani said that he did not support the idea of partition of Kosovo, which would be very destabilising for the Balkans. Macedonia in particular would be at risk. He was keen to stabilise the situation there, even though the Macedonians had made mistakes, for example over the treatment of refugees.

Meidani said that he wanted to correct some of the negative propaganda about the KLA. They were short of ammunition and food, but were trying to provide food for ethnic Albanians within Kosovo. We should support them and contact the pockets that the KLA held. They provided important support to NATO by pursuing the Serbs on the ground. We should at least consider the establishment of corridors to the KLA controlled areas within Kosovo, although he understood that this would be was politically difficult.

The <u>Prime Minister</u> asked about Milosevic's position. <u>Meidani</u> said that we could not be in a situation like Dayton where Milosevic had been involved. He had gone too far and was finished politically. We should not negotiate with him.

The <u>Prime Minister</u> asked whether he should visit Albania soon. <u>Meidani</u> did not react one way or the other, but agreed to reflect on the idea.

Milo asked when we thought Milosevic might be defeated. The Prime Minister said that we would intensify the air campaign. The Apache helicopters were now arriving. When the weather cleared, we would be able to do a lot more on the ground. We were also tightening the economic blockade and, as Solana had said, NATO was planning for all options. Meidani commented that he hoped NATO would enter a permissive environment. This would be important for the prospects of a long-term political solution.

<u>Hajdaraga</u> thanked the Prime Minister for the British contribution to the NATO forces in Albania. He had very good contacts with General Reith. They had provided every facility to the NATO troops in Albania and were ready to help further in the future. But, before a political solution could be discussed, we needed to destroy the Serb military machine.

<u>Meidani</u> asked about the Greek position. The <u>Prime Minister</u> said that they were worried about the destabilisation of the Balkans. We needed to be alive to

their concerns. But the fact was that the situation would be even less stable if we did not sort out Kosovo.

## Comment

The Prime Minister would like Meidani's remarks about areas within Kosovo no longer being under Serb control followed up. Please could you, or the Cabinet Office let us have an up-to-date assessment of the position and advice on whether this might provide a way to get assistance to the refugees within Kosovo.

I am copying this letter to Tom McKane (Ministry of Defence), Anthony Philipson (Department for International Development), Sebastian Wood (Cabinet Office), Sir John Goulden (UKDel NATO), Peter January (Tirana) and Sir Christopher Meyer (Washington).

Yours ever, Philip

PHILIP BARTON

Andrew Patrick Esq Foreign and Commonwealth Office

file paszg/4 BILATERAL WITH ALBANIAN PRESIDENT: CHECKLIST Understand enormous strain Kosovo crisis has placed on Albania. Admire Albanian government's resolve to cope with refugees in Albania. UK committed to helping you deal with the consequences of Milosevic's action. UK committed £20 million to help refugees in the region since conflict began. Stand ready to do more. Appreciate your staunch support for NATO military action against the FRY. Views on future? Position of KLA; ethnic Albanian leadership? [If raised] Want to build closer EU relations with Albania. Discussing with partners the possibility of enhanced trade relations and development assistance. EU Political Dialogue meeting in Brussels on 27 April will take this forward. Albania should keep working on conditionality.

#### Background

#### Bilateral

1. The Albanian President, Rexhep Meidani, is heading the Albanian delegation to the NATO summit. (The Prime Minister has written to Albanian Prime Minister Pandeli Majko three times since the conflict began to express support for Albania). There have been several UK high level visits to Albania since the conflict began: Clare Short on 4 April, Tony Lloyd on 15 April and Paddy Ashdown (who carried a letter from the Prime Minister) on 18-20 April.

#### Kosovo

- 2. Albania is deeply affected the Kosovo crisis. Over 350,000 refugees from Kosovo have fled to Albania. the humanitarian agencies are struggling to cope with the build up of numbers in Kukes and a further major outflow into northern Albania would cause real difficulties. DfID are pressing UNHCR on their contingency planning and are investigating scope for repairing roads leading south.
- 3. We should praise the Albanians for welcoming the refugees into their country, including some coming out of Macedonia. The Albanians have experiences a series of technical difficulties in identifying suitable sites but there is no sign that they are backtracking on their considerable commitment to the relief effort.
- 4. The UK has committed £20 million to the international effort to help refugees in the region. A substantial proportion of this will go to Albania. The EU has pledged 150 Meuros of humanitarian support for refugees in the region and 100 Meuros of host country budgetary support. We have asked the World bank to convene an early donors meeting for Albania (and Macedonia).
- 5. 8,000 NATO troops (including a core British contingent) are starting to arrive in Albania to assist with humanitarian operations. Once they are fully operational, UK troops plan to set up a camp near Elbasan
- 6. There have been on-going VJ attacks in north-eastern Albania. The FRY broke off diplomatic relations with Albania on 17 April. The 12 April NAC Ministerial reiterated the unacceptability of any threats by the FRY to the territorial integrity of Albania. NATO confirmed that it would respond to any challenge by the FRY to the security of Albania (and Macedonia) stemming from the presence of NATO forces and their activities on their territory.

### EU/Albania

7. Prime Minister Majko wrote to EU Heads of Government on 15 April to ask for an upgrade in relations with the EU. Albania has a Co-operation Agreement with the EU. We are considering upgrading to an Association Agreement but need to discuss first with EU partners before offering to Albania. It is important to maintain the conditionality of the regional approach (progress on human rights, rule of law, democracy and market economy). An EU Troika Political Dialogue meeting with Albania in the margins of the 27 April GAC will take this forward

SUBJECT

10 DOWNING STREET MASTER
LONDON SW1A 2AA

THE PRIME MINISTER

20 April 1999

Dear Prine Minter

Thank you for your letter of 15 April. You will have already received my letters of 9 and 16 April expressing support for Albania.

We fully understand your desire for stronger relations with the EU. We are working, with our EU partners, to achieve this aim. In particular, we are discussing with our EU partners the possibility of enhanced trade relations and development assistance for Albania. The EU Political Dialogue troika meeting in Brussels on 27 April will take this forward.

We have also been strong supporters of the additional 250 million euros of humanitarian and budgetary assistance that the EU has pledged to Albania, Macedonia and Montenegro. We are ready to play our part through the International Financial Institutions in Washington in providing medium-term economic support to Albania.

His Excellency Mr Pandeli Majko

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20-APR-1999 17:27 FROM PRIVATE OFFICE

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TO

98399044 P.03

ONDER

TEL:441717305747

19 Apr'99

8:49 No.007 P.02





REPUBLIC OF ALBANIA GOVERNMENT OF ALBANIA THE PRIME MINISTER

15, 04, 1999

H.E. Mr. Tony Blair Prime Minister United Kingdom of Great Britain And Northern Ireland

Dear Mr. Blair

I am writing to you first to express our full support for the ongoing campaign of the democratic community to put an end to the catastrophic situation in Kosova and express wholeheartedly our gratitude for the ongoing support to Albania, the Albanian families that have generously opened their doors to tens of thousands of deportees from Kosova as well as the direct help to those established in camps or other premises throughout Albania.

This unprecedented situation has put an exceptional heavy burden on my Government and the whole society, nevertheless we are and will remain committed since in these days nothing counts more for us than our full participation and contribution to one of the greatest humanitarian actions to save and assist a whole people from the barbarous policy of the Belgrade's regime. This is part of our conviction and at the same time a clear materialization of our European Integration policy which is the main pillar of our foreign policy.

In this context I welcomed the conclusions of the Special General Affairs Council held earlier this month in Luxembourg as well as the Summary of the Deliberations on Kosova at the Informal Meeting of the Heads of State and Governments of the European Union two days ago.

My Government welcomes and supports the idea of opening another perspective for our region which is under discussion, including a jump in the contractual relations with our neighbor, the Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia. This is a move in the right direction to further strengthen the stability of FYROM, something that my Government has continuously and practically reinforced, including lately posting

-> 01718399044; Page 4 Received: 20/ 4/99 17:27; TO 98399044 P.04 FROM PRIVATE OFFICE 20-APR-1999 17:27 19 Apr '99 8:50 No.007 P.03 UNDER TEL:441717305747 -11thousands of deportees in Albania that previously entered FYROM. Hence, it is also with our poverty that we are contributing to the stability of our neighbor. This having said, I think that it is high time to engage Albania as well in the same track. The further substantial enlargement and strengthening of our relations, including the contractual ones is a main priority of the Government and the whole

political spectrum in Albania. I deem it of utmost importance to use this momentum to bust our relations, offer the Albanians the perspective they unanimously are for, the irreversible path towards European integration. I am fully convinced and hope to share with you that thanks to such an important move during the upcoming political dialogue session due the 27 of April in Luxembourg in the margins of the European

Union General Affairs Council, the stability, the economic and democratic development of Albania will get a most needed bold support. I goes beyond any doubt that regional peace and cooperation development, to which we are fully

Hoping to have your understanding and support, I remain

devoted, will greatly benefit as well.

Sincerely Yours

Porndeli Majka



From the Prime Minister's Chief of Staff

6 October 1998

Der Anow,

# ALBANIA: MESSAGE FROM THE PRIME MINISTER TO MAJKO

Thank you for your letter of 5 October to Philip Barton. The Prime Minister is content with your draft message to Majko. You may trigger the telegram as soon as you wish.

Jus er

JONATHAN POWELL

Andrew Patrick Esq Foreign and Commonwealth Office

mel

Foreign & Commonwealth Office 5 October 1998 London SWIA 2AH Th SEC JEH MR Dear Rhysp PB 9R. JB Albania: Message from the Prime Minister to Majko Fatos Nano resigned as Prime Minister of Albania on 28 September. He had lost much support from within his party as a result of his handling of the violent crisis which erupted in Tirana last month. He is succeeded by Pandeli Majko, the former Secretary-General of the Socialist Party (aged 30). I enclose a draft message from the Prime Minister to Majko in the form of a telegram to post. We do not recommend a message to Nano: the Prime Minister never met him. yours ever Andrew Patrick (Andrew Patrick) Private Secretary Philip Barton Esq OBE 10 Downing Street

RESTRICTED IMMEDIATE task of improving the law and order situation. I also hope that you will continue to follow the moderate and conciliatory policies of Fatos Nano on regional issues. 4. The UK, along with our international partners, remains firmly committed to supporting Albania. That is why we took a leading role in establishing the Friends of Albania Group. As you know, this initiative is designed to strengthen international action to support your efforts to tackle the challenges ahead. We look forward to working with you in the future and wish you all the very best in your new role. COOK YYYY MAIN FORMER YUGOSLAVIA NNNN

SECRET



SECRETARY OF STATE

MO 6/18/16J

2214

MINISTRY OF DEFENCE
WHITEHALL LONDON SW1A 2HB

Telephone 0171-21 82111/2/3

At I have said, this would easily turn

vasi j.

**ALBANIA** 

Dear John,

Further to my letter of 17 September, the situation in Albania remains unstable, and military preparations continue in case an evacuation operation is required.

The Albanian Parliament lifted Berisha's immunity from arrest and prosecution earlier today. A rally called by Berisha's Democratic Party attracted 1800 people, who heard calls from Berisha for a general uprising. The rally is, however, reported to have dispersed quietly.

The Polish Foreign Minister (and OSCE Chairman in Office) Geremek and the Greek Deputy Foreign Minister Papandreou will visit Tirana tomorrow, and will attempt to persuade the Government not to arrest Berisha, and thus to avoid possible unrest. We understand the Albanian Government will ask these visitors to persuade Berisha to leave the country.

It appears there may, therefore, be a window of perhaps 48 hours for a political solution. It is assessed, however, that if there is no resolution within this time, the Government will move to arrest Berisha, who is reported still to be in Tirana (and road blocks have been mounted outside). Any attempt at arrest will almost certainly be met by force by Berisha's immediate entourage, and there is considerable likelihood that it will spark wider unrest. It is assessed that the situation is unlikely to return to normality until both Berisha and Nano are removed from the political scene. We understand the US have been planning to use Berisha's arrest as the trigger for any evacuation operation.

John Holmes Esq, CMG 10 Downing Street

SECRET

In view of this continuing uncertainty, the Defence Secretary felt it prudent to step up preparations for a possible evacuation operation. He has therefore authorised the deployment tomorrow of the Joint Task Force Commander and his small Tactical Headquarters to HMS CUMBERLAND, currently in the Adriatic, together with the Fleet Standby Rifle Troop and Royal Marines boat troop (with boats) which could effect any evacuation from coastal areas. Those elements of our forces which would be required to evacuate Tirana and other areas of Albania away from the coast by helicopter remain at short notice to move in Bosnia, Croatia and the UK.

I will continue to keep you updated on developments.

I am sending a copy of this letter to the Private Secretaries of DOP members, Anthony Smith (DFID) and to Sebastian Wood (Cabinet Office).

(T C McKANE)
Private Secretary





SECRETARY OF STATE

MO 6/18/16J

MINISTRY OF DEFENCE
WHITEHALL LONDON SW1A 2HB

Telephone 0171-21 82111/2/3

file /23/9

7<sup>th</sup>September 1998

Dear John,

# CONTINGENCY PLANS FOR EVACUATION OF BRITISH CITIZENS FROM ALBANIA

Further to my letter of 14 September, the situation in Albania continues to be a cause of concern and the possibility remains that an operation will be required to evacuate British citizens and other entitled personnel from Albania.

At present Tirana is reported quiet and calm with the streets empty as people await the outcome of the ongoing debate in Parliament on whether or not to remove Berisha's Parliamentary immunity from prosecution. If it is lifted, he will be charged with leading and organising a coup against the Albania Government earlier this week. The Foreign Office does not expect Parliament to reach a decision tonight.

The Albanian Parliament has demanded that Berisha appears before them at 10am local tomorrow. As he does not recognise the authority of the current Parliament, he is unlikely to do so. If Berisha's Parliamentary immunity from prosecution is removed this is likely to trigger further unrest. EU Ambassadors are meeting with President Meidani this evening in an effort to see if he can persuade Parliament not to remove Berisha's Parliamentary immunity, and thus to try to avoid further unrest.

In the light of the uncertainty on the ground, preparations for a possible evacuation continue. HMS CUMBERLAND is in position off the Albania coast. The units in the UK and Split, which would be involved in any operation remain

John Holmes Esq, CMG 10 Downing Street

CONFIDENTIAL



## CONFIDENTIAL

at a high readiness to move. The Joint Task Force Commander returns from Tirana tonight, and plans will be refined in light of his findings.

I will continue to keep you updated on developments.

I am sending a copy of this letter to the Private Secretaries of DOP members, Anthony Smith (DFID), and to Sebastian Wood (Cabinet Office).

(T C McKANE)

**Private Secretary** 

### CONFIDENTIAL

From: John Holmes

17 September 1998

PRIME MINISTER

ALBANIA

Following the recent outbreak of political violence, there is a high degree of renewed concern about the stability of Albania. The elected government of Nano survived the violence, but now appear set on putting Berisha and his cronies on trial, by removing their parliamentary immunity. They may well deserve this, but there is a real risk of a violent reaction and a degeneration into renewed civil war, with all the risks that that entails for Kosovo and Macedonia as well as Albania itself.

We are not in the front line on all this. Within the EU, the Italians tend to take the lead, for obvious reasons, and the Austrian Presidency has also been active. The US are also working behind the scenes to keep the political show on the road.

The reason for mentioning it to you now is that there is beginning to be talk once again of international military intervention in Albania to stabilise the situation. This is at a very early stage, and no-one is keen. But it could come up the agenda very quickly if things deteriorate. You will recall that, last time round, we stood aside completely and let the French and Italians take the lead. This seemed like a good decision at the time, but the stabilisation operation was more effective than we had feared, and we got a certain amount of flak from the Italians and the French (and the press) for not fulfilling our responsibilities, as they would see them.

I am not asking for a steer now. This may all come to nothing. But you may like to have it in the back of your mind.

As a wider thought, I fear the Albanian question may be with us for a long time yet, in one form or another. I met the other day our former Ambassador in Belgrade, who has long experience of Milosevic, Tudjman and the Balkans. He was quite clear that, in the end, we would have to conclude that the only solution was to redraw the Balkan map from scratch on an ethnic basis. Only then would people begin to live together in a sensible way. I have always half thought this myself.

JOHN HOLMES

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MINISTRY OF DEFENCE

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Since then, following consultation with the FCO, and as a precautionary measure against the possibility of an operation being required to evacuate UK citizens and other entitled personnel from Albania (whom we currently estimate to number some 160), the Defence Secretary has authorised the deployment of HMS CUMBERLAND to Durres, to be replaced by HMS LONDON later this month, and to reduce the readiness to move of a number of units from all three Services in the UK and in Split, Croatia, to an average of about 12 hours, so as to enable a rapid deployment to Albania if circumstances demand.

We do not propose to give any publicity to these preparations. But, if asked, we will say that these are precautionary measures against the possibility that circumstances require us to act to protect British citizens in Albania.

I will continue to keep you updated on developments.

I am sending a copy of this letter to the Private Secretaries of DOP members, Anthony Smith (DfID), and to Sebastian Wood (Cabinet Office).

(T C McKANE)
Private Secretary

John Holmes Esq CMG 10 Downing Street

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SECRETARY OF STATE

MO 6/18/16J & MO 6/18/5/2

MINISTRY OF DEFENCE
WHITEHALL LONDON SW1A 2HB

Top: FAIPS

La COS FA/APS AC

Telephone 0171-21 82111/2/3

24 July 1998

Dear Andrew.

## **ENHANCED MILITARY ASSISTANCE TO ALBANIA AND MACEDONIA**

We have been in close touch on the defence-related aspects of the Foreign Secretary's visit to Albania and Macedonia next week.

As you will be aware, a meeting was held by NATO in Brussels on 16 and 17 July to discuss ways in which Nations might enhance bilateral and multilateral military assistance to both countries with the aims of strengthening stability and improving the capacity of the respective armed forces to undertake tasks such as border security. MOD officials were able to confirm that we plan modest enhancements of our bilateral military programmes with both countries during the remainder of 1998, and intend further enhancements in subsequent years. Details of the measures are as follows:

### <u>Albania</u>

- additional English language training (ELT) assistance to the Military Academy;
- advice on defence management through a visit from the MOD's Directorate of Management and Consultancy Services (DMCS);
- provision of up to two experts for the NATO reconnaissance team which will visit Albania in August to explore scope for further assistance in explosive ordnance disposal/de-mining with a view to UK involvement in further NATO activities, as appropriate.

#### Macedonia

provision of a Short Term Training Team (STTT) to Macedonia in the autumn for up to two months to teach basic infantry skills with a particular emphasis on border control;

Andrew Patrick Esq Foreign and Commonwealth Office



Recycled Paper

additional English language training (ELT) assistance to the Military Academy; advice on defence management through a visit from the MOD's Directorate of Management and Consultancy Services (DMCS); a short advisory visit later this year to look at ways we can help Macedonia to develop an NCO cadre. These activities will be fully funded by my Department under the "Outreach" programme of assistance to Central and Eastern Europe, which is itself part of the Ministry of Defence's new Defence Diplomacy Mission. I understand that FCO officials are also considering an enhancement in ASSIST-funded support to both countries. The Foreign Secretary can announce the new MOD measures as convenient during his visit. I am sending a copy of this letter to Philip Barton (Number 10), Anthony Smith (DfID), and to Jan Polley (Cabinet Office). Private Secretary



### 10 DOWNING STREET

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C: JEH Prime Minister To see in cose Felipe Contalez tries to contact Foreign & you over the weekend. Commonwealth Philip 13/2 Office London SWIA 2AH 13 February 1998 file pro 16/2 Dear Philip, Gonzalez I am writing to alert you to the possibility that Felipe Gonzalez may try to ring the Prime Minister in the next few days to talk to him about a US-initiated proposal that Gonzalez should renew his OSCE mission to the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (FRY). This is good news which we should welcome. Gonzalez visited Belgrade in December 1996 as the Personal Representative of the OSCE Chairman-in-Office, in the wake of the demonstrations which followed the annulment of opposition gains in municipal elections. He made a number of recommendations for democratisation and media reform, which have been built into EU policy. Little progress has been made to implement these. The American rightly see implementation of Gonzalez's recommendations as critical to the whole issue of stability in the Balkans. But they have also been prompted to approach Gonzalez because of the case we have put to them on the need for them to be prepared to move on the US-inspired "outer wall" of sanctions against the FRY if Milosevic is to be engaged on our agenda, particularly given rising worries about the situation in Kosovo. The Americans have told us in confidence that they now agree that admission to the OSCE for the FRY could represent part of the equation. They have been discussing with Gonzalez the package of carrots and sticks he might have in his briefcase when exploring the possibility of OSCE admission with Milosevic. This offers a real opportunity to improve the coherence of the international community's approach to the FRY, potentially bridging the gap which has existed between a very hardline US position and the conditionality built into EU policy. Gonzalez is keen to ensure that he would have EU backing before accepting a renewed mandate, and we have heard from the Spanish that he plans to ring the Prime Minister and other European leaders. He knows that there will be some European sensitivities about the extent to which the US has been instrumental in trying to bring him back into play, and he is probably hoping that the UK - as the EU Presidency - will play a supportive role in EU circles.

Should Gonzalez make contact, we suggest that the Prime Minister should welcome the prospect of a renewed Gonzalez mission, making it clear that we fully support the goal of identifying the right conditions for the FRY's membership of the OSCE, and that we look forward to discussing details of the package. The Prime Minister might also say that, subject to a more detailed understanding of the package, we would be supportive of his mission which we see as an important opportunity to improve the coherence of the international community's approach to the FRY; and that while we would be taking this line in any discussions with our EU partners, we would encourage Gonzalez to do as much as possible personally to explain his thinking to other senior Europeans and to keep them in touch with his mission as it progressed. your en, (Dominick Chilcott) Private Secretary Philip Barton Esq OBE 10 Downing Street

From: International Department Democratic Party of Albania Fax: + 355 42 34639 Voice: + 365 42 346 39 To: MR. BLAIR

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DEMOCRATIC PARTY OF ALBANIA
PRESS AND INFORMATION DEPARTMENT

Tirana, December 22, 1997

### PRESS-RELEASE

### POLICE BEATS AND ARRESTS 15 JUDGES IN TIRANA

Today, at about 15:00 hrs, 15 judges protesting against the recent law adopted in the parliament on the "Organization of the Judiciary", entered a hunger strike in the premises of the Tirana Court. This law violates gravely not only the independence of the courts, but especially that of the judiciary. It expels all the newly trained judges by the democratic system on the basis of utter juridical programs by the system of justice. These judges and lawyers embarked a hunger strike in protest to this unprecedented violation in the life of a democratic state. Before, they had asked the pronunciation of the Justice Minister and that of the President of the Republic on the law adopted by the parliament. Instead of the pronunciations they received police clubs on their backs. Round 50 armed policemen, on the order of the Prime Minister and led by the Justice Minister after breaking the door of the room where the strike was held, beat the strikers and dragged them out forcefully. There are eleven strikers detained in the Police Commissariat no. 2 of Tirana.

This police act organized and led by the Justice Minister in person is a heavy violation of all the laws in a democratic state. The immunity the judges and the lawyers enjoy by law is not respected. This grave incident is the evidence of the lack of rule of law and marks the end of the indipendence of the judiciary in Albania.

The Democratic Party denounces in the strongest terms this unprecedented act of violence. It calls on all the international organizations, the Council of Europe, the OSCE, the European Parliament, the US Congress to intervene immediately to defend the rule of law and the independence of the judiciary in Albania, to defend the Albanian democracy already ruined by the brutal intervention of the political neo-communist power installed.

SUBJECT MASTER

Filed on:



10 DOWNING STREET LONDON SW1A 2AA

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14 December 1997

THE PRIME MINISTER

Dear Avine Minister,

I would like to welcome you warmly to the United Kingdom.

I know Robin Cook will be having a full discussion with you on 15 December, but I want to say that I am impressed by the start your government has made. We welcome your efforts to promote a national consensus on Albania's future. I hope you will be able to work with the opposition to build genuinely bi-partisan institutions. The restoration of law and order, in accordance with European Human Rights standards, is a key objective to which I know you are committed. I am pleased that the United Kingdom is making a contribution to training the Albanian police.

The agreement that you have reached with the IMF is an important step towards restoring economic prosperity. Its implementation will require tough decisions. But the international community will support you in taking the necessary action.

As you know, the United Kingdom assumes the Presidency of the European Union in January. We will work during our Presidency to reinvigorate the Co-operation Agreement between Albania and the Union. We in Britain have

I am sorry that other commitments will prevent me meeting you during your visit. I hope you will nevertheless find your visit here this week useful: we will do all we can to make it a success. I look forward to having another chance to meet you before too long.

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Dr Fatos Nano

Foreign & Commonwealth Office for PM's in the.
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Texter Pilip London SW1A 2AH 5 December 1997 lear Philip, Message from the Prime Minister to the Prime Minister of Albania The Prime Minister of Albania, Fatos Nano, is visiting the UK as Guest of Government from 14-17 December. Nano is disappointed that due to heavy diary commitments the Prime Minister is unable to see him during his visit. A welcoming message from the Prime Minister would help dispel any feeling that he has been less well treated in London, since he has been received at head of Government level elsewhere. Nano has taken a close interest in recent domestic British politics. Although the exchange of gifts is not, of course, normal on such visits a signed copy of the Prime Minister's book "New Britain, My Vision of a Young Country" would, we believe, be much appreciated by Nano, if that were possible. Your ever (Fiona Mylchreest) Private Secretary Philip Barton Esq OBE 10 Downing Street

MESSAGE FROM THE PRIME MINISTER TO THE PRIME MINISTER OF ALBANIA I would like to welcome you warmly to the United Kingdom. I know Robin Cook will be having a full discussion with you on 15 December but I want to say that I am impressed by the start your government has made. We welcome your efforts to promote a national consensus on Albania's future. I hope you will be able to work with the opposition to build genuinely bi-partisan institutions. The restoration of law and order, in accordance with European Human Rights standards, is another key objective to which I know you are I am pleased that the United Kingdom is, through the WEU, making a contribution to training the Albanian police. The agreement that you have reached with the IMF is an important step towards restoring economic prosperity. Its implementation will require tough decisions. But the International Community will support you in taking the necessary action. The United Kingdom assumes the Presidency of the European Union in January. We welcome your European path, and will work during our Presidency to re-energize the Cooperation Agreement that ties Albania to the Union. We in Europe In hun have particularly noticed the responsible approach with which you have tackled regional problems. I hope your visit will provide an opportunity also to further strengthen the trade links between us. I know that a number of British companies are interested in making significant investments in the near future. I am sorry that other commitments will prevent me from meeting you during your visit. I hope you will nevertheless find your visit here this week useful: we will do all we can to make it a success. I look forward to having the chance to meeting you before too long.

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# 10 DOWNING STREET LONDON SW1A 2AA

From the Private Secretary

13 October 1997

Dew Fiona,

### VISIT BY ALBANIAN PRIME MINISTER

Thank you for your letter of 13 October. We are happy for Nano to be invited to the UK as a Guest of Government.

Your ever,
Philip
PHILIP BARTON

Mrs Fiona Mylchreest Foreign and Commonwealth Office

CE JEH Foreign & Commonwealth Office 13 October 1997 London SWIA 2AH Dear Philip, Guest of Government Visit by Albanian Prime Minister The Secretary of State is seeing Fatos Nano, the new Prime Minister of Albania, in London on 15 December. Although the heavy diary commitments of the Prime Minister do not allow for a meeting with Nano, we would like to invite him to visit the UK as Guest of Government, the normal procedure for a visiting Prime Minister Nano has made a responsible start and spoken in conciliatory terms on regional issues. It is highly important for stability in both Kosovo and Macedonia that he continues to do so. Although Albania has slipped a little down the international agenda, it remains a serious potential source of conflict. An invitation to Nano to visit the UK as a Guest of Government would serve to encourage his government's conciliatory approach and help to cement our influence over the new government. would be particularly valuable given the UK's relative lack of profile in the early months of the crisis: particular the fact that we (unlike the Italians and French) did not contribute to the Multinational Force. There are also commercial considerations to be taken into account. Two UK companies, Premier Oil and Resource Development International (chrome consortia led by Lord Selsdon) are bidding for contracts each worth USD 240 million over five years. A visit to the UK may swing the balance in their favour. If the Prime Minister agrees, we envisage inviting Nano to the UK for 2/3 days and will set up a programme of calls for him with Government Ministers with the call on the Secretary of State taking centre stage. I should be grateful for your agreement to invite Nano to the UK as a Guest of Government. Your ever (Fiona Mylchreest) Private Secretary Philip Barton Esq OBE 10 Downing Street



# 10 DOWNING STREET LONDON SW1A 2AA

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From the Private Secretary

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Harris Chairman Salakur a tradución

28 August 1997

I attach a copy of a letter to the Prime Minister from Sali Berisha asking for help in the case of Pjeter Arbnori.

I would be grateful for advice and a draft reply if appropriate. Would it be right for the Prime Minister to reply in person, or should I or a Foreign Office Minister do so on his behalf?

### JOHN HOLMES

Dominick Chilcott Esq Foreign and Commonwealth Office

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## DEMOCRATIC PARTY OF ALBANIA Chairman

HON. TONI BLAIR PRIME MINISTER UNITED KINGDOM GREAT BRITAIN

Tirana, August 25, 1997

Dear Mr. Blair.

I am addressing You this letter to ask your kind assistance to rescue the life of Mr. Pjeter Arbnori, MP and former Speaker of the Albanian Parliament, M. Arbnori, sentenced to 29 years imprisonment by the communist regime, is known as the European Mandela. He created the Social-Democratic Party of Albania in 1960. For this, he was first sentenced to death, which then changed to a life long imprisonment.

From 1992 till 1997, Mr. Pjeter Arbnori has been the Speaker of the Albanian Parliament. In the last parliamentary elections held in Albania, June 29, Mr. Arbnori was re-elected MP of the Democratic Party of Albania.

A week ago Mr. Arbnori went on a hunger strike to protest against unrestrained revenge, the censorship and information blackout that the Albanian opposition is subject to by the communist regime which emerged from the June 29 elections. estimated by the Council of Europe as among the worst. Contrary to the practice followed during the last five years, the State-owned TV is consistently consuring. blocking and distorting the views and statements by the opposition in Parliament and out of it.

Through the hunger strike he is conducting, Pjeter Arbnori requests legal guarantees that an amount of time in the State-owned electronic media be legally defined for the opposition as occurs in Western countries, so that the public opinion gets acquainted with the stands, alternatives and parliamentary or other activities of the opposition.

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The actual government officials instead of sitting down to negotiate the resolution of the thoroughly legitimate and fair requests of Mr. Arbnori has turned the room where he is conducting his hunger strike in a real jail. His family, children, wife and colleagues are not allowed to visit him.

Mr. Arbnori's state of health is worsening, while the doctors are not allowed to take care of him Meanwhile, the press reporters are not permitted to do their job

I kindly ask you to exercise your authority to rescue the life of Mr. Pjeter Arbnori and to offer your solidarity with his legitimate requests

Looking forward to hearing from you, I remain

Sincerely yours,

Prof. Dr. Sali BERISHA

Foreign & Commonwealth file- told FLO could issue. Office PLB 31/2 London SW1A 2AH 30 July 1997 Dear Philip, Albania Fatos Nano has been elected Prime Minister of Albania following the victory of his Socialist Party in the elections of 29 June and 6 July. The elections ran far more smoothly and peacefully than expected. The Socialist Party won with a two thirds majority. I enclose a draft message of congratulations from the Prime Minister in the form a telegram to post. Are you content for it to issue? Jons er, (Dominick Chilcott) Private Secretary Philip Barton Esq OBE 10 Downing Street

RESTRICTED IMMEDIATE ZCZC RESTRICTED FM FCO TO IMMEDIATE TIRANA TELNO OF 301128Z JULY 97 SUBJECT: MESSAGE OF CONGRATULATIONS FROM PRIME MINISTER TO NANO SUMMARY 1. Instructions to deliver message to Nano. DETAIL 2. Please deliver the following message of congratulations from the Prime Minister to Nano. There will be no signed original. TEXT BEGINS Please accept my sincere congratulations on the recent election victory of your party and on your appointment as Prime Minister. Albania now has the opportunity to work towards stabilisation, economic recovery and the strengthening of democracy. The UK will continue to support these objectives together with the rest of the international community. TEXT TIRANA.1 PRIV OFFICE D J CHILCOTT 270-2057

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SECRETARY OF STATE

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MINISTRY OF DEFENCE WHITEHALL LONDON SW1A 2HB

Telephone 0171-21 82111/2/3

Fight. 2 July 1997

ALBANIA

As you will be aware, the Defence Secretary has authorised a number of measures, contingent upon the need to evacuate British nationals and other entitled persons, in the event of serious civil disorder over the Albanian election period. These include the deployment of reconnaissance teams, liaison officers, and the core of a small joint force headquarters.

Although the initial round of voting would seem to have taken place without widespread violence, there is still a real risk of unrest. The potential requirement to carry out a Noncombatant Evacuation Operation (NEO) at short notice remains. Accordingly, the Defence Secretary has agreed Rules of Engagement (ROE) for the potential operation,

I am sending copies of this letter to the Private Secretaries of other DOP members.

Your ever

(M A VENABLES) Private Secretary

John Holmes Esq 10 Downing Street

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