

An Overview of the Albanian History: With Main Emphasis on Economy

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要 旨

アルバニアの祖先はイリュリア民族であるといわれている。ローマ帝国がイリュリアを統一する紀元前に古代イリュリア人はバルカン半島のギリシャ人やマケドニア人との間で戦争を行っていた。

時代が下って、1470 年から 1912 年までアルバニアはオスマントルコによって征服されていた。1944 年から 1992 年まではアルバニアは社会主義であり、自由貿易や私的経済事業が禁止されていた。1992 年以降、アルバニアは市場経済に移行しつつある。

本稿は、アルバニアの市場経済への移行を明らかにするものではない。古代と現代のアルバニアについて読者に紹介し、アルバニアの歴史についてより深く理解してもらうことが本稿の主な目的である。

Keywords: Albanian history, independence, transition economy

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Introduction

Albania is a Mediterranean¹ country in southeastern Europe. It is bordered by Montenegro² in the north, Kosovo³ in the north-east (both still formally part of Serbia⁴-Montenegro), the Republic of Macedonia⁵ in the east, and Greece in the south, has a coast on the Adriatic Sea⁶ in the west, and a coast on the Ionian Sea⁷ in the southwest. The country is an emerging democracy and is formally named the Republic of Albania.

This paper will give a short history of Albania beginning from the Antiquity up to the collapse of most server communist system in Europe. The opening of Albania toward the market economy, its politics and its economy will be studied in the days to come. The study of international economic relation of Albania as well as the study of FDI (Foreign Direct Investment) will be prepared in a near future.

I. Albania in Antiquity

The question of the origin of the Albanians is still a matter of controversy among the ethnologists. A great many theories have been propounded in solution of the problem relative to the place from which the original settlers of Albania proceeded to their present home. The existence of another Albania in the Caucasus, the mystery in which the derivation of the name “Albania” is enshrouded, and which name, on the other hand, is unknown to her people, and the fact that history and legend afford no record of the arrival of the Albanians in the Balkan Peninsula, have rendered the question of their origin a particularly difficult one⁸.

But, however that may be, it is generally recognized today that the Albanians are the most ancient race in southeastern Europe. All indications point to the fact that they are descendants of the earliest Aryan immigrants who were represented in historical times by the kindred Illyrians, Macedonians and Epirus⁹.

The findings of the ethnologists are, moreover, strengthened by the unbroken traditions of the natives, who

regard themselves, and with pride as the descendants of the aboriginal settlers of the Balkan Peninsula. Therefore, they think have the best claims on it. It is also on the strength of these traditions that the Albanian looks upon the other Balkan nationalities as mere intruders who have expropriated him of much that was properly his own. Hence the constant border warfare, which has gone on for centuries between the Albanian and his neighbors. The origins of the Albanian people, as was mentioned before, are not definitely known, but data drawn from history and from linguistic, archaeological, and anthropological studies have led to the conclusion that Albanians are the direct descendants of the ancient Illyrians and that the latter were natives of the lands they inhabited. Similarly, the Albanian language derives from the language of the Illyrians, the transition from Illyrian to Albanian apparently occurring between the 4th and 6th centuries AD. Illyrian culture is believed to have evolved from the Stone Age and to have manifested itself in the territory of Albania toward the beginning of the Bronze Age, about 2000 BC. The Illyrians were not a uniform body of people but a conglomeration of many tribes that inhabited the western part of the Balkans, from what is now Slovenia in the northwest to and including the region of Epirus, which extends about halfway down the mainland of modern Greece. In general, Illyrians in the highlands of Albania were more isolated than those in the lowlands, and their culture evolved more slowly a distinction that persisted throughout Albania's history.

Authors of antiquity relate that the Illyrians were a sociable and hospitable people, renowned for their daring and bravery at war. Illyrian women were fairly equal in status to the men, even to the point of becoming heads of tribal federations. In matters of religion, Illyrians were pagans who believed in an afterlife and buried their dead along with arms and various articles intended for personal use. The land of Illyrians was rich in minerals; iron, copper, gold, silver and Illyrians became skillful in the mining and processing of metals. They were highly skilled boat builders and sailors as well¹⁰.

II. Albania under the Ottoman rule

Owing partly to the weakness of the Byzantine Empire, Albania, beginning in the 9th century, came under the domination, in whole or in part, of a succession of foreign powers: Bulgarians, Norman crusaders, the Angevins of southern Italy, Serbs, and Venetians. The final occupation of the country in 1347 by the Serbs caused massive migrations of Albanians abroad, especially to Greece and the Aegean islands. By the mid-14th century, Byzantine rule had come to an end in Albania, after nearly 1,000 years. A few decades later the country was confronted with a new threat, that of the Turks, who at this juncture were expanding their

power in the Balkans. The Ottoman Turks invaded Albania in 1388 and completed the occupation of the country about four decades later (1430). But after 1443 an Albanian of military genius Gjergj Kastrioti (1405-68), known as Skenderbeu¹¹, rallied the Albanian princes and succeeded in driving the occupiers out. For the next 25 years, operating out of his stronghold in the mountain town of Kruja¹², Skenderbeg frustrated every attempt by the Turks to regain Albania, which they envisioned as a springboard for the invasion of Italy and Western Europe. His unequal fight against the mightiest power of the time won the esteem of Europe as well as some support in the form of money and military aid from Naples, the papacy, Venice, and Ragusa. After he died, Albanian resistance gradually collapsed, enabling the Turks to reoccupy the country by 1506. Skenderbeg's long struggle to keep Albania free became highly significant to the Albanian people, as it strengthened their solidarity, made them more conscious of their national identity, and served later as a great source of inspiration in their struggle for national unity, freedom, and independence.

To defend and promote their national interests, Albanians met in Prizren¹³, a town in Kosovo, in 1878 and founded the Albanian League of Prizren (Lidhja Shqiptare e Prizrenit)¹⁴. The league had two main goals, one political and the other cultural. First, it strove (unsuccessfully) to unify all Albanian territories, at the time divided among the four vilayets¹⁵, or provinces, of Kosovo, Shkodra¹⁶, Manastir, and Janina, into one autonomous state within the framework of the Ottoman Empire. Second, it spearheaded a movement to develop Albanian language, literature, education, and culture. The Albanian League was suppressed by the Turks in 1881, in part because they were alarmed by its strong nationalistic orientation. By then, however, the league had become a powerful symbol of Albania's national awakening, and its ideas and objectives fueled the drive that culminated later in national independence. When the Young Turks, who seized power in Istanbul in 1908, ignored their commitments to Albanians to institute democratic reforms and to grant autonomy, Albanians embarked on an armed struggle, which, at the end of three years (1910-12), forced the Turks to agree, in effect, to grant their demands. Alarmed at the prospect of Albanian autonomy, Albania's Balkan neighbors, who had already made plans to partition the region, declared war on Turkey in October 1912, and Greek, Serbian, and Montenegrin armies advanced into Albanian territories. To prevent the annihilation of the country, Albanian national delegates met at a congress in Vlora¹⁷. They were led by Ismail Qemali, an Albanian who had held several high positions in the Ottoman government.

III. The end of Ottoman Rule and Albanian Independence

The Albanians once more rose against the Ottoman Empire in May 1912 and took the Macedonian capital, Skopje, by August. Stunned, the Young Turks regime acceded to some of the rebel's demands. The First Balkan War, however, erupted before a final settlement could be worked out. Most Albanians remained neutral during the war, during which the Balkan allies, the Serbs, Bulgarians, and Greeks, quickly drove the Turks to the walls of Constantinople. The Montenegrins surrounded Shkodra with the help of northern Albanian tribes anxious to fight the Ottoman Turks. Serb forces took much of northern Albania, and the Greeks captured Janina and parts of southern Albania.

An assembly of eighty-three Muslim and Christian leaders meeting in Vlora in November 1912 declared Albania an independent country and set up a provisional government, but an ambassadorial conference that opened in London in December decided the major questions concerning the Albanians after the First Balkan War in its concluding Treaty of London of May 1913. One of Serbia's primary war aims was to gain an Adriatic port, preferably Durrës¹⁸. Austria-Hungary and Italy opposed giving Serbia an outlet to the Adriatic, which they feared would become a Russian port. They instead supported the creation of an autonomous Albania. Russia backed Serbia and Montenegro's claims to Albanian-inhabited lands. Britain and Germany remained neutral¹⁹. Chaired by Britain's foreign secretary, Sir Edward Grey, the ambassadors' conference initially decided to create an autonomous Albania under continued Ottoman rule, but with the protection of the Great Powers²⁰. This solution, as detailed in the Treaty of London, was abandoned in the summer of 1913 when it became obvious that the Ottoman Empire would, in the Second Balkan War, lose Macedonia and hence its overland connection with the Albanian-inhabited lands.

In July 1913, the Great Powers opted to recognize an independent, neutral Albanian state ruled by a constitutional monarchy and under the protection of the Great Powers. The August 1913 Treaty of Bucharest established that independent Albania was a country with borders that gave the new state about 28,000 square kilometers of territory and a population of 800,000. Montenegro, whose tribesmen had resorted to terror, mass murder, and forced conversion in territories it coveted, had to surrender Shkodra. Serbia reluctantly succumbed to an ultimatum from Austria-Hungary, Germany, and Italy to withdraw from northern Albania. The treaty, however, left large areas with majority Albanian populations, notably Kosovo and western Macedonia, outside the new state and failed to solve the region's nationality problems.

After independence local power struggles, foreign provocations, miserable economic conditions, and

modest attempts at social and religious reform fueled Albanian uprisings aimed at the prince and the control commission. Ottoman propaganda, which appealed to uneducated peasants loyal to Islam and Islamic spiritual leaders, attacked the Albanian regime as a puppet of the large landowners and Europe's Christian powers. Greece, dissatisfied that the Great Powers did not award it southern Albania, also encouraged uprisings against the Albanian government, and armed Greek bands carried out atrocities against Albanian villagers.

IV. Albanian Economy during 1913-1939

Under the secret Treaty of London signed in April 1915, the Triple Entente powers promised Italy that it would gain Vlorë and nearby lands and a protectorate over Albania in exchange for entering the war against Austria-Hungary²¹. Serbia and Montenegro were promised much of northern Albania, and Greece was promised much of the country's southern half. The treaty left a tiny Albanian state that would be represented by Italy in its relations with the other major powers. In September 1918, Entente forces broke through the Central Powers' lines north of Thessaloniki, and within days Austro-Hungarian forces began to withdraw from Albania. When the World War I ended on November 11, 1918, Italy's army had occupied most of Albania; Serbia held much of the country's northern mountains; Greece occupied a sliver of land within Albania's 1913 borders; and French forces occupied Korça and Shkodra as well as other with sizable Albanian populations, regions such as Kosovo, which were later handed over to Serbia²².

1. Social and Economic Conditions after World War I

Extraordinarily undeveloped, the Albania that emerged after World War I was home to something less than a million people divided into three major religious groups and two distinct classes: those people who owned land and claimed semi feudal privileges and those who did not. The landowners had always held the principal ruling posts in the country's central and southern regions, but many of them were steeped in the same Oriental conservatism that brought decay to the Ottoman Empire. The landowning elite expected that they would continue to enjoy precedence. The country's peasants, however, were beginning to dispute the landed aristocracy's control. Muslims made up the majority of the landowning class as well as most of the pool of Ottoman-trained administrators and officials. Thus Muslims filled most of the country's administrative posts.

In northern Albania, the government directly controlled only Shkodra and its environs. The highland clans were suspicious of a constitutional government legislating in the interests of the country as a whole, and the Roman Catholic Church became the principal link between Tirana and the tribesmen. In many instances, administrative communications were addressed to priests for circulation among their parishioners²³.

By June 1934, Albania had signed trade agreements with Yugoslavia and Greece, and Mussolini had suspended all payments to Tirana. An Italian attempt to intimidate the Albanians by sending a fleet of warships to Albania failed because the Albanians only allowed the forces to land unarmed. Mussolini then attempted to buy off the Albanians. In 1935 he presented the Albanian government 3 million gold francs as a gift.

Through all the turmoil of the interwar years, Albania remained Europe's most economically backward nation. Peasant farmers accounted for the vast majority of the Albanian population. Albania had practically had no industry, and the country's potential for hydroelectric power was virtually untapped. Oil represented the country's main extractable resource. A pipeline between the Kucova oil field and Vlora's port expedited shipments of crude petroleum to Italy's refineries after the Italians took over the oil-drilling concessions of all other foreign companies in 1939. Albania also possessed bitumen, lignite, iron, chromites, copper, bauxite, manganese, and some gold. Shkodra had a cement factory; Korca, a brewery; and Durres and Shkodra, cigarette factories that used locally grown tobacco.

During much of the interwar period, Italians held most of the technical jobs in the Albanian economy. Albania's main exports were petroleum, animal skins, cheese, livestock, and eggs and prime imports were grain and other foodstuffs, metal products, and machinery. In 1939 the value of Albania's imports outstripped that of its exports by about four times. About 70 percent of Albania's exports went to Italy. Italian factories furnished about 40 percent of Albania's imports, and the Italian government paid for the rest.

Poor and remote, Albania remained decades behind the other Balkan countries in educational and social development. Illiteracy plagued almost the entire population. About 90 percent of the country's peasants practiced subsistence agriculture, using ancient methods, such as wooden plows. Much of the country's richest farmland lay under water in malaria, infested coastal marshlands. Albania lacked a banking system, a railroad, a modern port, an efficient military, a university, or a modern press. The Albanians had Europe's highest birthrate and infant mortality rate, and life expectancy for men was about thirty-eight years. The American Red Cross opened schools and hospitals at Durrës and Tirana. One Red Cross worker founded an Albanian chapter of the Boy Scouts that all boys between twelve and eighteen years old were subsequently

required to join by law²⁴. Although hundreds of schools opened across the country, in 1938 only 36 percent of all Albanian children of school age were receiving education of any kind²⁵.

2. Zog's Kingdom

With Yugoslav military assistance, Ahmed Bey Zogu²⁶, the son of a clan chieftain, emerged victorious from an internal political power struggle in late 1924. Zogu, however, quickly turned his back on Belgrade and looked to Benito Mussolini's Italy for patronage. In 1928 Zogu coaxed the country's parliament into declaring Albania a kingdom and himself king. King Zog remained a hidebound conservative, and Albania was the only Balkan state where the government did not introduce a comprehensive land reform between the two world wars. Mussolini's forces finally overthrew Zog when they occupied Albania in 1939.

In 1928 Zog secured the parliament's consent to its own dissolution. A new constituent assembly amended the constitution, making Albania a kingdom and transforming Zogu into Zog I, "King of the Albanians"²⁷. International recognition arrived forthwith, but many Albanians regarded their country's nascent dynasty as a tragic farce. The new constitution abolished the Senate, creating a unicameral National Assembly, but King Zog retained the dictatorial powers he had enjoyed as President Zogu²⁸.

Zog remained sensitive to steadily mounting disillusion with Italy's domination of Albania. The Albanian army, though always less than 15,000-strong, sapped the country's funds, and the Italians' monopoly on training the armed forces rankled public opinion. As a counterweight, Zog kept British officers in the Gendarmerie despite strong Italian pressure to remove them. In 1931 Zog openly stood up to the Italians, refusing to renew the 1926 First Treaty of Tirana. In 1932 and 1933, Albania could not make the interest payments on its loans from the Society for the Economic Development of Albania. In response, Rome turned up the pressure, demanding that Tirana name Italians to direct the Gendarmerie; join Italy in a customs union; grant Italy control of the country's sugar, telegraph, and electrical monopolies; teach the Italian language in all Albanian schools; and admit Italian colonists²⁹. Zog refused. Instead, he ordered the national budget slashed by 30 percent, dismissed the Italian military advisers, and nationalized Italian-run Roman Catholic schools in the northern part of the country.

3. Italian occupation

As Germany annexed Austria and moved against Czechoslovakia, Italy saw itself becoming a second-rate member of the Axis. The imminent birth of an Albanian royal child meanwhile threatened to give Zog a lasting dynasty. After Hitler invaded Czechoslovakia (March 15, 1939) without notifying Mussolini in advance, the Italian dictator decided to proceed with his own annexation of Albania. Italy's King Victor Emmanuel III criticized the plan to take Albania as an unnecessary risk³⁰.

Rome, however, delivered Tirana an ultimatum on March 25, 1939, demanding that it accede to Italy's occupation of Albania. Zog refused to accept money in exchange for countenancing a full Italian takeover and colonization of Albania, and on April 7, 1939, Mussolini's troops invaded Albania. Despite some stubborn resistance, especially at Durrës, the Italians made short shrift of the Albanians³¹.

Unwilling to become an Italian puppet, King Zog and his family fled to Greece and eventually to London. On April 12, the Albanian parliament voted to unite the country with Italy. Victor Emmanuel III took the Albanian crown, and the Italians set up a fascist government and soon absorbed Albania's military and diplomatic service into Italy's.

After the German army defeated Poland, Denmark, and France, a still-jealous Mussolini decided to use Albania as a springboard to invade Greece. The Italians launched their attack on October 28, 1940, and at a meeting of the two fascist dictators in Florence, Mussolini stunned Hitler with his announcement of the Italian invasion. Mussolini counted on a quick victory, but Greek resistance fighters halted the Italian army in its tracks and soon advanced into Albania.

Albanian fear of renewed Greek designs on their country prevented effective co-operation with the Greek forces, and Mussolini's forces soon established a stable front in central Albania. Fearful that the Balkans might become the Achilles heel of her domination of Europe, on April 6, 1941, Germany intervened (together with Bulgaria and Hungary) to crush both Greece and Yugoslavia, and a month later the Axis added Kosovo to Italian-ruled Albania. Thus Albanian nationalists ironically witnessed the realization of their dreams of uniting most of the Albanian-populated lands during the Axis occupation of their country³².

V. World War II and Albania (1939-1944)

Between 1941 and 1944, communist partisans and nationalist guerrillas fought Italian and German

occupation forces, and more often each other, in a brutal struggle to take control of Albania. Backed by Yugoslavia's communists and armed with British and United States weaponry, Albania's partisans defeated the nationalists in a civil war fought between Italy's capitulation in September 1943 and the withdrawal of German forces from Albania in late 1944.

Faced with an illiterate, agrarian, and mostly Muslim society monitored by Zog's security police, Albania's communist movement attracted few adherents in the interwar period. In fact, the country had no fully-fledged communist party before World War II. In 1930 the Comintern³³ dispatched Ali Kelmendi³⁴ to Albania to organize communist cells. But Albania had no working class for the communist to exploit, and Marxism appealed to only a minute number of quarrelsome, Western-educated, mostly Tosks, intellectuals and to land peasants, miners, and other persons discontented with Albania's obsolete social and economic structures. Forced to flee Albania, Kelmendi fought in Garibaldi International Brigade during the Spanish Civil war and later moved to France, where together with other communists he published a newspaper. Paris became the Albanian communist's hub until Nazi deportations depleted their ranks after the fall of France in 1940.

In October 1941, the leader of Communist Party of the Yugoslavia, Josip Broz Tito, dispatched agents to Albania to forge the country's disparate, impotent communist factions into a monolithic party organization. Within a month, they had established a Yugoslav-dominated Albanian Communist Party of 130 members under the leadership of Hoxha³⁵ and an eleven-man Central Committee. The party at first had little mass appeal, and even its youth organization netted few recruits. In mid-1942, however, party leaders increased their popularity by heeding Tito's order to muffle their Marxist-Leninist propaganda and call instead for national liberation. In September 1942, the party organized a popular front organization, the National Liberation Movement (NLM), from a number of resistance groups, including several that were strongly anticommunist. During the war, the NLM's communist-dominated partisans, in the form of the National Liberation Army, did not heed warnings from the Italian occupiers that there would be reprisals for guerrilla attacks. Partisan leaders, on the contrary, counted on using the lust for revenge such reprisals would elicit to win recruits.

With the overthrow of Mussolini's fascist regime and Italy's surrender in 1943, the Italian military and police establishment in Albania buckled. Albanian fighters overwhelmed five Italian divisions, and enthusiastic recruits flocked to the guerrilla forces. The communists took control of most of Albania's southern cities. British agents working in Albania during the war fed the Albanian resistance fighters with information that the Allies were planning a major invasion of the Balkans and urged the disparate Albanian

groups to unite their efforts. In August 1943, the Allies convinced communist and Balli Kombetar leaders to meet in the village near Tirana and form a Committee for the Salvation of Albania (Komiteti i Shpëtim të Shqipërisë) that would coordinate their guerrilla operations. The two groups eventually ended all collaboration, however, over a disagreement on the postwar status of Kosovo.

Germany occupied Albania in September 1943, dropping paratroopers into Tirana before the Albanian guerrillas could take the capital, and the German army soon drove the guerrillas into the hills and to the south. Berlin subsequently announced it would recognize the independence of a neutral Albania and organized an Albanian government, police, and military. The Germans did not exert heavy-handed control over Albania's administration. Rather, they sought to gain popular support by backing causes popular with Albanians, especially the annexation of Kosovo³⁶.

Albania stood in an unenviable position after World War II. Greece and Yugoslavia hungered for Albanian lands they had lost or claimed. The NLF's strong links with Yugoslavia's communists, who also enjoyed British military and diplomatic support, guaranteed that Belgrade would play a key role in Albania's postwar order. The Allies never recognized an Albanian government in exile or King Zog, nor did they ever raise the question of Albania or its borders at any of the major wartime conferences. No reliable statistics on Albania's wartime losses exist, but the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration reported about 30,000 Albanian war dead, 200 destroyed villages, 18,000 destroyed houses, and about 100,000 people left homeless. Albanian official statistics claim somewhat higher losses.

VI. Albania Economy under the Communism System (1944-1990)

1. Consolidation of Power and Initial Reforms

A tiny collection of militant communists moved quickly after World War II to subdue all potential political enemies in Albania, break the country's landowners and minuscule middle class, and isolate Albania from the noncommunist world in order to establish the People's Republic of Albania³⁷. By early 1945, the communists had liquidated, discredited, or driven into exile most of the country's interwar elite. The internal affairs minister, Koci Xoxe³⁸, a pro-Yugoslav erstwhile tinsmith, presided over the trial and the execution of thousands of opposition politicians, clan chiefs, and member of former Albanian governments who were condemned as "war criminals". Thousands of their family members were imprisoned for years in work camps

and jails and later exiled for decades to miserable state farms built on reclaimed marshlands. The communist's consolidation of control also produced a shift in political power in Albania from the northern Ghegs³⁹ to the southern Tosks⁴⁰. Most communist leaders were middle-class Tosks, and the party drew most of its recruits from Tosk-inhabited areas, while the Ghegs, with their centuries-old tradition of opposing authority, distrusted the new Albanian rulers and their alien Marxist doctrines.

In December 1945, Albanians elected a new People's Assembly, but only candidates from the Democratic Front (previously the National Liberation Movement then the National Liberation Front), the renamed NLM, appeared on the electoral lists, and the communists used propaganda and terror tactics to gag the opposition. Official ballot tallies showed that 92 percent of the electorate voted and that 93 percent of the voters chose the Democratic Front ticket. The assembly convened in January 1946, annulled the monarchy, and transformed Albania into a "People's Republic". After months of angry debate, the assembly adopted a constitution that mirrored the Yugoslav and Soviet constitutions. Then in the spring, the assembly members chose a new government. Hoxha, the Albanian Communist Party's first secretary, became prime minister, foreign minister, defense minister, and the army's commander in chief. Hoxha remained in control despite the fact that he had once advocated restoring relations with Italy and even allowing Albanians to study in Italy.

The communists also undertook economic measures to expand their power. In December 1944, the provisional government adopted laws allowing the state to regulate foreign and domestic trade, commercial enterprises, and the few industries the country possessed. The laws sanctioned confiscation of property belonging to political exiles and "enemies of the people". The state also expropriated all German and Italian owned property, nationalized transportation enterprises, and canceled all concessions granted by previous Albanian governments to foreign companies.

The government took major steps to introduce a Stalinist-style centrally planned economy⁴¹ in 1946. It nationalized all industries, transformed foreign trade into a government monopoly, brought almost all domestic trade under state control, and banned land sales and transfers. Planners at the newly founded Economic Planning Commission emphasized industrial development, and in 1947 the government introduced the Soviet cost-accounting system.

In August 1945, the provisional government adopted the first sweeping agricultural reforms in Albania's history. The country's 100 largest landowners, who controlled close to a third of Albania's arable land, had frustrated all agricultural reform proposals before the war. The communist's reforms were aimed at squeezing large landowners out of business, winning peasant support, and increasing farm output to avert famine⁴². The

government annulled outstanding agricultural debts, granted peasants access to inexpensive water for irrigation⁴³, and nationalized forest and pastureland. Under the Agrarian Reform Law, which redistributed about half of Albania's arable land, the government confiscated property belonging to absentee landlords and people not dependent on agriculture for a living. The few peasants with agricultural machinery were permitted to keep up to forty hectares of land; the landholdings of religious institutions and peasants without agricultural machinery were limited to twenty hectares; and landless peasants and peasants with tiny landholdings were given up to five hectares, although they had to pay nominal compensation. Thus tiny farmsteads replaced large private estates across Albania.

2. Albanian-Yugoslav Tensions

Until Yugoslavia's expulsion from the Cominform⁴⁴ in 1948, Albania acted like a Yugoslav satellite and Tito aimed to use his chokehold on the Albanian party to incorporate the entire country into Yugoslavia. After Germany's withdrawal from Kosovo in late 1944, Yugoslavia's communist partisans took possession of the province and committed retaliatory massacres against Albanians. Before World War II, the Communist Party of Yugoslavia had supported transferring Kosovo to Albania, but Yugoslavia's postwar communist regime insisted on preserving the country's prewar borders. In repudiating the 1943 Mukaj agreement⁴⁵ under pressure from the Yugoslavs, Albania's communists had consented to restore Kosovo to Yugoslavia after the war. In January 1945, the two governments signed a treaty reincorporating Kosovo into Yugoslavia as an autonomous province. Shortly thereafter, Yugoslavia became the first country to recognize Albania's provisional government.

In July 1946, Yugoslavia and Albania signed a treaty of friendship and cooperation that was quickly followed by a series of technical and economic agreements laying the groundwork for integrating the Albanian and Yugoslav economies. The pacts provided for coordinating the economic plans of both states, standardizing their monetary systems, and creating a common pricing system and a customs union. So close was the Yugoslav-Albanian relationship that Serbo-Croatian became a required subject in Albanian high schools. Yugoslavia signed a similar friendship treaty with Bulgaria, and Marshal Tito and Bulgaria's Georgi Dimitrov⁴⁶ talked of plans to establish a Balkan federation to include Albania, Yugoslavia, and Bulgaria. Yugoslav advisers poured into Albania's government offices and its army headquarters. Tirana was desperate for outside aid, and about 20,000 tons of Yugoslav grain helped stave off famine. Albania also received

US\$26.3 million from the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration immediately after the war but had to rely on Yugoslavia for investment and development aid⁴⁷.

The Yugoslav government clearly regarded investment in Albania as investment in the future of Yugoslavia itself. Joint Albanian-Yugoslav companies were created for mining, railroad construction, the production of petroleum and electricity, and international trade. The Yugoslavs also bolstered the Albanian economy by paying three times the world price for Albanian copper and other materials⁴⁸.

Relations between Albania and Yugoslavia declined, however, when the Albanians began complaining that the Yugoslavs were paying too little for Albanian raw materials and exploiting Albania through the joint stock companies. In addition, the Albanians sought investment funds to develop light industries and an oil refinery, while the Yugoslavs wanted the Albanians to concentrate on agriculture and raw-material extraction. Tito distrusted Hoxha and the other intellectuals in the Albanian party and, through Xoxe and his loyalists, attempted to unseat them⁴⁹.

In 1947 Yugoslavia's leaders engineered an all-out offensive against anti-Yugoslav Albanian communists. In May Tirana announced the arrest, trial, and conviction of nine People's Assembly members, all known for opposing Yugoslavia, on charges of anti-state activities. A month later, the Communist Party of Yugoslavia's Central Committee accused Hoxha of following "independent" policies and turning the Albanian people against Yugoslavia. Apparently attempting to buy support inside the Albanian Communist Party, Belgrade extended Tirana US\$40 million worth of credits, an amount equal to 58 percent of Albania's 1947 state budget⁵⁰.

The insignificance of Albania's standing in the communist world was clearly highlighted when the emerging East European nations did not invite the Albanian party to the September 1947 founding meeting of the Cominform. Rather, Yugoslavia represented Albania at Cominform meetings. Although the Soviet Union gave Albania a pledge to build textile and sugar mills and other factories and to provide Albania agricultural and industrial machinery, Stalin told Milovan Djilas, at the time a high-ranking member of Yugoslavia's communist hierarchy, that Yugoslavia should "swallow" Albania⁵¹.

Albania entered an orbit around the Soviet Union, and in September 1948 Moscow stepped in to compensate for Albania's loss of Yugoslav aid. The shift proved to be a boon for Albania because Moscow had far more to offer than hard-strapped Belgrade. The fact that the Soviet Union had no common border with Albania also appealed to the Albanian regime because it made it more difficult for Moscow to exert pressure on Tirana. The subsequent anti-Titoist purges in Albania brought the liquidation of fourteen members of the party's

thirty-one-person Central Committee and thirty-two of the 109 People's Assembly deputies. Overall, the party expelled about 25 percent of its membership. Yugoslavia responded with a propaganda counterattack, canceled its treaty of friendship with Albania, and in 1950 withdrew its diplomatic mission from Tirana⁵².

3. Deteriorating Relations with the West

Albania's relations with the West soured after the communist regime's refusal to allow free elections in December 1945. Albania restricted the movements of United States and British personnel in the country, charging that they had instigated anticommunist uprisings in the northern mountains. Britain announced in April that it would not send a diplomatic mission to Tirana; the United States withdrew its mission in November; and both the United States and Britain opposed admitting Albania to the United Nations (UN). The Albanian regime feared that the United States and Britain, which were supporting anticommunist forces in the civil war in Greece, would back Greek demands for territory in southern Albania; and anxieties grew in July when a United States Senate resolution backed the Greek demands⁵³.

After 1946 the United States and United Kingdom began implementing an elaborate covert plan to overthrow Albania's communist regime by backing anticommunist and royalist forces within the country⁵⁴. By 1949 the United States and British intelligence organizations were working with King Zog and the mountain men of his personal guard. They recruited Albanian refugees and émigrés from Egypt, Italy, and Greece; trained them in Cyprus, Malta, and the Federal Republic of Germany (West Germany); and infiltrated them into Albania. Guerrilla units entered Albania in 1950 and 1952, but Albanian security forces killed or captured all of them. Following a wave of subversive activity, including the failed infiltration and the March 1951 bombing of the Soviet embassy in Tirana, the Albanian regime implemented harsh internal security measures. In September 1952, the assembly enacted a penal code that required the death penalty for anyone over eleven years old found guilty of conspiring against the state, damaging state property, or committing economic sabotage.

4. Albania and the Soviet Union

Albania became dependent on Soviet aid and know-how after the break with Yugoslavia in 1948. In February 1949, Albania gained membership in the communist bloc's organization for coordinating economic planning, the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance⁵⁵ (Comecon). Tirana soon entered into trade

agreements with Poland, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Romania, and the Soviet Union. Soviet and East European technical advisers took up residence in Albania, and the Soviet Union also sent Albania military advisers and built a submarine installation. After the Soviet-Yugoslav split, Albania and Bulgaria were the only countries the Soviet Union could use to funnel war materiel to the communists fighting in Greece. What little strategic value Albania offered the Soviet Union, however, gradually shrank as nuclear arms technology developed⁵⁶.

Anxious to pay homage to Stalin, Albania's rulers implemented new elements of the Stalinist economic system. In 1949 Albania adopted the basic elements of the Soviet fiscal system, under which state enterprises paid direct contributions to the treasury from their profits and kept only a share authorized for self-financed investments and other purposes. In 1951 the Albanian government launched its first five-year plan, which emphasized exploiting the country's oil, chromites, copper, nickel, asphalt, and coal resources; expanding electricity production and the power grid; increasing agricultural output; and improving transportation. The government began a program of rapid industrialization after the APL's Second Party Congress and a campaign of forced collectivization of farmland in 1955. At the time, private farms still produced about 87 percent of Albania's agricultural output, but by 1960 the same percentage came from collective or state farms. Soviet-Albanian relations remained warm during the last years of Joseph Stalin's life despite the fact that Albania was an economic liability for the Soviet Union. Albania conducted all its foreign trade with Soviet European countries in 1949, 1950, and 1951 and over half its trade with the Soviet Union itself⁵⁷.

Although far behind Western practice, health care and education improved dramatically for Albania's 1.2 million people in the early 1950s. The number of Albanian doctors increased by a third to about 150 early in the decade (although the doctor-patient ratio remained unacceptable by most standards), and the state opened new medical training facilities. The number of hospital beds rose from 1,765 in 1945 to about 5,500 in 1953. Better health care and living conditions produced an improvement in Albania's dismal infant mortality rate, lowering it from 112.2 deaths per 1,000 live births in 1945 to 99.5 deaths per 1,000 births in 1953. The education system considered a tool for propagating communism and creating the academic and technical cadres necessary for construction of a socialist state and society, also improved dramatically. The number of schools, teachers, and students doubled between 1945 and 1950. Illiteracy declined from perhaps 85 percent in 1946 to 31 percent in 1950. The Soviet Union provided scholarships for Albanian students and supplied specialists and study materials to improve instruction in Albania. The State University of Tirana (now University of Tirana) was founded in 1957 and the Albanian Academy of Sciences opened fifteen years later.

Despite these advances, however, education in Albania suffered as a result of restrictions on freedom of thought. For example, education institutions had scant influence on their own curricula, methods of teaching, or administration.

After Stalin died in March 1953, Tirana soon came under pressure from Moscow to copy, at least formally, the new Soviet model for a collective leadership. In July 1953, Hoxha handed over the foreign affairs and defense portfolios to loyal followers, but he kept both the top party post and the premiership until 1954, when Shehu⁵⁸ became Albania's prime minister. The Soviet Union, responding with an effort to raise the Albanian leaders' morale, elevated diplomatic relations between the two countries to the ambassadorial level.

Despite some initial expressions of enthusiasm, Hoxha and Shehu mistrusted Nikita Khrushchev's programs of "peaceful coexistence" and "different roads to socialism" because they appeared to pose the threat that Yugoslavia might again try to take control of Albania. Tirana and Belgrade renewed diplomatic relations in December 1953, but Hoxha refused Khrushchev's repeated appeals to rehabilitate posthumously the pro-Yugoslav Xoxe as a gesture to Tito. The Albanian duo instead tightened their grip on their country's domestic life and let the propaganda war with the Yugoslavs grind on. In 1955 Albania became a founding member of the Warsaw Treaty Organization, better known as the Warsaw Pact⁵⁹, the only military alliance the nation ever joined. Although the pact represented the first promise Albania had obtained from any of the communist countries to defend its borders, the treaty did nothing to assuage the Albanian leaders' deep mistrust of Yugoslavia.

Hoxha and Shehu tapped the Albanians' deep-seated fear of Yugoslav domination to remain in power during the thaw following the Twentieth Party Congress of the Communist party of the Soviet Union's in 1956, when Khrushchev denounced Stalin's crimes in his speech. Hoxha defended Stalin and blamed the Titoist heresy for the troubles vexing world communism, including the disturbances in Poland and the rebellion in Hungary in 1956. Hoxha mercilessly purged party moderates with pro-Soviet and pro-Yugoslav leanings, but he toned down his anti-Yugoslav rhetoric after an April 1957 trip to Moscow, where he won cancellation of about US\$105 million in outstanding loans and about US\$7.8 million in additional food assistance. By 1958, however, Hoxha was again complaining about Tito's "fascism" and "genocide" against Albanians in Kosovo. He also grumbled about a Comecon plan for integrating the East European economies, which called for Albania to produce agricultural goods and minerals instead of emphasizing development of heavy industry. On a twelve-day visit to Albania in 1959, Khrushchev reportedly tried to convince Hoxha and Shehu that their country should aspire to become socialism's "orchard"⁶⁰.

5. Albania and China

Albania played a role in the Sino-Soviet conflict far outweighing either its size or its importance in the communist world. By 1958 Albania stood with the People's Republic of China in opposing Moscow on issues of peaceful coexistence, de-Stalinization, and Yugoslavia's "separate road to socialism" through decentralization of economic life. The Soviet Union, other East European countries, and China all offered Albania large amounts of aid. Soviet leaders also promised to build a large Palace of Culture in Tirana as a symbol of the Soviet people's "love and friendship" for the Albanians⁶¹. But despite these gestures, Tirana was dissatisfied with Moscow's economic policy toward Albania. Hoxha and Shehu apparently decided in May or June 1960 that Albania was assured of Chinese support, and they openly sided with the PRC when sharp polemics erupted between the PRC and the Soviet Union. Ramiz Alia, at the time a candidate-member of the Politburo and Hoxha's adviser on ideological questions, played a prominent role in the rhetoric⁶².

The Sino-Soviet split burst into the open in June 1960 at a Romanian Workers' Party congress, at which Khrushchev attempted to secure condemnation of Beijing. Albania's delegation, alone among the European delegations, supported the Chinese. The Soviet Union immediately retaliated by organizing a campaign to oust Hoxha and Shehu in the summer of 1960. Moscow cut promised grain deliveries to Albania during a drought, and the Soviet embassy in Tirana overtly encouraged a pro-Soviet faction in the APL to speak out against the party's pro-Chinese stand. Moscow also apparently involved itself in a plot within the APL to unseat Hoxha and Shehu by force. But given their tight control of the party machinery, army, and Shehu's secret police, the Directorate of State Security (Drejtorija e Sigurimit të Shtetit), the two Albanian leaders easily parried the threat. Five pro-Soviet Albanian leaders were eventually tried and executed. The PRC immediately began making up for the cancellation of Soviet wheat shipments despite a paucity of foreign currency and its own economic hardships.

Albania again sided with the People's Republic of China when it launched an attack on the Soviet Union's leadership of the international communist movement at the November 1960 Moscow conference of the world's eighty-one communist parties. Hoxha inveighed against Khrushchev for encouraging Greek claims to southern Albania, sowing discord within the APL and army, and using economic blackmail. Hoxha and Shehu continued their harangue against the Soviet Union and Yugoslavia at the APL's Fourth Party Congress in February 1961. During the congress, the Albanian government announced the broad outlines of the country's Third Five-Year Plan (1961-65), which allocated 54 percent of all investment to industry, thereby rejecting

Khrushchev's wish to make Albania primarily an agricultural producer⁶³. Moscow responded by canceling aid programs and lines of credit for Albania, but the Chinese again came to the rescue.

After additional sharp exchanges between Soviet and Chinese delegates over Albania at the Communist Party of the Soviet Union's Twenty-Second Party Congress in October 1961, Khrushchev lambasted the Albanians for executing a pregnant, pro-Soviet member of the Albanian party Politburo, and the Soviet Union finally broke diplomatic relations with Albania in December. Moscow then withdrew all Soviet economic advisers and technicians from the country, including those at work on the Palace of Culture, and halted shipments of supplies and spare parts for equipment already in place in Albania. In addition, the Soviet Union continued to dismantle its naval installations on Sazan Island, a process that had begun even before the break in relations.

Communist China again compensated Albania for the loss of Soviet economic support, supplying about 90 percent of the parts, foodstuffs, and other goods the Soviet Union had promised. Beijing lent the Albanians money on more favorable terms than Moscow, and, unlike Soviet advisers, Chinese technicians earned the same low pay as Albanian workers and lived in similar housing. China also presented Albania with a powerful radio transmission station from which Tirana sang the praises of Stalin, Hoxha, and Mao Zedong for decades. For its part, Albania offered China a beachhead in Europe and acted as Communist China's chief spokesman at the UN. To Albania's dismay, however, Chinese equipment and technicians were not nearly so sophisticated as the Soviet goods and advisers they replaced⁶⁴. Ironically, a language barrier even forced the Chinese and Albanian technicians to communicate in Russian. Albanians no longer took part in Warsaw Pact activities or Comecon agreements. The other East European communist nations, however, did not break diplomatic or trade links with Albania. In 1964 the Albanians went so far as to seize the empty Soviet embassy in Tirana, and Albanian workers pressed on with construction of the Palace of Culture on their own.

The shift away from the Soviet Union wreaked havoc on Albania's economy. Half of its imports and exports had been geared toward Soviet suppliers and markets, so the souring of Tirana's relations with Moscow brought Albania's foreign trade to near collapse as China proved incapable of delivering promised machinery and equipment on time. The low productivity, flawed planning, poor workmanship, and inefficient management at Albanian enterprises became clear when Soviet and East European aid and advisers were withdrawn. In 1962 the Albanian government introduced an austerity program, appealing to the people to conserve resources, cut production costs, and abandon unnecessary investment⁶⁵.

In October 1964, Hoxha hailed Khrushchev's fall from power, and the Soviet Union's new leaders made overtures to Tirana. It soon became clear, however, that the new Soviet leadership had no intention of

changing basic policies to suit Albania, and relations failed to improve. Tirana's propaganda continued for decades to refer to Soviet officials as “treacherous revisionists” and “traitors to communism”, and in 1964 Hoxha said that Albania's terms for reconciliation were a Soviet apology to Albania and reparations for damages inflicted on the country. Soviet-Albanian relations dipped to new lows after the Warsaw Pact invasion of Czechoslovakia in 1968, when Albania responded by officially withdrawing from the alliance.

In the mid-1960s, Albania's leaders grew wary of a threat to their power by a burgeoning bureaucracy. Party discipline had eroded. People complained about malfeasance, inflation, and low-quality goods. Writers strayed from the orthodoxy of socialist realism, which demanded that art and literature serve as instruments of government and party policy. As a result, after Mao Zedong⁶⁶ unleashed the Cultural Revolution in China in 1966, Hoxha launched his own Cultural and Ideological Revolution. The Albanian leader concentrated on reforming the military, government bureaucracy, and economy as well as on creating new support for his Stalinist system. The regime abolished military ranks, reintroduced political commissars into the military, and renounced professionalism in the army. Railing against a “white-collar mentality”, the authorities also slashed the salaries of mid- and high-level officials, ousted administrators and specialists from their desk jobs, and sent such persons to toil in the factories and fields. Six ministries, including the Ministry of Justice, were eliminated. Farm collectivization spread to even the remote mountains. In addition, the government attacked dissident writers and artists, reformed its education system, and generally reinforced Albania's isolation from European culture in an effort to keep out foreign influences.

In 1967 the authorities conducted a violent campaign to extinguish religious life in Albania, claiming that religion had divided the Albanian nation and kept it mired in backwardness. Student agitators combed the countryside, forcing Albanians to quit practicing their faith. Despite complaints, even by APL members, all churches, mosques, monasteries, and other religious institutions had been closed or converted into warehouses, gymnasiums, and workshops by year's end. A special decree abrogated the charters by which the country's main religious communities had operated. The campaign culminated in an announcement that Albania had become the world's first atheistic state, a feat touted as one of Enver Hoxha's greatest achievements.

Traditional kinship links in Albania, centered on the patriarchal family, were shattered by the postwar repression of clan leaders, collectivization of agriculture, industrialization, migration from the countryside to urban areas, and suppression of religion. The postwar regime brought a radical change in the status of Albania's women. Considered second-class citizens in traditional Albanian society, women performed most of

the work at home and in the fields. Before World War II, about 90 percent of Albania's women were illiterate, and in many areas they were regarded as chattels under ancient tribal laws and customs. During the Cultural and Ideological Revolution, the party encouraged women to take jobs outside the home in an effort to compensate for labor shortages and to overcome their conservatism. Hoxha himself proclaimed that anyone who trampled on the party's edict on women's rights should be "hurled into the fire".

6. The Break with China and Self-Reliance

Albanian-Chinese relations had stagnated by 1970, and when the Asian superpower began to reemerge from isolation in the early 1970s, Mao and the other Communist Chinese leaders reassessed their commitment to tiny Albania. In response, Tirana began broadening its contacts with the outside world. Albania opened trade negotiations with France, Italy, and the recently independent Asian and African states, and in 1971 it normalized relations with Yugoslavia and Greece⁶⁷. Albania's leaders abhorred the People's Republic of China's contacts with the United States in the early 1970s, and its press and radio ignored President Richard Nixon's trip to Beijing in 1972. Albania actively worked to reduce its dependence on Communist China by diversifying trade and improving diplomatic and cultural relations, especially with Western Europe. But Albania shunned the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe and was the only European country that refused to take part in the Helsinki Conference of July 1975. Soon after Mao's death in 1976, Hoxha criticized the new leadership as well as Beijing's pragmatic policy toward the United States and Western Europe. The Chinese retorted by inviting Tito to visit Beijing in 1977 and ending assistance programs for Albania in 1978.

The Sino-Albanian split⁶⁸ left Albania with no foreign protector. Tiranë ignored calls by the United States and the Soviet Union to normalize relations. Instead, Albania expanded diplomatic ties with Western Europe and the developing nations and began stressing the principle of self-reliance as the keystone of the country's strategy for economic development. However, Hoxha's cautious opening toward the outside world stirred up nascent movements for change inside Albania. As the dictator's health slipped, muted calls arose for the relaxation of party controls and greater openness. In response, Hoxha launched a series of purges that removed the defense minister and many top military officials. A year later, Hoxha purged ministers responsible for the economy and replaced them with younger persons.

As Hoxha's health declined, the dictator began planning for an orderly succession. He worked to

institutionalize his policies, hoping to frustrate any attempt his successors might make to venture from the Stalinist path he had blazed for Albania. In December 1976 Albania adopted its second Stalinist constitution of the postwar era. The document "guaranteed" Albanians freedom of speech, the press, organization, association, and assembly but subordinated these rights to the individual's duties to society as a whole. The constitution enshrined in law the idea of autarky and prohibited the government from seeking financial aid or credits or from forming joint companies with partners from capitalist or revisionist communist countries. The constitution's preamble also boasted that the foundations of religious belief in Albania had been abolished.

In 1980 Hoxha turned to Ramiz Alia to succeed him as Albania's communist patriarch, overlooking his long-standing comrade-in-arms, Mehmet Shehu. Hoxha first tried to convince Shehu to step aside voluntarily, but when this move failed Hoxha arranged for all the members of the Politburo to rebuke him for allowing his son to become engaged to the daughter of a former bourgeois family. Shehu allegedly committed suicide on December 18, 1981. It is suspected, however, that Hoxha had him killed. Hoxha, obviously fearing retaliation, purged the members of Shehu's family and his supporters within the police and military. In November 1982, Hoxha announced that Shehu had been a foreign spy working simultaneously for the United States, British, Soviet, and Yugoslav intelligence agencies in planning the assassination of Hoxha himself. "He was buried like a dog", the dictator wrote in the Albanian edition of his book, *The Titoites*.

Hoxha went into semi-retirement in early 1983, and Alia assumed responsibility for Albania's administration. Alia traveled extensively around Albania, standing in for Hoxha at major events and delivering addresses laying down new policies and intoning litanies to the enfeebled president. When Hoxha died on April 11, 1985, he left Albania a legacy of repression, technological backwardness, isolation, and fear of the outside world. Alia succeeded to the presidency and became legal secretary of the APL two days later. In due course, he became a dominant figure in the Albanian media, and his slogans appeared painted in crimson letters on signboards across the country.

Endnote

- 1 The Mediterranean Sea is a part of the Atlantic Ocean, almost completely enclosed by land, on the north by Europe, on the south by Africa, and on the east by Asia. It covers an approximate area of 2.5 million km². It is also called the Euro-African Mediterranean Sea or the European Mediterranean Sea in oceanography to distinguish it from other Mediterranean seas in the world (<http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Albania>, 2005/07/08).
- 2 The Republic of Montenegro (*Serbian: Црна Гора, Crna Gora, meaning "black mountain"*) is a small, mountainous republic in the Balkans, on the Adriatic Sea. According to its constitution, it is a democratic, social, and ecological state (<http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Albania>, 2005/07/08).
- 3 Kosovo (*Albanian: Kosovë / Kosova, Serbian: Косово u Memoxuja / Kosovo i Metohija*), in English most often called just Kosovo, is a province of Serbia. It is the subject of an ongoing territorial dispute between the Serbian government

- and the province's majority ethnic Albanian population. It is a part of Serbia, but since the Kosovo War (1996-1999) it has been administered by the United Nations as a protectorate. Its Albanian population referred to the province as the Republic of Kosovo between 1990 and 1999 and declared it an independent state, though this was recognized abroad only by Albania. The province's final status has yet to be determined; talks on this issue are scheduled for later in 2005. (<http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Albania>, 2005/07/08).
- 4 The Republic of Serbia (*Serbian: Република Србија, Republika Srbija*) is a republic in South-eastern Europe, which is united with Montenegro in a loose commonwealth known as the State Union of Serbia and Montenegro. The roots of the Serbian state reach back to the first half of the 9th century. The Kingdom of Serbia was established in the 11th century, and in the 13th century it eventually became the Serbian Empire. After 1918, Serbia was a founding member of Yugoslavia in its various forms (the Kingdom of Yugoslavia, the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, and the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia). (<http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Albania>, 2005/07/08).
 - 5 The Republic of Macedonia is an independent state on the Balkan Peninsula in southeastern Europe. Most nations and international organizations recognize the country as the Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia (FYROM), the name under which it was admitted into the United Nations but many countries, including China, Russia, and the United States officially recognize it under the name it uses for itself. It is often called simply Macedonia, although this can cause confusion with the Greek region of Macedonia and the wider geographical region (<http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Albania>, 2005/07/08).
 - 6 The Adriatic Sea is an arm of the Mediterranean Sea separating the Apennine peninsula (Italy) from the Balkan Peninsula, and the system of the Apennine Mountains from that of the Dinaric Alps and adjacent ranges. The western coast is Italian, while the eastern coast runs along the countries of Slovenia, Croatia, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Montenegro, and Albania (<http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Albania>, 2005/07/08).
 - 7 The Ionian Sea is an arm of the Mediterranean Sea, south of the Adriatic Sea. It is bounded by southern Italy, including Calabria and Sicily, to the west, by southwestern Albania and a large number of Greek islands. The islands are collectively referred to as the Ionian Islands. The sea is one of the most seismic areas in the world.
 - 8 <http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Albania>, 2005/07/08).
 - 9 "Epirus" means "mainland" or "continent" in Greek, and was originally applied to the whole coast northward of the Corinthian Gulf in contradistinction to the neighboring islands, Corfu (Corcyra), Leucas, etc. In consequence it does have not any ethnical meaning, as it is sometimes proclaimed. The name of Epirus, as applied to Southern Albania, is misleading inasmuch as its Greek sound gives the idea that one is dealing with a Greek territory. This is due to the unfortunate fact that the principal sources of the history of this section of Albania are the writings of Greek historians, some of whom tend to Hellenize everything. Yet, all the ancient Greek writers, including Theopompus, Thucydides, and the more modern Plutarch, are in full accord in stating that Epirus was exclusively inhabited by non-Hellenic barbarous populations. <http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Albania>, 2005/07/08).
 - 10 <http://www.opic.gov/links>. 2005/08/18
 - 11 Gjergj Kastrioti (*George Kastrioti*) (1405, *Kruja - January 17, 1468, Lezha*), better known as Skanderbeg, is the most prominent figure in the history of Albania. He was a descendant of the Kastrioti family, a respected family of princes in Albania. Obligated by the Ottomans to pay tribute to the Empire, and to ensure the fidelity of local rulers, Gjon Kastrioti's sons were taken by the Sultan to his court. In 1423, Gjergj Kastrioti and his three brothers were thus taken by the Turks. He attended military school and led many battles for the Ottoman Empire to victory. For his military victories, he received the title Iskander Bey Arnauti, (*Albanian: Skënderbeu Shqiptari, English: Skanderbeg, the Albanian*). In Turkish this title means Lord Alexander, comparing Kastrioti's military brilliance to that of Alexander the Great. Skanderbeg soon switched sides and came back to his native land to successfully defend Albania against the Ottoman Empire until the time of his death.
 - 12 The ecclesiastical record of the ninth century mentioned Kruja as a bishop's see. The Byzantine held the city up to c.1190, when the first Albanian feudal state was declared at Kruja under the archon Progon (1190-8). Albania survived throughout the rule of Progon's son Gjin (1198-1206) and Dhimitrit (1206-16), but in 1216 it fell under the sway of Epiros, in 1230 under Bulgarians, and in 1240 again under Epiros. Foreign invaders continue to fight over the dying body of a torn and bleeding Albania until an Ottoman garrison was permanently stationed at Kruja in 1415. The citadel of Kruja became the scene of one of Europe's most titanic struggles. In May 1450 the Ottoman Sultan Murad II set out from Constantinople with a hundred thousand men to crush once and for all the Albanian army, which had been united since 1444 by Skanderbeg's personal recruiting campaign. He aimed to storm the citadel of Kruja and to hold the Albanian countryside with Kruja as a capital. <http://www.albanian.com/information/countries/albania/kruja/index.html>, 2005,9,06
 - 13 Prizren is a city of Kosovo and has about 70,000 inhabitants.
 - 14 The League of Prizren (*Albanian: Lidhja e Prizrenit*) was created on June 10, 1878 in a mosque in Prizren, Kosovo by 300 Albanian nationalist leaders, mostly from Kosovo, Western former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia, and Muslim leaders from Bosnia-Herzegovina and the Sandzak, in order to achieve an autonomous Albanian state, representing the former Ottoman vilayets of Shkodër or Skutari centered near Montenegro, the Illyria region, the Chameria region, Janina or Janjevo centered in Northern Epirus, Bitola in Republic of Macedonia and Kosovo. The League was the first major attempt to create a unified Albanian region since the Middle Ages when Albanian forces under Gjergj Kastrioti, Skanderbeg, had failed. *Historia e Popullit Shqiptar*, 2000, (History of Albania, 2000)

- 15 The Ottoman Empire was divided into provinces (vilayets, beylerbeyilik eyalets or pashaluks). As time progressed the number of provinces would vary from thirty-six to a little over twenty, until many of the provinces were lost during World War I. At the height of its power, the Empire had 29 provinces. The Provinces of Rumili and Anadolu were under the direct rule of the sultan in Istanbul. The remaining 27 provinces, were controlled by governors-general (beylerbeyis or vali) <http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Albania, 2005/07/08>.
- 16 *Shkodër* is a city located in North West Albania, in the District of Shkodër and it is the capital of the County of Shkodër. Pop. (2004 est.) 100,000. Shkodër is one of the oldest and most historic town in Albania and it is also an important cultural and economic center.
- 17 *Vlorë* is the second largest port city of Albania, after Durrës, with a population of about 85,000 (2003 estimate). It is located in southwestern Albania, facing the Adriatic Sea, in the District of Vlorë and County of Vlorë at 40.48°N, 19.49°E. It is one of the oldest cities of Albania with traces of civilization dating back to the 6th century BC. Ismail Qemali declared Albanian independence from the Ottoman Empire in Vlorë on November 28th, 1912. At this time Vlorë became the capital of Albania. The city was invaded by Italy in 1914 and in 1939. <http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Albania, 2005/07/08>.
- 18 *Durrës* is the most ancient and one of the most economically important port cities of Albania. Durrës is located on the central Albanian coast at 41°19' N 19°27' E, about 33 km west of the capital Tirana. It is situated at one of the narrower points of the Adriatic Sea, opposite the Italian ports of Bari (300 km away) and Brindisi (200 km away). It has a population of around 114,000 (2003 estimate). <http://www.opic.gov/links. 2005/08/18>
- 19 <http://www.opic.gov/links. 2005/08/18>
- 20 *Ibid.*
- 21 ALBANIA a country study Federal Research Division Library of Congress Edited by Raymond Zickel and Walter R. Iwaskiw, Research Completed April 1992
- 22 <http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Albania, 2005/08/08>.
- 23 *Ibid.*
- 24 <http://www.opic.gov/links. 2005/08/18>
- 25 *Ibid.*
- 26 Ahmed Bey Zogu (*October 8, 1895–April 9, 1961*), was an Albanian prime minister (1922-1924), president (1925-1928), and king (1928-1939 and 1943-1946, the latter period in name only). Zogu crowned himself King of the Albanians, (Mbret i Shqiptarëve in Albanian) on September 1, 1928 and declared a constitutional monarchy similar to the contemporary regime in Italy. He created a strong police force and instituted a Zogist salute (flat hand over the heart with palm facing forwards) and claimed to be a successor of Gjergj Kastriot Skanderbeg. Zog hoarded gold coins and precious stones, which were used to back Albania's first paper currency; his household expenses hovered near 2% of the national budget. He was mostly ignored by other European monarchs.
- 27 Library of Congress, Country Study-Albania, April 1992, <http://lcweb2.loc.gov/frd/cs/altoc.html, 2005.09.14>
- 28 *Ibid.*
- 29 <http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Albania, 2005/09/08>.
- 30 http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Albania_between_wars#Italian_occupation, 2005.09.16
- 31 *Ibid.*
- 32 *Ibid.*
- 33 The Comintern (*from Russian Коммунистический Интернационал (Kommunisticheskiy Internatsional) – Communist International*), also known as the Third International, was an international Communist organization founded in March 1919 by Lenin and the Russian Communist Party (bolshevik), which intended to fight “by all available means, including armed force, for the overthrow of the international bourgeoisie and for the creation of an international Soviet republic as a transition stage to the complete abolition of the State”. The Comintern represented a split from the Second International in response to the latter's failure to form a unified coalition against the First World War, which the Third Internationalists regarded as a bourgeois imperialist war. http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Communist_International, 2005.09.19.
- 34 Ali Kelmendi (1900 Peć, Kosovo – February 11, 1939 France) was an Albanian communist, an organizer of the communist movement in Albania. http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Ali_Kelmendi, 2005.09.21
- 35 Enver Hoxha, (*October 16, 1908–April 11, 1985*) was the president of Albania from the end of World War II until his death in 1985, as the First Secretary of the Communist Albanian Party of Labour. He was also Prime Minister of Albania from 1944 to 1954 and the Minister of Foreign Affairs from 1946 to 1953. Under Hoxha, whose rule was characterized by isolation from the rest of Europe and firm adherence to Stalinism, Albania emerged from semi-feudalism to become an industrialized state. Enver Hoxha and another veteran of the Spanish Civil War, Mehmet Shehu, eventually rose to become the most powerful figures in Albania for decades after the war. The dominant figure in modern Albanian history, Enver Hoxha rose from obscurity to lead his people for a longer time than any other ruler. Born in 1908 to a Muslim Tosk landowner from Gjirokastra who returned to Albania after working in the United States, Hoxha attended the country's best college-preparatory school, the National Lice in Korca. In 1930 he attended the university in Montpellier, France, but lost an Albanian state scholarship for neglecting his studies. Hoxha subsequently moved to Paris and Brussels. After returning to Albania in 1936 without earning a degree, he taught French for years at his former lice and participated in a communist cell in Korca. When the war erupted, Hoxha joined the Albanian partisans. <http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Albania, 2005/07/08>.

- 36 <http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Albania>, 2005.09.08
- 37 Library of Congress, Country Study-Albania, April 1992, <http://lcweb2.loc.gov/frd/cs/altoc.html>, 2005.09.14
- 38 Koci Xoxe (1817-June 11, 1949) was the Defense and Interior Minister of Albania for some time after Enver Hoxha until he was purged for “pro-Yugoslav activities” after Tito broke relations with Hoxha’s ally, Stalin. After a secret trial in May 1949, Xoxe was executed. <http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Albania>, 2005.09.09
- 39 Ghegs is the Albanian population living in the northern Albania.
- 40 Tosks is the Albanian population living in the southern Albania and consist to about 3 million people. The line of demarcation between Tosk and Gheg, is the Shkumbin River.
- 41 A command economy is an economic system in which economic decisions are made by centralized planners who determine what sorts of goods and services to produce and how they are to be priced and allocated, and may include state ownership of the means of production. Since most known planned economies rely on plans implemented by the way of command, they have become widely known as planned economies. Any economic system that is centrally planned by a government is commonly referred to as economic statism. To stress the centralized character of planned economies and to contrast the term with decentralized planning in a market economy, a more specific term, centrally planned economy, is also used. Although a planned economy may include exchanges of money, these exchanges are less important in allocating resources than the central plan. <http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Albania>, 2005/09/14)
- 42 A famine is a phenomenon in which a large percentage of the population of a region or country are undernourished that death by starvation becomes increasingly common. In spite of the much greater technological and economic resources of the modern world, famine still strikes many parts of the world, mostly in the developing nations. <http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Albania>, 2005/09/08)
- 43 Irrigation (in agriculture) is the replacement or supplementation of rainfall with water from another source in order to grow crops. In contrast, agriculture that relies only on direct rainfall is sometimes referred to as dry land farming. <http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Albania>, 2005/09/08)
- 44 The Cominform (from Communist Information Bureau) is the common name for what was officially referred to as the "Information Bureau of the Communist and Workers' Parties". <http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Albania>, 2005/09/08)
- 45 In August 1943, the Allies convinced communist and Balli Kombetar to meet in the village of Mukaj, near Tirana and to form a Committee for the Salvation of Albania that could coordinate their guerilla operations. The two groups eventually ended all collaboration, however, over a disagreement on the postwar status of Kosovo.
- 46 Georgij Mikhailovich Dimitrov) (June 18, 1882 - July 2, 1949) was a Bulgarian Communist leader.
- 47 <http://www.opic.gov/links>. 2005/08/18
- 48 *Ibid.*
- 49 Library of Congress, Country Study-Albania, April 1992, <http://lcweb2.loc.gov/frd/cs/altoc.html>, 2005.09.14
- 50 *Ibid.*
- 51 *Ibid.*
- 52 Library of Congress, Country Study-Albania, April 1992, <http://lcweb2.loc.gov/frd/cs/altoc.html>, 2005.09.14
- 53 *Ibid.*
- 54 *Ibid.*
- 55 The Council for Mutual Economic Assistance (COMECON / Comecon / CMEA / CEMA), 1949 – 1991, was an economic organization of communist states and a kind of Eastern Bloc equivalent to the European Economic Community. The military counterpart to the Comecon was the Warsaw Pact, http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Council_for_Mutual_Economic_Assistance.
- 56 Library of Congress, Country Study-Albania, April 1992, <http://lcweb2.loc.gov/frd/cs/altoc.html>, 2005.09.14
- 57 *Ibid.*
- 58 Mehmet Shehu (January 10, 1913– December 17, 1981 Tirana) was an Albanian politician. Since 1942, Shehu participated in the partisan movement and the work of the Albanian Communist Party. In 1943, he was elected as a candidate member of the Central Committee of the Party. From 1943 to 1944 he was the commander of the 1st partisan brigade. Thereafter, he was a division commander of the National Liberation Army. From 1944 to 1945 he was a member of the Anti-Fascist Council of National Liberation (the provisional government). After Albania was liberated from the German occupation (November 1944) Shehu became the deputy chief of the general staff and after he studied in Moscow he became the chief of the general staff. Later, he was also a lieutenant general and a full general. In 1948, Shehu “expurgated” the party from the element who “tried to separate Albania from the Soviet Union and lead under Belgrade’s influence”. This made him the nearest person to Enver Hoxha and brought him high offices. However, he remained in Hoxha’s shadow. If he had become a serious rival to Hoxha he would have been eliminated. Shehu was held to be Enver Hoxha’s right hand man and the second person in Albania. During 40 years Hoxha was Shehu’s friend and nearest comrade. Shehu was one of those who prepared the Chinese-Albanian alliance and the break with the Soviet Union (December 1961). It is claimed that in 1981 Shehu opposed Enver Hoxha’s isolationism. He was accused in being a Yugoslav spy.
- On December 17, 1981, he was found dead in his bedroom with a bullet wound to his head. According to the official announcement (December 18), he had committed suicide in a nervous breakdown. This was a crime under Albanian law. Shehu was declared to be a “people’s enemy”.
- 59 The Warsaw treaty was drafted by Nikita Khrushchev in 1955 and signed in Warsaw on May 14, 1955. The pact came

to an end on March 31, 1991, and was officially dissolved at a meeting in Prague on July 1, 1991.

The Warsaw Pact or Warsaw Treaty, officially named the Treaty of Friendship, Co-operation and Mutual Assistance, was a military alliance of the Eastern European Eastern Bloc countries, who intended to organize against the perceived threat from the NATO alliance (which had been established in 1949). The creation of the Warsaw Pact was prompted by the integration of a “re-militarized” West Germany into NATO via ratification of the Paris Agreements,

http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Warsaw_Pact.

60 Library of Congress, Country Study-Albania, April 1992, *<http://lcweb2.loc.gov/frd/cs/altoc.html>*, 2005.09.14

61 *Ibid.*

62 *Ibid.*

63 *Ibid.*

64 *Ibid.*

65 *Ibid.*

66 Mao Zedong (December 26, 1893 – September 9, 1976; Mao Tse-tung in Wade-Giles) was the chairman of the Politburo of the Communist Party of China from 1943 and the chairman of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China from 1945 until his death, *http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Mao_Zedong*.

67 Library of Congress, Country Study-Albania, April 1992, *<http://lcweb2.loc.gov/frd/cs/altoc.html>*, 2005.09.14

68 The Sino-Albanian split in 1978 saw the parting of the People's Republic of China and Albania (the only Eastern European nation to side with China in the Sino-Soviet split of the early 1960s). Although of little importance in world politics, it produced a major split in the Maoist movement, with many anti-revisionist groups choosing to side with Albania's more hardline stance, and other groups splitting over the issue,

http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Sino-Albanian_split, 2005-10-11.

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