

Albanian Issue and American Diplomacy in the Paris Peace Conference in the Light of New Historical Sources

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Abstract: *Through the accumulation of the facts and the interpretation of the historical sources, this scientific work tends to give a full picture of the valuable contribution of american diplomacy, it's representative at the Paris Peace Conference, president Wilson and american public opinion toward the albanian issue in the years 1919 – 1920. In respect of this approach, we have seen a period of extraordinary awareness of the american press of the time in favor of the albanian issue, direct result of the valuable contribution of the albanian diaspora in USA., organized in the federation "hearth". simultaneously, as a representative of this federation, we have to mention the direct commitment and contribution in defense of the albanian issue, Fan S. Noli, which is evidenced in his meeting with president Wilson, taking his promise which he will make a reality in the Paris Peace Conference. This research will be based on analysis of historical resources before and after years '90, seeing from comparative context.*

Key words: *Paris Peace Conference , "Vatra" federation, albanian diaspora, president Wilson.*

1. Introduction

Experience of establishing consolidating Balkan States in XIX-XX centuries, showed that the selection and determination of the allies has been one of the key factors and in some cases determining the direction of flow of political and economic development of these country. In this context, on the eve of the opening the paris peace Conference, with the Albanians tried all means to find and create new allies, who would arise in defence of their rights.

Referring to relevant documentation, found that the Albanian-American relation have their start somewhat later in the second half of XIX century. More specifically, the first contacts of the Americans with Albanians has been in 1886, when the Americans has come as a religious missionaries, while the first Albanian immigrants in America dates since 1876. But, we can say the Albania and Albanians are recognized by Americans in advance. According to the documentation of that time, it is found a very interesting fact according to which, Abraham Lincoln, has had enough knowledge for Albania and Albanians. In an autograph awarded in 1853 Admiral Millo says that " *The whole peninsula should be joined under the axis of a single nation... of Fiumes up at the mouth of Kataras to subsequently throughout Dalmatia. All that needs so unaffected join to Albania*"

Also former President Theodor Rusvelt was very aware of the Albanian issue and the Adriatic. In the speech he made during the First World War, he ranked Albania among the countries that needed help and at the same time saying that should guarantee the independence of Albania by the great powers. Knowledge of Theodor Rusevelt for Albania and Albanians were also confirm even by Fan Noli in a meeting with him in 1918 where he says: " *Albanian's independence must be renewed in future peace Conference and placed*

under the care of allied powers impartially. Will make any attempt to allow me my options so that the decisions of the conference are in full compliance with the aspiration of the Albanian brave people". In an article published in the "Adriatic Review" in English, said that the list of friends of Albanians were added even two prominent names that are V. Uillon and Theodor Roosevelt".

But if I refer to the most important events that will affect Albanians and Albanians in 1912-1918 we are of the opinion that the interest of Americans for Albania was minimal, even during this period, the independence of Albania has been officially recognized by the United States of America.

2. Albanian Status in the Paris Peace Conference

In November 1912 Albanians declare the independence and later the Albanian state was born and lived for a short period of time as a half state, as a result of the compromise of the European Great Powers at the Conference of Ambassadors in London in 1913. Specifically, in 1914 on top of this state will be put Prince Vied, who with the start of the First World War will leave Albania, in September 1914. We can say that the only thing that Vied made for Albanians was not fielded Albania in no European alliances that were created in that time, despite the efforts of Austro-Hungaria to drag him behind the counter Serbia. After the departure of Vied from Albania, the Great Powers which were guaranteed of the Albanian State, in cooperation with Balkanic states of Albania turned into a battle ground. The researcher Georges Castellan in one of his studies of Balkans expressed in this way the conditions of Albania during the First World War: "Its territory was subjected to spare the Great Powers. Antanta used it as a bait to lure Greece and later Italy to her camp." (Castellan, 1991). In this context, the start of the First World War Albanian State ceased to exist and Albanian territory remained occupied until the end of the First World War.

The fact that the first project of the US State Department, Albania is classified along with Finland, Iceland, Poland and Czech-Slovak State being named as new powers created or known existing at the Peace Conference, apparently constituted a positive premium for the future of the Albanian State. But being in the same source we conclude that although eventually was named as such, Albania was excluded from the right of signing the Peace Treaty to justify the remark that the attempt to create an Albanian State in the years 1912-1914 were not successfully implemented. In this source is expressly stated: "Albania has no international status such as to justify admission to Peace Congress, but its interests will be protected by the committee of powers in which to represent even the United States." (National Archives Washington D.C, 1919)

Seen from this way as well as before the paper confirm us once again the fact that the Albanian interest in the Peace Conference will not be protected by Albanians but from Great Powers, this time with a change in the interest of Albanians (as was found later), one of which would force a new political actor across the ocean in which Albanians will keep their hopes for justice.

3. What did Albanians wait for from Peace Conference?

At the Paris Peace Conference of Albania will be represented by an official delegation headed by Turhan Pasha Permeti, in the quality of the Prime Minister of the Albanian government. In February 1919 the delegation will show at the Peace Conference two memoranda respectively on 12 and 24 February. Their requests were basically political program of the Albanian national Movement adopted at the Congress of Durres, product of which was the government of Prime Minister Turhan Pasha. But do not forget the fact that the Albanian State and the government of Durres Congress had not received the national recognition by the Great Powers and also from the neighbouring countries. This fact made even much more difficult the activity of the official Albanian commission.

An important role in the framework of the Albanian delegation in Paris have played the representatives of Albanian Catholic clergy, among Luigj Bumçi whose after the removal of Turhan Pasha Permeti will be

placed on the top of the Albanian delegation in Paris. As a secretary he will choose Albanian poet father franceskan Gjergj Fishta, whose contribution was never appreciated in the Albanian historiography before 90's. Simultaneously as members of this delegation results Luigj Gurakuqi, Mihal Turtulli, Mehdi Frashëri, Mehmet Konica and elbasan patrio Lef Nosi. Also, Mihal Turtulli and Mehmet Konica who took part even in Congress of Durres where Mehmet Konica was appointed foreign minister of this government of the national congress, representing the American diaspora.

In March 1919 Luigj Bumçi and Gjergj Fishta will meet in Rome with Pope Benedikti XV to whom will ask to intervene to the Great Powers in the defence of the Albanian case. But in this first meeting with Pope they fail in any concrete result promises except received his blessing. At this meeting Pope addressing Gjergj Fishta said: " *What would they say century, when they see , kuer të shofin nji frat të vobek nder rrethe aq të naltueshme?*", and he continues: " *I wish that your mission come up with utility, so i'll give you a special blessing*". (Peters, 2010). But in December 1919 Luigj Bumçi this time accompanied by Mehdi Frashëri will take another journey to Roma and will meet again with different audience Pope benedikt XV, the result of which will be the promise taken by Pope to intervene at England and U.S Ambassador in favor of the Albanian issue more specifically due to the requirements of L. Bumçi to save both the Albanian provinces Korca and Gjirokastra which were threatened by Titoni-Venizellos agreement. (Peters, 2010).

Even the figure of Mehmet Konica and Mihal Turtulli in the Albania Historiography before 90's was not evaluated objectively. In the Publication of Academy of Science of RPSSH of 1984 but even of the 2007, it is said that Mihal Turtulli and Mehmet Konica did not appear in the Peace Conference to demand full independence of the Albanian State. (Academy of Sciences of Albania, 2007).

While referring to the new historical sources that Mehmet Konica ascertained in an interview with Italian newspaper 'Corriere d'Italia' states that: " *The hall and the independence for the entire Albania. This is the base on which to speak at the Peace Conference by developing our requirements*"(Newspaper "Sun", Boston Mass, 1919).

Also at the Paris Peace Conference, besides the Albanian delegation headed by Turhan Pasha will be represent the delegations of the Albanian Colonies in exile. More specifically the delegation of the Albanian federation "Vatra" in America, the delegation of the Albanian colony in Rumania represented by Prince Gjika and Pandeli Evangjeli, delegation of the Albanian colony in Turkey represented by Halil Pasha, delegation of the political parties and Albanian women in America represented by Parashqevi Qiriazi and National League delegation to America represented by Mihal Grameno. But, can not leave without mentioning the presence in the Paris Peace Conference of Esad Pashe Toptani, one of the most controversial political figures of Albanian historiography and foreign. He appeared in this Conference with the status of single representative of the Albanians, the president of the Albanian Government in exile and also being declared ally of the Antant Powers during First World War.

Initially the opening of the peace Conference, official Albanian delegation in Paris demanded the recognition of the Albanian State in its ethnic boundaries, seeking to be correct injustice done by this Conference of Ambassadors in 1913 in London. But referring to the meddling of the Great Powers which were part of the European Diplomacy since the beginning and during the course of the Conference and the fact that neighbouring claims (Greek claims of Venizellos and Serbian ones) had the maximum support of England and France, these hopes of the Albanians not only remained a dream, but also Albanians lands were continuing to serve as compensation for a victorious powers plunder of the First World War.

Seen from these perspective, we can say that Albanians in this Conference will mostly try to protect the territorial sovereignty in its borders in 1913, borders on which were being planned new agreement fragmentation. Also on their demands to determine the most depending on the new political conjuctures that will be created with the start of the Conference, will be seen a tendency to move from the collective guarantee of the Great Powers determined in 1913 towards the authorization of a single power.

The range of issues that would solve many of the Paris Peace Conference, one of the most delicate and directly linked the fate of the Albanian territories was " *The Adriatic issue*". That's how the head of the Italian

delegation in Peace Conference Tomasso Titoni said: “*The issue of the authorization of the Albanian can not be detached from Adriatic issue and the concessions that were promised to the Italians in Dalmaci, which are two inseparable cases.*” (Paris Peace Conference, Volume VIII, 1919).

Adriatic issue was one of the most nodes of this Conference as it carried in itself two contradictory components with each-other: by one side was the Secret Treat of London (year 1915) and by the other side , was the program of 14 points of President Wilson, where one of the most important principles of self-determination of people and nation. Rightly Prof. Arben Puto will call the Paris Peace “ A Different Peace”. (Puto, 2009)

4. The attitude of the Balkan states and of the Great Powers to the Albanian issue.

At the Peace Conference, Greek Prime Minister E. Venizelos, came up with the historical claim to the Southern Albanian land, for the annexation of Korca and Gjirokastra using the old argument to identify the ethnic religion. The second argument leading no less concerned with the Treaty of London 1915, that Italy should not stretch the opposing Greek claims to the south of Albania. This will be the main reason that the Greek government would not oppose Italian claims in the Conference. (Swire, 2005).

In differenc the Greek side of the Yugoslav government representatives, not submitted their territorial interest directly. Yugoslav delegation at first said the independence of Albanian's borders 1913. This relative position held by Yugoslavia, was about the fierce rivalry Italo-Yugoslav (Serbo- Croatia Kingdom, Slovenia) in Adriatic and in Albania. Yugoslavia supported the idea of independent Albania to the fact that it could be more comfortable with a weak Albanian state, than with a big Italian strength in the Albanian territories. Precisely, this constituted the main argument for demanding the Albanians borders of the 1913. But the Yugoslav attitude has even the other side of the coin that connected it with her vital interests under the justification that, in any other country will be recognized protectorial borders on Albania in 1913, Yugoslavia will require its strategic part of treaty of London (April 1915). This conditional approach of Belgrade plugges wild rivalry between the two powers (Rome- Beograd), that linked the division of the lands of the former Austro- Hungaria, to which both sides claimed. Thus, the previous austro-hungarian rivalry for Albanian, was replaced with the Italian- Yugoslav.

After changing the Italian government, not having success in the Southern Adriatic issue because of the disagreement of the American delegation, Italian foreign minister T.Tittoni changed tactics in its policy stance to the Albania issue. The result of the new tactics of the Italian Minister was the agreement of 29 July 1919 between him and Venizelos. Here is how the researcher consider M.Macmillan agreement between Italy and Greece. “ *The agreement was a way of an old style traders* ”.(Macmillan, 2006). The two countries had mutual interests for support that should give to each-other in the Peace Conference. Italy should support Greece to get back Vorio-Epirus, as well as Greece should support Italy on the mandate of the Albanian State and Vlora soreignty. According to M.Macmillan “ *The symbol of the new spirit of compromise should be built by Vlora-Athens railroad* ”. (Macmillan, 2006).

If you will refer to the U.S position, Britain and France to the Albanian issue, conclude the fact that they do not share the same opinion on the political future and territorial of the Albanian state. As regards the opinion of the British delegation to the Albanian political future refer to the dialogue between President Wilson and llojd Xhorxh , where they declared that perhaps Albanians should have their independence stated llojd Xhorxh:“ *Really do not know what they would do with it, but to expect from each other throats. Albania will become like the highlands of Scotland in the 15th century.*”. Dispite the differences that they have in the Albanian issue, they felt the need to fall in consensus, which was the product of the memorandum of 9 december 1919. In this memorandum they tried to give a solution to the Adriatic issue by presenting at the same time even their point of view about the claims of three neighbouring states of Albania. In the Franco-British-American memorandum in the 5-6 points for Albania it expressly stated that: “*To Italy will be given by the League of Nations the mandate for administration of the independent state of Albania.... Albanian*

borders in North and East will be those determined by the Conference of London in 1913. The southern boundary will be decided by negotiations.... City of Vlorë along with the hinterland in a necessary for a protection and its development will be promoted to a full sovereignty of Italy." (Magazine Challenges, nr.3, 2004). To the memo got joined even a Memorandum drafted by the representatives of three governments, the U.S, France and Great Britain, in which modalities were represented on basis to which Italy would exercise its mandate over Albania.

But a month later, on 13 January 1920, in the absence of the American party, between Italy, France and England, was reached another compromise on which Albania will be partitioned according of the Secret Treaty of London. Fiume will pass Italy, Yugoslavia will take Northern part of Albania with its center Shkodra, which will enjoy a kind of autonomy. Yugoslavia's opposition to this treaty and its contact with the American delegation, led the response and ultimate rejection set by Wilson, who insisted on the position of the memorandum of 9 december 1919. It is interestingly, his letter addressed to the French and the British prime Minister, where he wrote that to give solve to the issue but not at the expense of Albania. (Milo, 1992).

As a conclusion, Paris Peace Conference for almost a year of talks, among many debates, proposals collusions and disagreement was dragged for almost a year (at the beginning of the Paris Peace Conference) the sovereign right of the Albanian people win in 1913. Moreover, this Conference did not heed the demands of the Albanian delegation to the Albanian regions extracted in 1913 unjustly. This peace was for Albania, a reconfirmation of the new old injustice.

5. The contribution of the Albanian diaspora in America.

The end of the First World War, set in the motion the " Vatra" federation in the U.S, with the only intention to sensitized international public opinion against the Albania issue expected to be treated at the Peace Conference that will meet after the First World War. For this purpose, to precede the end of the war, " Vatra" would organize its sixth assembly which was held from 1-12 July 1917, determined to help the Albanian issue. First, in this assembly was decided to increase the number of its representatives in Europe , where Mehmet Konica as a delegate of " Vatra", near the forums and European and political circles was selected even Mihal Turtulli and Nikola Kasneci. The second decision was taken at the parliament had to do with the fact that the Albanian diaspora of United States required the delegate to fight to provide in all kind of legitimize ways by the Great Powers and the Peace Conference, an Albanian with clear ethnisc boundaries, with royal independence and make known the rights of Albania in the European press conference that could be organized in the modern world. (Duka, 2007).

In the light of these efforts another assembly will be held in July of 1918, from which will come out contradictions between the members of this federation. With the evolution of the events, there are two notable trends identified in terms of attitude that they must hold against Italy. First current represented by Koste Cekrezi, supported the idea of a political moderate and tolerant of Italy and the second current supported by Fan Noli, expressed the opinion that Albania must hold a final decision against Italy over Vlorë and the mandate over Albania. (Meta, 2001). Actually Fan Noli was against any kind of protectorate over Albania, but did not exclude the possibility of a U.S aid to Albania within normal limits, meaning deployment in Albania on a number of American volunteers, accompanied by a small military force to maintain order. But above all, the main task of the initiators of " Vatra" federation in the U.S was concentrating its efforts to win the American diplomacy, and also the American opinion in defence of the Albanian issue. Exactly in the years 1918-1919 in Albanian political circles takes place the idea for an American mandate over Albania.

On 5th May 1919, the newspaper "The New York Tribune" published an appeal sent to the Peace Conference to seek again an American mandate in Albania by saying: " *America can not refuse such a request on behalf of humanity*". (Magazine "The Adriatic Review", 1919).

Also a month later, the newspaper "Sun" reported that : " *The Balkan states had the support of the Great Powers and not our country. If U.S would agree to take over Albania for a short time then will advance Albania that will disappear any foreign intrigue*". (Newspaper "Sun", 1919)

In his autobiographys Noli shows that he took part in celebrating the America independence day, in july 1918 together with representatives of about 30 other nationalities, day in which president Willson has his famous speech of 14 points. (Puto, 2009). In Nolis writing in the interview " *The Adriatic Review*" in semptember 1918, Fan Noli pays attention to the conversation he had with President Wilson. He writes that " *The President listened with interest and kindness his request and assured him for the sympathy and solemnly expressed his determination to help Albania*". Noli adds that " *The President knew the fact relating to Albania, was convinced of the justice of her case and would undoubtedly raise his voice in the Peace Conference in support of the rights of Albania*". (Noli, 2002).

In his memories F. Noli mentions the conversation that he had with Mrs. Wilson where he says that: " *Albanian ladies told me to please you to remember Albania, as a poor country, without friends and without any support, but do not cry for hunger and misery that lift, but for her loss. The situation in Albania is too complicated.*" President Wilson who heard Nolis conversation with Mrs. Wilson, returning from Nolis said: " *For real the Albanian issue is very complicated*". The only hope for the Albanians is America and you Mr. president- said noli. According to Noli, the promise of Wilson was this: " *I have a voice in the Peace Conference and that voice will be used also for the rights of Albania. That voice is sufficient for Albania and we will be happy and quite safe for our rights- answered*". (Duka, 2007).

In the functions of all efforts to secure the American influence at the Peace Conference, the federation "Vatra" sent as its representative at this conference Mr. Telford Erickson, who will be present at the debate for Greek interests in the Albanian territory. He expressed his idea that " *America would not be true to yourself if he would sign a treaty that would legalize the occupation of Albanian territory by the Greeks, Serbs and Italians*" and also expressed the idea of many Albanians. In 13 may 1919, the newspaper "The Evening Post" of New York published an appeal of T. Erickson for an American mandate in Albania. In the same month the newspaper "People" wrote: " *Albania calls America. Albanian delegation in Paris Peace Conference requires that America leads Albania in the first steps of political life*". (Newspaper "People", 1919) .

Representatives of "Vatra" by an article in the newspaper " The Sun" in 3 June 1919, asks Italy to resigns by the mandate over Albania in public. (Newspaper "Sun", 1919)

But besides "Vatra" federation, the Albanian diaspora of America was also created a different political association named " Political Party" the program of which was based on the struggle for the creation of an ethnic Albania. On the top of this association was one of Qiriazis sisters, Sevasti Dako (Qiriazis) the wife of Kristo Dakos one of the most prominent members of " Vatra" until 1918. (Duka, 2005). In the same source said that the association in question was created as a fraction of the " Vatra" federation , the direct product of fierce rivalry between Nolis group and Kristo Dakos group within " Vatra". Also the lack of images of Fan Noli in Paris Peace Conference, the historian Paskal Mile relying on data and resources of U.S State Department of that period and the correspondence between the U.S diplomats at the Peace Conference explains the divergences between Fan Noli and Kristo Dako which had reached as far as Sevasti Dako and her sister and Kristo Dako to be reported to U.S American officials on information about Noli. In this context, the opinion of American officials rely on these information was that Noli was suspected as an Austrian or Greek agent. For this reason Nolis visa got refuse by the State Department to go to Paris. (Magazine Challenges, 2004). But the absence of Fan Noli in Paris does not overshadow his contribution to the Albanian issue in this period, a contribution which today is considered unquestionable. But what should be emphasized concerns the fact that, in many cases, conflicts and personal ambitions of the Albanians have destroyed more jobs than those of others.

6. The Evolution of U.S diplomacy towards the Albanian issue

American politics became a paramount factor of developments in Europe, when the U.S entered in the First World War. U.S President Wilson in Paris Peace Conference (1919) had a strong position. During the Conference, he constantly refers to the Secret Treaty of London 1915, which set partition to Albania, inconsistent with the principles that he had decided to defend the Peace Conference and to create a new international order. Initially, the project of American experts in their reports suggested the creation of an autonomous Albania which would break the southern Yugoslavia that would pass Korca and Gjirokastra in south would pass to Greece. They pose some new reasons but certainly not obsolete, which justify the annexation of Albanian territories of Yugoslavia and Greece. Firstly they need Yugoslavia for a port on the Adriatic Sea and therefore thought to be given to Shkodra. Secondly, they thought that the Albanians were not capable of economic development, and change the border to the south in favor of Greece justifying the ethnic, economic and strategic reason. While the central part of Albania which remained from fragmentation. American experts thought it could declare an independent state under the League of Nations Mandate, starting from the idea that Albanians were politically immature.

Although, the Americans knew the strategic goals of Italy to access the control to the Adriatic concession that American experts did Italy consisted of a provisional warrant on Vlora, instead of Italy requiring full sovereignty. But gradually will be clear ascertained that the American attitude towards the Albanian issue in the coming months will undergo with a significant evolution. In this context, in 18 February 1919, in the American project will be seen the first idea of evolution in terms of Greek-Albanian border, in which it admitted that Korca remains within Albanian territory. (Magazine Challenges, 2004)

This attitude of America in Peace Conference connects one side with the pressure of contradictory information on the Albanian issue and on the other hand the fact that British and French commissions were inclined to carve up Albania and establish a balance in the Balkans at the expense of the Albanians. A result of this cooperation and compromise among the Great Powers to settle the issue of the Adriatic with the old tactics will be seen in the memorandum in 9 December 1919.

Here is an analysis of Prof. A. Puto position of 9 December 1919. "The overall, memorandum of 9 December 1919 was a slightly revised edition of London Secret Treaty. He scored a setback compared to the developments in the Peace Conference and with the efforts of the Great Powers on the same subject. Memorandum also holds even the signature of the American delegation Polk, which pushes the thought that all criticism of President Wilson left aside. Even Albanian hopes got fade." (Puto, 2009) This fading will be expressed very clearly by Prime Minister Turhan Pashe Permeti that was chosen by the government of Durrës. He expressed Wilson the deep disappointment of the Albanian people who had supported all his hopes on the noble principles that were against the partition of territories regardless of the nation rights of the peoples who lived there.

But on 13 January 1920 the European Powers, will review again the Italo-Yugoslav interest. This, was an initiative taken by England and France without the U.S presence, to resolve the Adriatic on the backs of Albanian territories. Anglo-France-Italian compromise, predicted the partition of Albania. Yugoslavia would take northern Albania, including Shkodra (which would enjoy autonomy) and Greece the region of Korca and Gjirokastra. Beograd disagreed with the decisions of 13 January, for the fact of his interest (request for Fjume). Beograd feared empowerment as a powerful neighbor as Italy and not having the support of European powers sought U.S support by informing the design ultimatum from England and France. Here is how Prof. P. Milo describes the moment: "American were extremely sensible towards Anglo-Franco efforts to deny the U.S primary role in regulating war affairs". (Milo, 1992).

In the memorandum sent to Washington in 20 January 1920 Lloyd Xhord and Klemanson, note that the path is followed in Fiume issue, was not consistent with the views of President Wilson. In this context, on 22 January in response of the memorandum that Washington sent to the Prime Ministers of England and France, they say they have not removed the American view by stating that: "Details of the administration of

the country by Italy, Yugoslavia and Greece were not designed yet and that, at the right moment, will not be left without taking into account the feelings and interests of the future of the Albanian people". (Puto, 2009).

Clearly seen that the challenges for the Albanian issue and its partition. In this act of informing, European Prime Ministers sought at any cost to the U.S president came in front of a fait accompli. American President stressed that America could not accept a deal that separates northern Albanian with Shkodra (Yugoslavia) and in terms of Korca with (Greece) surroundings. In Wilson reaction shows clearly the release he did in favor of Greece, but he did not mention Gjirokastra at all. Albanian Patriotic Circles would react too harshly with protest notes to his position. After the reaction of Wilson on the Albanian issue, which will be reviewed again at the table in Paris and London governments of 17 February 1920, this powers will come with their steadfast idea that Albania had the ability to be autonomous. Also Albania will be placed on the tenure regime, which fell in full contradiction with the decisions that were taken at the Ambassador Conference in London in 1913. The two Prime Ministers of England and France will leave disappointed by the attitude of the U.S who does not agree with their idea of Albania. "Washington did not agree with any of the schemes of partition of Albania, Paris and London propose. Twice during the month of February and finally on 6 March 1920 he insisted on the development of Italian- Yugoslav talks to resolve the Adriatic Issue severing of their problems." (Milo, 1992).

Wilson statements in the months of January-March of 1920, were vital to the future of the Albanian people. Position held by these statements he reached what the Albanians could not stop in 1913, he managed to curb for the first time Albania's further dismemberment. Evolution that will suffer the Wilson residence to the Albanian question will come as a result of the impact of a variety of factors, external factors and international factors.

Among external factors the most important issue related directly to the Adriatic, were the European powers tried to finalize their projects back wings of Washington, putting it before the fact to perform. (Macmillan, 2006). According to Prof. P. Milo: " The discrepancy between the attitudes on this issue was part of the whole range of contradictions that divide the U.S from England and France at the Paris Peace Conference". (Milo, 1992).

Internal factors that had great importance in changing U.S policy towards the Albanian issue, representing the mass movements of territorial independence seeking ethnic Albanian territorial. Part of this powerful movement and efforts were Albanian patriots at home and abroad, who played an important role in the growth of national feeling. The fruit of this movement is even the keeping of the Congress of Lushnja in January 1920, which will show the world and representatives of the Peace Conference, constituent skills and readiness to defend its territories from a new fissure. These important events taking place in Albania, without doubt positively influenced the evolution of American diplomacy to the Albanian issue.

Albanian National Movement gave a very strong message to America, showing that these people wanted independence and its territorial integrity, relying on his program of *14 points*. Albanian elite in the Congress of Lushnja in January 1920 will form a new government which was established in Tirana and gradually exercised its authority in the entire country and driving out all foreign armies from Albania.¹ Occuring in the course of events, European countries found no power to change Wilson's decision against the Albanian issue. They proposed Italy and Yugoslavia to reach a compromise solution to the issue of Adriatic. Paris Peace Conference would end its developments and decisions on 10 April 1920. (Puto, 2009).

Upon the request of the Albanian government to accept the league of Nations, with British support in 17 December 1920, Albania will be accepted with full rights to the League of Nations by becoming a member of

¹It is worth noting War of Vlorë in June of 1920, whose result was the departure of Italian troops eventually by Vlorë after the agreement of August 1920

its 43 and a special merit in this regard will be Fan Noli as President of the official of the Albanian delegation at the League of Nations. Also the Conference of the Ambassadors.

But the questions naturally arises, why a President of a powerful the most powerful state after the First War World to put the veto in favor of a small nation against whom there was no strategic territorial or economic interests?! One question which still even today has not received a complete answer. Perhaps when the Conference was to finalize its decisions to Wilson was consolidated the idea of the practical application of the principle of self-determination, although as he himself said in the late 1919 before the U.S Congress which stated that : *“When i pronounced those words (that all nations had the right of self-determination),i made this without the knowledge that nationalities existed, which are shown to us day by day”*.(Macmillan, 2006). Also referring to the principles of self-determination Henry Kissinger said: *“ It soon became clear that practically the principle of self-determination can not be strictly enforced as provided in Fourteen points ”*. (Kissinger, 2009). Maybe in diplomatic terms Wilson made to show the superiority of European states as a triumph over European Countries after World War as well as Eric Hobsbawn claims in his Age of Extremes as it says: *“ President Wilson..., whose thoughts were seen as representative expression of power without which war would be lost ...”*. (Hobsbawn, 1997). and also assess the need to counter the European policy of secret diplomacy.

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