

The object of study and research in this work is "Albanian Issue and Regional Security Complex in the Balkans." The purpose of this thesis is the treatment of the mutual connection between: the degree of resolution of Albanian issue with the regional security; the prosperity of the Albanians in the region; and possible scenarios round this issue for the future. In this study, in order to prove the mutual connection between the degree of resolution of Albanian issue with the regional security, as well as possible developments in the future among other things, we have used the theory and the analysis of the Regional Security Complex, by treating the security as an issue arising from the interactions between the Balkan nations. The analysis of the Balkan security complex gives us the key to explain the security issues in the Balkan region, and the mutual relations with the Albanian Issue. In this study, we conclude that the Albanian issue in the region and its resolution degree, being related with an existential threat for the nation and the Albanian Geo-sphere has influenced until its final solution, and will continue to affect the regional security.

The Albanian issue and Regional Security

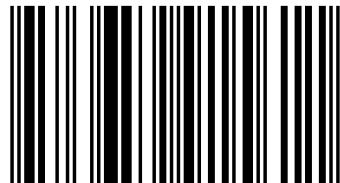


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Albanian Issue and Regional Security Complex



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ALBANIAN ISSUE

AND REGIONAL SECURITY COMPLEX

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Abstract

The object of study and research in this work is “The Albanian issue and its impact in the regional security”

The purpose of this thesis is the treatment of the mutual connection between the degree of resolution of Albanian issue with the regional security, with the prosperity of the Albanians in the region, with the progress of integration processes of the country and the Balkan region, and possible scenarios of this issue for the future.

In this study, in order to prove the mutual connection between the degree of resolution of Albanian issue with the regional security, as well as possible developments in the future, among other things, we have used the theory and the analysis of the Regional Security Complex, by treating the security as an issue arising from the interactions between nations and the Balkans. We also viewed the concept of security, as an area created as a result of obliged interaction and mutual influence of regional actors in the security issues of each other and in the region itself, forming the Balkan security complex. The analysis of the Balkan security complex gives us the key to explain the security issues in the Balkan region and the mutual relations with the Albanian Issue.

However, prior to the analysis of Balkan security complex and its function, in this thesis it is treated the meaning of the Albanian issue, and the main international and regional factors and actors who contributed in it, the moments and the main features of the dynamics of the Albanian Issue in the region for a period of more than a hundred years, and its connection with the regional geopolitics and geostrategic. These are all important, because in them we have researched facts and proofs to prove the mutual relations between the degrees of the Albanian issue resolution with

the regional security. Such facts and proofs are also explored by analyzing the previously known historical information.

The study and research of the Albanian issue and its impact on regional security represents an interest, because it is directly related to our national interests and has continuously occupied an important place in the national security policy of the Republic of Albania. These policies, have determined the Albanian National Issue as one of the primary objectives of security, to be completed in the short and medium term, an obligation that derives from the preamble of the Constitution of the Republic of Albania.

The study and research of Albanian Issue and its impact on regional security represents an interest even in the regional plan. The security in the Balkans is influenced in particular by the development and resolution of the Albanian Issue. In the region the solution Albanian Issue is related and affected the security of those Balkan states which unfairly benefited parts from the Albanian geopolitical space with the decisions of the Berlin Congress of 1878 and other international acts that followed it.

Many valuable native and foreign authors contributed in the Albanian issue. The treatment of this issue in a different perspective is the particularity of this kind of work. It aims at the treatment of the mutual relation between the degree of resolution of the Albanian Issue with the regional security and beyond.

This study proves that the opposition from the beginning of the acceptance and resolution of the Albanian issue in the Balkans and then its half resolution, is the worst investment that the Great Powers made for the regional peace and security. In this study, we concluded that the Albanian issue in the region and its resolution

degree, being related with an existential threat to the nation and the Albanian geo-sphere, has influenced and to its final resolution, will continue to affect the regional security.

After the declaration of independence of Albania, the Albanian national issue was solved only partially. Kosovo's declaration of independence and the signing of the Ohrid agreement mark a historic victory for the Albanians in the region, and is a very important step not only towards the final solution of our national issue, but also for regional peace and security.

On the other hand, is the Albanian issue in the region finally resolved and can we pretend the final solution of our national issue, as been anticipated by our Renaissance in uniting all ethnic Albanian lands in a single state?

The existing situation of the Albanian issue is more complex than in the Renaissance period. At that time, all the Albanian geo-sphere was under the rule of a single state, the Ottoman Empire. Today in the ethnic Albanian territories there "operate" six states within the Albanian geopolitical area, which intend to enter in the "new empire", respectively in that of the European Union and also join the most influential collective defense organization, NATO.

There are also some possible scenarios of the final solution process dynamics of the Albanian issue in the region, present in this study. The term "scenario" in this case refers to the author's predictions, based on his analysis, on the possible geopolitical developments in the Balkan security complex related with the peaceful political process of the final solution of Albanian Issue in the region. At the end of this study there are some conclusions on the Albanian issue and its impact on regional security. These and other issues will be treated further in this study

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INTRODUCTION

The study " Albanian Issue and Regional Security Complex " seeks the treatment of the mutual relations between the degree of resolution of the Albanian issue with the regional security.

This work undertakes to answer the question: How and how much has influenced the resolution level of the Albanian Issue in the regional security and what is the Interaction between them? In order to answer this question in this work, among others it was used the theory and analysis of Regional Security Complex, treating security as an issue arising from interactions between nations. In order to make a thorough analysis, initially it is treated the meaning, beginning, factors and major international and regional actors, who have influenced the Albanian issue and its dynamics. Also there is emphasis on the reports of this issue with regional geopolitics and geostrategic, with the geostrategic position of the Albanian space, with the main geopolitical actors of the time, as well as regional and international balance of power, national security policies of Albania for its resolution, and finally possible scenarios in terms of Euro-Atlantic integration of the country and the Balkan region.

Unlike other works who have dealt with the Albanian issue, in this work it is intended the treatment of this issue in a different perspective and the treatment of the mutual relations between the degree of resolution of the Albanian Issue with the regional security and beyond.

This work consists of six parts.

In the first part it is treated the meaning on the Albanian issue and regional security, by providing some theoretical concepts. Actually the Albanian issue is treated as a national issue about the Albanian people¹, unifying these two concepts in one. "In any analysis of every aspect, ultimately, it can only reduce the Albanian issue in need

¹ Prof.Dr. Rexhep Qosja: "The Albanian issue, history and politics." Page 5. Published "Toena" 1998.

for an unification of the the Albanian territories in a single Albanian state”². “The Albanian issue” and “The Albanian national issue” as concepts are related to each other because, both are subject to the fundamental national interests of the Albanian nation. Despite the fact that these two concepts are related to each other there are differences among them.

“The Albanian issue” is related with the handling, acceptance and the level of the resolution of the Albanian national issue in the regional context, European one and beyond. It is related with the treatment of this issue with regard to other nations in the region, especially with neighbors. In a way it is an outside approach, of the others on the Albanian national issue. “Ultimately, any analysis from each aspect can reduce the Albanian problem only in need of equalization with other countries and this so in every aspect but above all, in terms of development”.³ From that perspective the Albanian issue is part of the Albanian national issue. Its goal is to approximate as much as it can the Albanian national issue. Even today the Albanian issue is not recognized as a national issue, of an unfairly separate nation.⁴

The Albanian issue today may be defined as a peaceful political process, which at the core has the unification of a large part of the Albano-sphere in a single state, defined as a major strategic objective and dictated by: the necessity to withstand to the existential threat against the nation and Albano-sphere; the need to restore full capacity for the overall national development; the need for progress and equalization of Albanians with other nations; the need for the redistribution of power and the establishment of equilibrium, crucial for the peace and security in the region and beyond, process that should not run counter to the trend of Euro-Atlantic integration of the Albanians and the region itself.

2 MA Ukshin Hoti: Political philosophy of the Albanian Issue. "Page 131. Rozafa, Tirana 1995.

3 Same.

4 Prof.Dr. Esat Stravaleci: "The status of the Albanian nation and its challenges." Published in Pristina on 13 August 2007.

The Albanian issue in regional and European level begins to be present during the Eastern crisis, which culminates with the Congress of Berlin in June-July 1878, in the core of which was the competition of “who is going to inherit the possessions of the Ottoman Empire after its collapse”⁵ in Balkans. The unsuccessfully spending of the Albanians in finding a diplomatic and peaceful resolution for their requirements, and especially not the division of their geopolitical space, caused the radicalization of the Albanian actions. In order to prevent with weapons the implementation the decisions of the Congress of Berlin, they were organized in the Albanian League of Prizren, which managed to impose to the Great Powers the Albanian issue with strong and armed resistance that was organized for non-submission of Montenegro⁶ and Albanian provinces that were decided by the Treaty of Berlin. The war of the League for Plava Gucia was very important for the Albanian issue in the region and in Europe⁷. It internationalized the Albanian issue and made it “a fact, a reality and a risk”⁸ if a solution will be not find. Since that time, the Albanian issue is securitized as a problematic issue by main geopolitics actors of the time.

The Albanian issue in the Balkans was created by the Great Powers of the time⁹. These key geo-politics actors did not allowed Albanians at that time to build their state, just as the other Balkan nations. Instead, they decided the partition of the Albano-sphere, by doing so the worst investment for security in the region. Therefore, these actors had and still have an obligation to solve the Albanian issue in

⁵ Prof.Dr.Kristo Frashëri: *Albanians and the eastern crisis. "League of Prizren"* Page 110. Tirana 1989

⁶ Sreten Draskic: *"Europe and the Albanian issue (1830-1921)"*. Beograd 2000. Page 81-82

⁷ Xhafer Belegu: *League of Prizren*, page 84-107. Tiranë 1939;

⁸ Paper no. 16 Furnie, France's ambassador in Istanbul sends on Jan 17, 1880 Frejsinesë, Prime Minister and Minister of Foreign Affairs of France-AMAE CP French Embassy in Stamboll. Vol.434. page 155r-167r. Document translated and published in "Albania in the years of League of Prizren". Volume II. Page 42-46. Tiranë 1986. Publication of the Academy of Sciences RPSSH

⁹ Memorandum to the Albanian Kosovo Albanian Intellectuals Forum Foreign Ministers addressed to the United States, England, France, Germany and Russia, 26 October 1995.

the region. But they do not deal with the resolution of such issues “without the initiation of resolving such an issue by the Albanian political factor”.¹⁰

The Albanian issue will be solved only partially with the declaration of independence of Albania in 1912 and its international recognition in 1913. The Albanian issue is a matter of dynamics, a process that has faced many zigzags. This issue would culminate later with Kosovo crisis of 1998-1999 and in the Presevo Valley - Eastern Kosovo and Macedonia in 2000 - 2001.

The evolution of the thought that peace in the Balkans would be achieved by fragmenting ethnic Albanian lands¹¹, to the belief that without solving the Albanian issue the region will not have peace and security, is an important development of the solving process of the Albanian issue in the Balkans.

In the first part of this work is given also the theoretical concepts of security and regional security, with concrete specifications for the Balkan region. A region in terms of security means "a distinct and important security sub-system of the relations that exist between certain states, which fate has placed them geographically close to each other".¹² So, this involves a group of actors that are placed higher than the national level, but lower than the global one.¹³ In the concept of security, Balkan region is a space created as a result of forced interaction and mutual influence of Balkan actors in regional security issues, by forming in this way the Balkan regional security complex. The regional security complex itself already includes non-state actors and is a "set of units, in which the main processes of securitized and de-

¹⁰ Mr. Ukshin Hoti "The political philosophy of the Albanian issue." Page 60. Published by Publishing House "Rozafa". Tirana 1995

¹¹ See Declaration of Edward Grey on the delimitation of Albania. Published translated into "Albanian issue in international acts" V.II. Document no. 44.Faqe 292-293

¹² Buzan, *People, States & Fear: The National Security Problem in International Relations* (1983; revised second edition 1991); p.188

¹³ Sugio Takahashi: *Redefinition of Cooperative Security and "Regional" Security... There.*

securitized are so closely related to each other in a way that their security problems cannot be analyzed or solved individually and separately".¹⁴

In the context of Balkan, the study of regional security means to study and analyze the security of each actor in the region, as a complex and closely related to the safety of other regional actors. So, that should be studied as a complex of regional security. The analysis of Balkan security complex gives us the key to the explanation of security issues in the Balkans and mutual relations of the Albanian issue with it. According to B. Buzan and O. Wæver¹⁵, this analysis includes four levels (constitutive elements) connected between them, which are respectively: the order, stability and security of the countries in the region (within the state level); the relations between the countries of the Balkan region (regional level), Balkan interaction with neighboring regions (inter-regional level) and the role of world powers in the region (global level), which connected to each other make up the constellation of security¹⁶ (the model formed from the interaction of four levels) in the Balkans.

Prior to the realization of the Balkan security complex analysis, the second part of the thesis treats the beginnings of Albanian issue and the main international actors and factors affecting positively or negatively the Albanian issue in the region. Later the third part treats the moments and key features of the dynamics of the Albanian issue in the region until the present day, because from this dynamic, we will use the facts to prove mutual relation between the degree of resolution of the Albanian issue and regional security.

During the Renaissance period of Balkans, the Ottoman administrative organization never allowed all Albanian territories to be included in a single administrative

¹⁴ Buzan, B. and Wæver: *Regions and Powers; the Structure of International Security*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge (2003).p. 44, 491.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*

¹⁶ Prof.Dr. Mirsad D. Abazoviq: *National security*, page 39; Buzan, B. and Wæver *Regions and Powers; the Structure of International Security*.p.51

military unit. In total, in all four 'vilayets', the Albanians constituted 61.7% of total population.¹⁷ This figure is approximately 3% less than today's ethnic Macedonians in Macedonia unitary state. It was essential to be recognized by the Great Powers, the Albanians rights of state founding in the four 'vilayets' together, just like their Balkan neighbors.

To a considerable extent, the Albanian issue in the region is influenced by regional geopolitics, by the actions and interests of key international and regional actors of the time, by international and regional balances and geo-strategic position of the Albanian area. This is treated in the fourth part of this thesis. Their study has helped us to analyze and conclude on to the relations between the resolutions of the Albanian issue with the security in the Balkan security complex.

World powers, as the main geopolitical actors of the time, known at first as the Great Powers, by having direct interests in the region due to its geostrategic importance, have continuously secured the Balkan region. These powerful state actors have intervened and influenced the region with their policies, as well as the Albanian issue, by continuously affecting the Balkan security complex. Among the powers which intervened and have influenced the Balkan security complex, but also the Albanian issue were: Austria-Hungary, Russia, Italy, England, France, Germany and later the U.S. These powers have intervened or influenced the Balkan security complex and the Albanian issue, accordingly and have based their interests in coordination with the actions altogether, as well as individually. The collective intervention was the case of international congresses or conferences. They have interfered or influenced collectively the Balkans through various international organizations where they are part of, security international organizations or various protective alliances. They have intervened or have affected the regional security complex, but also the Albanian issue, through the initiation and approval through these organisms of international

¹⁷ Prof. Dr. Kristo Frashëri: *Economic and Social Development of Albania during the XIX century - beginning of XX century. The history of the Albanian people. Chapter II, Part II, page 37. Tirana 2002.*

juridical acts obligatory (or not) for the region, but also for the Albanian issue. It is sufficient to mention the Congress of Berlin in 1878 and the Treaty¹⁸ signed at the end of it; London Conference of Ambassadors of the Great Powers of the year 1912-1913 and its protocols and decisions;¹⁹ also the Versailles Peace Conference²⁰ of the year 1919-1920, and its decisions²¹ as well as the Dayton Peace Conference in November 1995 and the Agreement with the same name, 14th December 1995.²² Among the powers that have intervened by themselves by affecting the Balkan security complex, but also the Albanian issue were Austria-Hungary, Russia, Italy, England, France, Germany, and later the U.S.

In addition to the international actors, the regional actors have intervened by playing consistently a negative role in the Albanian issue, concretely Serbia, Greece, Montenegro and Bulgaria. Their targets and their continued actions against the nation and Albano-sphere are considered as existential threat and constantly have been securitized by the Albanians. These regional actors, acting alone or in alliance with each other²³ and with a goal to gain as much profit as they can from the Albano-

¹⁸ For more details see *Treaty of Berlin between Germany, Austria-Hungary, France, Great Britain, Italy, Russia and Turkey, signed at Berlin on 13 July 1878*. Published translated into "Albanian issue in international acts ..." VI, Page 185-217. Document no. 16.

¹⁹ Excerpts from the report of the French ambassador Pol Kambon, dated 17.12.1912. *Dokuments Diplomatiques Francais, 3 eme series, t. V.D. n ° 78, pp. 94-96*. Translated into English in the "The Albanian issue in international acts ..." V.II, Page 187-190. Source cited; *Illyrisch-Englisch Forschungen, Ludwig von Thalloey, II band, Munchen und Leipzig 1916, p.173*. Translated into English in the "The Albanian issue in the international instruments". V.II, Pages 187-190. Document No. 38.

²⁰ Item 6 of the *Memorandum Anglo-Franco-American on the question of the Adriatic*. *Adriaticus, "La Question Adriatique Recueil de documents officiels"*. Paris, 1920, f.57-58 0.65 to 67. Translated into English in "War of the Albanian people for national liberation" Volume I. F.490-492. Tiranë 1975.

²¹ *Adriaticus. La Question Adriatique Recueil de documents officiels*. Paris, 1920, f.109-110. Translated from French into Albanian in "War of the Albanian people for national liberation" Volume II, f.34-35. Publication cited.

²² Ian Oliver: *War & Peace in The Balkans*. p.113. Publication cited; *setimes.com-12.12.2005*.

²³ *Treaty of Alliance between Principate of Bulgaria and the Kingdom of Serbia, Beograd 13, 31 March 1904*. Translated into Albanian in the "Albanian Issue in international acts ..." Volume I, page 354 - 357. Document 43.

sphere²⁴, built a hostile social model of relationship with the Albanian nation, impacting negatively the Balkan security complex.

Almost for more than a century, the Great Powers, have considered the balance among them as a secure source for Balkan security and had no interest in a climate of mutual trust in the region. Balkan statesmen also understood security only as alliance with one from the Great Powers of the time. For them it was better to obtain the support of a powerful state rather to have better relation with neighbors. Governmental policies based on such conclusions, will feed for a long time the hostility in the relations between countries in the region, will undermine regional cooperation and will produce continuous insecurity for peace in the Balkans. Both sides, the Great Powers and regional ones, consistently ignored the heaviness that cooperation and good neighborhood between the countries of the region has in regional security, ignored the fact that "security is an issue that comes from the interactions among the nations".²⁵

In the fifth part it is treated the impact of the Albanian Issue in the transformations of the Balkan security complex. In this study through research, case studies, analysis, synthesis, based on sample documentation source, after studying a period of more than a hundred years, the mutual relation between the degree of resolution of the Albanian issue with four levels (four constitutive elements) regional security complex in the Balkans, respectively order, stability and security of the countries in the region (within the state level); relations between the countries of the Balkan region (regional level), Balkan regional cooperation with neighboring regions (among regional level) also the role of world powers in the region (global level), it is concluded that the Albanian issue in the region and its settlement rate have continuously influenced the regional security. Also the creation of the independent Kosovo and the settlement of

²⁴ *Treaty of Friendship and Alliance between Bulgaria and Serbia. Signed at Sofia on 13 March 1912. Translated into Albanian from Prof. Arben Puto "Albanian issue in international acts ..." Volume I, page 370-376. Document no.48*

²⁵ *Barry Buzan, People, States and Fear, second edition (Colorado: Lynne Rinner Publishers, 1991), pp. 187*

Albanian issue to current levels have a positive impact on the constellation (model) of the Balkan security complex.

However, the Albanian issue in the region is not completely resolved. The sad fact of ignoring the legitimate demands of ethnic Albanians living in the Albanian geopolitical space within the borders of neighboring states, or having their wealth in these countries, still continues. So, Serbia's tendency to separate the northern part, has created a different situation in the Presevo Valley. Albanians have stated that in the case of separation of Kosovo, the Presevo Valley (eastern Kosovo) will seek to join the state of Kosovo²⁶. On the other hand, "the Serbian army is turning more and more toward the military and paramilitary methods in the control of territory, with the construction of a very large new regional military command base"²⁷. So, peace and security in the area, will strongly depend on the resolution of North Mitrovica issue. Meanwhile in Macedonia there is a withdrawal from the implementation of the Ohrid Agreement, lack of will from nationalist circles²⁸ for the co-existence with Albanians and support for a Skopje Academy of Sciences project for the division of Macedonians²⁹, but aiming at blaming the Albanians for this separation. Recently, the opinion that "Albanians and Macedonians are preventing a better future for each other"³⁰ is taking place. While the "implementation by Skopje government of the Ohrid Agreement is being reduced"³¹, in turn Greece, rejects the opening of negotiations on the restoration of property rights of the 'Chams'³². Also, even if they did not require the separation of Montenegro³³, Albanians have never ceased the efforts in renouncing of the national rights. The continues failure in fulfilling and

²⁶ *Report of ICG for Evropë N°153, 25 February, 2004. Page 26.*

²⁷ *Xhejms Petifer: Southern Balkans 2009– Stability and Stasis. p.8. Published By: Defence Academy of the UK. ISBN 978-1-905962-71-6.*

²⁸ *See: Marija Lazarova, Southeast European Times. Shkup 15.9.2004.*

²⁹ *Xhavit Shala: Macedonia: Ivanov, Albanians and playing with fire. "Albanian" dated 3.6.2009.*

³⁰ *Ismet Ramadani: "ethnic Albanian map" as an excuse. "The World Today", 9.12.2011*

³¹ *Xhejms Petifer: Southern Balkans 2009– Stability and Stasis.p.9.*

³² *Report of ICG for Europe N°153, 25 February, 2004. Page 4.*

³³ *Keneth Morrison: " Montenegro, A Modern History", P.126. Cited source*

ignoring the legitimate demands of ethnic Albanians that live in the Albanian geo-political space within the borders of these states, or have their wealth in these countries, may lead to the radicalization of their demands and actions. That in turn will create problems not only for the security of these countries, but also for the Western Balkan security sub-complex.

In the fifth part of this study is proved that the Albanian issue in the the region and its settlement degree has affected and will continue to affect in the inner transformation of the regional security complex toward its final solution.

But what will be considered as the final solution of the Albanian issue in the region? This and other issues related to this subject will be treated in the sixth part of this work.

In this study there are given some possible scenarios of the dynamics of the final solution process of the Albanian issue in the region, scenarios that are inter-related and mutually influenced the transformation of internal and external of the Balkan security complex. The term "scenario" used in this case, refers to the author's predictions, based on his analysis on the possible geo-political developments in the Balkan security complex, which are related to the peaceful process on the final settlement of the Albanian Issue in the region.

The study concludes with the conclusions of the Albanian issue and its impact on regional security.

RESULTS OF THE STUDY

Chapter I. The meaning on Albanian issue and regional security.

Theoretical concepts.

At the beginning in this work we will address the meaning of the Albanian issue and regional security. The Albanian issue in the region often becomes associated with the Albanian national issue, while there is still a lack of consensus on the concept of security and regional security. So since the beginning, we will make efforts to provide theoretical concepts for "the Albanian issue" and "regional security".

I.1. The meaning on Albanian issue. Its beginnings.

Albanian National Renaissance prepared and submitted the solution of the Albanian National issue and the Albanian issue in the region. The essence of the Albanian National Renaissance program was the formation of the Albanian national state.³⁴

Albanian national issue since its beginning implied solutions for the liberation of the country from foreign invasion, the union of Albano-sphere in one state and their development and progress.

The Albanian issue is treated as a national issue of the Albanian people³⁵, by melting these two concepts in one sole one. "In any analysis from any aspect, ultimately, the Albanian issue can be reduced only in the need for the unification of the Albanian lands in a single Albanian state"³⁶. "The Albanian issue" and "the Albanian national issue" as concepts are related to each other, since both of them are subject to the fundamental national interests of the Albanian people.

³⁴ Prof. Dr. Stefanaq Pollo, Prof. Dr. Kristaq Prifti: *National Renaissance and its distinctive features. "History of Albanian People" Chapter II, Part II, page 17. Tirana 2002*

³⁵ Prof. Dr. Rexhep Qosja: *"The Albanian issue, history and politics."* Page 5. Published "Toena" 1998.

³⁶ MA Ukshin Hoti: *The Albanian Issue political philosophy.* "Page 131. Rozafa, Tirana 1995.

Despite the fact that these two concepts are related to each other, there are differences among them. They approach the Albanian people in two different ways, internally and externally. Albanian national issue has to do with the aspirations of the Albanian nation and its efforts to solve responsibilities for the liberation of the country from any foreign invasion, the union of Albano-sphere in one state and their development and progress. In some way, it is an approach from the inside, a view of the Albanians for their own cause.

The "Albanian issue" has to do with the handling, acceptance and the degree of resolution of the Albanian national issue in the regional context, European one and beyond. It has to do with the handling of this issue in relation with other nations in the region, especially with neighbors. In a way it is an access from the outside, an access of others towards the issue of the Albanian people. "Every analysis from any possible aspect, ultimately, can reduce the problem only to the need for equalization of Albanians with other nation in every possible aspect, but most of all in terms of development"³⁷.

From this perspective, the Albanian issue is part of the Albanian national issue. Its aim is to approximate to the maximum with the Albanian national issue. Still today, the Albanian issue is not recognized as a national issue of the people who have been separated unfairly³⁸.

Albanian issue in regional and European level started to be present during the Eastern crisis, a crisis which peaks in June-July 1878 with the Congress of Berlin. At the core of the Eastern Crisis was the competition of "who will inherit the possessions of the Ottoman Empire after its collapse"³⁹ expected in Balkan. As a native nation, but also as an active participant in regional resistance against the Ottoman Empire, Albanians aimed at creating the Albanian national state within the Albano-sphere.

³⁷ MA Ukshin Hoti: *The Albanian Issue political philosophy*", *Ibid*.

³⁸ Prof.Dr. Esat Stravaleci: *"The status of the Albanian nation and its challenges."* Published in Prishtina, 13 August 2007. news.dervina.com.

³⁹ Prof.Dr.Kristo Frashëri: *Albanians and Eastern crisis. "League of Prizren"* Page 110. Tirana 1989

Despite diplomatic efforts and perseverance of Albanian patriotic political elite of the time in Berlin, the Albanian issue was skipped and treated only as a peripheral issue. With the Treaty of Berlin, the Great Powers mutilated the Albanian geo-political space severely by affecting their national interests. They stubbornly ignored the demographic balance in the region, by creating in this way the Albanian issue in the Balkans. After that, for more than a century, the Albanian issue, the way and degree of its solution, will affect the security of those Balkan states, which unjustly benefited the Albanian territories from this treaty,⁴⁰ creating in this way the regional peace and security in many cases.

Unsuccessful consumption of diplomatic and peaceful path by Albanians for the resolution of their requirements, especially about the non-fragmentation of their geopolitical space, made Albanians to radicalize their actions. To prevent the implementation of the decisions of the Congress of Berlin with weapons, they organized themselves in the Albanian League of Prizren.

For the Great Powers it was a surprise that the population of a province of the Ottoman Empire, as they have treated the Albanians, managed to postpone for more than two years the implementation of the decision taken in Berlin by six Great Powers of the European corporation. So, the League of Prizren managed to impose the Albanian issue to the Great Powers, with strong and armed resistance organized by them for non-submitting to Montenegro⁴¹, the Albanian provinces that have been established from the Treaty of Berlin.

The War of the League for Plava Gucia was very important for the Albanian issue in the region and in Europe⁴². That internationalized the Albanian issue. "By treating with such disregard or lack of experience the territories inhabited by Albanians (if we

⁴⁰ For more details see *Treaty of Berlin between Germany, Austria-Hungary, France, Great Britain, Italy, Russia and Turkey, signed at Berlin on 13 July 1878. Published translated into "Albanian issue in international acts ..."* VI, Page 185-217. Document no. 16.

⁴¹ Sreten Draskic: "Europe and the Albanian issue (1830-1921)". Belgrade 2000. page 81-82

⁴² Xhafer Belegu: *League of Prizren*, pp. 84-107. Tirana 1939;

do not say Albania)... facilitated the creation of the Albanian issue, which today is a fact, a reality and a risk... now we have the Albanian issue, as we have in Asia an Armenian issue; it is now urging to see the consequences and preceded them. But, the risk is more acute in Europe than in Asia”, the French ambassador in Istanbul, Furnie, will write to his prime minister in January 1880.⁴³

The Albanian issue in the Balkans was created by the Great Powers of the time⁴⁴. These key geo-politic actors did not allow the Albanians at that time to build their state, as the other Balkan nations did. Instead, they decided the fragmentation of the Albano-sphere by breaking the poles, and a natural balance between the Balkan people, by promoting a hostile model of relations in the region. With these decisions, international and regional actors jointly created a permanent existential threat to the nation and the Albano-sphere by making thus a bad investment for the security in the region. Therefore, these actors had and have an obligation to solve the Albanian issue in the region.

But the Great Powers do not deal with the resolution of such issues without having any interest and especially initiating to resolve such issue through the Albanian political factor.⁴⁵ It was these political actors who, through organized armed resistance immediately after the Congress of Berlin, made the Albanian issue in European diplomatic scene to be noted, and subsequently making it one of the most important issues unresolved in the Balkan policy.

The Albanian issue would be solved only partially with the Albanian declaration of independence in 1912, and its international recognition in 1913. Leaving more than half of Albano-sphere outside of the political border of the new Albanian state, the

⁴³ Paper no.16 Furnie, France's ambassador in Istanbul sends on Jan 17, 1880 *Frejsinesë*, prime minister and minister of foreign affairs of France-AMAE CP French Embassy in Istanbul.Vol .434. Page 155r-167r. Document translated and published in "Albania in the League of Prizren". Volume II.Page 42-46.Tiranë 1986. Publication of the Academy of Sciences of RPSSH.

⁴⁴ Memorandum for the Albanian issue by Kosovo Albanian Intellectuals Forum led to the foreign ministers of the U.S., England, France, Germany and Russia, 26 October 1995.

⁴⁵ Mr. Ukshin Hoti "The political philosophy of the Albanian issue." Page 60. Publishing house "Rozafa". Tirana 1995

great powers of the time took away from the Albanian people, the opportunity and ability for the overall national development⁴⁶ for progress and equity of Albanians with other nations in the region.

The Albanian issue is a matter of dynamics, a process that has seen many zigzags. The degree and form of its resolution will affect the ongoing peace and regional security. This issue will culminate with the crisis in Kosovo in 1998-1999, and the one in Macedonia in 2001. During the Kosovo crisis, the UN Security Council⁴⁷, OSCE Permanent Council⁴⁸, International Criminal Court for the former Yugoslavia and the Prosecution Office near this court⁴⁹, NATO, Contact Group, other international actors and many world leaders⁵⁰, had no doubt that peace and security were threatened not only in Kosovo, but also in the region.

The evolution of the opinion that peace in the Balkans will be achieved by fragmenting the Albanian ethnic lands⁵¹, to the belief that without solving the Albanian issue there cannot be peace and security in the region, is an important development in the process for solution of the Albanian issue in the Balkans. The declaration of independence of Kosovo and its international recognition, the signing of Ohrid Agreement and its unequivocal implementing insistence, are important steps in this process. But the final solution of the Albanian issue in the region is a complex and difficult process. This is so because, in the Albanian geo-political space now there "operate" six countries, which have been able to or are aiming at, integrating in

⁴⁶ *Forum of Albanian Intellectuals, Memorandum on the Albanian Question, 26 October 1995.*

⁴⁷ *Resolution 1160 (1998), S/RES/1160 (1998). Adopted by the Security Council at its 3868th meeting, on 31 March 1998; Resolution 1199 (1998), S/RES/1199 (1998). Adopted by the Security Council at its 3930th meeting on 23 September 1998 etj.*

⁴⁸ *156th Plenary Meeting of the Permanent Council Decision No. 218, 11 March 1998 (PC.DEC/218).*

⁴⁹ *Prosecutor's Office, Press Release, CC/P10/302-E, 10 March 1998; Prosecutor's Office, Press Release, CC/PIU/329-E, July 7, 1998; Prosecutor's Office, Press Release, CC /PIU/351/E, October 7, 1998*

⁵⁰ *On 10 June 1998, Tony Blair, the British prime minister said the need for the action of alliance's military if diplomacy would not be able to end the crisis. See Elizabeth NEUFFER, "NATO considers attacks to slow the Serbs in Kosovo; councilors meet today in Brussels to explore options," Boston Globe, June 11, 1998, p. A2*

⁵¹ *See Declaration of Edward Grey on the delimitation of Albania. Published translated into "Albanian issue in international acts" V.II. Document no.44. pages 292-293*

the Euro-Atlantic structure. The fact that two of the six actors that operate in the Albano-sphere are already Albanian states creates the possibility for national peaceful unification of Albanians in the future, into a single country in the region part of the best possible and final resolution regarding the Albanian issue in the region.

As a result, the Albanian issue which basically is the peaceful unification of a large part of the Albano-sphere into a single state, was defined as a major strategic objective and influenced by: the necessity to withstand to the existential threat of the nation and the Albano-sphere; the need to restore the full capacity for the overall national development; the need for progress and equity of Albanians with other nations; the need for the redistribution of power and establishment of equilibrium. All of the above is crucial for peace and security in the region and beyond, and is a process which should not run against the trend of the Euro-Atlantic integration of the Albanians and the region itself.

I.2. The meaning of security in Balkan

There are many definitions on security and its regional dimension. Contemporary studies on security have advanced their concepts, by detecting and determining the dimensions that they previously had. Although there is a public sensibility to them and although many terms are used in everyday language, yet there is no consensus for the extent of their understanding. So far, there has been achieved consensus only about the fact that "security studies are related to the threats of survival".⁵²

I.2.1. The meaning of security

Achieving security has been and remains a concern and main goal for the key actors of the international system. This probably meant elimination or absence of threats to

⁵²Alan Collins: *Contemporary security studies*. Page 10.

the interests of any of the actors of the international system. In this way, security meant security from war or violent conflict. Despite the lack of consensus on the concept of security, the authors who have contributed to studies in this area can be divided into two main groups.

The first group includes authors who support traditionalist concept of security, while the second group includes those with non-traditional concept⁵³. Traditionalists, in determining the security focus in military terminology, as it was in the cold war period, focuses on external threats against the state. The term security is compared by them in its military dimension. In this way, security meant security from war or violent conflict⁵⁴. As you can see, they bypass the internal conflicts of the state and don't consider them as security threats. For them the security of the state is an overall of factual circumstances and conditions, the general condition in which the state is, which provides and guarantees security from external threats by threatening its vital interests, its territorial integrity and ultimately, its very existence.⁵⁵

The non-traditionalists are trying to expand and deepen the definition of security beyond the military issues and above state actors. According to them, mainly a military definition excludes assessments for other threats. Therefore, they widen and deepen the concept of security. They estimate that the biggest threats to the survival of the state in addition to the military ones may be environmental, social and economic threats. They also support the creation of a definition that puts as focal point the individual and society, but not the state. Non-traditionalists have further developed the concept of state security and transformed it into the national security. National security consists of maintaining the existence of the fundamental values of states and nations. It includes internal and exterior security.

⁵³ Sarah Terry, *University of Calgary: Defining Security: Normative Assumptions and Methodological Shortcomings*

⁵⁴ Alan G. Stolberg: *International System in the the 21st Century. Published in the: A guide to policy and national security strategy ", Volume II. page 227. Defence Academy edition "Spiro Moisiu".*

⁵⁵ Prof.Dr. Mirsad D. Abazović: *National security, page 30, Prishtina 2006*

Security is often defined as a condition in which there are no risks. Similar to this is the concept in Albanian language regarding the security “being out of any unexpected danger and in situations without any risk of any bad surprise”⁵⁶. Security can be defined as freedom that reflects the values, a lack of threat to the obtained values⁵⁷. The values considered by the nation as fundamental, comprise the heart of the national interests. And the interests for the 21-st century are: the protection of the country, economic prosperity, democratic values and national support, as well as a stable and secure world order.⁵⁸

In the mid eighties, at the peak of the debate between traditionalists and non-traditionalists, it was created what is today known as the Copenhagen School. It is an academic school of thought which has its origin in 1983, in the publication of the theorist Barry Buzan “People, states and fear: the national security problem in the international relationship”⁵⁹. Copenhagen School emphasizes especially the social aspects of security. According to this school of thought, security efforts are often seen as "a threat to the survival of a reference object. Survival issue necessarily involves a point of no return, where it will be too late to act"⁶⁰. It also supports the survival security report, which is included in the traditional conception of security.

Essentially, security is a social construction that takes a certain sense only within a particular social context. Security is a dynamic concept. The Copenhagen theorists developed theories that represent the most complete and acceptable alternative to realism, concentrated in the country, but also in a very wide concept of security.⁶¹ Copenhagen School theory is focused on three main concepts, previously untreated

⁵⁶ *Dictionary of the English Language, Tirana, 1980, p. 1750.*

⁵⁷ *Dr. Arnold Wolfers, “National Security as an Ambiguous Symbol”, Political Science Quarterly, Vol.67, No.4, December 1962, p.485.*

⁵⁸ *National interests, the political context and their determination for the 21st century. Published in the: A guide to policy and national security strategy”, Volume II, page 61.*

⁵⁹ *Berri Buzan: People, states, and fear: the national security problem in international relations. University of North Carolina Press, 1983*

⁶⁰ *Buzan and Waever, Regions and Powers; the Structure of International Security, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge 2003, p. 71.*

⁶¹ *Prof.Dr. Mirsad D. Abazoviq, Ibid 31.*

which are: securitization, sectors or areas important for safety as well as regional security complexes.

Securitization, deals with the classification of certain problems in the category of security issues, which in turn refers to the justification of extraordinary measures to deal. For a problem to be raised as security issue, to be “securitized”, should be presented as an existential threat that justifies quick action, emergency measures and should be accepted as such by a description of significant majority⁶². Through a securitized act, a concern is shaped as a security issue. The Being securitized, refers to a process in which a political community treats “something as an existential threat to a valued referent objects, and enables a call for urgent and exceptional measures to deal with the threat”⁶³. De-securitization refers a process that restores to a standard political arena, for its management within the standard political system. It is a process by which “political community downgrades or ceases to treat something as an existential threat.”⁶⁴

Except military, the other sectors or the most important areas of security according to the Copenhagen School are that of political, social, economic and environmental. In fact, this sector’s list is dynamic.

1.2. 2. The concept of regional security and regional security complex

The concept of regional security analyzes the dilemma of security⁶⁵ of modern state and accepts that the security of the state is related to the security of other countries in the region⁶⁶, by emphasizing the role of international and regional institutions in terms of achieving the security. In the context of Balkan, regional security study means to: study and analyze the security of each actor in the region, in the complexity

⁶² Dr. Ralf Emmers, *Securitization, “Contemporary Security Studies”*. Tiranë 2009

⁶³ Prof.Buzan and Prof. Waever, 2003, p. 491.

⁶⁴ Prof.Buzan and Prof. Waever.Ibid.

⁶⁵ In the international politics field, the term "security dilemma" refers to almost always the way by which a state can only be strengthened in order to safety from possible attacks.

⁶⁶ Prof.Dr. Anton Grizold, *The new paradigm of security. The changing nature of security: post-Cold War security paradigm. Prevention and management of conflicts - Macedonia case. Page 27* Skopje 2009.

and closely related with the security of other regional actors. So, security should be studied as a regional complex. The theory of regional security complex of the Copenhagen School is also related to this.

With the beginning of the Cold War, conflicts at a regional level were almost frozen compared to the global conflict between the United States and the Soviet Union⁶⁷. This was also reflected in the Balkans, where national issues and conflicts around them were hardened because of another major conflict, that between East Communism and West Capitalism.

But the collapse of communism and the dissolution of the USSR, led towards the end of the Cold War, and to a reduced risk for a nuclear war. After that, as a result of a lost of the balance of power and change of alignment in the global level, as well as the cut of compulsory ties between regional global issues, a number of regional conflicts erupted from being previously frozen. So, in this period we have a "decentralization" of conflicts from the global to regional level, a return to their "regionalization" and "localization". That is why it is necessary that the security issues are studied and analyzed at the regional level. This is facilitated by the regional security complex theory of the Copenhagen School.

In the security studies, the term "region" does not correspond to the purely geographical meaning of the word. "Region" in these studies, in addition to the geographic, means a space created as a result of the interaction between different nations, with common perceptions and concerns in the field of security. According to Buzan, a region in terms of security means "distinct and important sub-system security relations."⁶⁸ So, in addition of the geographic element, region includes

⁶⁷ Sugio Takahashi: *Redefinition of Cooperative Security and "Regional" Security in the Asia-Pacific*. The National Institute for Defense Studies (NIDS), Security Reports, No.1 (March 2000), pp. 101

⁶⁸ Buzan, *People, States & Fear: The National Security Problem in International Relations* (1983; revised second edition 1991); p.188

dynamic elements, and includes a group of actors that are created higher than the national level, but lower than that the global one.⁶⁹

In this context, the concept of security in the Balkan region is a space created as a result of forced interaction and mutual influence of the Balkan actors in the regional security issues, forming the regional security complex of Balkan or Balkan complex security, as we will name it later in this work.

In the beginning, the regional security complex included only the state actors. It was defined as a group of states, the security problems of which are so interrelated, that their own national security cannot be assessed without taking into account the national security of other states in the region⁷⁰.

Regional security complex is introduced as a theory in security studies by Barry Buzan, of the Copenhagen School. By studying India-Pakistan conflict, he noted that the dynamics of its development differed from those of the Cold War. He treated the security as an issue that comes from interactions between nations⁷¹, and the security complex as a group of nations that cannot be separated, because the security concerns are mutual.⁷² But, this definition did not include the non-state actors of security. Therefore Buzan later re-defined regional security complex as “a whole of units, in which the main processes of being securitized and de- securitized are so closely related between them, so that their security problems cannot be analyzed or solved for each unit separately”.⁷³

The regional security complex of Buzan was adapted for the study of the civil wars by Wallensteen and Sollenberg.⁷⁴ In their study they called "the complexes of

⁶⁹ Sugio Takahashi: *Redefinition of Cooperative Security and "Regional" Security...* *Ibid.*

⁷⁰ Prof. Dr. Mirsad D. Abazović: *National security*, page 40.

⁷¹ Barry Buzan, *People, States and Fear*, second edition (Colorado: Lynne Rienner Publishers, 1991), pp. 187

⁷² *Ibid.*, Page 190

⁷³ Buzan, B. and Wæver: *Regions and Powers; the Structure of International Security*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge (2003). p. 44, 491.

⁷⁴ Michael Fürstenberg, "Conflict beyond Borders", *Conceptualizing Transnational Armed Conflict*, No. 97, p. 9. September 2010, ISSN-Nr. 1614-7898

regional conflict"⁷⁵, because they found a number of instances where neighboring countries experience internal or inter-state conflicts with important ties between countries.

Analysis of regional security complex includes four levels (constitutive elements) interrelated with each other. These are: order, stability and security at the national level (within the state level); relations between the countries in the region (regional level); interaction of the region with neighboring regions (inter regional level) and the role of world powers in the region⁷⁶ (global level). The mutual interconnection between these four levels of security are called the constellation of security,⁷⁷(a model formed by the interaction of four levels).

On the other hand, these levels determine the essential structure of a regional security complex which consists of: margins of the complex, anarchic structure, polarity and social construction.⁷⁸

- a. Regional complex limits. A regional security complex has its limits within, which include its component units, which distinguishes this complex from its neighbors.
- b. Anarchic structure. At a regional security complex it is necessary the existence of two or more autonomous units.
- c. The polarity of the complex. It has to do with the distribution of power between the constituent units ⁷⁹. The distribution of power within the regional complex can make the region one or more polar. Historical interactions between states are important in a regional security complex, because it is enough to look at the distribution of power in

⁷⁵ Peter Wallensteen, Margareta Sollenberg: *Armed Conflict and Regional Conflict Complexes, 1989-97. Journal of Peace Research, Vol. 35, No. 5 (Sep., 1998), p. 623-624*

⁷⁶ Buzan, B. and Wæver: *Regions and Powers; the Structure of International Security. p.51, Khatchik Derghoukassian, Universidad de San Andres (Argentina) and AIPRG Working Paper No. 06/10. January, 2006, p.6*

⁷⁷ Prof.Dr. Mirsad D. Abazovic: *National security, page 39; Buzan, B. and Wæver Regions and Powers; the Structure of International Security.p.51.*

⁷⁸ Barry Buzan and Ole Wæver: "Regions and Powers, *The Structure of International Security*". P.51. *Burim i cituar; Michaela Cruden, Regional Security Complex Theory: Southeast Asia and the South Pacific, The University of Waikato,p.15, 2011*

⁷⁹ *Khatchik Derghoukassian, Ibid,p.6*

order to predict the patterns of conflict in that regional security complex⁸⁰. The distribution of power within a security complex contributes to the opportunities for harmony.

d. Social construction or determining the models of friendship/hostility between constituent units. Regional security complex is also formed on the model of friendship and hostility between nations in a certain geographical area⁸¹, that have the same concerns over security issues. Within this complex relationships between people can have positive or negative character. Security complex can be formed among a group of countries with friendly relations between them, where any dispute is solved, such as between the Western nations. Also security complex can be formed among the other nations that have contradictory relationships, which may present threat to each other, such as in the Balkan region.

Meanwhile, for each regional security complex there are open three development opportunities: 1) Maintaining the status quo. This means that there are no significant changes in the core of its structure; 2) internal transformations. This implies changes in the anarchic structure (creation of new states, regional integration); of polarity (due to the dissolution, merger, occupation, different levels of development, etc.), or changes in the dominant model of friendship/hostility (because of ideological changes, leadership changes; 3) external Transformations, which occur when the limits of regional security complex differ from contraction or expansion⁸².

As a result, security is a social construction that takes a particular meaning within a particular social context. It is a dynamic concept and has evolved from a focus on external threats to the state to a concept that has not only the state in the center, but also the individual and society, from state security to national security and regional security complex, as a whole units, in which the main processes of being de- securitized and

⁸⁰ Michaela Cruden.Ibidem.

⁸¹ Barry Buzan and Ole Wæver: "Regions and Powers, The Structure of International Security". P.52. Cited source.

⁸² Khatchik Derghoukassian.Ibid;Barry Buzan and Ole Wæver.

securitized are so interrelated, that their security problems cannot be solved or analyzed for each unit separately.

I.2.3. The Balkan as a regional security complex

The Balkans constitutes a region not only geographically. It constitutes a distinct subsystem in the Eastern part of South Europe. The peoples of this region, in addition to geographical proximity, have joined common concerns in the field of security. Throughout history, they are often faced with the same invader and have experienced the same risks. As a consequence, they are often lined through alliances and cooperate among themselves in order to withstand the same security threats. Such are the Balkan Christian princes coalition in the battle of Kosovo Polje in 1389,⁸³ the later alliances that led to I-st Balkan War,⁸⁴ participation in the anti-fascist coalition during World War II, alignment in NATO and the Warsaw Pact during the Cold War, as well as participation in NATO today from the majority of the Balkan states and the common path towards European Union. So, the relationships and interactions between them, in addition to geographical proximity, has been determined by perceptions of common concerns in the field of security, often in hostilities creating "a group of actors at a higher level than national, but lower than the global one".⁸⁵

The Balkan is also a regional security complex, with its four structural elements: boundaries, anarchic structure, polarity as well as the social construction. Situated in the Eastern part of Southern Europe, it has its boundaries clearly defined. On three sides of it, the borders are aquatic and specifically, on the East by the Black Sea and in the South and West by the Aegean and Marmara seas, Adriatic and Ionian. There

⁸³ *Battle of Kosovo Polje of 15 June 1389 was fought between the Christian Balkan princes Coalition and the Ottoman army.*

⁸⁴ *Treaty of Friendship and Alliance between Bulgaria and Serbia, 13 March 1912; Alliance Treaty between Bulgaria and Greece, 29 May 1912*

⁸⁵ *Sugio Takahashi: Redefinition of Cooperative Security and "Regional" Security...Ibid.*

was an anarchic structure in the first half of the 19th century, when the Balkan states gained autonomy and independence from the Ottoman Empire. And it now consists of 12 units - independent states. This structure has been and it remains with many Polar Regions, and for a long time full of typical hostile social construction model relations between nations, and with a current trend towards a friendly development model of relationships between the constituent units. The Balkan Ottoman invaders established a model of management, society and culture, emerging from a Turkish and Iran-Arab legacy. The merger of these models lasted about five centuries and gave to the peninsula the specific to be called "Balkan".⁸⁶ The model of hostility has been so distinct that the term Balkans and 'balkanization' continues to be synonymous with violence, ethnic clashes and religious conflicts.

Since the Congress of Vienna of 1815, the Great Powers of the time, after the agreement to mutually respect the interests and the balance of power, managed to avoid total wars and to preserve the general peace and security in Europe for nearly 100 years⁸⁷. But if they succeed in the general level, they failed to achieve peace and security in the Balkan, at the regional level. This is because, the Great Powers but also other Balkan actors state, did not evaluate the relations between nations and good neighbors between them, involvement of all actors in establishment of the balance of power and the fair distribution of power at the regional level, as a determinant for peace and security in the region.

In calculating the establishment of the balance and distribution of power in the Balkan, the regional and international actors was excluded since the beginning the Albanian factor and their national interests. Lack of timely solution of the Albanian issue and their exclusion during the regional equilibrium configuration after the fall of the Ottoman Empire and consistently later on, led to fragile balances in the region and threatened security.

⁸⁶ *Georges Castellan- Balkan history - Page 122.*

⁸⁷ *Prof.As.Gjon Borici: International relations in the whirlwind of diplomacy "Page 71-87. Tirana 2009.*

To prove mutual connection between the degree of resolution of the Albanian issue with the regional security and possible future developments, in addition to the theory of the balance of power, we will also use the regional security complex theory of Copenhagen School. Regional security complex analysis gives us a clue to the explanation of security issues in the Balkan region and mutual relations of the Albanian issue with it. This analysis, according to B. Buzan and O. Waever⁸⁸ includes four levels (constitutive elements) connected between them. In the Balkan context these are: order, stability and internal security of the Balkan states (within the state level); relations between the countries of the Balkan region (regional level); Balkan interaction with neighboring regions (inter regional level) and the role of world powers in the region (global level) which linked together, make up the constellation of Balkan security (the model formed by the interaction of four constitutive elements).

But before we start this analysis, we will discuss the factors, actors and major international acts that led to the Albanian issue, the main distinctive moments of the dynamics of the Albanian issue in the region, as well as its connection to geo-politics and regional geo-strategy, because this will provide us the facts that prove the mutual connection, between the degree of resolution of the Albanian issue with the regional security.

⁸⁸ *Ibid.*

Chapter II.

Beginnings of the Albanian issue and key factors that led to it.

Before returning to the beginnings of the Albanian issue and key factors that influenced the beginning and its evolution, the object of the study is to briefly treat the place of the Albanians in the Balkans, their origin and race.

II.1. Albanians in the Balkan. Origin and race. Linguistic, ethnic and geographic unity.

As testified by the historical sources, since the Iron Age,⁸⁹ Albanian territory was inhabited by the Illyrians, one of the largest populations of Europe at that time, a population extending across the western part of the Balkan Peninsula.

The latest studies, supported not only by historical written sources, but also from archaeological and linguistic data, results that the historical land of the Illyrians included the entire western part of the Balkan Peninsula, from the Morava rivers flow of Vardar in the east, to the coast of the Adriatic and Ionian Sea in the west, from the Sava river in the north, to the bay of Ambrakia in South.⁹⁰

Illyrians spoke a language that differed from the languages of other people of the time. It was a separate Indo-European language that did had links with other languages in the region and abroad.

Around 548 for the first time, a large Slavs crowd attacked and robbed several provinces in Illyria by reaching up to Durres. After the death of Justinian Emperor in

⁸⁹ *History of Albanian People ". Part I. Page 39. Publication of the Academy of Sciences of the Republic of Albania. Tirana 2002. Tirana 2002.*

⁹⁰ *Prof.Dr.Muzafer Korkuti: Unbundling of primitive community. Illyrians (XI century-V b.c). The book "History of Albanian People". Part I. Chapter II. Page 42. Publication of the Academy of Sciences of the Republic of Albania. Tirana 2002.*

565, Slavs rushed to the south of the Balkan, by creating the first settlements called "Sklavini"⁹¹. The western belt of the Illyrian-Albanian regions did not escape to their invasions⁹².

At the beginning of VII century, the Byzantine Emperor Heraclius⁹³, allowed the establishment of two major tribes of the Slavs, Croats and Serbs in the northwest of the Western Balkans⁹⁴, hoping that they will preserve the area from attacks and create a barrier against the Avars⁹⁵. The core location of the Serb was the province of Rasha, north of Novi Pazar today. In the south, Serbs arrived to the springs of the river Lim.⁹⁶

After VII-VIII centuries, the ethnic situation in the Balkan was stabilized and there was no other flux of people. This ethnic condition of the early centuries in the medieval Ages, constituted what was recognized as medieval homeland of Albanians Albania-Arberia, remained essentially unchanged in later centuries as well.⁹⁷

Distinguished scholars, historians, archaeologists and linguists have brought many arguments for the Illyrian-Albanian continuity. Albanian language derives from Illyrian. This is based on the studies of foreign scholars such as Gustav Meyeri-Albanian studies; Leibnitz-philosopher; historians J. Thuman, Diefenbach, Falmerayer, G.von Hahnin, Niebuhr; philologist Benfey, Miclosich; linguists Paul Kretschmer of Francesco Ribezzo and many other personalities⁹⁸. This was supported also by the Albanian scholar, Prof. Eqerem Çabej⁹⁹.

⁹¹ *Slavic countries.*

⁹² *Sima M. C' irkovic: The Serbs. Page 8-10. Beograd 2007*

⁹³ *Heracli- Flavius Heraclius Augustus, was Byzantine emperor from 610 to 641*

⁹⁴ *League I.I, Slavs in the Balkan*

⁹⁵ *Zhan Klod Faveirial: The oldest history of Albania. Page 114. Plejad 2004*

⁹⁶ *Prof. Dr. Muzafer Korkuti: "The influx of people, Slavic settlements in the Balkans." The book "History of Albanian People". Part I. Chapter II. Page 205-206. Publication of the Academy of Sciences of the Republic of Albania. Tirana 2002.*

⁹⁷ *Ibid. Page 207*

⁹⁸ *Spiro N. Konda: "Albanians and the pelasgian problem ", page 23. Tirana 1964.*

⁹⁹ *For more details see Prof. Dr. Shaban Demiraj: "Eqerem Çabej, a life dedicated to science"*

Albanians in their regional geo-political space constitute a linguistic unity. They all speak Albanian, which is an Indo-European language, the direct successor of Illyrian. Albanians in the region's geo-political space constitute an ethnic unity. "The Extent of the Albanian race exceeds the political boundaries of Albania. Famous anthropologist Swiss from Geneva E. Pittard has shown that the Albanians belong to an ethnic group, as distinguished from "high stature and a race of beautiful highlanders with black hair and black eyes... E. Pittard called this race: Illyrian or Dinaric."¹⁰⁰

Albanian race is the direct progeny of the Illyrians.¹⁰¹ Today, 'neo-Illyrian' name suits the Albanians, as to 'neo-Helen' suits the young Greeks and the neo-Latin name to the Italians, French, Spanish, Portuguese and Romanians.¹⁰²

Albanians in their space in the region constitute a geographic unity. Albania has a geographic development history which differs from that of neighboring countries. Precisely this geological history explains the Albanian territories and extreme diversity of their underground, and the presence of large valleys transom, which constitute the best roads in the entire Balkan peninsula, to pass from the Adriatic to the Aegean ".¹⁰³

The Illyrian nations, say the Greek historian Constantine Papanigollos, over time partly disappeared, partially mixed with the nations of a different origin and, from the most recent investigative of the new time, only Albanians are considered as descendants of the Illyrians race.¹⁰⁴ There are many foreign and Albanian scholars

¹⁰⁰ Jacques Boucart: "Albania and Albanians". Published 'knowledge'. "Tirana 2004. page 24

¹⁰¹ Dr.Jakov Milaj-"Albanian race." Tirana 1944. Reprinted 1995. page 75.

¹⁰² Arturo Galanti "The Albanian people". Albanian World, 1943, page 117.

¹⁰³ Jacques Boucart: Albania and the Albanians. "Cited source. Page 23.

¹⁰⁴ Konstantin Papanigollos: "Enhiridion Gjenikis Istorias"-Athine 1849. Cited from Spiro N. Konda "Albanians and the pelasgian problem " page 22. Tirana 1964

who support not only Illyrian-Albanian continuity, but also Pelasgian-Illyrian-Albanian.¹⁰⁵

This thesis was supported and presented internationally by Avdyl Frashëri, one of the leading ideologists of the Albanian national issue and of the Albanian issue in the region. Albanians today, he writes, are nothing but the ancient Illyrians and that in turn shows they are only descendants of Pelasgians prehistoric times. "Who believes that divine Pelasgians, these ancient heroes are gone, leaving some trace in Greek and Latin language is wrong. They live in Albania, in the same territory, with the same language and the same habits ..."¹⁰⁶

As a result, the Albanians are native in their geopolitical space and constitute a single linguistic, ethnic and geographic unity. For that, like any other Balkan people, the Albanians have the right in their space to build their own national state.

II.2. The territory and the Albanian population in the verge of the Balkan renaissance.

In the nineteenth century, during the Renaissance period of Balkan, Albanians lived in the western part of the peninsula, on the same land where the Illyrians had lived, now part of the Ottoman Empire. Ottoman administrative organization never allowed all Albanian territories to be included in a single military administrative unit, as they had done with several other nations in the Balkans.

Ottoman imperial power took care that the name "Albania" figured as little as possible. For a long time the Albanian territories by the administration were involved

¹⁰⁵See Jean Claude Faveiral: "The Origin of Albanians-Pelasgians, Settlements were early, their construction." *The oldest history of Albania*. Page 43. Publishing "Constellation". Tirana 2004. Among other things, the author says: "At that time the Lord had brought Greeks, people from barbarians and the most unjust, because they were poor and greedy for the riches of Pelasgians, achieved with paving work in a virgin land."

¹⁰⁶ *Le messenger de Vienne*. Vienn, No. 18 (May 3, 1878) p.4. Cited by Christo Frashëri in Book "Avdyl Frashëri", page 141. Tirana 1984.

in what was called Rumeli, former name of Byzantium. Ottoman military administrative system divided the Albanian lands into 'vilayets' and 'Sanjaks', which in most cases were called by administrative names, such as Kosovo Vilayet, Monastir or Sanjak of Skopje, Peja, etc., thus denying the ethnic unit of Albania, also the political unit of Albanian people¹⁰⁷.

Not only the Ottoman Empire, but also Russia was interested not to include all Albanian territories in one single military administrative unit¹⁰⁸, because the organization of Albanians in one administrative unit meant uniting them into a single ethnic and political unit. This will make difficult the partition of the Albanian lands in favor of the Slavs, by also risking Russian interests.

However, despite frequent modification of the administrative organization under the Ottoman rule, the Albanian space was generally divided into four vilayets.¹⁰⁹ Each of these vilayets also included other nationalities.¹¹⁰ Vilayet of Kosovo, in addition to the Albanian population, also included Serbians and Macedonian. Vilayet of Monastir also included Macedonian and Greeks. Vilayet of Ioannina except the Albanian population included Greek and Vlach population. Vilayet of Shkodra on the other hand, included a Montenegrins minority. Albanians formed the majority in each of them, as well as in the four vilayets combined.

In the mid XIX, the Albanian geo-political space included a compact territory bordered on north by Tivar, Podgorica, Rozhaja and Novi Pazar, northeast up to Nis, Leskovac and Vranje, East up to Kumanovo, Skopje, Manastir, South up to Konica,

¹⁰⁷ Prof. Dr. Rexhep Qosja. "The Albanian issue. History and politics ". Page 27. Publishing Toena. Tirana 1998.

¹⁰⁸ Prof. Dr. Kristo Frashëri: League of Prizren 1878-1881, page 112. Tirana 1989

¹⁰⁹ See 1.2 League. Four Albanian vilayets in the Ottoman Empire

¹¹⁰ Prof. Dr. Stefanaq Pollo, League of Prizren and its struggle for the national liberation and unification. Lecture held at the National Conference for Research Albanian League of Prizren. Published by the Academy of Sciences RPSSH titled "National Conference of the Albanian League of Prizren Studies" Volume I, Tirana 1979, page 36

Ioannina and Preveza.¹¹¹ Different researchers calculate this area by 70 thousand¹¹², to 80 thousand¹¹³, up to 115 thousand¹¹⁴ square kilometers.

During the consecutive conquest of Roman, Byzantine, Bulgarian, Serbian and Ottoman, depending on this historical conditions that the Balkans recognized, on the outskirts of the Albanian territories there were placed newcomers of other nationalities. The presence of these newcomers was not uniform.

From the level of penetration of the newcomers, the Albanian space, can be divided into two major areas: the ethnic tree, where Albanians constituted an absolute majority of the population¹¹⁵ and the side belt, which Albanians constitute the minority, along with other populations.

Despite the suffered contraction in the medieval period, in the mid XIX, ethnic Albanian tree included areas of Gegeria together with Kosovo and Toskërisë, where also Chameria was included, with an area of about 52 thousand square kilometers, and with a population of about 1 300 000 per capita.

The side Belt had an area of 23 thousand square kilometers and a population which, according to various sources, amounted to about 500 000-600 000 people. This belt included except the Albanian had Montenegrins population in northwest (Podgorica, Shpuza, Zhabjak, Moraca), the Bosnians in north (Kolasin, Rozhaja, Novi Pazar), the Serbians in northeast (Vranje, Leskovac, Nis), the Macedonians in east (Skopje, Prilep, Manstir) and Greeks in south (Golden, Preveza, Ioannina)¹¹⁶.

¹¹¹ Prof. Dr. Kristo Frashëri: *Economic and Social Development of Albania during the XIX century - beginning of XX century. The history of the Albanian people. Chapter II, Part II, page 35. Tirana 2002.*

¹¹² Sami Frashëri, "Dheshkronjë", Bucharest 1886. Cited by Rexhep Qosja "The Albanian issue. History and politics". Page 27. Publishing Toena. Tirana 1998.

¹¹³ *Nocioni gjeografike sull' Albania. Rome 1902, page 5. Cited by Kristo Frashëri, in the League of Prizren 1878-1881. Published by Academy of Sciences RPSH. Institute of History. Tirana 1989, page 99*

¹¹⁴ Mr. Ukshin Hoti "the Albanian issue political philosophy" 125. Publishing house "Rozafa". Tirana 1995. Burim cited.

¹¹⁵ Ami Boue. *La turquie d' Europe, II, Page 14. Cited by Rexhep Qosja "The Albanian issue. History and politics. Page 29. Publishing Toena. Tirana 1998.*

¹¹⁶ Prof. Dr. Kristo Frashëri: *Economic and Social Development of Albania during the XIX century - beginning of XX century. The history of the Albanian people. Chapter II, Part II, page 37. Tirana 2002.*

According to the approximate calculations, based on Ottoman official statistics of 1912, the population in the four Albanian vilayets altogether had 2,354,200 inhabitants. Their ethnic composition was as follows: 1,452,100 Albanians capita or 61.7%; Macedonians 317000 or 13.3%; Greek 170000 or 7.3%; Serbs 163 000 or 6.9%; Turkish 130000 or 5.5%; Vlachs 117000 or 5.4%; other 2200 or 0.1%.¹¹⁷

According to these statistics, the percentage of Albanian population in the four vilayets was this: Vilayet of Kosovo 61.4% Albanian population; Manastir Vilayet respectively 54.1%; Vilayet of Ioannina 59.1%; Vilayet of Shkodra 98.2%. In total, the four vilayets, Albanians constituted 61.7% of the total number of population.¹¹⁸ This figure is approximately 3% less than today's ethnic Macedonians unitary state of Macedonia.

During the last decades of the Ottoman Empire, the vilayet Kosovo had the largest population of with 909,700 people in total. The vilayet had at the same time the largest number of Albanian population¹¹⁹ with a total of 558900 inhabitants. Then, in order came the vilayet of Manastir with 375000 Albanians, Ioannina with 330,000 Albanians and the vilayet of Shkodra with 186500 Albanians.¹²⁰

After the nativity of the Balkan national movements, the presence of non-Albanian populations in Albanian territory was used by nationalist circles of the Balkan countries and the Great Powers who supported them as an excuse to get the fragmentation of the Albanian territories.¹²¹

¹¹⁷ *Ibid.*, Page 43.

¹¹⁸ *Ibid.*

¹¹⁹ "Albanian population of Kosovo Vilayet is much larger than the population of Serbian origin .." wrote to Sen. Kanten, French charge d'affaires in Cetina, French Foreign Minister De Frejsines, in January 1880. "Albania in the League of Prizren" II. Publication of the Academy of Sciences. Tirana 1986. Page 48.

¹²⁰ Prof. Dr. Kristo Frashëri: *Economic and Social Development of Albania during the XIX century-the beginning of the century XX.* Kapitulli II, Part II, page 43 of the *History of Albanian People*. Tirana 2002.

¹²¹ Prof. Dr. Stefanaq Pollo: "League of Prizren and its struggle for the national liberation and unification." Lecture held at the National Conference for Research Albanian League of Prizren. Published by the Academy of Sciences RPSSH titled "National Conference of the Albanian League of Prizren Studies" Volume I, Tirana 1979, page 37. Cited source

As a result, during the Balkan Renaissance, Ottoman administrative organization never allowed all the Albanian territories to be included in a single administrative military unit. In the Albano-sphere there were included four vilayets. And in the four vilayets Albanians formed the majority. This required the Great Powers to recognize the state right of Albanians, like their Balkan neighbors.

II.3. Factors affecting the beginning and evolution of the Albanian issue

Factors that affect the beginning and evolution of the Albanian national issue, and that in the region can be divided into incentives, which contributed positively to the initiation and evolution of the Albanian issue and inhibitory factors with a negative impact on this issue.

II. 3. 1. Factors that positively influenced the beginning and evolution of the Albanian issue.

Factors with a positive impact on the beginning and evolution of the Albanian issue in the region can be divided into internal and external factors.

II. 3. 1. 1. Internal factors that contributed positively to the initiation and evolution of the Albanian issue:

Among the internal factors that contributed positively to the initiation and evolution of the Albanian issue are: the changes in economic and social life of the Albanians, especially in the nineteenth century; the increased consolidation of language and material and spiritual culture of the Albanians¹²²; the influence of Albanian Renaissance and the Albanian national identity formation, as well as the war and

¹²² Prof. Dr. Stefanaq Pollo and Prof. Dr. Kristaq Prifti: *National Renaissance and its distinctive features.* "History of Albanian People" Chapter II, Part II, page 18. Tirana 2002

historical traditions of the Albanian people with Skanderbeg as a national figure¹²³. These factors led to the identification and need to strengthen the Albanian national values such as freedom, economic prosperity and a common language and culture. These values will give to the Albanians back their national interests, such as ethnic territories, inherited culture, language and wealth in order to achieve economic development. These interests should be protected at any costs, with those elements of national power possessed by Albanians. The above factors will also commit the Albanians in the war to gain independence, as one of the most important elements of national interests.

II. 3. 1. 2. External factors that positively influenced the beginning and evolution of the Albanian issue:

Among the external factors that positively contributed the beginning and evolution of the Albanian issue we distinguish: process of disintegration and progressive withdrawal of the Ottoman Empire from the Balkans¹²⁴; powerful influence of the Albanian Diaspora¹²⁵ like that of Italy, Romania, Istanbul, Bulgaria, Egypt, Greece, the U.S. and the growing interest to Western scholars for the Albanian ethnicity¹²⁶ the birth of Albanology¹²⁷. At this time, Albanian nationalism comes in the same context with other Balkans nationalisms. It was not late, as judged in comparison to other regional nationalisms. Like in other cases, nationalism appeared at the beginning of XIX century, to be important only during the second half¹²⁸ of that same century.

¹²³ ICG Europe Report N ° 153, 25 February 2004, page 3

¹²⁴ Prof. Dr. Kristo Frashëri: *Albanians and Eastern crisis. League of Prizren 1878-1881. Page 109-110. Tirana 1989.*

¹²⁵ Sreten Draskic: *"Europe and the Albanian issue (1830-1921)". Belgrade 2000. Page 20, citing source*

¹²⁶ Nathalie Clayer: *"At the beginning of Albanian nationalism." Page 144. Tirana 2009.*

¹²⁷ Lumo Skëndo: *Foreign travelers in Albania until the end of XIX century. Page 173. Tirana 2012.*

¹²⁸ Nathalie Clayer: *"At the beginning of Albanian nationalism." Page 637. Tirana 2009.*

II. 3. 2. Restraining factors in the beginning and evolution of the Albanian issue in the region.

Restraining factors at the beginning and evolution of the Albanian issue in the region can be divided into internal and external factors.

II. 3. 2. 1. Internal Restraining Factors in the beginning and evolution of the Albanian issue in the region.

As restraining internal factors in the beginning and evolution of the Albanian issue in the region we distinguish: limited economic development of the country and lack of an efficient communication network; high level of illiteracy and deficiencies of the educational formation, especially in the mother language as well as lack of a core state that would produce an Albanian national policy to allow the use of all elements of national power¹²⁹.

II. 3. 2. 2. External Restraining Factors in the beginning and evolution of the Albanian issue in the region.

Whereas as external factors with restraining effect on the the beginning and resolution of the Albanian issue we distinguish: the geographic specific and enviable position between East and West¹³⁰, being ancient people who did not belong to any large family of the European people, and the prejudice¹³¹ of the religious affiliation of Albanians.¹³²

¹²⁹ *National power and security. Summary material items David Jablonsky & R.Craig Nation. Published on Guita policy and national security strategy. V.II. Page 425. Military Academy edition "Spiro Moisiu". Tirana 2009*

¹³⁰ *Jacques Boucart: Albania and the Albanians. "Cited source. page 23*

¹³¹ *Xhavit Shala, "The Serbian Church and negative peace in Kosovo," published in the newspaper «Tirana Observer» dt. March 14, 2006*

¹³² *Prof.Dr. Kristo Frashëri: "Albanian the national identity during the Ottoman rule." Tirana 2006*

Chapter III.

The dynamics of the Albanian issue until today

Within the dynamics of the Albanian issue a tremendous role was played by the Albanian National Renaissance, which prepared and raised solutions for the Albanian National issue and the Albanian issue in the region. Albanian National Renaissance period, as well as other nations of the Balkans, began in the XIX century.

III. 1 Albanian National Renaissance, the Albanian national issue and the Albanian issue in the region.

Within the main changes of circumstances of the geo-politics of the Balkans and the absence of the Albanian state, Albanian Renaissance and the movement that it inspired, aimed to identify, locate, but also to use all means and ways to protect and consolidate the geo-political interests of the Albanians in the region.¹³³ Albanian National Renaissance period begins from 30-40 years of the XIX century and continues until the Proclamation of Independence of Albania in 1912.¹³⁴ The essence of the Albanian National Renaissance program constitutes the formation of the Albanian national state.¹³⁵ Renaissance Program, which is continuously enriched, was consolidated during the League of Prizren (1878-1881). League established and set up a regular and disciplined army to fulfill its purpose, which caused the Montenegrins army to fail the military actions in the years 1879-1880 for Plava and

¹³³ Xhavit Shala: "The Balkans, geopolitics and security". Volume I. Page 449. Tirana 2009.

¹³⁴ Prof. Dr. Stefanaq Pollo, Prof. Dr. Kristaq Prifti: *National Renaissance and its distinctive features.* "History of Albanian People" Chapter II, Part II, page 17. Tirana 2002

¹³⁵ *Ibid.*

Gucia.¹³⁶ The War of the League for Plava Gucia was very important for the Albanian issue in the region and in Europe.¹³⁷ That internationalized it.

Renaissance considered the organization of the Albanian state, in both forms, that of autonomy and independence. Autonomy and independence are provided as two stages for resolving the Albanian issue, closely related to each other¹³⁸. But because of international balances, especially the relations between the Great Powers with Ottoman Empire and Russia; regional balances, especially the Albanians relations with neighbors; but also internal balances in the Albano-sphere, respectively the relations of the social and political forces within the country, Albano-sphere autonomy option prevailed almost throughout the period of the Renaissance, until October 1912, when started the war between the coalition of the Balkan states and Turkey.

The 1910 Albanian uprising although suppressed by force, had great significance¹³⁹ for the Albanian national issue and the Albanian issue in the region. It internationalized¹⁴⁰ even more the case¹⁴¹ and showed that peace and security in the region will not be achieved without resolving the Albanian issue.

With the uprising of 1911 and the memorandum of Greece, a document drafted by Ismail Qemali¹⁴² and Luigj Gurakuqi,¹⁴³ Albanians sought open recognition of

¹³⁶ Telegram dated 14 January 1880, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Sublime Porte, the Ottoman mission sent to Paris, about fighting for the protection of Plav and Gucia-AMAE CP French Embassy in Istanbul. Vol. 434. Page 125r-128r; Telegram Sen-Kanten, charge d'affaires of France in Cetina, sent on 16 January 1880 the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of France, fighting to protect Gucia-AMAE CP French Embassy in Stamboll. Vëll. 2 . Page 22r-23r. Documents translated and published in "Albania in the League of Prizren". Volume II. Page 37-41. Tirana 1986. Publication of the Academy of Sciences of RPSSH.

¹³⁷ Xhafer Belegu: Lidhja e Prizrenit, faqe 84-107. Tiranë 1939;

¹³⁸ For more details see, Kristo Frashëri: "Abdyl Frashëri", Chapter VII, "a major goal and minimal program", page 157-171. Tirana 1984

¹³⁹ Prof. Dr. Gazmend Shpuza: Kosovo uprising of 1910. History of Albanian People. Volume II. Page 439. Published Toena. Tirana 2002;

¹⁴⁰ Archive of the Institute of History HHSA (PAA); report quoted Ambassador Méray.

¹⁴¹ Report of Pallavacinit Nr. 1128, dated 5.5.1910; Telegram Erentalit sent to embassies in Paris (No. 30), London (No. 25), Rome (43) and Petrograd (No.53), dated 6.5.1910. Ibid, pp. 132-133.

¹⁴² Relation Gisele consul sent by Cetina, dated June 30, 1911 count Erentat, stating Ismail Qemali insistence in protection requirements insurgents. Ismail Qemali, collection of documents, pages 169-170. November 8, 1982

nationality and the formation of a very wide administrative and territorial unit itself, which means the creation of an autonomous Albania under the Ottoman Empire.¹⁴⁴ The 1911 uprising forced the Young Turks to accept talks to make some concessions, even though partial for Albanians.

In the dynamics of the Albanian issue in the region a decisive role was played by the overall armed uprising of the Albanian people for independence. For this, in the January 1912, most of the Albanian members of parliament in Istanbul, decided to start the preparations for a general armed uprising.¹⁴⁵ In mid-April, the insurgents operations began mainly in Kosovo. Upon the request of Ismail Qemali, Hasan Prishtina¹⁴⁶ was on top of the insurgents on the ground. Tactically, for their actions, the organizers of the uprising demanded, without success, the support of Austria-Hungary,¹⁴⁷ England¹⁴⁸ and Bulgaria.¹⁴⁹ Meanwhile, to support the uprising, Belgrade set a major condition for Albanians to abandon any intention to gain administrative autonomy of Albania.¹⁵⁰ May 21 to 25, with the initiative of Hasan Prishtina the Junik Assembly was held. This event was attended by top executives' insurgents from all Albano-sphere. Junik assembly formulated and adopted the political program of the Albanian uprising. It included the following requirements: recognition of borders and autonomy of Albania; the setting of Albanian flag; a general governor to be chosen between Albanian princely families; the setting of the Albanian officials to formalize the Albanian language in all Albanian territories, as well as the warranty by the Great

¹⁴³ Ismail Qemali, *collection of documents*, pages 166-169. November 8, 1982

¹⁴⁴ Prof.Dr. Zekeria Cana. Page 165. Cited source.

¹⁴⁵ *Excerpts from the report of the top of the Austro-Hungarian consul in Thessaloniki, run count Erental on 5 January 1912, the conversation that has developed with Hasan Prishtina.* Hasan Prishtina, *Documents*. Pages 50-51. New printing presses. Tirana 1983.

¹⁴⁶ For more details look the memories of Hasan Prishtina on the anti ottoman general uprising of 1912. Hasan Prishtina, *Documents* .page 70-74. "Shtypshkronja e Re . Tirana 1983.

¹⁴⁷ *Archive of the Institute of History:top Foreign Ministry instructions Consul in Thessaloniki, Nr.311.25.1.1912.*

¹⁴⁸ Prof.Dr. Zekeria Cana. Page 187-188. Cited source.

¹⁴⁹ While Bulgaria had made treaties with neighboring for the Albania separation. See: *Alliance Treaty between the Principality of Bulgaria and the Kingdom of Serbia, signed in Belgrade on March 31, 1904; Treaty of Friendship and Alliance between Bulgaria and Serbia, signed on 13 March 1912*

¹⁵⁰ Prof. Dr. Gazmend Shpuza, *cited work*, page 465.

Powers to enforce these requirements ¹⁵¹. After the success liberation of Kosovo cities one after the other by the insurgents, as not being able to solve the problem on July 17, 1912, the Turkish government resigned.¹⁵² Meanwhile the leaders of the uprising in the south of the country gathered in Sinj, Berat ¹⁵³ and drafted a memorandum with 12 points similar to that of Greece.

Having received no response to their demands, Kosovo insurgents gathered in Ferizaj, where under the leadership of Hasan Prishtina ¹⁵⁴ drafted a memorandum with 14 points, which together with the warning to march towards Skopje, was sent to the Turkish government committee that was present in Pristina. On August 13 the insurgents, under the direction of Bajram Curri and Isa Buletini liberated Skopje. This prompted the Albanian uprising in other cities of Albania. On August 18, the Turkish government claimed that they accepted the requirements they had under competence. Thereafter, Hasan Prishtina urged to the insurgents to return from Skopje to Kosovo because this will help them in organizing the defense of the homeland from Balkan aggressors, who were preparing to attack the Albanian lands.¹⁵⁵ Serbs believed that it was Austria-Hungary that informed Hasan Prishtina on this¹⁵⁶. With the departure of the insurgents from Skopje, it ended the general uprising of 1912. This rebellion, although the center was in Kosovo, was extended to the entire country. This joined Albanians regardless of region, race or social class. So

¹⁵¹ Junik memorandum addressed to the Young Turk government and representatives of the Great Powers in Skopje with the request to Albania recognized the rights of an autonomous province. Published in the Albanian National Renaissance Acts 1878-1912, page 240. Mihal Duri, Tirana 1978.

¹⁵² Hasan Prishtina, documents, Page 83. Cited source.

¹⁵³ For more details see part of the Memorandum of Sinjës Great Powers sent the request for the establishment of an autonomous Albanian province. Published in Renaissance Acts 1878-1912. Page 245-246. Tiranë 1978.

¹⁵⁴ For more details see part of the memorandum sent to the Ottoman government in Pristina on 9 August 1912. Published in Renaissance Acts 1878-1912. Page 251-25. Tirana 1978.

¹⁵⁵ Prof. Dr. Gazmend Shpuza, cited work, page 494

¹⁵⁶ Sreten Draskic, Page 166. Work cited.

the prolonged war period ended in autonomy which was followed by other stages, the war for independence.¹⁵⁷

In October 1912, the participating states in the Balkan Alliance, announced one after another, war to Turkey. Now the Albanian patriots were facing a very difficult task, the determination of the position that should be held during the Balkan conflict.¹⁵⁸

The patriotic and political elite in the country organized on 14 October 1912 an extraordinary assembly in Skopje. At that meeting, it was concluded that "Turkey will lose the war... so, how to save Albania?"¹⁵⁹ They decided to inform and ensure the Great Powers that "Albania is armed... to protect all lands and freedom of Albania... whatever is the fate of Albanians. Albanians have to admit regarding the four vilayets only for Independence"¹⁶⁰. Meanwhile, in an official meeting with Berhtoldin, the Foreign Minister of Austria-Hungary, Ismail Qemali was informed that Vienna wanted an autonomous Albania and that was the prevailing opinion in all the diplomatic circles of other Great Powers¹⁶¹. After that meeting, Ismail Qemali informed his son and the high authorities of Vlora by telegraph from Vienna that: "Albania's future is assured".¹⁶² But the situation on the ground had evolved. Turkey now was defeated and Albania occupied. And in these conditions there was no sense to demand autonomy. In that situation, the political and patriotic elite inside and outside the country had decided to call the assembly of Albanian nation representatives in Vlora, on 28 November 1912. Ismail Qemali was elected chairman of the Assembly. After the verification of the mandate, in his speech, the new chairman-elected of the Assembly, did a previous analysis of the relationship with

¹⁵⁷ Prof. Dr. Zekeria Cana: "Albanian issue in Kosovo 1908-1912," page 258.

¹⁵⁸ Prof. Dr. Muin Çami; *Albania in the course of history, 1912-1924*. Page 17. Publication Onufri.

¹⁵⁹ *Decision of the Extraordinary Assembly held in Skopje on 14 October 1912 regarding the attitude we should hold Albanians during the outbreak of the First Balkan War. Published in the Albanian National Renaissance documents*. Page 256. Publication of the Academy of Sciences. Tirana 1978.

¹⁶⁰ *Ibid.*

¹⁶¹ Prof. Dr. Gazmend Shpuza, cited work, page 509

¹⁶² Ismail Qemal telegram directed from Vienna on 9 November 1912, to his son, Ethem Bey ,in Vlora; Telegram of Ismail Qemal run from Vienna on 9 November 1912 to the Vlora nobles.

Turkey, and concluded that "the only way of salvation was the separation of Albania from Turkey".¹⁶³ Ismail Qemali proposal was thrown into vote and all the delegates "unanimously liked his words" and decided that "... Albania today became free and independent"¹⁶⁴. Assembly of Vlora selected the temporary government with Prime Minister Ismail Qemali¹⁶⁵. The independent state of Albania included only half of the Albanian territories. In the early days it controlled a territory of only four thousand square kilometers.¹⁶⁶ The declaration of independence of Albania was an act of extraordinary importance for our national cause and for Albanian issues in the region. It was the crowning of Albanian war efforts, for creation of the Albanian national state and the realization of the Albanian National Renaissance program. The decision of the Assembly of Vlora carried out the values of the act which established the independence state. This was so because, the assembly, gathered Albanian mandated representatives from all Albano-sphere, which at that time included four Albanian vilayets under the Ottoman Empire. Even their decision carried state establishment values. At the same time the mandated government represented all Albano-sphere at the Assembly of Vlora.

That concludes the National Renaissance period in the history of Albanians. At the same time it marks the beginning of another significant period, long and hard for the Albanian national issue and the Albanian issue, the protection of the acquired independence, the consolidation of an independent Albanian state and the efforts to unite all the Albano-sphere in a single state.

In conclusion, the dynamics of the Albanian Issue, an extraordinary role played the Albanian National Renaissance, which prepared and raised for solution the Albanian National Issue and Albanian Issue in the region. Albania's declaration of

¹⁶³ Excerpts from the protocols first meeting of the National Assembly of Vlora in which it was decided Declaration of Independence of Albania.Vlorë 28 Nov 1912. Published in "Ismail Qemal, review documents," page 230. Published by "November 8", Tirana 1982

¹⁶⁴ Decision of the Declaration of Independence in Vlora. Ibid. Page 231.

¹⁶⁵ Egerem Bej Vlora: Memoirs 1885-1925, page 310

¹⁶⁶Ibid, page 307.

independence in 1912 was the pinnacle of efforts and wars of the Albanians for the creation of the Albanian national state and the partial realization of the program of the Albanian National Renaissance.

III. 2. The Albanian issue from the Declaration of Independence to World War II.

Within the dynamics of the Albanian issue in the region, the Conference of Ambassadors in London played a very important role. It dealt with the Albanian issue in three main areas, respectively its international legal status, the internal state organization and the borders the new Albanian state. The Great Powers, on the first day of the conference, 17 December 1912, decided on the autonomy of Albania¹⁶⁷. Later, with the 29 July 1912 decision, the conference put the Albania's legal status from autonomy to independence¹⁶⁸. This is the fundamental international act that considers the independence of Albania and its united international recognition. But the decision of the Great Powers cannot be regarded as the founding act of the Albanian state. However, it must be admitted that, without this international act, the Independence decision of Assembly of Vlora, as the founding act of the Albanian State, could not come into life. The decision of the Conference of Ambassadors for Albania's independence had a great importance also for the Balkan security complex. The adding of a new state in the Balkans was a positive development in the process of internal transformation of this complex.

¹⁶⁷ *Excerpts from the report of the French ambassador Pol kamboja, dated 17.12.1912. Documents Diplomatiques Francais, 3 eme series, t. V. D. n ° 78, pp .94-96. Translated into Albanian in the "Albanian issue in international acts ..." V.II, Pages 187-190. Cited source.*

¹⁶⁸ *Illyrisch-Albanische Forschungen, Ludwig von Thalloezy, II band, Munchen und Leipzig 1916, p.173. Translated into Albanian in the "Albanian issue in the international acts" V.II, Pages 187-190. Document No. 38.*

But the disregard of the Albanian national interests on behalf of this conference including all the Albano-sphere in the newly created Albanian state, the treatment of these territories as sharing spoils among the Balkan and great powers parties for exchange, threatened the occurrence of an international dimensional conflict by seriously risking peace and security in the Balkans, Europe and beyond.

From the declaration of independence period up to World War II, the Albanian issue has experienced major difficulties and zigzags in its dynamics in the region. The clash over the benefits from the Albano-sphere caused the resignation of Italy from the Triple Alliance¹⁶⁹, the decay of the balance equilibrium between the two great alliances of the time, caused some consequences in the further developments of peace and security in the Balkans and beyond. Although it had an international guaranteed neutrality, Albania became a theater where hostilities of warring powers took place. Afterwards, the main winning actors of the war, in cooperation with regional states, tried the full asphyxiation of the Albanian issue in the region. But this effort remained in tentative due to American intervention.¹⁷⁰ Later, with the increase of the Albanian factor awareness, especially the Lushnja Congress¹⁷¹ and the War of Vlora, the Albanian issue passed from the efforts of survival and protection of acquired independence, toward the consolidation of the independent state and its international affirmation. The beginning of the consolidation of the Albanian state, although included less than half of the Albano-sphere, had a positive impact on Balkan security complex.

In conclusion, in the period from the declaration of independence until World War II in its dynamic, the Albanian issue in the region has experienced great difficulties and

¹⁶⁹ Secret treaty between the Entente Powers and Italy. London 26 April 1915. Translated and published in Albanian in the "Albanian issue in the international acts". V.II, Pages 634-643. Translated document No. 161.

¹⁷⁰ Note of President Wilson, dated 6 March 1920, in response to the marking of the Allies on 26 February 1920. Translated from French into Albanian in "War of the Albanian people for national liberation" Volume I, pages 255-256

¹⁷¹ For more see: "Albania in 1937.State action during the 25 years of the self governance"Volume I. Page 44-45.Printing "Luarasi." Tirana 1937

zigzags. The creation of an independent Albanian state and the beginning of its consolidation, although included less than half of the Albanian geo-sphere, had a positive impact on Balkan security complex.

III.3. World War II and the Albanian issue

Albania lost completely its sovereignty after the Italian occupation during World War II¹⁷². In the major conflict between which of the two collisions would determine the post-war international balances, Albanians immediately ranked themselves with the anti-fascist coalition. It was almost the only country in the Balkans, which was liberated from the fascist invaders without the help of the Russian Red Army and returned to itself the abducted sovereignty. Meanwhile, the communist Yugoslavs, pretended to take the power in their country, worked intensively in designing a future of Albania associated to Yugoslavia¹⁷³. So, other risks were added to the sovereignty of Albania and to the Albanian issue in the region.

Finally, in its dynamics during World War II, the Albanian issue underwent rapid evolution. Albanians managed a straight orientation in this global conflict. With the liberation war, they were able to liberate with their forces their country and as a consequence, the Albanian state regained sovereignty abducted by Italian fascist regime.

III. 4. Cold War-cold, froze, but also the spring on the Albanian issue.

Yugoslavs had prepared the ground during the war and immediately afterwards, openly attempted the inclusion of Albania as the seventh republic of the Yugoslav

¹⁷² Prof.Dr. Xhelal Gjecovi, "Albania under Italian and German occupation" *History of Albanian People, Part IV. page 25*

¹⁷³ Miranda Vickers, *Albanians, a Modern History*, page 240. Tirana 2008.

Federation¹⁷⁴. On this, since the first visit that Enver Hoxha paid to Belgrade in the summer of 1946, "were signed many agreements that were too dangerous for customs, currency, joint ventures, etc... up to military issues"¹⁷⁵. However, the decay of relations between Tito and Stalin prevented the completion of this merging process. In fact, the conflict Tito-Stalin played a crucial importance for the security of our country. This was so because of the previous approval of Stalin of the Balkan federation¹⁷⁶. Later, during the Cold War period, the Albano-sphere was divided into three states, representing three different positions in the ideological and political divergences with each other. The failure of the Albanian issue had negative impacts on security issues in the region. This was so because Albania has had ongoing disputes with the neighbors on the violations of the rights of ethnic Albanians in Kosovo, Macedonia, Montenegro and Greece. During the Cold War, the Serb-Greek alliance against Albania is seen as potential threat for the security of our country.¹⁷⁷ The ideological pressure and the effects of distorted national interests seem to have frozen for a while, the Albanian issue. But, regardless of state violence, Albanians in Yugoslavia intensified and escalated the peaceful efforts in acquainting their national rights, cautioning suitable winds for the Albanian issue in the region. The student movement of 1968 in Pristina, although it was forcibly suppressed, it resulted in a partial victory of the Albanians¹⁷⁸. National movement in Kosovo, but also in other Albanian regions in Yugoslavia already was moving towards "qualitative start, self-transformation of quantity into quality"¹⁷⁹ and this quality was achieved after 1981.

In conclusion, even during the Cold War, there were no solutions for the Albanian Issue, which had negative effects in the security issues in the region. This is because

¹⁷⁴ Miranda Vickers, *Albanians, a Modern History*, page 266. Cited source.

¹⁷⁵ Nexhmije Hoxha, Interview with Janusz Bugajski in *Albanian Screen*, 22 March 2012. Reprinted in the newspaper 'Tema' on 23 March 2012

¹⁷⁶ Kate Transchel, "The Breakup of Yugoslavia: Conflict in the Balkans", p.98. Chelsea House. Infobase Publishing, 132 West 31st Street, New York NY 10001

¹⁷⁷ Xhavit Shala: "National Security and the Challenges of Integration" p.14 Tiranë 2003

¹⁷⁸ Viktor Meier: "Yugoslavia A History of its Demise", Published in the Taylor & Francis e-Library, 2005.p.27

¹⁷⁹ Mr. Ukshin HOTI "The political philosophy of the Albanian issue" page 60

Albania has had continuous disputes with its neighbors for violations of the Albanians rights in Kosovo, Macedonia, Montenegro and Greece.

III.5. The Dissolution of Yugoslavia, the Kosovo crisis and the chances for resolving the Albanian issue in the region

The Dissolution of Yugoslavia and the intention for state sovereignty of the four constituent units of the Yugoslav Federation gave a new dimension to the Albanian issue not only in Yugoslavia, but also in the region and increased its chances for solution. During the process of the dissolution of Yugoslavia, Kosovo Albanians undertook all appropriate constitutional and legal steps¹⁸⁰ as well as peaceful resistance in demanding their independence¹⁸¹. But the violent tactics that Serbian regime used against Albanians¹⁸² denied them of any opportunity in asking for their legitimate rights through effective legal tools. Therefore Albanians exercised the right of self-determination against the regime and embraced the option of armed war. This was an important step to solve the Albanian national issue. The beginning of an armed war of KLA¹⁸³ and NATO intervention opened the way of resolving the conflict and the Albanian issue in Yugoslavia in a new dimension.

After the Serbs capitulation on 10 June 1999, parallel to the cessation of the bombing campaign by NATO, the UN Security Council adopted Resolution 1244.¹⁸⁴ This resolution authorized the creation of UNMIK¹⁸⁵ placing Kosovo under international administration and control¹⁸⁶. Years later, after the failure of negotiations on the final

¹⁸⁰ *The Kosovo Report, Independent International Commission on Kosovo, Published to Oxford Scholarship Online, f. 301-318*

¹⁸¹ *Leslie Benson: Yugoslavia: A Concise History, p.163. First published 2001 by Palgrave Cited source*

¹⁸² *Tim Judah, Kosovo, What Everyone Needs to Know, p.81. Oxford University Press 2008.*

¹⁸³ *Albrecht Schnabel and Ramesh Thakur: "Kosovo and the Challenge of Humanitarian Intervention", p.171. The United Nations University, 2000*

¹⁸⁴ *Un Resolution 1244. Adopted by the Security Council at its 4011th meeting on 10 June 1999*

¹⁸⁵ *United Nations Interim Administration Mission in Kosovo*

¹⁸⁶ *James Ker-Lindsay: "Kosovo, The Path to Contested Statehood in the Balkans". p15-16*

status of Kosovo, the Russian Federation veto in the UN Security Council, Kosovo Assembly adopted the Declaration of Independence of Kosovo in its extraordinary meeting of 17 February 2008,¹⁸⁷. Now a new state was added to the region, which on the declaration of independence is committed for peace and stability in Southeast Europe¹⁸⁸, and expressed willingness to establish good relations with all its neighbors, including the Republic of Serbia¹⁸⁹. The declaration of independence of Kosovo is an expression of the will of the Albanian people of Kosovo. This gives solution to a very important part of the Albanian national issue, but also the Albanian issue in the region. With the support of the independence of Kosovo, the international community made a serious investment which had a positive impact on Balkan security complex. However, the security in the region, especially in the Albanosphere will still be affected by the degree of resolution of the Albanian issue in Western Macedonia and the Presevo Valley, and the armed conflicts that occurred in 2000-2001. With the obligation and intervention of the international factor, Albanians signed Ohrid agreement¹⁹⁰ in Macedonia and the Presevo Valley Koncul Agreement¹⁹¹, contributing thus to peace and security in regional security complex.

In conclusion, the process of dissolution of Yugoslavia increased chances for the solution of the Albanian issue in the region. With the declaration of independence of Kosovo it takes solution a very important part in the Albanian national issue, but also in the Albanian Issue in the region. With the support of the independence of Kosovo, the international community made a serious investment and positively influenced the Balkan security complex.

¹⁸⁷ Kosovo Declaration of Independence, Sunday, 17.02.2008. D-001 Pristine, 17 February 2008

¹⁸⁸ Section 10 of the Declaration of Independence of Kosovo

¹⁸⁹ Section 10 of the Declaration of Independence of Kosovo

¹⁹⁰ Andrew Rossos: "Macedonia and masedonians:A history", p.277. Hoover Insitution Publication 2008.

¹⁹¹ ICG Europe Report N ° 153, 25 February 2004. page 25

Chapter IV.

Albanian issue and regional geopolitics.

The Albanian issue in the region has considerably been affected by regional geopolitics, by the action and the interests of key international and regional actors of the time, by international and regional balances and geostrategic position of the Albanian space. The recognition and study of their mutual influence in the Albanian issue is necessary, because it will help us analyze and conclude the relations between the Albanian issue resolutions in Balkan security complex.

IV.1. Relations of the most important international and regional actors in the Albanian issue.

The war for national liberation and formation of the Albanian national state by the Balkan countries would not be conducted outside the influence of the world powers and their geo-political interests in the Balkans.

These key geo-politics actors of the time, known as the European concert, have played an important role in the overall dynamics of the Albanian issue in the region. Unlike other Balkan countries, the role of great powers for Albanians, with few exceptions, has been negative and obstructive¹⁹². Therefore their activity against the nation and the Albano-sphere is seen as an existential threat and is securitized by them. Even in times when great powers have intervened in favor of the Albanians, the intervention has been closely related to their interests in the region.

But, along with the concert of Europe, regional actors, neighboring state also have intervened in the Albanian issue. Starting from the thirties in the XIX century, these countries pursued an expansionist policy to acquire part of the Albano-sphere. Under

¹⁹² For more details see: Document 126, page 238; document 52, page 117; 263 520 page document. "Albania in the League of Prizren" II. Publication of the Academy of Sciences. Tirana 1986

these conditions, the Albanian issue had to survive between the Turkish state apparatus and the violence of the neighbors' expansionist policy and regional interests of world powers of the time.

IV.1.1. Relations of major international actors in the Albanian issue.

Among the powers that have intervened and influenced the Balkan security complex and the Albanian issue, were Austria-Hungary, Russia, Italy, England, France, Germany and the U.S little later.

Austro-Hungary but also of the Slavs in the Balkans, being at the same time opponent of Turkey, in a way was considered allies of the Albanian issue. But they would support the Albanian issue only for the conjuncture¹⁹³. This was noticed in their diplomatic activity and in the deals that will be signed with other major powers and other actors that had geo-political interests in the Balkans¹⁹⁴. On the eve, and especially during the Balkan Wars (1912-1913), as a support of interests, Austria-Hungary began to support the idea of establishing an autonomous administration in Albania, and latter on, the Albanian national state.¹⁹⁵ By no doubt, this policy was dictated by its economic, political and geo-strategic interests in Albania, a country with an important position in the edge of the Adriatic Sea. Also Vienna's intention was to use the Albanian National Movement for its own interests.¹⁹⁶

Russia in the Balkans has been consistently, openly against the Albanian issue and a supporter of the Slavs in the region. This is manifested in the Treaty of San Stefano, Congress of Berlin, the Conference of Ambassadors in London, secret Treaty of London of 1915, in other treaties and agreements that it signed until its persistent veto

¹⁹³ Memorandum addressed Lord Bignonsfeld, England's representative in the Congress of Berlin. Published by Prof.Arben Puto "Albanian issue in international acts of the period of imperialism" Volume I, page 140. document No.6

¹⁹⁴ See: Agreement between Austria-Hungary and Russia in the Balkans, on May 17, 1897; collusion between Austria-Hungary and Italy, signed in Rome on May 8, 1913.

¹⁹⁵ Prof. Dr. Rexhep Qosja: "Albanian issue. History and politics" Page 102. Tirana 1998

¹⁹⁶ For more details see: Document 28, pp. 72-74."Albania in the League of Prizren" II.Publication of the Academy of Sciences.Tirana 1986

blocking the UN Security Council decisions related to Kosovo. At the core of Russian Balkan policy are the intentions to turn the Balkan in a zone of its geopolitical influence and to control the doors of the Mediterranean,¹⁹⁷ the Turkish straits. And these goals have been consistently covered with its pan-slavism and pan-orthodoxy.

Italy started an active policy towards Albania after Francesco Crispi came in power in Italy¹⁹⁸ He was son of an Albanian 'arbëresh'. Italy's involvement in the Albanian issue related directly to its intention to have a dominant role in the Adriatic. To make the Adriatic Sea an Italian one, "Mare nostrum", the domination over Albania was necessary. But this contradicted the interests of Austria-Hungary, which wanted to turn the Adriatic into an Austro-Hungarian lake. Although allies within the Triple Alliance, since 1882, they entered into an increasingly strong competition with each other in providing superior control over Albania.

After the outbreak of World War I and the occupation of Serbia by Austria-Hungary, Italy requested, under Article 7 of the Tripartite Alliance Agreement¹⁹⁹, compensation and concretely that Austria-Hungary to suspend interest for Albania. The Austro-Hungarian part rejected this request. In parallel, Italy had entered into secret negotiations with the Atlanta Alliance asking them to guarantee its intentions towards the Albanian territories. These talks resulted in very favorable agreement for Italy, the one of 13 April 1915 in London, where Italy was promised Vlora with all its hinterland, as well as to be a protector for the rest of the state. So Italy switched alliance. This led to the change of balance for the power in Europe in favor of Atlanta powers. So, the collision for the Albanian issue led in a clash between two great

¹⁹⁷ Prof.Paskal Milo: "common interests and contradictions of the Great Powers in policy towards the League."National Conference of the Albanian League of Prizren Studies 1878-1881 "Volume I, page 331

¹⁹⁸ Crispi was born in 1819 in Rribera of Sicily. He came from a large Albanian family emigrated to Italy in 1467. He spoke very good English language. Garibaldi associate in the unification of Italy. In 1878 he become a minister and, later, twice prime minister; 1887 to 1891 and from 1893 to 1896. So about 8 years Prime Minister of Italy.

¹⁹⁹ See Section 7, Third Tripartite Alliance Treaty between Austria-Hungary, Germany and Italy. Ibid. Document 35.

powers of the time, of the same alliance, which then led also in the winning coalition of World War I. Italy never gave up its dream for the Albania's Adriatic coast, even after the war of Vlora, causing in this way its constant involvement in the Albanian issue and in the complex of the Balkan security of the region.

While during the Eastern Crisis England, has generally played a negative role in the national issues in the Balkans. A classic mistake of the English government and its supporters was that they believed that Russia could be refrained only by preserving the integrity of the Ottoman Empire.²⁰⁰ On the eve of the Berlin Congress, the Albanian political elite of the time attempted to gain the England support. On this a memorandum Lord Bikonsfild, England's representative at the Congress of Berlin was sent from Shkodra.²⁰¹ Since the beginnings of the Albanian issue in the region, the English policy was not always in favor of the Albanians in the Balkans and sometimes it was against. England held this position in the Congress of Berlin in 1878; Conference of Ambassadors in London in 1912-1913; in the negotiations and in the secret Treaty of London of 1915 and the Paris Peace Conference in 1919 - 1920. England is co-responsible for all unfair decisions taken continuously for Albania and the Albanian issue in the region, at least until the end of World War I. This policy changed positively after the fall of communism, and especially during the Kosovo conflict in 1999. It seems that, for a decade, they managed to correct errors of the British policy in most part of the centuries, related with the Albanian issue in the Balkans.

The United States of America, compared to the other Great Powers were involved later on in the Albanian issue, mainly at the end of World War I. The U.S. has played

²⁰⁰ R.J.Kramton: "England and Albanians" in the years 1878-1881. Session held at the National Conference for Research Albanian League of Prizren 1878-1881. "Published in National Conference Albanian League of Prizren Studies 1878-1881. Volume I. Page 398. Tirana 1979.

²⁰¹ Memorandum addressed Lord Bikonsfild, England's representative at the Congress of Berlin. Published by Prof.Arben Puto "Albanian issue in international acts of the period of imperialism" Volume I, page 141. document No.6

a crucial role in the Albanian issue in the Paris Peace Conference at the end of First World War²⁰²

During the Kosovo crisis in 1998-1999, the U.S. envoy Richard Holbrooke appeared in a photo with representatives of the KLA, and he accepted the role of the KLA in the solution of the Kosovo problem.²⁰³ KLA was "a privileged interlocutor of the international community".²⁰⁴ After the failure of the Rambouillet talks, the United States strongly supported the decision to start the bombing campaign of NATO against Serbia and held the main burden of the war. After the liberation, in KFOR, U.S had the largest number of military forces and played a key role in ensuring the security of Kosovo. Also they supported the Koncul and Ohrid agreement. The members of the Contact Group were the first who instigated and led the Kosovo final status negotiation process, which openly advocated for an independent solution. Recognition of the independent state of Kosovo, on 18 February 2008, a day after the declaration of independence, strongly supported its Euro Atlantic integration. USA today is our strategic partner. Without its support, we could not think the solution of the Albanian issue in the Balkans to such an extent. By contributing to the solution of the Albanian issue in the region, the U.S. had a positive impact on the polarity and balance of power in the Balkan complex security. It played an important role in Albania's membership in NATO, and supports country integration into the European Union. U.S. is continuously engaged in the development of democracy and reformation of security structures in Albania.

In conclusion the world powers, as the main geopolitical actors of the time, known at first as the Great Powers, having direct interests in the region because of its geostrategic importance, have securitized continuously the Balkan region. With their

²⁰² Note of President Wilson, dated 6 March 1920, in response to the Allied grade of 26 February 1920, "Albanian issue in international acts ..." Volume II, pages 255-256.

²⁰³ John S. Koliopoulos & Thanos M. Veremis: "Modern Greece: A History since 1821" p.210. Blackwell Publishing was acquired by John Wiley & Sons in February 2007

²⁰⁴ Albrecht Schnabel and Ramesh Thakur: "Kosovo and the Challenge of Humanitarian Intervention", p.171

policies, these international powerful state actors, intervened and influenced the region, but also in the Albanian issue, thus affecting consistently the internal transformations of the Balkan security complex.

IV.1.2. The relations of regional actors with the Albanian issue.

In addition to international actors, the regional actors namely Serbia, Greece, Montenegro, as well as Bulgaria, have played a consistently negative role in the Albanian issue²⁰⁵ and concretely:

IV.1.2. a. Serbia and the Albanian. issue

Serbia, for its interests, intervened many times and in violent ways in the Albanian issue. Northern Albania with Kosovo, were included in its program "Naçertania"²⁰⁶, to recreate the empire of Tsar Dusan in the Balkans. Initially it needed allies against Turkey. According to the Serbian Prime Minister Ilia Garasanin, the Albanians participation in the war was a necessary condition for victory over Turkey²⁰⁷. For this they promised to support the creation of an Albanian Principate that would extend only in the areas of Diber and Mat, with an area of less than 4 thousand square kilometers.²⁰⁸ To finalize this, the Serbian ambassador in Istanbul J. Ristic, contacted, in the spring of 1866, the strong feudal Mat Xhelal Pasha Zogu, whose dream was to become "Prince of Albania,"²⁰⁹. But the project was rejected by the Russians, who

²⁰⁵ See Treaty of Alliance between Principate of Bulgaria and the Kingdom of Serbia. Belgrade 13, 31 March 1904. Translated into Albanian in the "Albanian issue international acts ..." Volume I, pages 354 - 357. document 43

²⁰⁶ Prof.Dr. Kristo Frashëri: *Albanians and Eastern crisis. League of Prizren 1878-1881. Page 111. Tirana 1989*

²⁰⁷ Prof.Dr. Aleks Buda: "Albania during the Balkan crisis of the 60th." *History of Albanian People. Volume I, Tirana 2004. Faqe 109*

²⁰⁸ Prof.Dr. Kristo Frashëri: "League of Prizren" Page 111. Tirana 1989.

²⁰⁹ I.G.Senklevic. *Albanija v period Vostocnogo Krizisa (1875-1881). Moskva 1975.f.52-54. Cited from Prof.Dr. Kristo Frashëri in "League of Prizren" Page 112. Tirana 1989*

were against the creation of any Albanian political entity.²¹⁰ Even after this failure, the Serbs tried again to support the creation a Catholic principality having Mirdita as a center, and by including also the surrounding mountainous areas, at that time Catholic. For this, they lured Preng Bib Dobën.²¹¹ Once again it was rejected from Russia by using the same motive. Nacertania²¹² has served as a guiding compass for Serbian foreign policy for a period of about 150 years, starting from the time of its drafting in 1844 by Ilia Garasanin onwards.

In conclusion, the Serbian targets and ongoing actions against the Albano-sphere nation are regarded as existential threat and are constantly securitised by the Albanians. This enabled the prevalence of hostile model relations between the two nations for more than a century, with negative consequences for Balkan security complex.

IV.1.2. b. Greece and the Albanian issue

Since its creation also the Greek state has shown active against the Albanian issue. Like the Serbs their intentions were to benefit as much as possible from the Albanian territories. Therefore, the activity of the Greek state against the nation and the Albano-sphere is considered as existential threat by Albanians and is continuously securitised by them. But, to extend in the pretended Albano-sphere, the Greek state had to fight first against Ottoman rule in those territories. On this, the Greeks tried to attract and exploit the Albanians in this fight. Athens demanded that the Albanian insurgents openly displayed the Greek flag and declares the union of Vilayet of Ioannina with Greece because according to them, Albania began in the north of the river Shkumbin.²¹³ For this they organized a rebellion with Theodore Griva and

²¹⁰ I.G.Senklevic.Ibid. Used in this issues count memories N.P.Ignatiev. Cited there also by Prof.Dr.Kristo Frashëri.

²¹¹ Prof.Dr.Kristo Frashëri: "League of Prizren" Page 115. Tirana 1989

²¹² "Načertania" in Serbian - Project

²¹³ Prof.Dr. Kristo Frashëri : "Abdyl Frashër". Page 69. Tirana 1984

Nicholas Zervas at the top, who would give the insurgency in Albanian lands the appearance of a Greek-Albanian alliance.²¹⁴

By analyzing the balances of forces in the Balkans, Abdyl Frashëri concluded that, in terms of the Eastern Crisis, possible ally for the Albanians was the Greek Kingdom. Therefore, he made several attempts to coordinate in terms of partnerships the actions with the Greek government.²¹⁵ Also eventually, the Albanian political elite of the time thought that during the Russian-Turkish War of 1877-1878, when the Ottoman Empire in the region was threatened by the invasion of the Russian army, an anti-Turkish alliance between Albanians and Greeks would be well-expected by Europe. But the Greek government did not give up the plans for Southern Albania and talks broke down. "Following the advice and with the money of Russia, a colorful propaganda from Greece penetrated in Epirus and in Thessaly. Around this time, an association called the "Great Idea", was born".²¹⁶ In their intentions against Albanosphere, the Greek state disregarded Bismarck warning that "the preservation of peace and the future of Greece may be obtained, if Greece would include as less Albanian elements as possible. Greece will not be able neither to rule nor to assimilate these elements"²¹⁷.

In conclusion, continuously, the focus of Greeks anti-Albanian politics since 1844 until today has been the expansionist political program "Megali Idhea". The construction of hostile relations model between Albanians and Greeks, impacted negatively on Balkan security complex.

²¹⁴ Prof.Dr. Aleks Buda: "Albania during the Balkan crisis the 60th." *History of Albanian People. Volume I. Tirana 2004. Page 107.*

²¹⁵ *Ibid*, page 79-86.

²¹⁶ Part of the study of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of France of the Lower Albania on the basis of correspondence French diplomatic-consular. Paris November 10, 1880. Published in the document no. 188 of the book "Albania in the League of Prizren" Part II. Page 358. Publication of the Institute of History of the Academy of Sciences. Tirana 1986

²¹⁷ Supplement of the department letter dated February 18, 1881. The French Legation in Athens. Paris 11 February 1881. Published in the document no. 227 of the book "Albania in the League of Prizren" Part II. Page 436-438. Publication of the Institute of History of the Academy of Sciences. Tirana 1986

IV.1.2. c. Albanian issue in the tightening of "Megali Ideas" and "Naçertanies"

Since its beginnings, the Albanian issue had to survive between the pressures of the Greek program "Megali Ideas" and the Serbian one "Naçertanies". In the implementation of the two programs, Greeks and Serbs have signed treaties²¹⁸ and military convention²¹⁹, part of which has been also the division of the Albanian territories²²⁰. But these two platforms constituted existential threat not only for the Albanians. Their implementation aimed the change of polarity of the Balkan power in favor of the Serbs and Greeks, by turning it into a permanent threat for the regional security complex. Their implementation plunged the Balkans for decades in bloody wars. Meanwhile, the Albanian issue in the region never used such chauvinistic platforms to gain territories that belonged to others.

IV.1.2. d. Montenegro and the Albanian issue

Montenegro, like Serbia and Greece, hoped to expand from the expected dissolution of the Ottoman Empire.²²¹ It aimed the expansion in the Albano-sphere parts, namely in Shkodra and its surroundings, but also in Kosovo and Sandzak. Regardless of the Turkish authorities, the Albanians themselves undertook defensive actions against their attacks.²²² But the Montenegrins military actions during 1879 and 1880 for the

²¹⁸ *Alliance treaty between Greece and Serbia, Voeslau, 26 August 1867.* G. Jaksic et V.Vuckovic, *La Politique Exterieur de la Serbie sous le regne due prince Michel (left I Alliance balkanique)*, Beograd, pp 510-514. Cited from Prof. Arben Puto in "Albanian issue in international acts of the period of imperialism" Volume I, pp. 89-96. document No.1

²¹⁹ *Military convention between Greece and Serbia, 28 February 1868.* G. Jaksic et V.Vuckovic, *La Politique EXTERIEUR de la Serbie sous le regne due prince Michel (left I Alliance balkanique)*, Belgrade, pp 515-519. Cited by Prof. Arben Puto "Albanian issue in international acts of the period of imperialism" Volume I, pp. 96-102. document No.2

²²⁰ *Alliance Treaty between Bulgaria and Greece, signed at Sofia on 29 May 1912 and military conventions.*

²²¹ Prof. Dr. Rexhep Qosja: "Albanian issue. History and politics" Page 36. Tirana 1998.

²²² Prof. Dr. Aleks Buda: "Albania during the Balkan crisis of the 60th." *History of Albanian People. Volume I.* Tiranë 2004. Faqe109.

takeover of Plava and Gucia failed in facing the Prizren League army.²²³ The Albanian resistance as well as the non-submission of Plav and Gucia is seen as a threat to the general peace not only by the Westerners²²⁴, but also by the Turkish.²²⁵ After the failure in taking over Plav and Gucia, and Hoti and Gruda latter on, the Great Powers, after consulting previously the Montenegro opinion²²⁶ and that of Turkey,²²⁷ decided to give Ulqin to Montenegro. But, besides Ulqin, during 1910-1911, Montenegro aimed at the expansion of the Northern Albania and Shkodra. The purpose was the creation of another "Montenegro" in the north of Albania, which will be attached to its country and will be led by his son, Prince Mirko²²⁸. Afterwards the occurrence of war between Turkey and the Balkan coalition, Montenegro sought to obtain Shkodra by any means, which had great economic and strategic importance. Therefore Montenegro people aimed at making Montenegro the capital city.²²⁹ Montenegro benefited from the Albanian territories, even though Montenegrins did not take Shkodra. Only by the Congress of Berlin, its surface of 4700 square

223 Telegram dated 14 January 1880, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Sublime Porte, the Ottoman mission sent to Paris, about fighting for the protection of Plav and Gucia-AMAE CP French Embassy in Stamboll.Vëll.434.Faqe 125r-128r; Telegram Sen-Kanten, charge d'affaires of France in Cetinje, sent on 16 January 1880 the French Ministry of Jashtyme on fighting to protect Gucia-AMAE CP French Embassy in Stamboll.Vëll.2.Faqe 22r-23r. Documents translated and published in "Albania in the League of Prizren". Volume II. Page 37-41.Tiranë 1986. Publication of the Academy of Sciences of RPSSH.

224 "Albania in the League of Prizren". Document no. 13.Volume II. Page 42. Tirana 1986

225 Ibid page 40.

226 Telegram from the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of France, dated 12 June 1880 addressed to Sen-Kantenit, charge d'affaires of France in Cetina, on a new combination of the Great Powers to issue other Albanian territories Montenegro- AMAE CP France Mission in Montenegro.Volume. 2. Page 183; Paper Radoniç, Minister of Foreign Affairs of Montenegro sent on June 14, 1880 tion, in charge of the England job in Cetina, on the accession of Montenegro for the new limit in the area Ulcinj-Lake Skadar. AMAE CP France Mission Monte Zi.Vol.2.Faqe 193r-194r. Document translated and published in "Albania in the League of Prizren". Volume II. Page 196.199. Tirana 1986.Published by the Academy of Sciences RPSSH.

227 Sen-Kanten letter, charge d'affaires of France in Cetina, date sent 9 July Frejsinesë, Minister of Foreign Affairs of France about the readiness of the Sublime Porte to submit Montenegro Ulcinj.AMAE CP France Mission Monte Zi.Vol.2.Faqe 199r-201v.; Letter of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Turkey sent on 15 July 1880 the Turkish embassy in Paris, upon receipt of the Ottoman government for the delivery of Ulcinj, MontenegroBlack-AMAE CP France Mission in Montenegro. Volume. 2. Page 211r-212v. Document translated and published in "Albania in the League of Prizren". Volume II. Page 214.220. Tirana 1986.

228 Sreten Draskic: "Europe and the Albanian issue (1830-1921)". Belgrade 2000.Faqe 136-137.

229 Ibid, page 182.

kilometers was doubled to 9,100 square kilometers²³⁰. It benefited cruise opening and the right of navigation in Buna and in Shkodra Lake. The Conference of Ambassadors in London in 1913 gave Montenegro Hoti, Gruda, Plava and Gucinë,²³¹ territories that the Great Powers failed in taking them to the Albanians, during the Congress of Berlin. The Paris Peace Conference of 1919 gave the final "ownership" of these territories to the Serbo-Croatian-Slovenian Kingdom, where Montenegro was merged. For many years, the Montenegrins state activity is regarded by Albanians as existential threat and is securitized by them.

In conclusion, targets and continued actions against the nation and the Albano-sphere are regarded as existential threat and are constantly securitized by the Albanians. These regional actors, acting alone or in alliance with each other, in order to benefit as much as possible from the Albano-sphere, build a hostile social model in relation with the Albanian nation, impacting negatively on Balkan security complex.

IV.2. Albanian issue between the geo-politics of land corridors and the Adriatic

The Albanian issue and its solution in the Balkans, consistently and to a considerable extent was influenced by the geo-strategic position of Albanian space and especially the geopolitics of land corridors and the Adriatic Sea.

IV.2.1. The Albanian issue and Geopolitics of the lands corridors.

Balkan region's geo-strategic position is the one of a natural bridge that links Europe to Asia. In the "Geo-strategic heart" of this region there is a key area that controls all

²³⁰ Por. Dr Rexhep Qosja: *The Albanian issue, History and Politics*. Page 50. Cited source.

²³¹ Report of Paul Kambonit, dated 14 April 1913 "On the borders of Albania in the North and Northeast," *Documents Diplomatiques, 3-eme series, t. VI, D.Nr. 301, p347-358*. Published translated into English in the "The Albanian issue in the international instruments" *Doc.No.19, Volume II. Page 243-244*.

land corridors in the region. This area includes the southern part of Serbian geopolitical space (southern Serbia) and the northeastern Albanian geopolitical space (territory of Kosovo).

Also, the rest of the Albanian geo-space, which has a very different history of developing compared to the one of neighboring countries, is characterized by large valleys cross, which constitute the best routs in the entire Balkan peninsula, in crossing the Adriatic, situated in the Aegean.²³² Since early times, this strategic position has made the Albanian territories object of greediness and attack as well as square battle clash between the great powers of the time or and their Balkan allies.

Since long time ago, the Serbs, have tried to occupy a geo-strategic position in the Balkans. Since the creation of their state, they aimed to extend as much as possible toward south, by including their objectives in absorbing a considerable Albanian geopolitical space and specifically, the vilayet of Kosovo, and part of the vilayet of Monastir. This part of the Albano-sphere occupies one of the most important positions in the region, the starting points where Balkans Rivers flow in the Adriatic Sea, Black Sea and Aegean Sea. "The holding of this strategic position, determined largely the fate of the central Balkans, especially the fate of the main Balkan line from Morava to the Vardar... Therefore, it is an imperative task of all of us that we should not allow these positions with such great strategic importance, to be in hostile hands or foreign element", as the Serbian academic Vasa Çubrillovic would write later on.²³³ And the occupation of these territories was in the upcoming plans of the Serbian.

Despite the southward penetration, Serbia had another substantial matter securitized by them. It was in the tight of Austria-Hungary and Turkey. It was like a sandwich between them. Its economy had a particular relationship of dependency by Austro-

²³² Jacques Boucart: *Albania and the Albanians*. "Cited source, page 23.

²³³ For more details see: "The Denial of Human and National Rights of Albanians in Kosovo". Edited by Alush A. Gashi, M D, Ph D. Illyria Publishing Co. New York, USA.

Hungary. To avoid this economic dependence, Serbia persistently began to seek an alternative solution. And this was the finding of land corridors and transportation lines outside the control of the Austro-Hungarian.

After the change of the geo-political map of the Balkan region in the Congress of Berlin in 1878, Serbia remained the only Balkan state that had no cruise opening.²³⁴

For that, immediately after the Congress, Serbia drew up plans on how to address this important issue of its national security. Serbs have considered the right to cruise in the Adriatic as an historical right. According to them the Serbian medieval state Zeta, had access to the Adriatic Sea, and the Adriatic Sea for them is already regarded as a Serbian sea. For the Serbs, the Adriatic has economic significance, because it will save its economy from the Austro-Hungarian. With the cruise opening into the sea, the Serbian economy would have access to world markets in a shorter and cheaper way, and therefore better chances may develop out of it.

In addition to the economic importance, the cruise opening receives a political importance for the Serbs. This would give to Serbia the opportunity not only to be an important actor of the Balkan complex security, but also in the European one. Also, the cruise opening was important for the implementation of the Serbian plans for the Albanian geopolitical space, because passing through Kosovo and the Adriatic Sea, the lines of communication will serve as an artery that would prepare its union with Serbia.

In the circumstances when the major European powers still defend the status quo in the Balkans, the extent of Serbian territory to the Adriatic Sea was impossible. And in these circumstances, to cruise in the Adriatic, Serbia had to build a railroad across Albanian territories. Serbian Adriatic railway project had envisioned in its final stage the railway track throughout the Drin River Valley in Northern Albania. The railway predicted the exit in the Adriatic Sea port of Shengjin.²³⁵

²³⁴ Milič Miličević: *Pat za Mope*. Faqe 292. Belgrade 2011. Medija Centar "Odbrana"

²³⁵ Sreten Drashkic: "Evropa i Allbansko Pitanje 1830-1921" Faqe 137-138. Beograd 2000.

At the regional level, but through the persistence of Russia in 1901, Serbia tried to include also Montenegro in this project. But Montenegro had its own Adriatic Railway project, which revealed the railway project in other Albanian Adriatic port of Bar, now annexed by the Montenegrins. The small Balkan kingdom showed great interest in its own Adriatic railway project. To find support for their project, Montenegro's top diplomat Gavro Vukovic ²³⁶, traveled at that time in Paris and Rome.

Despite arguments and the Serb persistence, Prince Nikola praised Montenegro Bar rail project as a vital interest for Montenegro. Based on that, he refused the Serbs proposal for the Shengjin railway.

Serbian project Adriatic Railway was not the only regional railway project envisioned to pass through Albano-sphere²³⁷. In fact the Adriatic railway project did not only became a political factor between Russia and Austria-Hungary in the Balkans, but along with other regional rail projects that interested parties had published in 1903, become the core of clashes among the powers of the Triple Alliance (Central Powers) and Triple Powers Agreement (Antanta). Since the main regional railway projects were planned to pass through Albanian territory and, since behind them were the most powerful geopolitical state actors of the time, these actors will affect the Albanian issue, in its resolution modes and extent, as well as in the Balkan security complex.

But who were the other railway projects planned to pass on to the Albanian territory? Austro-Hungary in addition to Novi Pazar railway project, published also the South Railway Project. According to this project, the railway will start from Boka Kotor - Budva - Spice - Bar - Ulcinj to Shëngjin in Albania. Through this project, Austro-Hungary intended to curb the influence of Italy and its Bar-Virpazar rail project in

²³⁶ Gavro Vuković, *Foreign Minister of Montenegro between 1899-1905*.

²³⁷ Link I.4. *Regional rail projects designed to pass on Albanian territory*.

this part of the Balkans. This project articulated also the direct interests of Austria-Hungary for the Northern Albania.

Bulgaria, which was becoming a powerful actor in Balkan geopolitics, had its own rail project that will ensure the access to the Adriatic Sea. Bulgaria projected the railroad of Gjustendin-Kumanovo-Skopje-Gostivar-Debar-Shëngjin. This project did not only provide access in the Adriatic Sea, but also ensured the Bulgarian influence in Macedonia, country expected to be annexed by them²³⁸.

Italy, as a new force in pretending to turn the Balkans into a space of its geopolitical influence, had its own rail project. Italian railway project was foreseen to begin in Vlora-Elbasan-Struga-Ohrid-Manastir line. It preceded the Italian goals and its expansionary plans toward southern Albania. There was also a Greek project, from Larisa to Manastir, a project that would allow rail connection from Athens to Thessaloniki.

The Great Powers of the time, as the main geopolitical actors, divided into two blocks, in the Triple Alliance and the Triple Agreement, were positioned in support of the Balkan railway projects. The Serbian Adriatic railway project and Greek railway project Larisa - Manastir, had the support of the Triple Agreement powers. Serbian railway project was supported also from Italy that was part in Triple Alliance²³⁹. Italy projected that the railroad was instrumental to its economic penetration in the Balkans.

On the other hand, Bulgarian railway project had secured the support of the Triple Alliance powers, excluding Italy. This project was also supported by Austria-Hungary, which saw it as the fulfillment of Novi Pazar railway by permitting them to go to Istanbul without reaching the Serbian soil.

All these railway projects, which reflect also the clash of the parties for the control of the region and access in the Adriatic Sea, including the control of Albano-sphere,

²³⁸ *Sreten Drashkic, page 147, cited source.*

²³⁹ *Sreten Drashkic, page 149, cited source.*

were projects that could come into life in terms of peaceful development of the Balkan region.

But the events in the region were rapidly deteriorating. Istanbul's continued refusal on the continuous demands for autonomy of the Albanians and on the confirmation of the boundaries of their territories and the inclusion in a single administrative unit, as well as the fear of a neighbors' agreement for sharing the Albanian territories, caused Albanians to prepare for the general uprising for the independence in 1912.

That moment was considered by the Balkan countries, Montenegro, Serbia, Bulgaria and Greece, as the most appropriate time to achieve the goals to benefit as the most from the Albanian territories. Thus, they created the Balkan Alliance against Turkey.

In this context, the Serb-Bulgarian Alliance of March 13th, 1912²⁴⁰, has been a continuation of the Serbian plans, currently not for the construction of the Adriatic railway, but for the invasion of Albanian territories, so that Serbia may have access in the Adriatic Sea. This was clearly implied in the meaning of Article 2 of the secret supplement of that deal where it foresaw that: "Bulgaria recognizes to Serbia the right over the territories of north west of Mount Sharr, as a Serbian undisputed area."²⁴¹ On the occasion of negotiations with Bulgaria in 1912, for the alliance against Turkey, the Prime Minister of Serbia of that time Milovan Milovanovic had the main political purpose the access of Serbia in the sea. The frontier requested by Serbia in Macedonia, had a strategic security character for the direction towards the sea.²⁴²

In these talks Serbian Prime Minister Milovanovic, raised the issue of the division of Albania. He requested that the northern Albania obtains access in the Adriatic Sea. And for this he gave up all the claims for the vilayets of Thessaloniki and Ioannina. In exchange, he requested the vilayet of Shkodra and part of the vilayet of Kosovo up

²⁴⁰ *Treaty of Friendship and Alliance between Bulgaria and Serbia. Signed in Sofia on 13 March 1912. Translated into English from Prof.Arben Puto "Albanian issue in international acts ..." Volume I, pages 370-376. Paper no.48.*

²⁴¹ *Ibid, Article 2.*

²⁴² *Sreten Drashkic: "Evropa i Allbansko Pitanje 1830-1921" Fajqe 176. Beograd 2000*

to Mountain Sharr. Bulgarian Prime Minister Ivan Geshov left immediately space to Serbia for Albania. But for this requested he urged a lot more in Macedonia. Therefore, according to that agreement most of Macedonia was left to Bulgaria.

According to Article 2 of the secret supplement Serbo-Bulgarian agreement, the North-West area of Mountain Sharr was regarded as an undisputed Serb area. But was not specified exactly what is included in this area. For this, through a memorandum that the Serbian envoy in Sofia, Spalajkovic, sent to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Bulgaria on 7 November 1912, the Serbian government specified that, with the territory in the north of Mountain Sharr, it considers the area that includes the Sanjak of Novi Pazar and Kosovo and that, with the territory in the west of Sharr considers vilayet of Shkodra, by which Serbia should appear in the Adriatic Sea.²⁴³ It was already known that, the Albanian ports of Shengjin and Durres belonged in vilayet of Shkodra through which Serbia wanted to appear in the Adriatic Sea.

Essentially the Serb-Bulgarian agreement projected the division of Macedonia and Albania. Macedonia will be divided between Serbia and Bulgaria, and Bulgaria according to the agreement, allowed Serbia a part of Albania, namely the Vilayet of Shkodra, through which Serbia would emerge in the Adriatic Sea in Shengjin and Durres.

With the outbreak of the Balkan War, on 8 October 1912, as previously agreed upon, the Balkan allies began in co-operation military action against Turkey. When the military troops, after fierce clashes with Albanians, arrived in Prizren, Austria-Hungary warned the Serbian government through a note that Serbian troops should not advance more than the west beyond the "red line" Prizren, set by them.

The Serbian army was now only 120 kilometers from the Adriatic. Serbia thought it was time to give up the Adriatic railway project and to invade Albanian territories up

²⁴³*Ibid.*

to the Adriatic.²⁴⁴ Serbian Prime Minister Nikola Pašić ignored the Austro-Hungarian warning and ordered the Serbian army to proceed rapidly to the west toward the Adriatic Sea, to actually get a way out to the sea, which was the main purpose of involvement of Serbia in the Balkan War.

On November 18, Serbian forces entered in Lezha, on November 28 arrived in Tirana and on November 29 in Durrës. Here they held a religious ceremony crowning the Serbian soldiers with the Adriatic Sea, by naming it the "Serbian Sea"²⁴⁵. At that time, on November 25, the "Times" of London, published a statement of Serbian Prime Minister Pašić that Serbia wants Durres with the hinterland ²⁴⁶.

After the access of the Serbian Army in the Adriatic coast, Austro-Hungary reacted harshly. They sent an ultimatum to the Triple agreement powers that Serbia should be immediately withdrawn from the coast. Triple Agreement powers were forced to take seriously the Austro-Hungarian threat. In order to do so and to approach different views on finding solutions acceptable by parties on the Albanian issue, some secret negotiations were held. Finally Russia, who first openly opposed the creation of an Albanian state, was constrained to agree with the Austro-Italian proposal for the creation of an autonomous Albanian state. They were forced to satisfy themselves with commercial access in the Adriatic Sea of Serbia and enforced Serbia to immediately withdraw its troops from Albania. Also the opponent of Russia, Austria-Hungary withdrew from the project for creating an independent Albanian state, and joined the Russian and France demand for the formation of an autonomous Albanian state, dependent on Turkey.

²⁴⁴ Milič Miličević: *Pat za Mope*. Page 292. Cited source.

²⁴⁵ Religious ceremony was conducted in the following manner: a team of Serbian knights came running to the Adriatic Sea. When the water reached the mouth of the horse, the commander of the squad leader symbolic baptism of the sea, making the sign of the cross with the sword on the surface of the water and named the Adriatic Sea - "Serbian Sea"

²⁴⁶ For more see Hivzi Islam "ethnic cleansings / Serbian genocidal policies towards the Albanians." Publishing house Edition "Dukagjini", Peja, 2003.

Serbian Adriatic railway project obtained the support of the Great Powers at the Conference of Ambassadors in London in 1913, at the first session of 17 December 1912. The Conference decided that "a commercial access will be left to Serbia through a free and neutral Albanian port, serving as an international railway under European control and under the auspices of an international task force, with liberty of transit for all goods, including munitions of war"²⁴⁷ The promise for rail and commercial way out to the Adriatic Sea, was reconfirmed to Serbia in writing by the Great Powers, in their decision of 29 July 1913, where it is recognized the independence of Albania²⁴⁸.

But the Serbs did not want to give up the thought to establish control over Albania. Serbian Prime Minister Nikola Pašić considered Albania as "the Achilles'heel of Serbia", that means the weak wing of Serbia, quite dangerous to its security.²⁴⁹ According to him, Albania, with its position in the southern part of the Gulf of Otranto, with the possibility of control inflows and outflows of the Adriatic Sea has a strategic importance paramount in this part of Europe. Also, Albanian eastern border confined with Serbia, had a considerable length border. Therefore the control over Albania was very important for the security of Serbia.²⁵⁰

Pašić was working to realize a smooth union between Albania with the Serbian Kingdom. The agreement was initiated and signed in Nis, on September 4, 1914, between him and Esat Pasha, who served for that. Through this agreement the gradual real union of Serbia and Albania was envisaged. The Adriatic railway issue was treated specifically under this agreement. Under Article IX of its "Albania accepts the

²⁴⁷ *Parts from the report of the French ambassador Pol kamboja, dated 17.12.1912. Documents Diplomatiques Francais, 3 eme series, t. V. D. n ° 78, pp .94-96, translated into English in the "Albanian issue in international acts ..." V.II, Pages 187-190.*

²⁴⁸ *Point 2 of the protocols of London Conference following its final decision of 29 July 1913. Translated into English in the "The Albanian issue in international acts ..." V.II, Pages 280-281.*

²⁴⁹ *For more details see: Brief Overview Nicolas Pašić policy has developed to Albania, as prime minister of the government of Serbia and Minister of Foreign Affairs in the early twentieth century. Sreten Draskic "Europe and Albanian issue (1830-1921)". Belgrade 2000.*

²⁵⁰ *Sreten Draskic, cited source, page 255.*

obligation that would not oppose the construction of the Adriatic railway up to Durres. Serbia would provide compensation of the territories that would be useful for the construction of the railway. For the realization of the plan for the construction costs of the Adriatic railway, Serbia will pay Albania fifty thousand dinars a month, until the election of a new ruler. In the form of compensation for the needed territories for the construction of the Adriatic railway up to Durres, Serbia gives Albania great material help every month, until the election of the new ruler of Albania²⁵¹ The help will be granted immediately, while the issue of the construction of the railway belonged to an unspecified future. This compensation is actually the compensation to cover the costs to keep Essad Pasha in power²⁵².

Later, on 28 June 1915, Essad Pasha signed again in Tirana with Serbian Foreign Minister, Ljube Jovanovic the Protocol of Tirana. In this protocol, in Section 8, explicitly talks about about a real union between Serbia and Albania. A broader cooperation between Serbia and Albania was predicted. Based on Article 6 of this Protocol, Serbia would support Esat ambitions to become prince of Albania²⁵³. The implementation of these two agreements with the Serbs remained in tentative, since Serbia was occupied later by Austria-Hungary.

Even after World War I, in the Paris Peace Conference, the victorious powers of war did not forget about Serbian claims for the Adriatic railway and the support they gave for Serbia at the Conference of Ambassadors in London in 1913. The three main powers in the Paris Conference, England, France and the U.S., in the approved memorandum in relation to the issues of the Adriatic on December 9, 1919 in the memorandum on the Albanian issue, decided to give the opportunity to the Serb-Croat-Slovenian Kingdom "to have the right to construct and use railway lines in

²⁵¹ For more details see the main provisions of Nis Agreement between Esat Pasha and Nikola Pašić, on September 4, 1914. Sreten Draskic, cited source, pp. 257-259.

²⁵² *Ibid*, page 258.

²⁵³ For more see Tirana Protocol, dated June 28, 1915, between Ljube Jovanovic and Essad Pasha. Sreten Draskic, cited source, pp. 266-270.

northern Albania... and to have any kind of relief in the international transport sector in Northern Albania.”²⁵⁴

In conclusion, the favorable geostrategic position of the Albanian space and the objective of the key international and regional actors of the time for the land transport corridors predicted to pass through Albano-sphere, enabled the intervene of these regional and international actors in the Albanian issue and affected the manner and the degree of its settlement, thus also affecting the Balkan security complex.

IV.2.2. The Albanian issue and the geopolitics of the Adriatic.

In addition to Serbian interest and efforts in ensuring access to the Adriatic Sea, Austro-Hungary and Italy, two of the great powers of the time, initially allies between them always rivaled each other for the dominant role in the Adriatic Sea. The Austro-Hungarian plans intended for the Adriatic in the future, to become an Austro-Hungarian lake. On the other hand, Italy in turn hoped and invested to make the Adriatic its own sea and the Albanian territory a base and a corridor for the further penetration in the Balkans.

Neither of these two powers of the time could achieve the control over the Adriatic Sea without the controlling of the rimland of the Albano-sphere. The rivalry between them for the Albanian issues would have an impact not only on the Balkan security complex, but even wider, in the clash between the most powerful alliances of the time, thus affecting also the regional security complex of Europe.

But why was it so important the Albanian territory for the Italian and Austro-Hungarian plans? The geostrategic position of the Albanian territories was crucial to their goals in the Adriatic. After the annexation of Montenegro Bar and Ulcinj,

²⁵⁴Point No.2 Promemorjes of the Governments of the USA, Great Britain and France on the Albanian question. Part of the Anglo-Franco-American Memorandum on the question of the Adriatic. *Adriaticus*, "La Question Adriatique Receuil de documents officiels". Paris, 1920, f.57-58 0.65 to 67. Translated into English in "War of the Albanian people for the national liberation" Volume I. F.490-492.Tiranë 1975

Albania stretching throughout the Adriatic coast, was limited to the North by the outpouring of Buna and to the south by the Gulf of Arta. At that time there were about 450 miles of coastline.

In the Adriatic, the Port of Vlora, the peninsula of Karaburun and the island of Sazan were appreciated with an exceptional importance by Italian strategists. Like Gibraltar, that controls the entry and exit to the Mediterranean, also Vlora, together with the Karaburun Peninsula and Sazan holds a position that allowed the closure of the gate of Otranto, by controlling the entry and exit to the Adriatic. Therefore Italy was very interested in Vlora. For these geo-strategic interests they "sharpened the horns" with Austria-Hungary. On its side Austro-Hungary could not allow Italy to take control of the Albanian coast of Vlora, the "right wing" of the entrance gate of Otranto in the Adriatic, because this would turn Adriatic into a closed sea for its marine fleet.

Austro-Hungary, in addition to the Adriatic coast, needed the hinterland of the Albano-sphere, especially Northern Albania. From Novi Pazar through the Vardar Valley Austria-Hungary will ensure itself with the crossing road to Thessaloniki, then to east. To achieve this, "safe shoulders" were needed, especially from Montenegro and Serbia. And this can be reached only through the northern Albania. That is why Austria-Hungary invested for decades, providing defense of the religious Catholic tribes there.²⁵⁵

The strategic interests of these two powers for the control over Albanian territory to some extent oriented their diplomatic activities in relation to each other, but also with other actors interested in the issue.

Therefore, in the third agreement of May 1891 for the Triple Alliance, predicted that, for any change in the Balkans status-quo in favor of Austria-Hungary, compensation for Italy in the Balkans should necessarily follow it²⁵⁶, by implying Albania. Through

²⁵⁵ *In agreement with Turkey, since 1615, Austria-Hungary had given itself the right to religious defense of Catholics in Northern Albania, called Kultusprotektorat.*

²⁵⁶ *Article 7. Third Tripartite Alliance Treaty between Austria-Hungary, Germany and Italy. Berlin May 6 1891*

this agreement, Italy is the third power in the Balkans, along with Austria-Hungary and Russia, with the specific expansionist goals against the Albanian territories.

Although the status quo of the Ottoman Empire had been for many years the axis of Vienna foreign policy in the Balkans, Vienna could not allow the fact of not being prepared in the event of dissolution of this empire. In support of its geo-strategic interests in the Balkans, Austria-Hungary was determined to prevent the emergence of Serbia in the Adriatic. Also, holding back on part of the Italy's efforts to take control of the Albanian coast by turning the Adriatic Sea in an Italian one, was part of the intention. Under these conditions the Albanian issue got a great importance for the Austro-Hungarian monarchy.

To be prepared for a better management of the situation on the eve or post dissolution of the Ottoman Empire, Vienna made a deal with the Russian Empire on May 17, 1897²⁵⁷, a force which was not part of the Triple Alliance. The agreement with Russia for the division of interests in the Balkans area, in a sense was the exception of Italy, which meant against a Triple Alliance power.

Then, to calm Italy and Austria-Hungary down in November 1897, there was a verbal agreement made, which was called Monza Agreement. Through this agreement, the parties engaged to maintain the status quo in Albania.

The Entente Powers, seeing the problems between Austria-Hungary and Italy in the Triple Alliance, intensified the efforts in dissociating Italy from the Triple Alliance (Central Powers). England made a deal with Italy, through an exchange of notes on 12 February 1887. In this agreement the parties except the fact that they agreed to maintain the status quo in the Mediterranean and Adriatic²⁵⁸, they promised to support each-other against all disagreement with any third power. Through this

²⁵⁷ For more see Prof.Arben Puto: "The agreement reached between Austria-Hungary and Russia in the Balkans" Albanian issue in the international acts of the period of imperialism. Volume I.Faqe 322.

²⁵⁸ Point 1 of the telegram that count Korti leads Lord Salisbëri. Italian note to the British government about the Mediterranean agreement on February 12, 1887.

agreement, Italy was recognized as an important factor in the developments in the Mediterranean and Adriatic shores.

A few days later, on 20 February 1887, in order to neutralize British diplomatic action, Germany signed a separate treaty with Italy. In this treaty they knew the Italian interests in the Balkans and Albania. Bismarck himself stated that "Italy should be linked as strongly as possible to the Central Powers with gifts that we could be made in the form of Nice, Corsica, Albania ..."²⁵⁹

Years later, in October 1909²⁶⁰, Russia also signed an agreement with Italy to respect mutual interests in the Balkans. Both signature powers of the agreement assume the obligation to preserve the status quo in the Balkans. If the status quo was not be possible, Russia and Italy would help the implementation of the principle of nationality, excluding any foreign powers.²⁶¹ This agreement was directed essentially against Austria-Hungary. Italy was obviously closer to the Entente powers.

The developments in the region were as such that it seemed that the two great alliance powers were preparing for a major clash. In this way, the potential for conflict between them and to gain control of the Albanian territories, consequence of not resolving the Albanian issue on time in the region, was becoming a threat for the peace and security in the Balkans.

After the outbreak of World War I and the occupation of Serbia by Austria-Hungary, Italy requested under Article 7 compensation, concretely that Austria-Hungary suspended its interest for Albania. After Austria-Hungary rejected the request of Italy about Albania, the Italian government refused further participation in the Triple Alliance (Central Powers). Italy, beside the talks with Austria-Hungary about the Albanian issue, held talks with Triple Agreement (Antanta) powers, about the

²⁵⁹ L.Salvatoreli, *La Triplice Alleanza.Storia diplomatika 1877-1912*, Istituto per gli studi di politica internazionale, 1939, Milano 1939,p.133.

²⁶⁰ On 24 October 1909, Victor Emmanuel III, King of Italy and Nikolaj II, King of Russia signed in Rakonixhi agreement which is known in history as Rakonixhit Agreement.

²⁶¹ points 1 and 2 of the Agreement Rakonixhit.

transition from Triple Alliance to the Triple Agreement. These talks resulted in very favorable agreement for Italy, that of London of 13 April 1915. Italian persistence on having control over the Albanian territory and coast is one of the main causes of Italy's leaving from the coalition with Austria-Hungary and Germany.

With the entry of Italy in the Triple Agreement (Antantë), it was achieved the regrouping of forces in Europe. It destroyed the balance of forces in Europe because the Triple agreement became quadruple, by leading the scale in favor of the Entente powers. The destruction of the balances of forces led to the outbreak of World War I. After the outbreak of World War I, Austria-Hungary and Italy, pursuant to their early ambitions, occupied part of Albanian territory and declared the independence of Albania under their protectorate. Therefore Austria-Hungary invaded northern Albania and on January 23, 1917, and proclaimed the autonomy of Albania under the protection of Austria-Hungary. Meanwhile Italy occupied Vlora with all its hinterland and, on June 3, 1917, declared the independence of Albania under Italian protectorate.²⁶²

Indeed, the developments during the First World War showed that through the invasion of Vlora, Italy became truly dominant of the "right site" of the entry gate of Otranto, achieving in this way the control of the Otranto canal. Adriatic became a closed sea, with no access for the Austro-Hungarian fleet. It really served to Italy and its allies, France and England, in blocking the Austro-Hungarian fleet. After repeated attempts from 1915 to 1917 for the physical closure of the gate of the Adriatic, to prevent the passage of vessels and especially of the Austro-Hungarian submarines, the Anglo-French-Italian allies made another try in February 1918. A blockade was set up by a moving barrier at 66 kilometers, with one unit in every 300 meters. 50 meters nets [40 feet under water] kept up the Bova. Concrete blocks and anchor achieved to fix all of this structure, which resisted from 26 April to 30 September

²⁶² *Connection 1.5. Albanian territories occupied by countries during World War I.*

1918. Therefore it was built the ambush of Otranto which realized the block of the Otranto canal, except for a shift of 8 miles between the port of Otranto and the start of the nets. It was a two fold blockage, fixed and mobile, as stationary nets were not only able to prevent the passage of submarines. In the summer of 1918, this area had turnover against torpedoes boats, who worked day and night, between Brindisi and the island of Sazan in front of Vlora²⁶³, and then balloons related to boats. Between Otranto protected by minefields and Albanian coast, motorboats equipped with hydrophones, against torpedoes boats and patrolling, went back and forth. On both coasts, the microphones stayed in surveillance for the crossing submarines.²⁶⁴ Austro-Hungarian navy despite, possessed the Adriatic, remained closed until the end of the war and the dissolution of the Austro-Hungarian.

After the end of the I-st World War and the dissolution of Austria-Hungary, Italy, in application of the secret Treaty of London of 1915²⁶⁵, had open way to establish control over the Albanian territory, the other side of the Adriatic, its long-standing dream. The three major powers in this conference, England, France and the U.S. on December 9, 1919, made a memorandum about the Albanian issue which helped realize Italy its fully plans for Albania. Italy took full sovereignty over Vlora and its hinterland²⁶⁶. Also, the framework of the League of Nations will give Italy a mandate over the part that will remain as "independent Albania".

But after World War I and the dissolution of the Austro-Hungarian, Italian intentions to control the Albanian coast, faced harsh reaction of Serbo-Croatian-Slovenian Kingdom, which had the same goals towards Albania. The clash between them on the issue of the Adriatic became public during the Paris Peace Conference. Serbs did not

²⁶³ I.6 League. Penda (Gate) of Otranto in the summer of 1918.

²⁶⁴ Prof. Pierre Cabanes, Oliver Chalinë Bernard Doumerc, Alain Ducellier, Michel Sivignon: *History of the Adriatic. Book and Communication House. Tirana 2005. Page 456-458*

²⁶⁵ Connection 1.7. Albania borders the secret Treaty of London.

²⁶⁶ Point 6 of the Memorandum Anglo-Franco-American on with question of the Adriatic. *Adriaticus, "La Question Adriatique Receuil de documents officiels". Paris, 1920, f.57-58 0.65 to 67. Translated into English in "War of the Albanian people for the national liberation" Volume I.F.490-492. Tirana 1975*

agree with the memorandum of 9 December for Albania. That's why on January 8, 1920, they filed a dissenting note to the Peace Conference. They considered the Italian presence in the Albanian territory as a threat for the security of the Yugoslav state. They openly expressed the fear that "Italian mandate over Albania, a country full of spark and where our country has vital interests" could "cause a new disagreement that the very logic of things, may result from them for the same reason for other devastating implications"²⁶⁷. According to them, the mandate over Albania provides Italy with a border from which it can undertake attacks against Yugoslavia, which in this case is without protective tools. Therefore, there was the need to create "on one hand an advantage on the attack and the other hand a full strategic submission. Such a solution cannot set a stable peace for which we are doing attempts, as well as the great powers"²⁶⁸. Despite the Yugoslav protests with the American persistence, the Conference reconfirmed the Albanian issue memorandum on December 9, 1919, supporting the Italian superiority.

But Lushnja Congress did not recognize the decision of the Peace Conference for the Italian invasion of Vlora and a protectorate over other parts of the Albanian state. Vlora War forced the Italians to withdraw from Albanian territory, keeping only Sazan.

However, the Italians have not renounced their dream for the Albania's Adriatic coast. On 27 November 1926, they signed with the official Tirana "Albanian-Italian Pact of friendship and security". According to Article 2 of the pact, Albania cannot sign such agreements with other powers "²⁶⁹ About a year later, on November 22, 1927, with the Italian persistence, it was signed in Tirana the "Protection Alliance

²⁶⁷ *Adriaticus. La Question Adriatique Recueil de documents officiels. Paris, 1920, f.78-87. Translated from French into English in "War of the Albanian people for the national liberation" Volume II.p.17-20. Publication of the Academy of Sciences. Tirana 1976*

²⁶⁸ *Ibid.*

²⁶⁹ *Pact of Friendship and Security Between Albania and Italy, Signed at Tirana, November 27, 1926. League of Nations, Treaty Series, 1927, vol.60, p.19-21*

Treaty"²⁷⁰ between Albania and Italy. The treaty set for a period of twenty years "a constant defensive alliance" between the two countries. So Ahmet Zogu, for his personal power interests, turned the country into an Italian protectorate.

But even with this, the Italians were not satisfied. On the eve of World War II, they had plans for expansion of the Balkans. And these plans could not be realized without the invasion of Albania, invasion that was carried out without any great loss on 7 April 1939. Later Italy made a fake union of Albania with Kosovo, under the umbrella of the Italians.

The loss of Italy in World War II, gave priority to the goals of Yugoslavia for Albania. Moreover, in this case, the two countries, Yugoslavia and Albania had the same ruling ideology, communism. Yugoslavs tried openly the inclusion of Albania as a seventh republic in the Yugoslav Federation. A breakdown of relations between Tito and Stalin prevented the conclusion of this merging process. In fact the clash Tito-Stalin had a crucial importance for the security of our country. This is because even with previous approval of Stalin, Tito had planned and was on the verge of the absorption of the Albanian state. Also Enver Hoxha had agreed with Tito and the Yugoslav leadership in early 1948, for Albania's involvement in the Yugoslav Federation, later, in the Balkan Federation.²⁷¹

After Yugoslavia, one of the great powers at the time of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics showed an open interest for Albania's geostrategic position and its Adriatic coast. Albania's dominant position on the coast side of the Otranto channel, neighbor with Greece and in front of Italy which were both NATO members, urged the USSR to establish strategic alliance with Albania. In 1955, with the initiative of the USSR, together with some communist countries, Albania signed the Warsaw Treaty, a collective defense organization for communist bloc countries. Albania offered to the

²⁷⁰ *Treaty of Defensive Alliance Between Albania and Italy, Signed at Tirana, November 22, 1927. League of Nations, Treaty Series, 1927, vol.69, p.349-353.*

²⁷¹ *Prof. Dr. Ana Lalaj, "Albania and the Warsaw Pact." Panorama, 12.9.2004.*

Soviet Union to use as a military base Karaburun and Sazan, dominant point in the Adriatic for the control Otranto of the channel. Khrushchev, the Soviet leader praised the base as "strategic importance for the protection of the socialist camp" and would serve as an advanced base of the USSR and the Warsaw Treaty. Soviets needed a base in the Adriatic since, in case of conflict, the Black Sea fleet, will have a hard time coming to the Mediterranean through the Dardanelles, the Bosphorus and the many islands of Greece²⁷². On April 3 1959, Vlora base took status as a military base for all the Warsaw Pact. Therefore, in the Albania's Adriatic coast "Vlora Bay, along with Sazan, in military terms was a delicate node in a fragile political and military balance in the Balkan Region",²⁷³ between the defensive alliance of NATO and the Warsaw Pact. But the alliance with the Soviets did not last long, as with the Chinese later. After the fall of communism, there is a return of Italy, as an interested power in the Balkans. Italy becomes a member of the Contact Group, "informal" grouping of some states with interests in the Balkans²⁷⁴, a group which is created during the Bosnian crisis. Italy has been active in the Albanian issue. Therefore, after the riots of 1997, when the Greek nationalist circles thought and worked on the achievement of their goals for Northern Epirus and when the Albanian state security structures disappeared almost completely, Italy, on March 27 1997, there was a co-proposer in the UN Security Council of a request for the delivery of an international force in Albania. The request was supported by the Albanian government on March 28 1997²⁷⁵. After this, the UN Security Council adopted Resolution No. 1101 (1997). This resolution was very important for Albania in those moments. It affirmed once again the sovereignty, independence and territorial integrity of the Republic of

²⁷² Xhavit Shala, *the Balkans, Geopolitics and Security, Volume I, page 138. Publication of the Albanian National Security Studies. Tirana 2009.*

²⁷³ Prof. Dr. Ana Lalaj. *Ibid.* cited source.

²⁷⁴ *The Contact Group includes Italy, USA, Russia, UK, France and Germany*

²⁷⁵ *S/1997/259, 28 March 1997, Letter dated 28 march 1997 from the permanent representative of Albania to the United Nations addressed to the president of the security council. Signed Pëllumb Kulla, Ambassador and Permanent Representative.*

Albania.²⁷⁶ It also approved the mandate of a multinational force protection (MFP), under Italian command. Even later, during the Kosovo war, Italy made available to NATO its bases for the bomber aircrafts. Subsequently, its troops participated in KFOR, the multinational security force in Kosovo. During the negotiation process for the final status of Kosovo, Italy played an important role in the framework of the Contact Group. Italy immediately recognized Kosovo's independence, by positively impacting the resolution of the Albanian issue in the region.

In conclusion, with an enviable geostrategic position in the shores of the Adriatic, the Albanian geopolitical space became a place where there are clashed not only the interests of regional states and the interests of the Great Powers, but also with the largest alliances of time. In addition to the war and the efforts of the Albanian people for freedom and independence, the collision of these interests will influence the extent and manner of solving the Albanian issue in the region and its relations with regional security.

IV.3. Albanian issue, a barrier in front of Balkan Slavisation.

Albania, from its geo-strategic position, has been designated as a shield created by nature against the invasions that has taken throughout history by Slavs in the Balkans. Albania served also as a barrier to prevent the penetration of South Slavs and their ally, Russia, towards the Adriatic coast. Therefore Russia and the Slavs in the region are continuously engaged against the resolution of the Albanian issue in the Balkans. Russia has worked intensively to take control of the Turkish straits, which opened the doors of the Mediterranean since the time of Empress Ekaterina II ²⁷⁷. To achieve this, it had to win over the Ottoman Empire. Indeed, against this empire, Russia

²⁷⁶ UN Security Council, Resolution 1101 (1997) Adopted by the Security Council at its 3758th meeting, on 28 March 1997, S/RES/1101 (1997)

²⁷⁷ Prof.Paskal Milo: "Common interests and contradictions of the Great Powers in policy towards the League." Cited source.

became an external first hand destructive factor.²⁷⁸ But, to win over the Ottoman Empire, in addition to the occasional wars against it, Russia worked to diminish from within it. This one was planned to be achieved through the use of Slavic people and Balkan 'Slavisation'.

The diplomacy and the Russian Orthodox Church consistently worked to make use of the anti-ottoman liberation movement of the people from the Balkan Slavs, for the Russian interests. Panslavism and it panorthodoxy will continuously serve as a reason to cover it.

After the Slavic invasions²⁷⁹ of the VI century, there were two native people that remained in the Balkans, respectively the Albanians and Greeks. With the Greeks, the Russians are united through the Orthodox religion. Albanians, as native people and not having anything in common with the Russians by the origin, language, culture and religion, were seen by them as an obstacle to fulfill intentions in the 'slavicization' of Balkan. Therefore they, until 1912, opposed every initiative and efforts to unite Albanians into a single administrative unit or create an autonomous principality under the Ottoman Empire.

In counterbalance of the Russian efforts for the slavicization of Balkan, European countries on the one hand supported the status quo of the Ottoman Empire and as a backup alternative they were supporting the expansion and strengthening of the Greek state. By recognizing these developments, the Albanian political elite of the time, tried to convince the European circles that the Albanians should be regarded as an ally of Western civilization, which could serve as a dam to prevent Russian penetration in the Western Balkans. Albanian political elite of the time also hoped that the Western powers in strengthening the ambush against Russian invasion in the Balkans, in addition to the efforts in the enlargement of Greek state, will take into

²⁷⁸ Prof.Dr.Arben Puto: "*Albanian issue in international acts of the period of imperialism*" Volume I. Page 12.

²⁷⁹Sima M. C' irkovic: *The Serbs*.cited source.

consideration as an alternative support, also the idea of an independent Albanian state. Europe will be convinced that its civilization in the Balkan Peninsula cannot defend against the Russian risk only with the Greek dams, but, along with it, the Albanian ones²⁸⁰. This is because, the Greeks in the Balkan peninsula, numerically at the time, were almost the same as Albanians. By taking into account also the huge impact that the religious beliefs and the fact that religion of the Greeks was the same as that of the Russians and Slavs, the Orthodox Greeks may be attracted from the religious sympathy towards Russia. But the Albanians did not have any connection with the Russians. "Albania is the only country and the Albanians the only people who can... withstand rapid progress of slavization", stated in the press of the time Abdyl Frashëri.²⁸¹ According to him it is in the political interest of Europe's, a resolution of the Albanian issue. Albania can turn into a dam against the Panslavizm that is threatening European civilization, if the Great Powers help it win its national rights.²⁸²

The proposal of Albanians to play the role of a dam against the Slavisation of Balkans, was made known to the western world, not only through the press of the time, as was the case of the articles of Abdyl Frashëri, but also formally, through a memorandum, launched from Shkodra to Lord Bignonsfield, England's representative at the Congress of Berlin. In that memorandum the Albanian patriots wrote that "Great Britain has a great interest to put a strong levee to the Slavic invasion flood that extended to the Adriatic and that levee should be formed or cannot even be formed except by nations, which burdens up close to an uncontrollable threat... from the political side, it should be noted that only Albania is destined to be a shield created by

²⁸⁰ For more details see: Prof.Dr.Kristo Frashëri: *Ioannina Committee and project ANTI liberation uprising (1877). The history of the Albanian people. Volume II.Chapter V. page 140.*

²⁸¹ *Le messenger de Vienne.Nr.21 (24 Maj 1878).Cited from Prof. Dr.Kristo Frashëri :“Abdyl Frashëri” page 149. Tirana 1984.*

²⁸² *Le messenger de Vienne.Nr.22 (31 May 1878).Ibid, page151.*

nature against Slavic invasions, as it was once against the Ottoman invasions ²⁸³. But, being away from the Balkans, the English did not take seriously the Albanian proposal.

From the Great Powers of the time, Austro-Hungary was the first to feel the Slavic pressure as a threat to its interests in the Balkans. Especially the union of Slavs in one of the states and Russian support for them was seen as a threat. To prevent this, on July 8 1876, Austria-Hungary made with Russia the agreement of Rajasthan. In exchange of the promise to support Montenegro and Serbia in case of loss in the expected conflict with the Ottoman Empire, and the partnership with Russia in the Balkans, Austro Hungary in this arrangement, received assurances from Russia that it "will not favor the creation of a large Slavic state ²⁸⁴ in the Balkans. In addition to the threat of a part of Albanian territory, to face the growing Slavic pressure, the Austro-Hungarian in this agreement, planned and formally requested the formation of an autonomous Albania,²⁸⁵ which can serve as a barrier to prevent the entrance of Slavic to the Adriatic. But, in the Russian version of the agreement, it is not mentioned, because the Albanian issue is not included in the Russian project for the future of the Balkans.

As we mentioned earlier, at the time of the Russo-Turkish War of 1877 and the Great Powers efforts to resolve the crisis, other emerging European power like Italy, insisted to be included in the powers regarding its interests in the Balkans. Through a diplomatic tour that took Crispi after coming to power, he aimed at giving Italy the right for compensation in the Balkans, if Austria-Hungary invaded Bosnia and Herzegovina. In a meeting with Bismarck, Crispi received the promise: "If Austria-Hungary takes Bosnia, then Italy may get Albania or any other Turkish country on

²⁸³ Memorandum addressed Lord Bikonstfeld, England's representative at the Congress of Berlin. Published by Prof.Arben Puto "Albanian issue in international acts of the period of imperialism" Volume I, page 141. document No.6

²⁸⁴ For more details see *ibid* Russian version agreement Rajshadtatit, published, translated into "Albanian issue in international acts ...". Document No. 3. Volume II, page 109

²⁸⁵ B.H.Sumner, *Rusia and dhe Balkans, 1870-1880*.Oxford at dhe Clarendon Press, 1937, pp. 584-585.

the Adriatic"²⁸⁶. The right of compensation in the Balkans was recognized also by England. Since 1877, the issue of Albania and the Adriatic, except Austria-Hungary, now included also Italy. The acceptance by the Western Powers of the geopolitical interests of the Italian in the Balkans, also adds to the region another strong actor, whose interests will be engaged directly or by supporting the Albanian factor, in an effort to withstand the tendency of the complete 'slavicization' of Balkan.

The Treaty of San Stefano²⁸⁷ the most important step undertaken by Russia towards Slavisation of Balkan. According to this treaty, Slavic countries, Montenegro, Serbia and Bulgaria, benefits 80% of the Ottoman possessions in the Balkans including a large part of the Albanian territories.²⁸⁸ The treaty also recognized the independence of Montenegro ²⁸⁹, Serbia ²⁹⁰ and created Great Bulgaria.

Congress of Berlin, which was convened to revise the decisions of San Stefano although limited the expansion of Bulgaria, generally did not violate ones that San Stefano had given to Serbia and Montenegro. European Great Powers could not leave without reward also Greece, the hoping anti-Slavic dam in the Balkans. With the justification that Greece "cannot flourish within its current borders... without Arta and Volos bays and economic conditions of the country, did not allow to withstand the costs belonging to all civilized countries",²⁹¹ these forces recommended the expansion of the Greek borders in direction of the Albanian territories.

In front of the risk for the complete Slavisation of the Balkans, especially after San Stefano and Berlin in 1891, during the signing of the third ²⁹² for the renovation of

²⁸⁶ Sreten Drashkic, page56-57.Cited source.

²⁸⁷ "Preliminary Treaty of Peace between Turkey and Russia." Signed on behalf of Russia by Count N.Ignatiev Nelidov and Turkish side by Safet Sadullah treaty was signed in St. Stefan, on March 3, 1878, between Russia and Turkey as a party winning party as possible, in the war that started between them in April 1878.

²⁸⁸ Article 1 of San Stefano treaty.

²⁸⁹ Ibid, article 2.

²⁹⁰ Ibid, article 3.

²⁹¹ Protocol 13 of the Berlin Congress, session of the date 5 July, 1878.

²⁹² Third Tripartite Alliance Treaty between Austria-Hungary, Germany and Italy was signed in Berlin on May 6 1891..

the Triple Alliance, Austria-Hungary was forced to accept Italian interests in the Balkans and its compensation in the event of a change of the status quo²⁹³, although they had previously refused. Being part of this treaty, as well the Germany, the Ottoman shores of the Adriatic, including the Albanian territories became mandatory commitment for all Tripartite Alliance. In this way, the opposite trend for the full Slavisation of the Balkans was now a powerful alliance, the Tripartite Alliance.

On May 17 1897, about 20 years after Rajasthan agreement, in the situation of a continued weakening Ottoman Empire, Austria-Hungary was concerned about the threat of the Balkan Slavs, but also on the Italian aims which made an exchange point with Russia. Being convinced that Albanians could serve as a dam to prevent the penetration of South Slavs towards the Adriatic coast assessed as its strategic area, the Austro-Hungarians insisted also in this case for the creation of an Albanian state. According to them "the part included between Ioannina in the South and Lake Shkodra in the north, to a sufficient extent from the East, will form an independent state called the Principality of Albania, excluding any foreign rule"²⁹⁴. But for Russians, the eventual formation of a principality of Albania, affect future matters for which it would be premature and very difficult to take decision".²⁹⁵ Russia was consistently against the idea of an Albanian state in the Balkans and had other plans for the division of the Balkans.

In addition to the international support of Russia, even the Balkan Slavic states were highly committed on their own, but also in alliance with each other, in the process of Balkan Slavisation. Serbs, Montenegrins had consistently made ethnic cleansing and slavization of the territory acquired by the Treaty of Berlin. The same thing was done as well by Greeks. In order to make more successful the Balkan Slavisation process

²⁹³ Article 7 of the third treaty of Triple Alliance.

²⁹⁴ A.F. Pribam, *Les traites politiques secrets de l'Autriche-Hongrie, t. I, Paris 1923, pp.107-113. Translated into Albanian in the "Albanian issue in the international acts ..." Volume I, pages 322 - 325. Document No.37. Point 3 / b.*

²⁹⁵ *Ibid.* Page 326-328

Slavic states in the region, they signed between them treaty and agreements. Serbia and Bulgaria were very active in this process. They signed two treaties between them. Treaty of Alliance between the Principality of Bulgaria and the Kingdom of Serbia, signed in Belgrade on March 31 1904, and the Treaty of Friendship and Alliance between Bulgaria and Serbia, signed on March 13 1912.

On both of these treaties, the parties undertake to coordinate efforts against two factors that prevent complete slavization of the Balkan. And these are the Western Powers, which have strategic interests in the region and the Albanians. In front of the collapse of the Ottoman Empire and expected rising interest of the Great Powers, especially of Italy and Austro-Hungary to defend their strategic interests, Bulgaria and Serbia went with the thesis "The Balkans for the Balkan nations". During the first agreement (1904), Serbia and Bulgaria took over "to oppose, with all the power and means any hostile action or separate invasion of the four vilayets, (about the four Albanian vilayets). They also "undertake to prepare the ground for complete cooperation between the Slavs in the Balkan Peninsula and to create favorable circumstances for an immediate agreement between the Kingdom of Serbia and the Principality of Montenegro and, in case of the concerning of the Albanian issue, they would support a solution that would favor the interests of Montenegro.²⁹⁶ Parties also identified an arbitrator if disagreements between them would arise, and of course, he would be the tsar of Russia.²⁹⁷

Also in the second treaty (1912) between Bulgaria and Serbia, signed at the time that the parties terminated their preparations to begin war against Turkey, the parties retained the same line as the first treaty. They "take over to help with all the forces each other if, one or another of the Great Powers attempted to annex or to put in the hand by its troops, even temporarily, of any part of the territory of the Balkan

²⁹⁶ *Ibid, Article 5*

²⁹⁷ *Ibid, Article 7*

Peninsula, which is located under Turkish rule.²⁹⁸ According to them, the Balkans now belonged to the Slavs. This Treaty was accompanied by a supplement and a secret military agreement. In the secret supplement, the sides had decided how to divide the territories of the Albanians²⁹⁹, for eliminating another barrier factor for the complete Balkan slavification. Also this time, the parties decided to hold the same supreme arbitrator, the Tsar of Russia.

Meanwhile, in October 1912, the Slavic states sequentially declare war to Turkey, and began military operations against it and occupied most of the Ottoman territories in the Balkans. In support to the goal to have access on the Albanian coast, Serbian troops captured a large part of the Albanian territories and, on 29 November 1912, went on the Adriatic coast in Durres.

In front of these rapid developments, the Ottoman armies lost and the materialization of Balkan Slavic threat became dominant. In order to protect their interests in the region, in December 1912, the powers of the Triple Alliance signed the next treaty of cooperation between them.³⁰⁰ In one of the three points of the treaty it is stated that "it is recognized that the special agreements concerning Albania and the Sanjak of Novi Pazar, concluded between Austria-Hungary and Italy... will not be changed by the renewal of the treaty of alliance between Austria-Hungary, Germany and Italy".³⁰¹ So, for the Tripartite Alliance, the Albanian issue takes a great importance not only as an important factor in front of Slavic aims, but also as a "bone of contention" that touched the interests of the two powers that signed the treaty, which could lead to a

²⁹⁸ Article 2 of the Treaty of Friendship and Alliance between Bulgaria and Serbia. Signed at Sofia on 13 March 1912. Translated into Albanian in the "Albanian issue in international acts ..." Volume I, pp. 370-376. Paper no.48.

²⁹⁹ Ibid. Article 2 the Annex of the secret treaty.

³⁰⁰ "The fifth treaty of the Tripartite Alliance between Austria-Hungary, Germany and Italy", signed in Vienna on December 5, 1912. A.F. Pribram, *Les traites politiques secrets de l'Autriche-Hongrie*, t. I, Paris 1923, pp.143-144. Translated into Albanian in the "Albanian issue in the international acts ..." Volume I, page 386 - 388. Dokumenti No. 55.

³⁰¹ Ibid. Point 3 of the Treaty.

breach of the alliance with dangerous consequences for peace and security not only in the Balkans but even beyond.

Albanian coast invasion by Serbs and Montenegrins had already affected the interests of the Triple Alliance, especially the Austro-Hungarian. For this Austria-Hungary sent an ultimatum to the Triple Agreement powers and demanded that Serbia should be immediately withdrawn from the coast. In front of Greece and Slavic countries, efforts to divide for themselves the Turkish possessions in the Balkans, the Great Powers, the European concert of the time, on 17 December organized the Conference of Ambassadors for the Great Powers in London. With the Austrian persistence,³⁰² but also with Italian and the German support, all the Triple Alliance after mutual concessions during talks within the Triple Alliance, agreed to establish an autonomous Albanian state. Thereafter, on December 19, Serbia was forced to withdraw the forces from the Albanian coast.

So, Austro-Hungary and Italy, in protecting their interests against the threat of Slavs in the Balkans, supported the creation of an Albanian state which, although incomplete in the territories, will serve as a dam against Slavic penetration of the Adriatic coastline.

However two of the Slavic states in the Balkans, Montenegro and Serbia, had been in serious doubt for the implementation of the decisions of the Conference of Ambassadors regarding Albania. Montenegrins did not deliver Shkodra and the Serbs made their way into the Albanian territory. In order to protect their interests in the Albania's Adriatic coast from the Slavic threat on May 8 1913, once again Italy and Austria-Hungary concluded in Rome a secret agreement between them, but this time regarding the division of Albanian territory.³⁰³ Since the "Albanian dam" was not

³⁰² *Profesor Norman Rich: Diplomacy of the Great Powers 1814-1914* ", page 428. Publishing "Toena" 2006

³⁰³ *Article 3 of the secret agreement between Austria-Hungary and Italy. Rome, 8 May 1913. "Albanian issue in international acts".V.II, Pages 255-258. Translated document No.27*

"built", it was agreed that Austria-Hungary occupy the Albanian territory over river Shkumbin, while Italy the rest of the South of Shkumbini.

This agreement was not made after the application. Under the monitoring of the Great Powers on May 30 1913, in London was signed the "Treaty of Peace between Greece, Bulgaria, Montenegro, Serbia and Turkey".³⁰⁴ Under this treaty, the Balkan states officially and collectively admitted the existence of the Albanian state, eventually leaving in the hands of the great powers other modalities for it. The Great Powers, on July 29 1912, in the Conference of Ambassadors in London, advanced the legal status of Albania from autonomy in independence³⁰⁵, realizing an international act for the collective recognition of the independence of Albania, announced on November 28, 1912.

Until here it seemed that the ambush for the penetration of the South Slavs towards the Adriatic and the full Slavisation Balkans began to work. Triple Alliance states, being engaged to protect their interests against the Balkan Slavisation forced Russia and other Slavic country in the region to accept Albanian state as a fate accomplishment.

But, during this time Austria-Hungary attacks and invades Serbia, and the First World War starts. On the basis of bilateral agreements with Austria-Hungary, but also trilateral Triple Alliance, Italy demanded as compensation Austro-Hungary to give up its interests in Albania, a request that was rejected. On the other hand, Triple Alliance states which Russia was part of, on April 26, 1915, in the secret Treaty of London, was engaged to give what Italy wanted from Albania³⁰⁶, which was denied by the Austro-Hungarian. In this way Russia and its allies, by attracting Italy from the Triple Alliance and fragmenting Albania, hit two key factors impeding the

³⁰⁴ *Peace treaty between Greece, Bulgaria, Montenegro, Serbia and Turkey. Ibid. Document no. 45*

³⁰⁵ *Illyrisch-Albanische Forschungen, Ludwig von Thalloezy, II band, Munchen und Leipzig 1916, p.173. Translated in Albanian in "Albanian issue in the international acts". V.II, Pages 187-190. Document No. 38.*

³⁰⁶ *Secret treaty between the Entente powers and Italisë. Londër 26 April 1915. Translated and published in Albanian in "Albanian issue in the international acts". V.II, Pages 634-643. Translated document No. 161.*

penetration of Southern Slavs towards the Adriatic. After the end of World War I Austro-Hungary was dissolved and Germany lost the war. From the barricades for the territorial expansion of the Southern Slavs and the full slavization of the Balkans, remained only fragile Albania. The great powers tried to completely eliminate even that. But the efforts of France and England in the Versailles Conference, for the fragmentation and the complete elimination of the newly created Albanian state remained in tentative, thanks to American vigorous intervention.

The end of World War I was followed by interesting developments. In Heartland of Mackinder, Russia, communism triumphed. In order to protect the West from Russian communism, but also to serve as a buffer zone between Germany and Russia under the influence and ideas of Mackinder, the Paris Peace Conference, urged the creation of a chain of states, mainly Slavs that would serve as a "sanitary cordon". Yugoslavia was established as part of this sanitary cordon. Therefore the strengthening of the Slavs in the Balkans through the creation of a large South Slav state was made with the blessing of the 1919 Paris Peace Conference.

For the western powers the fear of communism was replaced by the fascist threat, which brought Europe back in war. Then, the advance of the Red Army to Berlin made Soviet Union-Russia to establish control not only in Eastern Europe, but also in the half of Germany. But, "who ruled Eastern Europe commands the Heart of the Earth, who governs the Heart of the Earth commands the Island of the World, who ruled the Island of the World commands the World" writes the great geo-politician British Halford Mackinder. In order to extend its influence to Eastern Europe and to move the Soviet Russia from its governance, the West, in addition to successfully use the "soft power"³⁰⁷, had a very powerful ally – that of the movement for democracy

³⁰⁷ "Soft power", is the ability to achieve goals through the attraction and non-use of force. It works by convincing others to follow the norms and institutions that produce the requested behavior. According Joseph Nye, "soft power" of a country can come from three sources: culture, political values and its foreign policy, when they are seen as a legitimizing and moral authority. Joseph S. Nye Jr, *Soft Power: The Means to Success in World Politics*, 2004.

in these countries, which actually was a product of this “soft power”. These democratic movements led in the dissolution of two powerful Slavic federations, the Soviet Union and Yugoslavia.

The collapse of communism and the major geopolitical changes that occurred in east significantly reduced the Russian influence in the Balkans. As an alternative to the European Union and United States, the Balkan countries were offered the opportunity to follow the path towards Euro-Atlantic integration. The new developments in the Balkans created a new situation quite favorable for resolving the Albanian issue in the region as a cause for the people, who had served as a dam to the Southern Slavs not to spread throughout the Western Balkans and the Adriatic Sea. The creation of the independent state of Kosovo is an important step in this direction.

In conclusion, by its geo-strategic position, Albania has been destined to be a shield created by nature against the Slavs invasions that have taken throughout history in the Balkans. It also served as a barrier to prevent the penetration of South Slavs and their ally Russia, towards the Adriatic coast and western civilization. The cost of being a dam has been very large, the same as the risk of partial fragmentation up to the full fragmentation of the Albanian geo-political space.

IV.4. The Albanian issue, polarity and balance of the regional and international Power

The Albanian issue in the region, the manner and extent of its resolution, considerably and constantly was affected by the polarity and balance of the regional and international power. It is not only influenced, but also has affected the polarity and balance of the regional and international power. Albanians, in terms of the collapse of the Ottoman Empire, have asked to be considered the same as other actors, in the projected balance of power in the Balkans. But instead of being taken into consideration, the Albanian issue was victimized, by negatively affecting the

Balkan security complex. Although the Albanian issue was victimized in the name of balance and for the maintenance of peace,³⁰⁸ again the peace was not preserved. The powerful actors aim to continuously benefit unilaterally on the Albanian issue brought back to the decay of balance to which Albanians were unjustly victimized.

Balances are often product of a process of competition between the actors that try to earn relative ground to each other. After a period of time, because of this competition, the establishment of a new equilibrium between all the competitor actors is required and this new balance now tries to contain and restrict all actors, delivering a product of peace and more stable security.

In the calculation and establishment of this balance in the Balkans, regional and international actors from the beginning, excluded the Albanian national interests. Not taking into account all of these interests would consistently make Albanians to demand the restoration of balance of power, where they will be taken into consideration the same as other regional actors. The continuous refusal to these requirements will make the balance set consistently fragile and therefore, peace and security in the region would be constantly threatened.

Since the beginning, the Albanians have demanded that their case should be regarded as an important part of the political and economic balance in the region. On the Congress of Berlin eve, Albanians did not only warned the West that by ignoring their case, the region will not find tranquility and peace, but gave them the guarantee that an independent Albania would be an element of political and trader balance,³⁰⁹ thus becoming a positive factor for peace and security in the Balkan security complex and beyond.

In the memorandum of Shkodra, sent to Lord Bikonfild, British representative at the Congress of Berlin, which can be considered as one of the first documents where

³⁰⁸ Look: *Statement of Eduart Grey on the delimitation of Albania. Translated and published in "Albanian matter in International Acts...." V.II. Document No.44 Page 292-293*

³⁰⁹ *Xhafer Belegu: League of Prizren and its operations in 1878-1881. Fage 24. Publishing House "Christo-Luarasi". Tirana 1939.*

Albanians present to international community their demand for an independent state, Albanian political elite of the time openly declared that "an independent Albania, other than a shield against slavization, it would be an element of political and trader balance, because it would prohibit the exclusive superiority of any other power and will keep open all roads toward the east"³¹⁰.

Also, in this memorandum, Albanians ensure the West that "its forces are sufficient for its protection, but are not such that could threaten the independence of other peoples"³¹¹, by giving assurance that the elements of its national power will not constitute a threat to the balance that is set which would include them as actors and not provoke insecurity dilemma to other regional actors in relation to the Albanian issue". But the memorandum of Shkodra and dozens of request and other protests that started from all the Albano-sphere were not taken into consideration by the Congress of Berlin ".

The Treaty of Berlin gave our neighbors part of the Albanian territories ³¹². Immediately after Berlin, Serbia had an area of 54 thousand square kilometers and 1.6 million inhabitants. Greece had an area of 51.3 square kilometers and 1.4 million inhabitants. Montenegro 8,400 square kilometers with approximately 190 thousand inhabitants, and Romania with 113,400 square kilometers and approximately 5.6 million residents.³¹³

Meanwhile, shortly after the Berlin Congress, the number of Albanians from 1.6-1.7 million and the size of the territory in which the population of single or overwhelming majority of about 58 thousand square kilometers of the ethnic trunk "is

³¹⁰ *Memorandum sent Lord Bikonstild, England's representative at the Congress of Berlin. Shkodra, 13 June 1878. Published in the Acts of the Albanian National Renaissance, 1878-1912, prepared by S. Pollo and S. Pulaha, Tirana 1978, pp. 21-28.*

³¹¹ *Ibid.*

³¹² *See: Treaty of Berlin between Germany, Austria-Hungary, France, Great Britain, Italy, Russia of Turqisë Berlin, 13 July 1878. Published translated to "The Albanian issue in International Acts" V.II. Document no. 16.Faqe 185-217; Protocol 13 of the Berlin Congress, hearing on 5 July, 1878*

³¹³ *Prof.Dr. Rexhep Qosja. "the Albanian issue. History and politics ". Page 27.Publishing Toena. Tirana 1998*

approximately equal to the number of Serbs and Greek and the size of the territories in which they live as a single or overwhelmingly population, respectively proportional to the number of Montenegrins and Romanians and the size of the territories in which they live as a single or overwhelmingly population "³¹⁴.

As is seen, in the Balkans, among the nations, nature has created a natural and geopolitical balance to ensure to the region a normal development in peace and security after the collapse of the Ottoman Empire. For this is required that the leading international actors of the time to recognize to the Albanians the right to have their own state, just as their Balkan neighbors and to include them as actors participating in the balance. But the Great Powers and neighbors chose the road of the fragmentation of Albanosphere. They destroyed the natural and geopolitical balance of the Balkan, in this way. Thus Balkan complex security, peace and security was undermined for a long time.

Not only Albanians, but also the important personalities of the time had come to the conclusion that the creation of the Albanian state and the resolution of the Albanian issue was important in establishing equilibrium in the Balkans and, consequently, for peace and security in the region. So Goshen, British ambassador in Istanbul, in the report directed to his boss, count Greenville³¹⁵ on July 26, 1880 wrote that "to form a strong Albania, the pretext for its invasion by a foreign power in the case of disintegration of the Ottoman Empire will be weakened"³¹⁶. Also according to him, "a united Albania would block the remaining entries from the north and the Balkan Peninsula would remain in the hands and under the rule of the races that inhabit it now"³¹⁷.

³¹⁴ *Ibid.*

³¹⁵ *Count Greenville, then Minister of Foreign Affairs of England.*

³¹⁶ *British Sessional Papers, House of Commons, LXXXI (1880), 15; Published translated into English in the "Albanian issue in International Acts" Volume I. page 233*

³¹⁷ *Ibid.*

Goshen was expressed openly that the non-resolution of the Albanian issue would be continuous threat for peace and security in the Balkans. If turmoil will explode, he expressed, "Albania will become an insolvable problem. With its majority Muslim population would become a source of enormous difficulty for Greek or Slavic countries that surround it"³¹⁸. By solving the issue of Albanian nationality, concludes in his letter Goshen, "will reduce the possibility of European intervention in the Balkan Peninsula"³¹⁹

Also Bismarck, the German chancellor, three years after the Berlin Congress, finally seems convinced that Albanians must be taken into consideration as a factor of equilibrium, with an impact on peace and security in the region.

Albanian issue was victimized to maintain the balance of power and peace between the great powers of the time. Thus, to give a solution to the situation created in the Balkans after the defeat of the Ottoman Empire the six major powers, sequential to the "European concert", decided then to hold the Conference of Ambassadors in London in 1912. The European tradition was that "European concert" should decide the terms of peace and that the balance between those forces was a guarantee for peace in the region and beyond.

But during the time of the declaration of independence of Albania, the situation in the Balkans was different from that after the Congress of Vienna. Albanian people and other peoples in the region fought for their freedom and independence, while the Great Powers were trying for the sake of balance and peace between them, to speak for the oppression and discrimination of people in the region. Therefore, during this period, in the relationship between them, the Great Powers were concerned to preserve only the balance of power and the status quo in the region. But the balance of power now was not in harmony with the moral, the right of the Albanian people

³¹⁸*British Sessional Papers, House of Commons, LXXXI (1880), 15; Published translated into English in the "Albanian issue in International Acts" Volume I. page 233.*

³¹⁹*Ibid.*

and other nations to gain their national rights. The destruction of this harmony will naturally lead in the failure of the "European Concert" in ensuring peace and security in Europe.

Through the concept of preserving the equilibrium of forces, the main geopolitical actors of the time thought to give solutions of the Balkan crisis in 1912-1913 at the London Conference. For this reason, "the concert of the six ", the latest edition of the "European concert" was a complete failure in efforts to secure peace in the Balkans and Europe after the defeat of the Ottoman Empire against the Balkan powers in 1912. This was so, because the old harmonies and balance did not function. Developments in the Balkans after the collapse of Turkey could not be administered by the old methods of diplomacy. The incapacity of the "European concert" appeared to be out of the norms in the Albanian case.³²⁰

The Great Powers in violation of the right of peoples for self-determination, in the name of balance of power between them and supposedly in the interest of peace and security in Europe, fragmented the Albanosphere. They also violated the right of the Albanian nation to decide its own destiny and to live together in a single state. That in turn so heavily threatened the Albanian national interests, the balance of power and security in the Balkan Complex. Even the host of the Conference of Ambassadors in London, British Foreign Minister Edward Grey, after reaching an agreement for the northern borders of Albania, on 17 April 1913 stated that "the achievement of this agreement was essential for the peace in Europe and in my opinion, it was achieved at the right time to maintain the peace between the Great Powers".³²¹ This is reconfirmed in his statement dated 12 August 1913. According to him "it should not be forgotten that when in trying to find such a solution, the main goal has been to maintain the agreement between the Great Powers and, if the decision on Albania has

³²⁰ Prof.Dr.Arben Puto, "Political Albania 1912-1939" Page 58. Cited source;

³²¹ Statement of Edward Grey on the delimitation of Albania. Published translated into "Albanian issue in international acts" V.II. Document no. 44.Faqe 292-293.

ensured that, then he has done the most significant work in favor of peace in Europe".³²² In the same statement, Edward Grey accepts the immorality of this anti-Albanian decision. I know very well, he says, that "when everything will be known, this solution with many points will be the trigger for strong criticism from anyone who knows the country and considers the issue from a close local perspective"³²³

Also the government of Vlora at this time addressed a memorandum on the Conference of Ambassadors. Once again Albanians insisted that their case should be regarded as a necessary part of the regional political balance. "Albania is quite determined to become an element of balance and peace in the Balkan Peninsula"³²⁴, stated in that memorandum. The Albanian people requires that to Albania "to be assigned its natural borders... while seeking for the assignment of the boundaries Albanian people aims to keep the relationship with its neighbors cordial and stable... with the reduction of natural borders, Europe would risk the Albanian state, putting in the material impossibility to make his deserved life, because it will be deprived from the economically and the necessarily resources needed for normal development."³²⁵ And the endangering of the state will generate to the Albanians insecurity and survival dilemma.

Albanian memorandum clearly articulated that the governing philosophy of the Albanians in relation to regional security were the relations with neighboring and regional balance of power as important elements for a lasting peace and long-term Balkan security complex. While Serbian memorandum was sent to the Conference of Ambassadors at the same time, it did not mentioned good neighborhood and the need for regional balance of power. In the Serbian governing philosophy, it is important for peace only the harmony and balance with the Great Powers, and not with Balkan

³²²*Ibid.*

³²³*Ibid.*

³²⁴ *Memorandum of the Government of Vlora presented ser Edward Grey on 2 January 1913. Published translated into "Ismail Qemali-collection of documents." Document no.265. pages 282-286*

³²⁵*Ibid.*

neighbors. "We are pleased to see that the rights and interests of the Serbian nation are not in conflict with the legitimate interests of any great power... the whole history of Serbian nation shows that our national interests have always been in harmony with the interests of Europe".³²⁶ On the contrary, when it comes to expression the delimitation of Albania, Serbs expressed openly in their memorandum that "Albania's definition as we have proposed... would give to it (Serbian nation) the opportunity to be one of the main guarantor of peace, order and economic and cultural progress of the Balkans"³²⁷. So, the Serbs gave a guarantee for peace, only if they take the Albano-sphere they had designed. According to them, the main principle which should be supported by the Great Powers for the division of territories, should be one of the rights of conquest and then moral rights involving historical, ethnographic and cultural. This philosophy of the Serbian government inherited in decades by not taking into account the neighborhood and regional balance of power, would be a permanent threat to peace and security in the Balkan security complex. Also the Greek government memorandum addressed the Conference of Ambassadors in London, represents the requests for the fragmentation of Albano-sphere, previously planned by the previous project Greek Megali Idea. But unlike the Serbs, craftily, the Greek government, the demand for Albanian provinces is contented with several strategic necessities at a time and other economic reasons and using ethnic argument only to those areas that were more Greek population³²⁸.

Therefore the Serbian and Greek do not refer at all to the necessary for good neighborly relations with Albanians and maintaining a balance in this part of the Western Balkans, as conditions for stable peace and security. On the contrary, they link their existence with the fragmentation of Albano-sphere. They did not want to

³²⁶ *Ibid*

³²⁷ *Memorandum of the Serbian Government to the Conference of Ambassadors in London. January 1913. Translated into English in the " Albanian issue in international acts ..." V.II, Pages 209-217.*

³²⁸ *Memorandum of the Serbian Government to the Conference of the Memorandum of the Greek Government, dated 3 January 1913, addressed to the Conference of Ambassadors in London. Translated into English in the " Albanian issue in international acts ..." V.II, Pages 197-209. Document no.4*

accept the fact that, like the Greeks and Slavs, Albanians are inevitable in this part of the Balkans. Greeks, Slavs and Albanians are not only three populations together in their areas, "but they are three civilizations, three cultures, three languages (and each with its own alphabet: Latin, Cyrillic and Greek). Balkans could not even be imagined without one of these components embedded for centuries in this region of Europe, and the existence of any of them cannot be conditioned by the other."³²⁹.

At a time when the "concert of the six" at the Conference of Ambassadors in London, collectively and openly flagrant victimized the Albanian national interests ostensibly, for the sake of balance between the Great Powers, they failed again to save Europe from World War. Although in the Conference of Ambassadors in London it was agreed between the two great alliances of the time, Central Powers³³⁰ and Antanta,³³¹ peace was a short term, as two of the Triple Alliance powers (Central Powers), Austria-Hungary and Italy, despite previous agreements between them made efforts to benefits unilaterally from the Albanian issue and the Albano-sphere. As we mentioned earlier, the collision for the Albanian territories of the two great powers of the time, member of the same defensive alliance, Italy and Austria-Hungary, was one of the factors followed by the exit of Italy from the Triple Alliance, breaking the relations between two of the great alliances of the time. This caused the destruction in the equilibrium of the balance between the Triple Alliance and Antanta, which had repercussions in the further development of peace and security in the Balkans and beyond.

Thus the Albanian issue, despite being continually influenced by regional and international balances, indirectly led to the destruction of these balances. It "indirectly became cause of the regroupings of great powers in Europe, which was

³²⁹ *Ismail Kadare, Belgrade's NIN magazine interview. Reprinted in the "Albanian", 25 April 2012.*

³³⁰ *Otherwise are called also the Central Powers. Its base is the military agreement of 1879, entered into between Germany, Austria-Hungary, which in 1882 was joined by Italy and was named Triple Alliance.*

³³¹ *Established alliance between Russia, France and Great Britain. Otherwise called "Antanta"*

enough to lead to the development of the war situation. The Albanian issue at this time became a European first hand issue³³².

Even after World War I, the victorious powers of war, tried again to restore the balance of power in the region excluding Albanians, fragmenting the Albano-sphere, again by sacrificing their national interests. Therefore, for the interest of the requests of Italy, Serbia and Greece, participatory in the winning coalition of the war, on 14 January 1920, it was drafted the Anglo-Franco-Italian project, according to which the territory of the Albanian state established at the London Conference of 1913, would be divided among the three neighboring countries.³³³ But this attempt failed due to the American intervention³³⁴ and the decisions that the Lushnja Congress took³³⁵.

Later, although Albania was a member of the League of Nations and internationally independent, the rivalry between the Italians and Yugoslavs for influence and control in the Albano-sphere still continued. They had put to risk each other in relation to Albania and every approach of either party to Albania, the other party evaluate as existential threat for its security. Italy and Yugoslavia, to maintain the balance between them in relation to the Albanian issue, signed between them two treaties. The first treaty, signed on 27 January 1924, the parties engaged "to respect the independence, not involvement in the internal affairs of Albania, as well as exchange information about the events in Albania"³³⁶. Despite this agreement, the signing of the

³³² Sreten Drashkic: *Europe and the Albanian issue 1830-1921*. Page Belgrade 2000

³³³ Adriaticus. *La Question Adriatique Recueil de documents officiels*. Paris, 1920, f.109-110. Translated from French into Albanian in "War of the Albanian people for national liberation" Volume II.f.34-35. Publication cited.

³³⁴ Note of President Wilson, dated 6 March 1920, in response to the marking of the Allies on 26 February 1920. Translated from French into Albanian in "War of the Albanian people for national liberation" Volume I, pages 255-256

³³⁵ See Lushnja Congress decisions, extracted from the records of Congress, 31 January 1920. Botuar "Albanian National Liberation People's War 1918-1920" Summary dokumentesh.Vëllimi II, pp. 63-65. Edition Academy of Sciences RPSH. Tirana 1976.

³³⁶ Hivzi Islami, *Ethnic cleansing*. Dukagjini published, Peja 2003.

"Albanian Italian Pact of friendship and security" and "Protection Alliance Treaty" between Italy and Albania, in fact turned the country into an Italian protectorate.³³⁷

Meanwhile, Yugoslavia continued to follow with concern the Italian penetration in Albania and its objectives for the Balkans. For these reasons, the Yugoslavs on March 25, 1937, signed another pact with Italy. With this pact, Italy and Yugoslavia were engaged to pursue friendly relations to each other and agree concerning Albania, on this basis: Italy has a vital interest in Vlora; this part of the Albanian coast should not be compromised by the Yugoslavs; Yugoslavs must understand this interest and respect it. Yugoslavia's vital interest is to not be threatened in the Albanian border with Kosovo and Montenegro. In this way, Friendship Pact of March 25 1937, created a kind of momentum solution between Yugoslavia and Italy on the Albanian soil where, years ago, they had many conflicts and disputes. But in fact, this pact was more an attempt to calm down Yugoslavia and Italy to gain time until it was the moment to concrete openly their military operations in the Balkans and in Mediterranean.³³⁸

After the Italian invasion of Albania on 7 April 1939, the union of the two countries was actually made. According to the Fundamental Statute of Albania developed in Rome and approved in both countries, the executive and legislative powers in Albania belonged to the king of Italy.³³⁹ Meanwhile, the fascist occupation of all Balkan countries, again change the regional balance. In April 1941, after the fragmentation of Yugoslavia and the invasion of Greece, the Axis powers, united Albania the main part of Kosovo, the Albanian areas of Macedonia, Montenegro border belt and a small part of Chameria³⁴⁰. But this was a false unity, carried out unilaterally and only by the axis fascist powers. Three other Great Powers allies,

³³⁷ Prof. Pierre Cabanes: *History of the Adriatic*. Page 477. Cited source.

³³⁸ Xhavit Shala, *Balkans, Geopolitics and Security*, Volume I.Faqe 113. Cited source.

³³⁹ Prof.Dr. Xhelal Gjecovi, "Albania under Italian and German occupation" *History of Albanian People*, Part IV. page 25

³⁴⁰ Central State Archives, Fund 267, 1941, dos.46, fl.34..

Great Britain, the USSR and the USA, in the Atlantic Charter of August 1941³⁴¹, clarified that they did not recognize the occupation of Albania by fascist Italy, on April 7, 1939. They did not recognize even the fragmentation of Yugoslavia, which was performed by the fascist powers. Consequently they did not recognize even the inclusion of Kosovo and other areas within the political borders of the occupied Albania. More than the correction of an injustice done against Albanians, unification of the Albanian territories made by the Axis powers seemed to be a tactical move intended "to polarize the attention of the Albanians"³⁴² to have more peaceful backgrounds in their area.

But the Albanian national movement rightly headed the Albanian people. In the major conflict between the two coalitions, the Albanians were listed in the antifascist coalition which emerged victorious in World War II and which would determine the international balances after the war.

In the first years after World War II, the winning coalition itself was divided into two poles, representing two ideologies, with two economic, political and collective defense alliances, opponent but in balance with each other, led by two leading countries, the United States of America and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics. Also the Balkan states were involved in these two alliances.

Albania for several years was included in the Treaty of Friendship, Cooperation and Mutual Assistance (Warsaw Pact)³⁴³. The balance of power in relation with its neighbors in the security Albania managed to secure through temporary alliances that were initially created in Yugoslavia, then in the Soviet Union and, finally in China.

Meanwhile, Albanians, in their Albano-sphere in the Balkans were divided into three states, representing three world in ideological war with one another, communist Albania, revisionist Yugoslavia and capitalist Greece. The Albanian issue in the

³⁴¹ *Histoire diplomatique de 1919 à nos jours (Diplomatic history to this day)*, Paris, 1981, p. 306..

³⁴² Galeazza Ciano, *Diario 1937-1943. Note dated 21 April 1939.*

³⁴³ See Prof.Dr. Ana Lalaj, "Albania and the Warsaw Pact." *Panorama*, 12.9.2004.

region was generally determined by ideological pressure and the effects of distorted national interests. Later, after the fall of communism and the dissolution of the east-west balances, national issues in communist East and in the Balkans began to be liberated from ideological pressure. As a result of a breach of internal balances between Serbs and other nations the Yugoslav Federation entered in the process of violent disintegration.

This process created a new situation and added the chances for a new dimension and resolved the Albanian issue in the region, because there were included about 40% of the population in the federation and more than half of the Albanian geopolitical space of the region. After consuming all peaceful ways for the demand of their rights, Albanians were forced to begin the armed movement in Kosovo 1998-1999, in Macedonia and the Presevo Valley in 2001. The creation of the independent state of Kosovo in 2008 is an important step towards the correction in favor of the Albanians for the polarity of power in Western Balkans and a long-term investment for peace and security in the Balkan Complex.

In conclusion, the Albanian issue in the region, the manner and degree of its settlement, were continuously influenced to a considerable extent by the polarity and balance of the regional and international power. On the other hand, the non-resolution of the Albanian issue in time and the exclusion of Albanians during the configuration of regional balance of power, after the collapse of the Ottoman Empire have consistently made this balance in the region to be weak and the security to be threatened. Meanwhile, the creation of the independent state of Kosovo in 2008 is an important step towards the correction in favor of the Albanians, for the polarity and balance of power in the Western Balkans, and a long-term investment for peace and security in the Balkan complex.

Chapter V.

The Albanian issue and the regional security complex.

Now we will return to the analysis of the four elements of the Balkan security complex. Barry Buzan, one of the founders of the Copenhagen School, explained the security as a matter that comes from the interactions between nations.³⁴⁴ Regional security complex as a group of nations cannot be separated, because they have common security and concerns.³⁴⁵ According to him, these nations could have friendly but also adversarial relation, and to be confronted with threats from each other, such the case of the Balkan region.

Although security is a social construction that takes a particular meaning within a particular social context, Buzan's theory for security and regional security complex can be used successfully to explain developments in the Balkans in the last hundred years, and especially the mutual relationship between the degrees of resolution of the Albanian issue with regional security.

Let us examine and analyze the mutual relationship between the degree of resolution of the Albanian issue with the four levels (constitutive elements) of the Balkan security complex, by analyzing first the order, stability and security in the Balkan states level (level within the state), then the relationship between the state (regional level), regional cooperation with neighboring regions (interregional level), and the role of world powers in the region (global level), giving in the end the prognosis and possible future developments.

³⁴⁴ Barry Buzan, *People, States and Fear*, second edition (Colorado: Lynne Rinner Publishers, 1991), pp. 187

³⁴⁵ *Ibid*, Page 190

V.1. Order, stability and security in the state-level of the regional.

We will take as a period of study and analysis, the period that starts with the signing of the Treaty of San Stefano, on March 3, 1878, between Russia and Turkey. The signed treaty was entirely in favor of Russia and the Balkan Slavic states. Prior to the signing of this Treaty Balkan region was largely a territory under Ottoman rule. This treaty changed the international legal status recognizing the independence of Montenegro,³⁴⁶ of Serbia,³⁴⁷ of Rumania³⁴⁸ also the Bulgarian autonomy³⁴⁹, while completely denied the existence of the Albanian issue in the region.

The Treaty of San Stefano, considering them Turkish territories, divided more than half of Albano-sphere between Slavic states in the Balkans. This is the first international treaty which marks the launch of Albanians and their issue in the region. At this time officially begins the ethnic cleansing of Albanians and fragmentation of their territories. For more than a century it would continuously affect negatively the Balkan security complex.

Actually it's very interesting that the Albanian political elite since the beginning of the Albanian issue and consistently has seen the peace and security in the region as a matter that comes from the interactions among the nations living there, unlike the neighboring countries elites, aiming only to expand their territories, mainly towards the Albanosphere. But the neighbors underestimate the fact that together with the Albano-sphere part, they were adding not only to their own country but also to the region, which was a permanent threat for the security, stability and peace. Without a fair solution on the Albanian issue, neither these countries who were wiping the Albano-sphere parts nor the region would not have peace and security.

³⁴⁶ Article 2 of the "Preliminary Treaty of Peace between Turkey and Russia." St. Stefan (Istanbul), 3 March 1878. Nënshkruar on behalf of Russia by Count N. Ignatiev Nelidov and Turkish side by Safet Sadullah

³⁴⁷ Ibid Article 3.

³⁴⁸ Ibid Article 5.

³⁴⁹ Ibid Articles 6-11.

The Albanian political elite immediately rejected the decisions of San Stefano. They expressed their determination that they want to live "in peace with all our neighbors, Montenegro, Greece, Serbia and Bulgaria... but we are all determined to keep what is ours, the Albanian lands"³⁵⁰ and warned the ambassadors of the Great Powers "were willing to make all the sacrifices to challenge those decisions"³⁵¹.

Congress of Berlin, which was convened to revise the decisions of San Stefano even though it limited the expansion of Bulgaria in general, did not violate what San Stefano, had given to Serbia and Montenegro. Instead, they decided to reward Greece from parts of the Albanian southern geosphere. So the Albano-sphere was divided between the four invaders states: Turkey, Serbia, Montenegro and Greece. Albanians continued to fight to ensure their national rights. That shocked continuously the security of these states.

V.1. 1. The Albanian issue and security of the Ottoman Empire

The failure to resolve the Albanian issue has had a decisive influence on security issues undermining the Ottoman Empire itself. That was warned earlier by the writer and scholar Ami Boue, who after he returned from his journeys between 1836-1838 in the Albanian territories and other European territories of the Ottoman Empire, he wrote his work "La Turquie d'Europe" (European Turkey) which was published in Paris in 1840. He warned that "now that the Albanians or Bosnians are not assimilated, these provinces will be the cause of the destruction of Turkey, like other events had not speeded this collapse."³⁵² Then he continued: "we can be sure that once a fire is lighted in the Turkish Empire, Albanians will revolt and we will foresee

³⁵⁰ *Central Archive of State. Fund Albanian League of Prizren, file No. 2, Document No.5523*

³⁵¹ *For more details see the protests of the Albanian population to the diplomatic corps, published in the Albanian National Renaissance Acts 1878-1912, pp. 13-20. Publication of the Academy of Sciences. Tirana 1978.*

³⁵² *"La Turquie d, Europe." Volume IV. Paris 1840. Quotation taken from Lumo Skendo "foreign travelers in Albania until the end of XIX century" Page 134-135. Tirana 2012.*

major changes... Albania can form very well an independent state between Serbia and Greece ".³⁵³

The impact of the Albanian issue in the security of the Ottoman Empire became more evident especially after the creation of the League of Prizren until the dissolution of the empire. So the resistance of the League of Prizren for not surrendering over Plav and Gucia Montenegro is seen as a threat to general peace not only by Westerners,³⁵⁴ but also from Turkey.³⁵⁵ Albanians armed refusal to submit later to Montenegro Hoti and Gruda instead of Plav and Gucia, forced the Great Powers to deal with Montenegro³⁵⁶ and Turkey,³⁵⁷ to deliver Ulcinj to Montenegro, actions which Turkish forces completed on November 23 1880.

Even after the dissolution of the League, Albanians did not cease their war. In the years 1901-1908 the Albanian anti-ottoman resistance was continuously growing, thus undermining the Ottoman Empire security seriously.

Albanians have played an important role in the movement to reform the Ottoman Empire known as the Young Turk movement.³⁵⁸ Assembly of Albanian insurgents in Ferizaj became a strong support for the movement of the Young Turks. Out of that council, on July 22, 1908, the Sultan was sent a telegram from which he was

³⁵³ *Ibid.*

³⁵⁴ "Albania in the League of Prizren". Document no. 13.Vol. II. Page 42. Tirana 1986

³⁵⁵ *Ibid* page 40.

³⁵⁶ Telegram Ministry of Foreign Affairs of France, dated 12 June 1880 addressed to Sen-Kantenit, charge d'affaires of France in Cetinje, on a new combination of the Great Powers to issue to other sites the Albanian Montenegro- AMAE CP France Mission in Mount Zi.Vol.2.Faqe 183; Paper Radoniç, minister of foreign Affairs of Montenegro sent on June 14, 1880 tion, charge d'affaires of England in Cetina, upon receipt ofMontenegrin border re in Ulcinj-Lake land Shkodra. AMAE CP France Mission Monte Zi.Vëll.2.Faqe 193r-194r. Document translated and published in "Albania in the League of Prizren". Volume II,Page 196.199. Tirana 1986. Publication of the Academy of Sciences of RPSSH.

³⁵⁷ Sen-Kanten letter, charge d'affaires of France in Cetina, date sent 9 July Frejsinesë, Minister of Foreign Affairs of France about the readiness of the Sublime Porte to submit Montenegro Ulcinj. AMAE CP France Mission Monte Zi.Vëll.2.Faqe 199r-201v.; Letter of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Turkey sent on 15 July 1880 the Turkish embassy in Paris, upon receipt of the Ottoman government for the delivery of Ulcinj, Montenegro Black-AMAE CP France Mission Monte Zi. Vol.2.Faqe 211r-212v. Document translated and published in "Albania in the League of Prizren". Volume II. Page 214.220. Tirana 1986.

³⁵⁸ Prof.Dr. Zeheria Cana: Kosovo Albanian National Movement from 1908 to 1912.Page 259. Published "8 November" Tirana 1982.

informed that, if he does not immediately announced the constitution, the Albanian forces will march toward Istanbul.³⁵⁹

Under these conditions, fearing that the rebels could direct to Istanbul, the night between 23 and 24 July 1908, Sultan Hamid was forced to declare the constitution of 1876. The Young Turks took over in Turkey. So Albanians played a very important role in the return of the Ottoman Empire into a constitutional monarchy.

Also Albanians played an important role in the oppression of the Hamitian counter-revolution in April 1909, overthrowing the Sultan Hamiti and the restoration of the Ottoman Empire constitution, becoming a factor with significant impact on the stability and security of the Ottoman Empire itself.

But again, just after regained the power, the Young Turks took strict measures to suppress nationalistic liberation movements in general and in particular those from the Albanians. The armed conflict with the Albanians in 1909-1912 put in a difficult position the Young Turk government within the empire, as well as in front of the international opinion and seriously risked the internal security in the Ottoman Empire. These rebellions in the internal plan and war with Italy at international level had weakened the position of Turkey in the Balkans, to the extent that the old policy of the status quo of the Great Powers in the Balkans was outdated.

The Balkan kingdoms benefited from this situation by judging that had come the moment to implement their intentions to take advantage of the Ottoman territories in the Balkans. In these conditions, the Balkan countries signed an agreement and decided to create a military and political alliance³⁶⁰ with each other before entering in war with Turkey. After that, the balance of power in the Balkans changed in the disadvantage of the Ottoman Empire. In October 1912, the countries of the Balkan

³⁵⁹ Prof. Dr. Kristaq Prifti. *Assembly of Ferizaj 14-23 July 1908. Shpallja constitution. People's History Shqiptar. Vëllimi II. Faqe 374-375. Published Toena. Tiranë 2002; Prof. Dr. Zachariah Cana: Albanian National Movement in Kosovo 1908-1912. Faqe 28. Tirana 1982*

³⁶⁰ *Treaty of Friendship and Alliance between Bulgaria and Serbia. Signed at Sofia on 13 March 1912; Appendix secret Treaty of Friendship and Alliance between Bulgaria and Serbia on 13 March 1912; Alliance Treaty between Bulgaria and Greece, signed at Sofia on 29 May 1912; Military Convention between Bulgaria and Greece signed in Sofia on 22 September 1912;*

Alliance, declared war to Turkey, one after the other. This is how the First Balkan War began.

After the declaration of independence of Albania, Vlora government asked the recognition of the independence of Albania by Istanbul. But, although the Ottoman Empire was almost crushed in the Balkans, Istanbul undertook that "All Albania is to be organized as an autonomous administration, without admitting the separation".³⁶¹

In conclusion, the unresolved Albanian issue has had a significant impact on security issues and undermined the Ottoman Empire itself. Albanian uprisings in the internal plan, weakened the position of Turkey in the Balkans, affected the balances of forces in the region and made the Ottoman Empire an easy target against the alliance of the Balkan states, thus affecting the following developments in the Balkan regional security complex.

V.1. 2. The Albanian issue and Serbian security

Serbian Prime Minister Nikola Pašić praised Albania as "the Achilles heel of Serbia," which means the Serbian weak arm quite dangerous to its security³⁶² therefore they have consistently securityzite it. In fact, Serbia is one of the regional actors that in order to achieve its political program called "Naçertania" it had consistently intervened violently in the Albanian issue. In implementation of this program, and with the strong support of Russia, but also of the main geopolitical actors of the time, at the end of 1912, Serbia managed to include within its borders parts of Albanian geo-space of northern Albania, all Kosovo and parts of eastern Albania. These were eventually legalized in the Conference of Versailles, in the Memorandum of 9

³⁶¹ Telegram to the Prime Minister of the Ottoman Empire, sent to the Minister of Internal Affairs, on 29 November 1912, where note Kamal Ismail activity not be hindered if he declares autonomy under Ottoman protectorate. Ibid. Page 239.

³⁶² For more details see: Brief Overview Nicolas Pašić policy has developed to Albania, as prime minister of the government the Serbia and Minister of Foreign Affairs in the early twentieth century. Sreten Draskić "Europe and Albanian Question (1830-1921)". Belgrade 2000.

December 1919 of the Great Powers ³⁶³. But, Serbia and the Great Powers did not evaluate the Albanians warnings ³⁶⁴ that, without the right solution upon their issue, peace and security in the region would constantly be threatened. Thus, together with the Albanian geo-space that Serbia benefited, it also "imported" an existential threat to its security. In its strategy, after securitized this threat and minimize it as much as possible, Serbia tactically planned and invested in three main directions. The first was to find a pretext in order to achieve the conquest of Albania. As such, Serbia knew that it would have a strong international response. If the first option failed, they would go on the second option, working to achieve a smooth union between Albania and Serbia. In parallel with this the third option would work, investing in maintaining a consistently weak Albania, so that it would not have the opportunity to raise the voice for the Albanian issue in Serbia.

Let us examine one of these options. In early October 1913, with the pretext of the attack against Albanian insurgents, the Serbian army entered the territory of Albania to have again access to the coast in Durres. Austro-Hungary urged in the ultimately the withdrawal of Serbian troops otherwise the "imperial and royal government... would see themselves forced to use the necessary assets to ensure the fulfillment of its request" ³⁶⁵ After this threat Serbia withdrew its troops from Albania. So the collision for Albanian issues endangered the security of Serbia, with a possible attack from Austria-Hungary. This threatened to destabilize more the Balkans security complex.

After having failed in the permanent occupation of Albania option, Serbs passed on the second option, the ability for a soft union with Albania. In order to do so, Serbia

³⁶³ *Item No.2 of Memorandum of the Governments of USA, Great Britain and France on the Albanian question. Part of the Anglo-Franco-American Memorandum on the Adriatic Issue. Adriaticus, "La Question Adriatique Receuil de documents officiels". Paris, 1920, page. 57-58, 65-67. Translated in Albanian in "The war of the Albanian people for national liberation", Volume I. page.490-492. Tirana 1975.*

³⁶⁴ *Memorandum of Durres Interim Government Delegation, presented at the Conference of Paqes.Paris 12 February 1919. Cited source.*

³⁶⁵ *Documents Diplomatiques Francais, 3 eme serie, t. VIII, D.Nr.341, pp.429-431*

initially had to put its man at the top of the power in Albania. The person chosen by Serbia was Esat Toptani. So the Serbian army invaded Albania twice just for the "sake" of Esat Toptani, in October 1914 to support his coming into power and in June 1915 in order to save Esat from the insurgents of Haxhi Qamili. With Esat, the Serbs signed two agreements that if were implemented, will make Albania part of Serbia.³⁶⁶ After failing with Esat, Serbs used this option again in 1924 by preparing, financing and supporting with militarily the return of Ahmet Zog in Albania. But even in this case they failed because Zogu did not respect the agreement and commitments that received in Belgrade for "privileged links with Yugoslavia".³⁶⁷ Even later, during World War II, Tito had planned to implement this option by creating a Balkan communist federation, by including Albania in this federation. He hoped that the national issues in Kosovo and Macedonia would be resolved through this communist style³⁶⁸. According to them, this was the only way "to amortize the separatist tendencies and demands of the Albanians in Yugoslavia for closer relations with Tirana"³⁶⁹. But to realize this plan after the end of war, he needed a friendly Albanian government in Tirana, ready to join a Balkan federation under the tutelage of the Yugoslavs. Therefore the Yugoslavs having prepared the ground during the war and immediately after it openly attempted the inclusion of Albania as a seventh republic in the Yugoslav Federation³⁷⁰. After the liberation, in the summer of 1946, Enver Hoxha did the first visit in Belgrade where there "were signed many agreements that were too dangerous for customs, currency, joint society, etc., up to

³⁶⁶ For more details see: *Key Provisions Nis Agreement between Esat Pasha Nikola Pašić, on 4 September 1914 and the Protocol of Tirana, on 28 June 1915, between Ljube Jovanovic Essad Pasha. Sreten Draskic, cited source, pages 257-259 and 266-270.*

³⁶⁷ DDI, VII serie, vol VII, p.223. Quote from Prof.Dr.Arben Puto. *Ibid*,page 380

³⁶⁸ Viktor Meier: "Yugoslavia A History of its Demise", Published in the Taylor & Francis e-Library, 2005,p.181

³⁶⁹ Prof.as. Dimitris Livanios: *The Macedonian Question, Britain and the Southern Balkans 1939-1949*. p. 163. Published in the United States by Oxford University Press Inc, New York,2008.

³⁷⁰ Miranda Vickers, *Albanians, a Modern History*, page 266. Cited source.

the army issues³⁷¹. Also Enver Hoxha had agree with Tito and the Yugoslav leadership until the beginning of 1948, on Albania's involvement in the Yugoslav Federation, and later in the Balkan Federation. However, the decay of the relations between Tito and Stalin prevented the completion of this merging process and the idea of a Balkan Federation³⁷²,

In parallel, the Yugoslavs had also worked for the third variant, which aimed at the investment to maintain a consistently weak Albania so that it did not have the opportunity to raise its voice for the Albanian issue in Serbia. Since 1921 they attempted to create a pro-Yugoslavian ministry within Albania. They signed with Marka Gjonin an agreement for the establishment of the Republic of Mirdita, which would be protected by the Serbo-Croatian-Slovenian military forces.³⁷³ But the government of Lushnja Congress neutralized these efforts.

Even during the Cold War, despite the fact that the Albanian issue in Yugoslavia was under the influence of ideological pressure, this part of Albano-sphere still remained under the Yugoslavs. The Albanians never stopped the efforts for their national rights. This obviously was a problem for the security of Yugoslavia. Thus, in November 1968, University students made demonstrations in favor of the Albanian national rights. Security structures reacted harshly and violently by suppressing the students' movement.³⁷⁴ Despite the violence used in this part of the Albano-sphere a generation capable and determined to advance the Albanian issue was formed and grew. That in turn was perceived by Serbs as a threat for their security. This new

³⁷¹ Nexhmije Hoxha, *Interview with Janusz Bugajski in Albanian Screen*, 22 March 2012. Reprinted in the newspaper 'Tema' on 23 March 2012

³⁷² Kate Transchel, "The Breakup of Yugoslavia: Conflict in the Balkans", p.98. Chelsea House. Infobase Publishing, 132 West 31st Street, New York NY 10001

³⁷³ S. Draskic, page 322-325. Cited source

³⁷⁴ Viktor Meier: "Yugoslavia A History of its Demise", Published in the Taylor & Francis e-Library, 2005.p.27

"quality"³⁷⁵ was shown in the demonstrations of 1981, where Albanians asked advancement of their case by an autonomous province in the republic.

The crisis of the Yugoslav federation in the late 80s and early 90s had focused on the issue of Kosovo. Even in Kosovo through the opinion and analysis of the time "it was expected that the war in Yugoslavia would begin in Kosovo"³⁷⁶. Serbian authors themselves are convinced that "Yugoslavia is actually destroyed in Kosovo"³⁷⁷. Even after the violent dissolution of Yugoslavia, the Serbs did not accept the results of the constitutional and legal actions undertaken by the Kosovo's Albanians for a peaceful resolution of their case and proclamation of the republic³⁷⁸, approval of the constitution and a referendum for independence.³⁷⁹

This subsequently led to a further tension in the security situation in Kosovo. The Albanians gave up peaceful resistance, a radicalization of the situation in the Albanian unification around KLA, and the beginning of the armed war against Serbian security structures. Now all key actors were convinced that without resolving the Albanian issue peace and security will be threatened not only in Kosovo and in the Serbia, but also in the region. This re-dimensioned the Albanian issue in Yugoslavia. After the failure of opportunities for the peaceful resolution of the crisis, Serbia became the target of military aircraft attacks from NATO forces. This forced Serbs to accept the departure of military forces from Kosovo. But in the north of the Ibar River, parallel Serbian structures continued to operate. These structures, including education, health, and police are sponsored by approximately 75 million per year from the Serbian budget.³⁸⁰ Serbia has not de- securitized Kosovo and probably will not do this for a long time.

³⁷⁵ Mr. Ukshin HOTI "The political philosophy of the Albanian issue" page 60

³⁷⁶ *The Kosovo Report*, p.42-43

³⁷⁷ Vesna Pestic, "Rat za nacionalne drzave", in *Srpska strana rata: trauma i katarza u istorijskom pamcenju* / edited by N. Popov, Beograd 1996,f.35

³⁷⁸ *The Kosovo Report, Independent International Commission on Kosovo, Published to Oxford Scholarship Online*,f. 301-318

³⁷⁹ *Leslie Benson: Yugoslavia: A Concise History*, p.163. *Burim i cituar*

³⁸⁰ *ICG Balkans Report N°141, 18 March 2003, Serbia After Djindjic*,p.12

Although Kosovo is already a reality accepted by major international actors, it has not "released" Serbia and its security completely from the Albanian issue. Within the boundaries of Serbia is the Presevo Valley, known as the Eastern Kosovo, an inseparable part of Albano-sphere.

Presevo Valley, an area of 1,267 km² which refers to the three municipalities (Presevo, Bujanovac and Medvedja) in Southern Serbia, has a total population of 88.996, with the Albanian majority population of 57.686, or 65%.³⁸¹ Albanians from the majority in Presevo and Bujanovac municipality and a minority in Medvedja municipality³⁸².

This is an area of a great importance, is the only corridor passing in north-south, which lies between the mountains of the Balkan peninsula, thereby posing a strategic importance for a relatively isolated area³⁸³. Yugoslav authorities since 1946 detached from Kosovo the Valley municipalities Presevo, Bujanovac and Medvedja included them within the boundaries and under the direct jurisdiction of the Republic of Serbia. According to the census of 2002, in the Presevo Valley in Serbia there were 61.647 Albanians³⁸⁴.

After the breakup of Yugoslavia, eastern Kosovo Albanians peacefully asked their national rights. For this on 1 and 2 March 1992, they organized a referendum in Presevo, Bujanovac and Medvedja municipality, where 97.8% of Albanians declared territorial and political autonomy with the right to union with Kosovo.³⁸⁵ Thereafter, on March 26, 1992 Albanians there elected the chairmanship and the Parliament chairman. But the Serbs, as they had done in any case with the Albanian issue, did

³⁸¹ KIPRED Kosovar Institute for Policy Research and Development: *autonomy for northern Kosovo: Disclosure of scenarios and the consequences for the region.* "Page 9. Pristina July 2012.

³⁸² According to the 2002 census, Albanians constitute a majority in Presevo (90%) and Bujanovac municipality (54.5%), and a minority in Medvedja (26%). ICG Europe Report N °153, 25 February 2004. *ibidem*.

³⁸³ ICG Europe Report N ° 153, 25 February 2004. Page 24

³⁸⁴ Minority Rights Group International. <http://www.minorityrights.org/4034/serbia/albanians.html>. 21.7.2012.

³⁸⁵ *Ibid.*

not accept the will of the east Kosovo Albanians, creating another problem for security, this time within its administrative borders.

After consuming unsuccessfully all peaceful ways to resolve their issue, in the conditions of the continued growth of violence and Serbian repression and after the Serbian state was left no other option, eastern Kosovo Albanians formed the Liberation Army of Presevo, Medvedja, Bujanovac (PMBLA) and were set up in armed revolt.³⁸⁶ In addition to the security problems in Serbia, the situation in eastern Kosovo regarded as threats also for the security in the region. After an international mediation it was reached the Koncul agreement,³⁸⁷ for demilitarizing the PMBLA, re-entry of Serbian security forces in the security zone, and the creation of strong civil component society known as Covic Plan, under which a number of important international and local investments in the Presevo Valley would be made.³⁸⁸ The plan also envisioned the appointment of the elections in the municipalities covered by conflicts, and the creation of a multi-ethnic police force and the integration of Albanians into public institutions, civil administration and justice.³⁸⁹ The intermediation showed the degree of internationalization of the Albanians issue in the eastern Kosovo.

Although in recent years there have been significantly improvements of the situations, the Albanians in eastern Kosovo are victims of hidden discrimination and dealing with high levels of intolerance by the majority of the Serb.³⁹⁰ They are discriminated economically and often are the victims of police violence. This is part of the Serbian strategy for a silent ethnic cleansing of Albanians from the province with the aim of changing the ethnic population ratios in favor of the Serbs.

³⁸⁶ See ICG Balkans Report N ° 116, *Peace in Presevo: Improved rapid and long-term solution*, August 10, 2001.

³⁸⁷ For more details see: Hysen Ahmeti. Monograph, "Koncul throughout history".

³⁸⁸ ICG Europe Report N ° 153, 25 February 2004, page 25

³⁸⁹ *Ibid.*

³⁹⁰ Minority Rights Group International <http://www.minorityrights.org/4034/serbia/albanians.html>.21.7.2012

The Declaration of Independence of Kosovo and Serbian tendency for the division of the north has created a new situation in the Presevo Valley. Albanians have stated that, in the case of separation of Kosovo, the Presevo Valley (eastern Kosovo) will seek to join the state of Kosovo³⁹¹. So, the peace and security in this area will depend greatly on the solution of the issue of North Mitrovica. International Crisis Group sees the potential that Presevo Valley of southern Serbia dominated by Albanians can be exchanged with the territory of the north Ibar River, dominated by the Serbs³⁹². According to them, the peacefully change of the borders is permissible in principle, and expressly approved by the Helsinki Final Act³⁹³. However, until the solution, eastern Kosovo issue remains a frozen conflict and will constantly be a threat for the security of Serbia.

In conclusion, after we studied and analyzed the impact of the Albanian issue in the Serbian state security, based on multiple sources of documents, old and new, we conclude that: along with the Albanian territories, Serbia "imported" also a permanent threat to its security. For more than a century Albanians and Serbs continue to keep securityzite each other. This is one of the factors that kept the Balkans into a conflicted regional complex with a social model with deeply hostile relations. The unsuccessfully consumption from Albanians of all peaceful and democratic road to earn their rights, forced them to start the armed struggle in 1998. Now all the geopolitical international key actors were aware that without resolving the Albanian issue, peace and security were threatened not only in Kosovo and in Serbia, but also in the region. The war of KLA and NATO intervention enabled the liberation of Kosovo from the Serbian army. Subsequently, the creation of the independent state of Kosovo led to a correction in polarity of the Balkan security complex and led to a redistribution of power in the region and its correction in favor

³⁹¹ ICG Europe Report N ° 153, 25 February 2004, page 26.

³⁹² ICG Balkans Report N ° 143, 28 May 2003.p.3

³⁹³ "The Helsinki Final Act of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe", Questions related to the issue of security in Europe (Declaration of Principles): "... frontiers can be changed, in accordance with international law, by peaceful means and by agreement."

of the Albanians. This is impacting positively in the Balkan security complex and is contributing in more opportunities for harmony and peace in the Balkans. However, despite the agreement Thaci-Dacic of 19 April 2013 for the North of Kosovo, signed with the mediation of Baroness Catherine Ashton, Serbia has not yet made significant steps towards the process of de-securitized of Kosovo. Serbian tendencies for separation of Northern Kosovo has created a new situation in the Presevo Valley and could provoke a chain reaction, which can shock again the Balkan security complex.

V.1. 3. The Albanian issue and Greek security

Albanian issue in Greece, known as the Cham issue is an important part of the Albanian issue in the region, which has not found a solution yet. As such, it has been continuously securitized by the Albanians. Historically, up to an optimal solution, the issue will continue to affect the Hellenic state security issues.

Cham province, with an area of about 10 thousand square kilometers, is a continuation of the natural and important part of Albano-sphere currently within the borders of the Greek state. Currently, this area accounts for 40 thousand Orthodox Cham³⁹⁴. Whereas the displaced population from this area today is estimated to be at about 650 thousand people. Out of these, 250 thousand are in Albania and 400 thousand in Diaspora³⁹⁵. Their properties today in Çameria are accounted for nearly 2.8 billion USD³⁹⁶.

In implementation of the expansionist political program, "Megali Idheas", the Greek state tried to benefit as much as possible from the Albanian territory on its northern borders. The Helen state trend to include as many Albanian territories from the Congress of Berlin was viewed by the Great Powers to be a bad investment that Greece is making against its security. The first who openly showed this concern was

³⁹⁴ *Miranda Vickers: The Cham Issue – Where to Now? p.1, Published By: Defence Academy of the United Kingdom, Conflict Studies Research Centre, London 2007*

³⁹⁵ *Ibid.*

³⁹⁶ *Selman Sheme, Cham - land, population and economic life, Tirana, 2005*

Prince Bismarck of Germany. We think that he expressed that "the maintenance of peace and the future of Greece would benefit if Greece would include within its as less Albanian elements as possible. Greece will not be able neither to rule nor to assimilate these elements. Its tranquility would be threatened if it will annex a large part of this combat and less vanquished race/ethnicity"³⁹⁷. Bismarck even proposed that instead of Albanian territories, the Greeks would be given the island of Crete. "The island of Crete ... is not only an area almost equal to the Albanian part of Epirus, but as by the population an overwhelming Greek majority, as well as the geographical location it presents substantial benefits that cannot be matched by any means with Albania"³⁹⁸. In fact the Greeks benefited also Chameria and Crete. But they did have in mind the advice of Bismarck. In order to save from Albanians, this "combat and less vanquished" race, years later they made a violent ethnic cleansing of Chameria.

The Albanian issue in Greece, known as the Cham issue, officially was created by the London Conference of 1913. On 1 and 11 August 1913, the Conference decided that the south border in Albania will include Korca and to have access to the coast in Cape Stillo³⁹⁹. Prior to its closure on 12 August 1913, the Conference set up also a commission for setting in the ground the border with Greece. The remnant of Chameria within the limits of the Greek state was finally confirmed and legalized by the Paris Peace Conference of 1919.

Greek state estimated as a threat to its security the fact that the lands near the border with Albania were not Greek. For this they should become Greeks with all the forms

³⁹⁷ *Enclosure of letter dated 18 February 1881. Legates department of France in Athens. Paris 11 February 1881. Published in the document no. 227 of the book "Albania in the League of Prizren" Part II. Page 436-438. Publication of the Institute of History of the Academy of Sciences. Tirana 1986*

³⁹⁸ *Ibid.*

³⁹⁹ *Minutes on the southern border of Albania and the issue of the islands. London, 1 August 1913. Published translated by the Prof. Arben Puto: "Albanian issue in international acts of the period of imperialism" Volume II. Dok.Nr.40, p. 282.*

and possibilities. Since that time, the Greek government intervened violently in this part of the Albanian geopolitical space through the ethnic cleansing of Albanians, mostly Muslim, managed to change the demographic reports.

Thus, between 1921 and 1926, the Greek government has deported Albanians Muslim from Chameria in order to give to the Greeks their lands⁴⁰⁰ who had returned from Asia Minor. These newcomers benefited by the expropriation of land and settled in the homes of Muslims⁴⁰¹.

Later, in 1944, Greek government made a massacre in the region where 35,000 Chams were expelled to Albania and Turkey. Later in 1945 it still continued the ethnic cleansing in the area of Chameria. In the 1945 and 1946, Greek prosecutor sentenced more than 2100 Cham men with the pretext of collaboration with fascism and confiscated their assets.⁴⁰² Napoleon Zervas, the person who led the process of Cham ethnic cleansing "was seen as a hero by the state and had a subsequent career as a prominent member of the political system"⁴⁰³.

Greek authorities then approved a law sanctioning of the expropriation of Cham properties, citing that supposedly entire community cooperation "with the German occupation forces"⁴⁰⁴. These properties passed into the hands of the Greeks. Similarly the properties of Chams were confiscated with new legal provisions between 1952 and 1959, provisions that remain in force until today.

Atro-cities that took place against the Muslim Cham population are not mentioned in the official Greeks documents. Greek state made every effort to "wipe any evidence of what had happened during this troubled period"⁴⁰⁵. He took care that the Cham issue also disappeared from the public discussion. In the years 1972 - 1982 Greek

⁴⁰⁰ ICG Europe Report N ° 153, 25 February 2004, page 27.

⁴⁰¹ Dr. Lambros Baltiotis: *The Muslim Chams of Northwestern Greece. European Journal of Turkish Studies*, 12 | 2011, p.7.

⁴⁰² Dr. Lambros Baltiotis, *Ibid*, page 8.

⁴⁰³ *Ibid*, page 16

⁴⁰⁴ ICG Europe Report N ° 153, 25 February 2004. *ibid*.

⁴⁰⁵ Dr. Lambros Baltiotis, *ibid*, page 12

authorities adopted an amnesty, which gave the opportunity to every Greek citizen expelled from Greece, to return and take the property or compensation.⁴⁰⁶ From this amnesty Albanians Cham and Aegean Macedonians were expelled. Albanian language which continued to be spoken even by a part of the Christian population for Greece "is perceived as an additional threat for the Greek soil"⁴⁰⁷ Although not officially stated Chameria province currently has many Albanians, who felt themselves threaten from the Greek state continue and thus hid their national identity. Although the Greek government does not accept the existence of the Cham issue,⁴⁰⁸ frequent crises in relations between Albania and Greece were encouraged often by the failure to resolve the problem of the Cham community property, dismissed as a result of ethnic cleansing by the Greek. After the fall of communism, the Cham issue has experienced an immediate revival. Cham issue is the next challenge of the Albanian issue "is likely to be followed with energy from the Chams and their numerous supporters from across the political spectrum"⁴⁰⁹.

Cham community in Albania is already compact and organized politically to resolve their issue. They are represented in the Parliament and take part in the government coalition. They have managed to raise their issue in the European Parliament and other international institutions. This revival of the Cham issue and its involvement in the political agenda in Albania and Brussels is perceived by Greece as a threat for its security. In September 2004, "Greek authorities announced the strengthening of the military's Northern areas near the border with Albania and Macedonia. The new infantry forces from the eastern areas of the country were transferred within the Greek border with Albania and a missile unit named "Patriot" was moved from Athens to a military air base near Thessaloniki, together with a new unit of Air

⁴⁰⁶ *Condition of Greek government was necessarily amnesty beneficiaries have to admit that they were ethnic Greeks and, in exile, had kept the Greek national attitude.*

⁴⁰⁷ *Dr.Lambros Baltiotis, ibid, page 15.*

⁴⁰⁸ *Athine - "Cham issue does not exist."Shekulli 28/06/2006*

⁴⁰⁹ *International Crisis Group: "Albania, State of the Nation". Europe Report No. 871. Tirana/London/Brussels, 1 March 2000.*

Force"⁴¹⁰. In fact, these permanent deployments gave the impression "that Greece felt a potential threat from its northern borders, as opposed to the traditional threat by Turkey in the east".⁴¹¹

Also in the diplomatic level, the Greek government openly put pressure for the postponement in the approval by the Albanian Parliament about a resolution for the Cham issue, scheduled in the plenary session of 1 April 2004. According to the press reports, the Greek ambassador in Tirana, Pantelis Carcabassis, declared to the Albanian foreign ministry officials that "Greece considers the approval of this resolution an unfriendly act by Albania."⁴¹² Later, in November 2005, the Greek government again protested sharply and accused the Albanian government why they did not prevent the organization of a peaceful demonstration from the Cham community during the visit of President Karolos Papoulias in Saranda.⁴¹³

In fact, the failure to resolve the problem of the Albanian properties in Chameria is seen as a potential source of possible conflict by Western governments. So, on behalf of the British government, there is a study on the issue of the Chams, written from the analysts and good expert of the Balkan problems, Miranda Vickers and James Petifer. James Petifer himself, in January 2006 is expressed in an Albanian daily newspaper that "a conflict for Chameria can be very serious, because it is on the shores of the Ionian Sea, near Corfu, which is an important part of the Greek economy, a strategic island and according to experts it is a war easy to develop".⁴¹⁴ For Petifer, Cham area is very wild territory and very easy for small groups of people to operate it, and very difficult for police and military operations. These are some of the reasons according to him, why a conflict in Chameria would be very dangerous and difficult to control.

⁴¹⁰ *Miranda Vickers: The Cham Issue – Where to Now? p.8, Published By: Defence Academy of the United Kingdom, Conflict Studies Research Centre, London 2007*

⁴¹¹ *Miranda Vickers, Ibid.*

⁴¹² *Newspaper "Shekulli", 2 April 2004.*

⁴¹³ *Kathimerin, 03/11/2005*

⁴¹⁴ *Interview James Petifer, given to the journalist Mentor Nazarko and published in the newspaper "ABC", No.20, dated 23.01.2006.*

But the Cham issue and its impact on the security of Greece has not remained out of the attention also from the Serbs,⁴¹⁵ traditional allies of Greece. Knowing that the Greek state has made no concrete effort to resolve the dossier "Chameria", Belgrade analyst Milovan Drećun security issues, in an expanded analysis published in a Serbian newspaper, provides a military solution for this issue. According to him "the strongest collision, which will last eight to twelve months, is expected in the northwest of Greece"⁴¹⁶.

By hesitating to engage in a dialogue on the Cham issue and being satisfied with the statement that "there is no Cham issue," Greek authorities seem to put their head in the sand like an ostrich. In fact the Greek authorities remain divided as to the best way to respond to what they consider the growing threat from their northern border. "There are strong divisions in Greece between the foreign ministry, which has to eventually take over this issue and the ministry of defense, which does not agree to discuss the issue".⁴¹⁷

Cham issue as an important part of the Albanian issue will continue to affect the security issues of the Hellenic state until its optimal solution. It is in the interest of Greece and its security the recognition of the Cham issue by the Greek government as well as the recognition of the right of property and citizenship. It is necessary to "open negotiations related on the restoration of proper rights for Chams"⁴¹⁸ and to try to compile a stable and long-term agreement on the issue "before this issue takes a burst and... when the legitimate grievances of the Chams will turn into deeper national issues."⁴¹⁹

In conclusion, the Albanian issue in Greece known as the 'Cham issue', has been and remains an important part, which is still left with no choice but always securitized of

⁴¹⁵ For more details see: Xhavit Shala "USA" in the Balkans - intrigue, opportunity or dementia," originally published in the weekly "ABC", No. 32, dated April 15, 2006

⁴¹⁶ Milovan Drećun: "Albanina states union...", published in "Glas javnosti", dated 01.03.2006.

⁴¹⁷ Miranda Vickers: *The Cham Issue – Where to Now?* p.9. cited source

⁴¹⁸ ICG Europe Report N ° 153, 25 February 2004. Page 4.

⁴¹⁹ *Ibid.*

the Albanian issue in the region. Historically securitized by the Greek state, this issue has led to the construction of unfriendly model relations between Albania and Greece nation. Cham issue historically has affected and to an optimal solution of it, will continue to affect the security issues of the Hellenic and Albanian state, thus affecting negatively the Balkan regional security complex.

The denial of this issue by the Greek state, will gradually lead to the radicalization of this issue and Chams legitimate complaints would turn into a deeper national issue. This would negatively affect the regional security complex, which would lead to its being securitized until a solution even by other international actors.

V.1. 4. The Albanian issue and Macedonian security

The Albanian issue in Macedonia is an important part of the Albanian issue in the region, that's why it is continuously securitized by Albanians. The Albanian issue and the approach towards it constitute the key of Macedonian security state. Therefore it is continuously securitized also by Macedonian state. During the Cold War, the decisions for the Albanians in Macedonia are not taken in Skopje, but in Belgrade⁴²⁰. After the independence of Macedonia, as we treated during the dynamics of the Albanian issue, Macedonian political elite badly managed the inter-ethnic relations with Albanians and did not involve the resolution of the Albanian issue there. This led Macedonia to the armed conflict of 2001.

The non-resolution of the Albanian issue did not only destabilize Macedonia, but seriously threatened peace and security in the region, and beyond. It was the intervention of the international community which forced Macedonians and Albanians to sign the Ohrid agreement, agreement which restores in paper the constitutional and legal rights and status of the formative state of the Albanians, solving partially the Albanian issue in Macedonia. Macedonian chance to avoid the

⁴²⁰ "Albanian issue" in Macedonia drops off world radar. By Ibrahim Mehmeti in Skopje for IWPR.30 August 2006

conflict is "only the rapid implementation of the Ohrid Framework Agreement"⁴²¹. Although even after the signing of this agreement, "the sources of the causes of conflict between the two ethnic groups have not yet been removed"⁴²², Macedonian political elite since the beginning seriously put in doubt the full implementation of the Ohrid Agreement, by returning uncertainty in Macedonia. The start of the implementation of the agreement has been slow and the steps "with much hesitation and obstruction".⁴²³ Macedonian side was trying to finish this document with large reductions. It continuously revealed innumerable obstacles, only to not fully implement the agreement annexes. To block the process of decentralization, as one of the important elements of the Ohrid Agreement, the World Macedonian Congress⁴²⁴, attracted more than 180 thousand signatures, and on 7 November 2004 unsuccessfully organized a popular referendum.

Meanwhile, also the Albanians were not satisfied with the signing of the Ohrid agreement. Despite international pressure, the leader Arben Xhaferi has repeatedly stressed the fact that ethnic Albanians in Macedonia should have the right for self-determination and that he is a proponent of federal Albania, because ethnic Albanians and Macedonians should have their own separate ways.⁴²⁵ Macedonian Albanians also supported the creation of a confederation with Kosovo and, if the Ohrid Agreement will run down, the broader integration with Albania would be even more desirable⁴²⁶.

Although many years have passed from the signing of the Ohrid Agreement, it must be said that it did not fulfill all its annexes. This has increased the mistrust of the Albanian factor. Thus, the Democratic Party of Albanians (DPA), in 2008 left the

⁴²¹ Prof.Dr. Anton Grizold, Prof. Dr. Marina Mitrevska and Prof. Dr.Vlado Buckovski: *Analysis and conclusions on the conflict in Macedonia. Prevention and management of conflicts - Macedonia case.* Introduction by Prof. Dr. Marina Mitrevska, page 6

⁴²² Prof.Dr. Anton Grizold, Prof. Dr. Marina Mitrevska, *ibid* page 174.

⁴²³ Prof. Vlado Buckovski. *Ibid* page10.

⁴²⁴ Marija Lazarova, *Southeast European Times*.Shkup 15.9.2004

⁴²⁵ ICG Europe Report N ° 153, 25 February 2004, page 21.

⁴²⁶*Ibid*.

ruling coalition, accusing openly the government for "the violation of the rights of ethnic minorities, which is a common complaint of Albanian parties against the state"⁴²⁷.

A part of the Macedonian political class has not agreed yet with the view that the Macedonian state together with Albanians makes the largest ethnic group after the Slavic-Macedonians.

Uncertainty over the future of Macedonia is added today the fact that one of the Macedonian political parties, signatory of the Ohrid Agreement, occasionally has indicated that is ready to abandon its application and supported a project of the Academy of Sciences in Skopje for the division of Macedonia⁴²⁸. Despite the delays in its implementation, the Albanians of Macedonia since Ohrid Agreement of 2001 "did not support violent action against the state".⁴²⁹

Not wanting to give completely the Albanians those rights that are planned in the Ohrid Framework Agreement, a significant part of the Macedonian political elite aim, as before the conflict of 2001, deceived the international community again for supposedly respecting the rights of Albanians. This is related to the intention not to have obstacles in the Euro-Atlantic integration processes.⁴³⁰ But another part of the Macedonian political elite is convinced that it is "of particular importance not to abandon the way that Ohrid leads us in Brussels"⁴³¹.

The policy of bypassing the rights of Albanians and the delay of a full Ohrid Agreement is without future and dangerous. There in no Macedonia with Albanian, even in its current borders, without the full implementation and unequivocal of Ohrid Agreement.

⁴²⁷ Prof.Dr. Anton Grizold, Prof. Dr. Marina Mitrevska, *Ibid* page 173.

⁴²⁸ Xhavit Shala: *Macedonia: Ivanov, Albanians and the game with fire*. "Shqip" dated 3.6.2009.

⁴²⁹ ICG Balkans Report N ° 149, *Macedonia: There is no room for complacency*, October 23, 2003

⁴³⁰ Xhavit Shala, "Ivanov, Albanians and the game with fire".*Ibid*.

⁴³¹ Prof. Dr. Vllado Buçkovski. *Ibid*, Page 113.

Even if we analyze Macedonia's relations with its neighbors, we will see that its relationship with two Albanian states Albania and Kosovo are very important for its security. Macedonia's relations with Greece have been consistently strained. Greece urges Macedonians not to use the name Macedonia, because the name "implies expansionist tendencies since Macedonia is the name of the northern Greek province, which Macedonia wanting to annex".⁴³² With this pretext, Greece blocked the advancement process of the Euro Atlantic integration of Macedonia.

Also the eastern neighbor, Bulgaria, rejects the idea "that the Macedonians were a separate ethnic nation and Macedonian language is a specific language"⁴³³. Bulgarians have "territorial pretensions towards Macedonia on the basis of confirmations that the population in Macedonia is Bulgarian and not Macedonian"⁴³⁴. In the rest of its border, Macedonia borders with three other countries, Serbia, Kosovo and Albania, and the three of these states are surrounded by the Albanian population. This is so because, the South Serbia- eastern Kosovo border with Macedonia is Presevo Valley, which is inhabited by the majority being Albanians. Albanians in all of these three states are very sensitive towards the Albanian issue in Macedonia, thus being an important factor influencing the security of Macedonia. Albanians in this country are a key factor for its stability and security. And that "this state exists thanks to the will of the Albanians in this country, but also the will of Kosovo and Albania."⁴³⁵

In conclusion, after studied and analyzed the Albanians issue and its impact on the security of Macedonia, we conclude that: the Albanians issue in Macedonia is an important part of the Albanian issue in the region, securitized by the Albanians and also by the Macedonians. By closing to the Albanians all the legal, constitutional and

⁴³² Prevention and management of conflicts - Macedonia case. Page 174. Shkup 2009..

⁴³³ Ibid

⁴³⁴ Ibid.

⁴³⁵ Ibid MA. Ardian Ramadani: Macedonia in the global security challenges. Paper presented at the scientific conference "Macedonia in global security challenges in the context of inter-ethnic relations", held in Tetovo, April 5, 2012.

democratic spaces for the resolution of their issue, Macedonian political elite encouraged and supported the creation of a hostile model relations between Albanians and Macedonians and forced the Albanians to gain their national rights, to directed to the armed uprising in 2001. The incomplete implementation of the Ohrid Agreement has increased distrust of the Albanian factor. Macedonia's future rests on the basis of the Ohrid Agreement. Without the full implementation and unequivocal of the Ohrid Agreement there cannot be a Macedonia with Albanians and that is limited even to this date. Therefore this will have tectonic moves on the Balkan security complex.

V.1. 5 The Albanian issue and security of Montenegro

Albanians in Montenegro live across the borders of this Republic with Albania and Kosovo.⁴³⁶ These territories have historically been and are part of the Albanian geopolitical space. Therefore, the Albanian issue in Montenegro is an important part of the Albanian issue in the region and consistently affected the security issues of Montenegro. Therefore, this issue is securitized consistently on both sides Albanians and Montenegrins.

According to the 1991 census, ethnic Albanians constitute 7.1 percent of the population⁴³⁷ of the Montenegrins republic. Most Albanians reside in southern coastal commune of Ulcinj (72.19%). A large part of the Montenegrins Albanians is Muslim, while the rest belongs to the Roman Catholic faith. Albanians have consistently doubt on the official census digits. But Albanians are not the only ones who have expressed doubt about that. "As in the case of other minorities, this number is probably somewhat underestimated"⁴³⁸.

⁴³⁶ *Montenegro in Transition, Problems of Identity and Statehood. František Šístek and Bohdana Dimitrovová "National minorities in Montenegro after the break-up of Yugoslavia". By Florian Bieber (ed.), p.168. Die Deutsche Bibliothek – CIP-Einheitsaufnahme.*

⁴³⁷ *Keneth Morrison: " Montenegro, A Modern History", Published in 2009 by I.B.Tauris & Co Ltd.P.125;*

⁴³⁸ *Montenegro in Transition, Problems of Identity and Statehood. František Šístek and Bohdana Dimitrovová, po aty.*

These territories were given to Montenegro by the Great Powers in the years 1878-1880 and after the Balkan wars in 1912-1913⁴³⁹.

The impact of the Albanian issue in the security of Montenegro appeared immediately once Montenegrins state tried to get under the administration the territories that were given by the Treaty of Berlin. League of Prizren organized strong resistance and armed resistance for the non-submission of the Albanian regions to Montenegro.⁴⁴⁰ The Montenegrins military actions in the years 1879 and 1880 to get Plav Gucia failed against the Prizren League army.⁴⁴¹ Thereby the destruction of the Montenegrins Army by the Albanians and the refusal of submission of Plav and Gucia endangered the security of Montenegro and lowered the reputation of the Montenegrins state in the international arena. Montenegrins state regular army was defeated by the Albanians of the League of Prizren army of volunteers, which did not have yet their state. In 1880, the League of Prizren had defeated Montenegro and Italian diplomacy intervened to save it from total destruction.⁴⁴²

After the oppression of the League of Prizren and the establishment of control of Montenegro acquired territories, the Albanian population in this part of the Albanian geo space "was accompanied by a continuous model of assimilation either by force or intentionally, and in areas with predominantly Slavic population, followed a considerably emigration by the Albanian community".⁴⁴³

King Nikolla of Montenegro had linked his crown and governance in continuation with the Albanian issue. As we mentioned earlier, he planned to make Shkodra like

⁴³⁹ *Montenegro in Transition, Problems of Identity and Statehood. Po aty.*

⁴⁴⁰ Sreten Draskic: "Europe and Albanian issue (1830-1921)". Belgrade 2000. page 81-82

⁴⁴¹ Telegram dated 14 January 1880, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Sublime Porte, the Ottoman mission sent to Paris, about fighting for the protection of Plav and Gucia-AMAE CP French Embassy in Stamboll. Vol. 434. Page 125r-128r; Telegram Sen-Kanten, charge d'affaires of France in Cetinje, sent on 16 January 1880 the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of France, fighting to protect Gucia-AMAE CP French Embassy in Stamboll. Völl. 2 . Page 22r-23r. Documents translated and published in "Albania in the League of Prizren". Volume II. Page 37-41. Tiranë 1986. Edition Academy of Sciences RPSSH.

⁴⁴² Pietro Orsi, *Modern Italy 1748-1898*, New York: G.P. Putnam's Sons, f. 420

⁴⁴³ ICG Europe Report N ° 153, 25 February 2004, page 22

the capital of Montenegro⁴⁴⁴ and he took Shkodra battle as a personal challenge. He thought that the failure in getting it will risk the Montenegrins dynasty itself and stated the possibility that, if he does not invade Shkodra, he will retire and go to America⁴⁴⁵. In the siege of Shkodra, the attacks of 25, 26 and 27 January 1913, only in Montenegro left about five thousand killed and wounded or 40% of all their troops. The war for Shkodra was a great loss in human and material, with security implications for the small Montenegrins kingdom. What did not come with war, Montenegrins reached in talks with Esat Pasha, who on 9 April 1913 signed an agreement, for the delivery of Shkodra to Prince Danilo of Montenegro.

The aim to keep Shkodra at every cost, even after the decision of the conference of ambassadors to leave it within the Albanian state, seriously jeopardized the security of the Montenegrins state. By keeping Shkodra, Montenegro has entered in the Italian and Austro-Hungarian interests, which risked an armed response by them. That's why Italy and Austria-Hungary, on May 8, 1913, made a secret agreement with each other for the invasion and equal separation of the Albanian territory, respectively that of Austro-Hungary over river Shkumbin and for Italy the rest of the south of Shkumbin.⁴⁴⁶ The withdrawal of Montenegrins troops from Shkodra left this agreement in paper.

But later again, during World War I Montenegro, on June 26, 1915, attacked and captured Shkodra, Shengjin and territories up to Drin River. This invasion lasted until January 15, 1916. This action had fatal consequences for the security of Montenegro because the Austro-Hungarian forces captured Shkodra, along with Montenegro itself.

During World War II the Albanian territories were acquired unfairly from Montenegro after the invasion and the collapse of Yugoslavia by the Axis Powers. In

⁴⁴⁴ Sreten Draskic, Page 182. Cited source

⁴⁴⁵ *Ibid.*

⁴⁴⁶ Article 3 of the secret agreement between Austria-Hungary and Italy. Rome, 8 May 1913. "the Albanian issue in international acts". V.II, Pages 255-258. Translated document No.27

April 1941 Albania⁴⁴⁷ was joined again together with the main part of Kosovo, Albanian areas of Macedonia and a small part of Chameria⁴⁴⁸.

Later, during the period of communist Yugoslavia in general, Montenegro showed a greater tolerance towards the ethnic Albanians, because of their numbers which were relatively small and there was no area of a social interaction between Montenegrins and Albanians. However, the level of assimilation is so acute that in some regions, many Albanians no longer spoke their mother language.⁴⁴⁹

After the collapse of communism, Albanians of Montenegro politically organized to seek an optimal solution for the Albanian issue in Montenegro. They continually complained about the confiscation of their lands by the Montenegrins authorities between Tuzi and Podgorica.⁴⁵⁰

In September 1992, the Albanian political forces in Montenegro organized the Albanian Democratic Forum and presented the Parliament a document entitled "Memorandum for a special status of Albanians in Montenegro". They declared that the Albanian minority in Montenegro was completely ignored and Albanians faced discrimination in all areas of public life, particularly in the economic and cultural sphere.⁴⁵¹ Albanian Democratic Forum, again in 1994, insisted upon some form of autonomy for Albanians, arguing that it would be beneficial for ethnic equality and civic, which will make a sound basis for determining the relations in Montenegro, between Muslims Albanians and Montenegrins.⁴⁵² As shown, the Albanian leaders in

⁴⁴⁷ Keneth Morrison: " Montenegro, A Modern History", Published in 2009 by I.B.Tauris & Co Ltd.P.125; Albrecht Schnabel and Ramesh Thakur,Kosovo and the Challenge of Humanitarian Intervention, p.20. The United Nations University, 2000.

⁴⁴⁸ Central State Archives, Fund 267, 1941, dos. 46 fl. 34.

⁴⁴⁹ ICG Europe Report N ° 153, 25 February 2004.Cited source.

⁴⁵⁰ "Montenegro: An Apartheid State in the heart of Europe, the Albanian American Civic League Mission to Montenegro with Congressman Tom Lantos, released in September, 2003, p. 2

⁴⁵¹ Keneth Morrison, *Ibid*,page.125.

⁴⁵² *Ibid*.

Montenegro never challenged the existence of the state of Montenegro through expressed demand for separation⁴⁵³.

Although Albanians did not require separating from Montenegro, they never ceased efforts to give an acceptable solution to their national issue in Montenegro. This shows that the Albanian issue in Montenegro has not yet received a satisfying solution for Albanians and up to its resolution this issue affected the security of Montenegro.

Even through the law of 1998, five places in the Montenegrins parliament were left for ethnic Albanians, a provision this that does not exist among other minorities in Montenegro⁴⁵⁴. So, again it "is believed that there is a widespread mentality deeply racist in the current government of Montenegro, that makes you realize that actually at the governmental level, there is no willingness to provide more political, economic, and cultural rights for the Albanian minority".⁴⁵⁵ It is sufficient to note that, although Albanians constitute 7% of the population of Montenegro, they account for only 0.03 to 0.05% of the employees in state structures.⁴⁵⁶

After the armed struggle of the Albanians in Kosovo, Macedonia and Eastern Kosovo, Presevo Valley, the Albanians in Montenegro did not try to hold a referendum for autonomy or independence. They also did not boycott the elections and did not tend the armed rebellion.⁴⁵⁷ However, some Serbian-Montenegrins media, as well as some foreign organs, repeatedly amplified the anti-Albanian propaganda of Belgrade for a supposedly risk of a similar conflict with that in Montenegro, and a

⁴⁵³ Keneth Morrison: "Montenegro, A Modern History", P.126.cited source.

⁴⁵⁴ Montenegro in Transition, Problems of Identity and Statehood. František Šístek and Bohdana Dimitrovová, page 170.

⁴⁵⁵ ICG Europe Report N ° 153, 25 February 2004. Page 22. Source cited

⁴⁵⁶ "Albanians in Montenegro", in: Human Rights and Transition. Serbia 2001 (Belgrade: Helsinki Committee for Human Rights in Serbia, 2002), pp. 283-290.

⁴⁵⁷ Montenegro in Transition, Problems of Identity and Statehood. František Šístek and Bohdana Dimitrovová, page 172.

threat that the Albanian minority constitute to the stability of Montenegro and its territorial integrity.⁴⁵⁸

It is interesting to note that on a website in Montenegro, in January 2004, the "National Army of Montenegro", appeared to threaten the destabilization of Montenegro⁴⁵⁹. Albanian political leaders rejected any kind of link and knowledge with this organization. The webpage immediately disappeared from the internet, but managed to provoke "a flurry in the media of Montenegro and neighboring countries, which apparently, was the aim and objective of their author"⁴⁶⁰.

Albanians have played an important role in the independence of Montenegro in 2006. In consultation also with the official Tirana, in the 2006 referendum, the Albanians massively participated in the elections and supported the independence of Montenegro from the Union Serbia-Montenegro.⁴⁶¹ This was a significant investment by the Albanians in the creation and security in the independent state of Montenegro.

However, Albanians remained unrepresented in the employment sector. They faced exclusions from economic life and daily indirect discrimination. Also the issue of education in the Albanian language is incomplete. Ethnic Albanians and Muslim leaders in Montenegro are constantly complaining "about their lack of representation in government structures"⁴⁶². It is imperative that the Montenegrins state takes seriously the vital interests of Albanians at local level in Tuzi, Ulcinj, Plav, Rozhaja; the regulation and implementation of Albanian interests at the level of state institutions in Montenegro and the relations of the Albanian there with Pristina and Tirana.

⁴⁵⁸ *Ibid.*

⁴⁵⁹ *ICG Europe Report N ° 153, 25 February, 2004.Faqe 22. Source cited*

⁴⁶⁰ *Ibid*

⁴⁶¹ *New name "Union of Serbia and Montenegro" was officially adopted on February 4, 2003. Shih Michael A. Schuman: "Nations in Transition: Serbia and Montenegro", p.75.*

⁴⁶² *2008 Human Rights Reports: Montenegro/Bureau of Democracy, Human Rights, and Labor/February 25, 2009*

In conclusion, the Albanian issue in Montenegro is an important part of the Albanian issue in the region. This issue has historically affected the security issues of Montenegro. Therefore, this issue is securitized by both, Albanians and Montenegrins. Although they have not required separation of Montenegro, Albanians never ceased the efforts to give an acceptable solution to their national issue. In Montenegro there is a widespread mentality deeply racist that makes you realize that for the moment, at the governmental level there is no willingness to provide more political, economic, and cultural rights for the Albanian minority. This can create problems to the small republic of Montenegro with regards to the security issues and this issue could imply also Albania, Kosovo and Macedonia, with consequences for peace and security in the Balkan security complex.

As a conclusion of paragraph V.1, after we studied and analyzed a period of more than one hundred years, the mutual connection between the degree of resolution of the Albanian issue with the order, the stability and security at the level of countries in the region as one of the four constitutive elements of the regional security complex, focusing primarily on regional sub-complex of the Western Balkan, we conclude that: *not solving the Albanian issue has a negative impact on the order, stability and security of Serbia, Montenegro, Macedonia and Greece, and therefore on the constellation (model) of security of the Balkan security complex. The continued failure to fulfill and ignore the legitimate demands of ethnic Albanians that live in the Albanian geopolitical space within the borders of these states, or have their property in these countries, can lead to the radicalization of their demands and actions, thus creating problems not only for the security of these countries, but also going beyond the Balkan security complex.*

V.2. The relations between countries in the region, the Albanian issue and the regional security complex.

Let us study and analyze now within the same period of time, the impact of relations between states in the Balkans in the regional security complex and their mutual connection with the Albanian issue in the region.

For a long time, until 1913, peace and security in the Balkan-sphere is determined to a considerable degree among other things also from the relationship between key regional actors of the time, such as the Ottoman Empire as well as other smaller state actors, such as Greece, Serbia, Montenegro and Bulgaria. Balkan region had become the core of Eastern Crisis, in the sub-structure of which was the competition "Who will inherit the possessions of the Ottoman Empire after its collapse"⁴⁶³.

Greece, Serbia, Montenegro and Bulgaria, each on its own but also together, supported by Russia, are trying to benefit as much as possible from the Ottoman territories. But part of the Ottoman territories in the Balkans and specifically the vilayets of Shkodra, Skopje, Manastir and Janina, were part of the Albano-sphere. In this way, their goals and actions to expand in the Ottoman territories were actually goals and actions against the interests and the Albanian issue in the region. Therefore the hostile relations of these countries with the Ottoman Empire, by not accepting the Albanians as an equal ally in the Balkan anti-ottoman alliance, maintenance of the hostile relations and exclusion of Albanians, as well as their national interests from the projected regional balances, will keep the Balkans for a long time in the state of war with a regional security complex dominated more from the social model of hostility between nations.

But, how have the relations between countries in the region affected the hostile modeling in this regional security complex and how has the relationship and mutual influence of these relations been with the Albanian issue in the region?

⁴⁶³ Prof.Dr.Kristo Frashëri: *Albanians and Eastern crisis. "League of Prizren" Page 110. Tirana 1989*

During the 40-s of the nineteenth century, Greece, Serbia and later Bulgaria, transformed the chauvinistic programs, the Greek "Megali Ideas",⁴⁶⁴ the Serb "Načertania"⁴⁶⁵ and that of Bulgaria "Greater Bulgaria" into their policies, which turned into a permanent threat not only for the Albano-sphere but for the peace and security in the region.

In the implementation of their expansionist programs, Greeks and Serbs, who earlier had began talks to coordinate preparations for the final war against the Ottoman Empire and the division of the Ottoman possessions in the region. On 26 August 1867, Greece and Serbia linked a Treaty Alliance ⁴⁶⁶ in Voeslau near Vienna. The treaty itself was not only an alliance against the Ottoman Empire, but also against the issue and national interests of the Albanians in the region. In this treaty Greece took over "the liberation and annexation of Epirus ..." ⁴⁶⁷ so the southern Albania... ". The signatory parties also asked the friendly powers to accept the principle that "the Christian Orient is master of himself".⁴⁶⁸ So Serbian-Greek treaty find no place in Albanians majority of which are Muslim in the post Ottoman Balkans, though they were convinced that "to ensure the success of this alliance"⁴⁶⁹ parties should influence over the Albanians with the possessed tool. In the implementation of this agreement, the parties signed a Military Convention on February 28, 1868 in Athens.⁴⁷⁰

⁴⁶⁴ "Megali Idhea" - Great Idea

⁴⁶⁵ "Načertania" in Serbian - Project

⁴⁶⁶ Alliance treaty between Greece and Serbia, Voeslau, 26 August 1867. G. Jaksic et V. Vuckovic, *La Politique EXTERIEUR de la Serbie sous le regne due prince Michel (left I Alliance balkanique)*, Belgrade, pp 510-514. Cituar from the Prof.Arben Puto "Albanian issue in international acts of the period of imperialism" Volume I, pp. 89-96. document No.1

⁴⁶⁷ See Article 4 of the Treaty of Alliance between Greece and Serbia, Voeslau, 26 August 1867

⁴⁶⁸ *Ibid.*

⁴⁶⁹ *Ibid.*, Article 10.

⁴⁷⁰ *Military convention Between Greece and Serbisë.* G. Jaksic et V. Vuckovic, *La Politique EXTERIEUR de la Serbie sous le regne due prince Michel (left I Alliance balkanique)*, Belgrade, pp 515-519. Cited by Prof.Arben Puto "Albanian issue in international acts of the period of imperialism" Volume I, pp. 96-102. document No.2

Also Montenegro aimed at expanding the Albanian lands, particularly in the lowlands of Shkodra, but also in Kosovo and Sandzak.⁴⁷¹ Therefore in 1862 began the war for the Albanian territories between Montenegro and Ottoman Empire. The Albanians decided "to take a defensive action against Montenegrins attacks"⁴⁷².

Even after territorial benefits that Serbia, Montenegro, Greece and Bulgaria were able to ensure through the Treaty of San Stefano and Berlin, these countries, each on its own but also in alliance with each other, still remained under the Ottoman Empire even after intensified efforts to benefit as much parts from the Albano-sphere as possible.

Thus they signed some bilateral treaties and agreements among them. Therefore Serbia and Bulgaria signed two treaties. The first Treaty of Alliance between the Principality of Bulgaria and the Kingdom of Serbia was signed in Belgrade, on 31 March 1904. While the second treaty, called the Treaty of Friendship and Alliance between Bulgaria and Serbia, was signed on 13 March 1912. With the thesis "The Balkans for the Balkan nations" in the agreement of 1904 the signatory parties pledged "to oppose, with all the power and means, any hostile action or separate invasion of the four vilayets,⁴⁷³ (this is about for the four Albanian vilayets), by the Western powers.⁴⁷⁴ They also took the responsibility to support a solution that would favor the interests of Montenegro⁴⁷⁵ in case the Albania issue rises.

In the second treaty, that of 1912, Serbia and Bulgaria, on the eve of the war against the Ottoman Empire, take the responsibility to help with all the forces to each other if one or another of the Great Powers will attempted to annex or took in hand by its

⁴⁷¹ Prof.Dr.Rexhep Qosja: *The Albanian issue.History and politics* "Page 36. Tirana 1998.

⁴⁷²Prof.Dr. Aleks Buda: "Albania during the Balkan crisis 60 years." *History of Albanian People. Volume I. Tirana 2004. Faqe109.*

⁴⁷³ Article 3 of the Treaty of Alliance between Pricipatës of Bulgaria and the Kingdom of Serbisë.Beograd 13, 31 March 1904. Translated into English in the "Albanian issue in international acts ..." Volume I, pages 354 - 357. document 43.

⁴⁷⁴ Article 3 of the Treaty of Alliance between Pricipatës of Bulgaria and the Kingdom of Serbisë.Beograd 13, 31 March 1904. Translated into English in the "Albanian Issue in international acts ..." Volume I, pages 354 - 357. document 43.

⁴⁷⁵ *Ibid*, Article 5

troops, even temporarily, any part of the territory of the Balkan Peninsula that is under Turkish rule.⁴⁷⁶ In the secret attachment of the treaty, the parties had decided how they would share the Albanian territories. Therefore Bulgaria recognizes to Serbia "the right over the territories north west of Mount Sharri as a Serbian undisputed area."⁴⁷⁷ Parties also appointed Czar of Russia as the supreme arbiter,⁴⁷⁸ in case of disagreements between the parties. Sazanov, Russian Minister of Foreign Affairs, when informed about the successful finalization of the signing of the Serb-Bulgarian alliance said: "there are 500 thousand bayonets to protect the Balkans. This will block forever the way to the Austrian penetration and occupation "⁴⁷⁹. But the French Prime Minister, Poincare did not share the same opinion. When they showed him the text of the agreement, he said immediately: "This is an agreement for war"⁴⁸⁰. On the other hand, Bulgaria, now not a principality, but an independent state, with ambitions to acquire as much part of the territories under Ottoman administration in the Balkans, including also the Albanian territories, signed in Sofia on 29 May 1912, the Treaty of Alliance with Greece and Military Convention pursuant to the Treaty.⁴⁸¹ Alliance between them was an alliance which forced a party to enter in war if another party is attacked. In the Convention was also anticipated, with the start of the war against Turkey, "Bulgaria vows to start an attack with a large part of its army against Turkish forces concentrated in district of Vilayet of Kosovo, Monastir and Thessaloniki"⁴⁸². Bulgaria planned to occupy a part of the Albanian territories, showing open claims for possession of these territories and to have a leading role in

⁴⁷⁶Article 2 of the Treaty of Friendship and Alliance between Bulgaria and Serbia. Signed at Sofia on 13 March 1912. Translated into English by Prof.Arben Puto "Albanian issue in international acts ..." Volume I, pages 370-376. Paper no.48..

⁴⁷⁷ Prof.Dr. Arben Puto: Albanian issue in international acts of the period of imperialism "Volume I, page 370.

⁴⁷⁸Article 2 of Annex secret Treaty of Friendship and Alliance between Bulgaria and Serbia on 13 March 1912

⁴⁷⁹ Professor Norman Rich: *Diplomacy of the Great Powers 1814-1914* ", page 426. Publishing "Toena" 2006

⁴⁸⁰ Professor Norman Rich, *Ibid*.

⁴⁸¹ Military Convention between Bulgaria and Greece was signed in Sofia on 22 September 1912

⁴⁸² Article 2 of the Convention between Bulgaria and Greece Military

the Balkans. In mid-August 1912 an oral agreement was reached between Bulgaria, Serbia and Montenegro. According to this, Bulgaria provides military loans to Montenegro and pays Montenegrins army in time of war. Montenegro agrees to attack the Supreme Port without being provoked by it,⁴⁸³ by providing the rights over lands that will be conquered in war with Turkey. Balkan Alliance with all the compromises it reached contained in itself the seeds of disunity among the Balkan countries. On the other hand, it was a serious existing risk for the Albanian geo-space and nation. Therefore, this alliance was securityzite from Albanian political elite of the time.

So Serbia, Bulgaria, Greece and Montenegro, signed alliances between them not for peace but for war in the Balkans, and not for protection but to conquer territories, including the Albanian ones, threatening in this way the peace and security in the Balkan Complex.

Subsequently in October 1912, the Balkan states, after some military preparations, declared war on Turkey one after another and began military operations against it, by conquering most of the Albano-sphere in the Balkan. Thus, it began what is known as the I-st Balkan War. Rapid loss of the Ottoman Empire in the war interfered with the status quo and dictated the need for the establishment of new balances in the region. According to the tradition, it was the Concert of Great Powers to decide the terms of peace. Great Powers thus organized the Conference of Ambassadors in London.

Despite the common anti-Ottoman alliance, two of the winning countries, Greece and Serbia, signed on 19 May 1913 between them in Thessaloniki, another secret agreement on the division of interests in Albania. According to this agreement, the Serbian sphere of influence would extend to the north of the Seman River, and the south of Seman belongs to the Greek sphere of influence.⁴⁸⁴ Also the parties will use

⁴⁸³ *Teaching Modern Southeast European History, Alternative Educational Materials, The Balkan Wars, p.16. Center for Democracy and Reconciliation in Southeastern Europe (CDRSEE) Thessaloniki, 2005*

⁴⁸⁴ *Dokuments Diplomatiques, Ministere des Affaires Etrangeres, octobre 1915-juin – 1916, Athenes, 1921, pp.19-20. Translated in Albanian in "The Albanian issue in international acts ..." V.II, Pages 265-266.*

all means necessary to protect their interests "from the military intervention of another state". Thus, Serbia and Greece were opposing the "great powers goals to establish Albania as an independent state"⁴⁸⁵.

The winning parties in the I-st Balkan War, Serbia, Greece, Montenegro and Bulgaria signed in London on 30 May 1913, the Treaty of Peace with Turkey as the losing party. According to this treaty, the winning states, including Turkey, formally and collectively accepted the independence for the Albanian issue, leaving it definitively in the hands of the great powers the other modalities.

But after the defeat of the Ottoman Empire in the Balkans, Serbia and Greece had a dispute with Bulgaria for the division of the occupied territories in Macedonia. Between 29 and 30 June 1913, Bulgarian forces attacked Serbian and Greek troops in Macedonia, but were defeated by them. Later, with the Russian mediation, the parties signed the Treaty of Peace in Bucharest on 10 August 1913. Thus II Balkan War ended.

Until the exit of the Ottoman Empire from the Balkans, relations between countries in the region were often conflicted relationship, thus creating a "regional conflict complex ".⁴⁸⁶ These relationships turned the Balkans into a region with a regional security complex dominated from the social model of hostility between nations. The benefiting from the Balkan neighbors more than half of Albano-sphere would dominate the social model of hostility between nations the Balkan security complex in the future.

Even during World War I Albania became a theater for the development of the fight between the parties in the conflict. Three of the countries in the region, Serbia, Montenegro and Greece were involved in the Triple Alliance, the winning coalition

⁴⁸⁵ *Professor Norman Rich: Diplomacy of the Great Powers 1814-1914 ". Page 429. Cited source*

⁴⁸⁶ *Peter Wallenstein, Margareta Sollenberg: Armed Conflict and Regional Conflict Complexes, 1989-97. Journal of Peace Research, Vol. 35, No. 5 (Sep., 1998), p. 623-624*

in World War I which aimed at the division between them of all Albanosphere,⁴⁸⁷ an action which remained in tentative thanks to to the intervention of U.S.⁴⁸⁸.

The period between the two world wars had several important developments which conditioned the geopolitical relations between the states in the Balkans. Thus, for the first time, the United States emerged as a powerful factor influencing European and Balkan geopolitics; The League of Nations was created as the first international organization of collective security and therefore, aimed for more security and stability in international relations, but also in the region. From this period until the World War II, different countries were involved in cooperative alliances with the great powers⁴⁸⁹ or between them, but against other neighboring countries in the region. Thus in 1933 it was signed the mini Entente Pact⁴⁹⁰, between Yugoslavia, Czechoslovakia and Romania, with a view to counter Hungary's determination to review its borders with those three countries. Also Yugoslavia, Romania, Turkey and Greece, in February 1934, signed the Balkan Pact⁴⁹¹, in order to protect their borders from Bulgarian constant demands for revision of its borders with these four states. Again the Balkan policy was based on hate and hostility, which was used by the European powers outside the region of the Balkans, for their interests.

During World War II, the Balkan countries felt one after the other under the fascist occupation. The Balkan countries became members of the antifascist global coalition. However, since wartime and under the influence of communist ideology, they were

⁴⁸⁷ *Adriaticus. La Question Adriatique Recueil de documents officiels. Paris, 1920, f.109-110. Translated from French in Albanian in "War of the Albanian people for national liberation" Volume II, f.34-35. Cited publication.*

⁴⁸⁸ *Note of President Wilson, dated 6 March 1920, in response to the marking of the Allies on 26 February 1920. Translated from French in Albanian in "War of the Albanian people for national liberation" Volume I, pages 255-256*

⁴⁸⁹ *Albania, after many negotiation, forced to sign with Italy on 27 November 1926 "pact of friendship and security", followed a year later, on November 22, 1927, the "Treaty of Defensive Alliance." Yugoslavia signed on March 25, 1937 treaty of friendship with Italy.*

⁴⁹⁰ *Pact of the Organization of the Little Entente. Geneva, 16 February 1933. Sources: Službene novine (Official Gazette), 1933, No. 75-XXIV.FMOFA Collection, 1933, p. 47. Recueil des traites SDN, v. CXXXIX, p. 233. Martens, NRG, 3-eme serie, v. XXVIII, p. 223.*

⁴⁹¹ *Balkan Entente, also called Balkan Pact, (Feb. 9, 1934). League of Nations, Treaty serie, vol.153, 1934, p.155-159*

projecting state organizations models in the region that could influence and change the relations between the countries of the region after the war. Thus during the war, Tito, Yugoslav communist leader, planned the creation of a Balkan communist federation. This federation would include not only Albania, but also Greece and Bulgaria and in this way, national issues in Kosovo and Macedonia would be resolved according to this communist style⁴⁹². Thus the sovereignty of Albania and the Albanian issue in the region confronted new risks. The project failed because it violated the Soviet interests in the region⁴⁹³.

After World War II, the Balkans dominated a hostile social model in the relations between the states. Also the Cold War, as well as other global wars appeared to have started again from the Balkans. A state of the region, Greece became the "first battle plaza", which marked the beginning of the Cold War. To prevent the growth of Russian influence in Eastern Europe on 12 March 1947, U.S. President Truman presented the Congress "Recommendations for assistance to Greece and Turkey"⁴⁹⁴, which became known as the Truman doctrine. While the USSR, in its geopolitical aims to strengthen control in the countries of the East and in the Balkans, created a cooperative organization in the level of political parties. Its original meeting took place in September 1947 in Poland and it was called "Communist Information Bureau" or "Inform Bureau"⁴⁹⁵.

Thus, the bipolarity in the international scale, dominated by ideological pressure was reflected in the relations between countries in the region. Balkan states became part of different economic alliances, where collective defense also became part of them during this period. Such alliances were that of NATO⁴⁹⁶ created in 1949 and the

⁴⁹² Viktor Meier: "Yugoslavia A History of its Demise", Published in the Taylor & Francis e-Library, 2005.p.181

⁴⁹³ Geoff Eley: Forging democracy, *The History of the Left in Europe, 1850–2000*, p.333. Published by Oxford University Press

⁴⁹⁴ Extracts from President Truman's speech of March 12th 1947 - *The Truman Doctrine*.

⁴⁹⁵ Geoff Eley: Forging democracy, *The History of the Left in Europe*,...Ibid.Page.307-309.

⁴⁹⁶ *The North Atlantic Treaty Organization's- Organizata e Traktatit të Atlantikut të Veriut*

Treaty of Warsaw "⁴⁹⁷ created in 1955. They were two hostile defensive alliances, but also in balance with each other. Albano-sphere remained divided into three states, Albania, Yugoslavia, and Greece, which had three ideologies in conflict with each other. Despite hostile social model of relations between countries in the region, the hostility in these relationships did not manage to be transformed in the armed conflict. In some way or another, it was created a regional security complex, with frozen conflicts.

But frozen conflicts in the region were reactivated immediately after the fall of communism, east-west equilibrium decay and national issues liberation from ideological pressure. The violent disintegration of Yugoslavia started.⁴⁹⁸ The conflict became a serious threat for the regional security and beyond. In late November 1991, the arbitration commission, headed by lawyer Robert Batinter⁴⁹⁹, concluded that Yugoslavia was in the process of dissolution, and suggested the Republics to solve the problems between them on the basis of the principles and rules of the international law⁵⁰⁰.

Within the dissolving Yugoslav Federation there were involved about 40% of the population⁵⁰¹ and more than half of the Albanian geopolitical space in the region. Therefore its dissolution process created a new situation and added the chances for re-dimensioning and resolving the Albanian issue in the region.

After the chain separation, the declaration of independence and the international recognition of the Republics of Slovenia, Croatia, Bosnia and Herzegovina and Macedonia, in May 1992, the Serbs and Montenegrins formed a federation, which

⁴⁹⁷ "Warsaw Treaty of Friendship, Cooperation and Mutual Assistance"- *Traktati i Miqësisë i Bashkëpunimit dhe të Ndhmës Reciproke*.

⁴⁹⁸ Ian Oliver: *War & Peace in The Balkans, The Diplomacy of Conflict in The Former Yugoslavia*.p.24. Published in 2005 by I.B. Tauris & Co Ltd

⁴⁹⁹ Leslie Benson: "Yugoslavia: A Concise History", p.163-164. First published 2001 by Palgrave Houndmills, Basingstoke, Hampshire RG21 6XS and 175 Fifth Avenue, New York, N. Y. 10010

⁵⁰⁰ Viktor Meier: "Yugoslavia A History of its Demise", p.228. Published in the Taylor & Francis e-Library, 2005.

⁵⁰¹ MA.Ukshin Hoti: *Political philosophy of the Albanian issue*. Page 59. Cited source.

retained the old name of Yugoslavia. The worst conflict took place in Bosnia. After the American⁵⁰² and NATO commitment, the Serbs were forced to sign on 21 November 1995 the Dayton agreement⁵⁰³, which marks the end of multi-year conflict in Bosnia.

But the Dayton Agreement did not return as the expected beginning of the peaceful period of reconciliation and reconstruction in the Western Balkans.⁵⁰⁴ The avoidance and the failure to resolve the Albanian issue had its negative impacts on the security issues in the region. The decision to exclude the issue of Kosovo from the Dayton negotiations⁵⁰⁵ and the fruitless success of all the peaceful routes, led to the creation of Kosovars conviction that the force resistance path was really the only way to attract international attention and the only chance towards independence. During this period, KLA made its first public appearance though established in December 1993.⁵⁰⁶ For a while, KLA was "a privileged interlocutor of the international community"⁵⁰⁷ and an important political factor in the country. The beginning of the armed struggle re-dimensioned the Albanian issue not only in Yugoslavia, but also in the region and added the chances for its solution. Until the beginning of March 1999, it was achieved the awareness and compaction of the international factor for resolving the Albanian issue in Kosovo. International key actors were now convinced that without resolving the Albanian issue in the region, peace and security would continuously be threatened.

The intervention of NATO on 24 March 1999, led the conflict towards a resolution of the Albania Issue in Yugoslavia in a new dimension. After the Serbian capitulation on 10 June 1999, in parallel with the termination of bombarding campaign by NATO,

⁵⁰² Kate Transchel, *"The Breakup of Yugoslavia: Conflict in the Balkans"*, p.12.

⁵⁰³ Ian Oliver: *War & Peace in The Balkans*, p.91. Cited source.

⁵⁰⁴ James Ker-Lindsay: *"Kosovo, The Path to Contested Statehood in the Balkans"*, p1. Published in 2009 by I. B. Tauris & Co Ltd, 6 Salem Road, London E2 4BU 175 Fifth Avenue, New York NY 10010.

⁵⁰⁵ Albrecht Schnabel and Ramesh Thakur, p.28. Cited source.

⁵⁰⁶ Tim Judah, *Kosovo, What Everyone Needs to Know*, p.77.

⁵⁰⁷ Albrecht Schnabel and Ramesh Thakur: *"Kosovo and the Challenge of Humanitarian Intervention"*, p.171

the UN Security Council adopted the 1244Resolution.⁵⁰⁸ This resolution authorized the creation of UNMIK⁵⁰⁹ placing Kosovo under international control⁵¹⁰. Years later, after the failure of negotiations on the final status of Kosovo, the Russian Federation veto Kosovo Assembly in its extraordinary meeting on 17 February 2008 in the UN Security Council, and approved the Declaration of Independence of Kosovo.⁵¹¹ In the region now it was added another new state, which in the declaration of independence is committed for peace and stability in Southeast Europe⁵¹² and expressed the willingness to establish good relations with all its neighbors, including the Republic of Serbia⁵¹³, contributing therefore positively to the regional security complex.

But despite the recognition of the state of Kosovo by international factors and the International Court of Justice confirming the legitimacy of the declaration of independence,⁵¹⁴ state of Serbia continues to maintain hostile relations with the state of Kosovo, has securitized it as a threat to its national security, thus affecting also negatively the regional security complex.

The declaration of independence of Kosovo and its international recognition constitute a very important step in the process of the final solution of the Albanian issue in the region. However, regional security complex will continue to be affected by the degree of solution in the Albanian issue, in Western Macedonia and in the Presevo Valley, as well as in the armed conflicts in 2000-2001. The manner and degree of resolution of the Albanian issue in these two parts of the Albano-sphere could affect relations between the two of the Albanian states, Albania and Kosovo with Serbia and Macedonia. However, with the intervention and the obligation of the

⁵⁰⁸ *Un Resolution 1244. Adopted by the Security Council at its 4011th meeting on 10 June 1999*

⁵⁰⁹ *United Nations Interim Administration Mission in Kosovo*

⁵¹⁰ *James Ker-Lindsay: "Kosovo, The Path to Contested Statehood in the Balkans", p15-16*

⁵¹¹ *Kosovo Declaration of Independence, Sunday, 17.02.2008. D-001 Pristine, 17 February 2008*

⁵¹² *Section 10 of the Declaration of Independence of Kosovo*

⁵¹³ *Section 10 of the Declaration of Independence of Kosovo*

⁵¹⁴ *Advisory Opinion, International Court of Justice, Accordance with International Law of the Unilateral Declaration of Independence in Respect of Kosovo, 2010, 22 July. General List No. 141. Pika 122.*

international factor, the Albanians signed Ohrid Agreement⁵¹⁵ in Macedonia, and the Presevo Valley Koncul Agreement⁵¹⁶, contributing thus to the peace and security in the region.

The Great Powers for almost more than a century were evaluated as the only source for the Balkan security balance between the Great Powers and were not interested in a climate of mutual trust in the region. Balkan statesmen also understand the security of an alliance with one of the Great Powers of the time. For them it was better to obtain the support of a powerful state than to go well with the neighbors. Governmental policies based on such conclusions, which for a long time were fed hostility in the relations between countries in the region, will undermine regional cooperation and produce continuous insecurity for peace in the Balkans. Both sides, the Great and Regional Powers consistently ignored the weight that plays in the regional security cooperation and good neighborhood between the countries within the region, and ignored the fact that "Security is an issue that comes from the interactions between the nations".⁵¹⁷

Therefore, the main international actors, mainly the EU and the U.S., estimated that the solution for the Balkan issue would be achieved by treating the Balkans as a regional security complex, where the challenges of every Balkan state in the security sector are also regional security challenges⁵¹⁸. Key international actors are now convinced that any Balkan state cannot withstand these challenges by acting alone. Therefore the new vision of security in Southeast Europe is cooperation between countries in the region and construction of common security measures.

Despite current steps of the Balkan countries towards the EU and NATO, which have had a positive impact on the regional security complex, again "in the Balkans there

⁵¹⁵ Andrw Rossos: "Macedonia and masedonians:A history", p.277.

⁵¹⁶ ICG Europe Report N ° 153, 25 February 2004, page 25

⁵¹⁷ Barry Buzan, *People, States and Fear*, second edition (Colorado: Lynne Rinner Publishers, 1991), pp. 187

⁵¹⁸ *European Affairs and Security Policy*, no. 20. Page 40. Publication of the Institute for Democracy and Mediation. Tirana 2011.

are many issues that are still unresolved, which should be placed on the table and discussed in a spirit of partnership, security and common interests of peace and stability that NATO seeks to promote⁵¹⁹.

In conclusion, as we studied and analyzed the mutual relation between the degree of resolution of the Albanian Issue with the relations between states in the region and their impact on regional security complex, we conclude that the failure to resolve completely the Albanian Issue negatively affected the polarity of the Balkan security complex, the unfair distribution of power to the disadvantage of Albanians, the systematic violation of the national rights of Albanians in the region until today, in the relations between neighboring states themselves, and prevented the development and prosperity of the nation and Albanian state, thus affecting negatively in the constellation of the Balkan security complex. The creation of the independent state of Kosovo and the signing of the Ohrid Agreement brought in a correction, although not complete, in the polarity of the Balkan security complex. This led to a redistribution of the power in the region in favor of the Albanians. This is impacting positively in the Balkan security complex and contributes to more opportunities for harmony and peace in the Balkans.

V.3. Balkan interaction with the neighboring regions, the Albanian issue and the regional security complex.

Let us study and analyze now, for the same period of time, the Balkan interaction with the neighboring regions, as one of the four levels of the Balkan regional complex of security, as well as their relationship with the Albanian issue in the region.

⁵¹⁹ Interview with Michael Stopford, Vice-Assistant Secretary General of NATO, the communication strategy. Interview with Deutsche Welle, dated 4/3/2009.

In fact, the interdependence of security in the regional security complex is relatively more intensive inside than across its borders⁵²⁰, being determined by the interaction of the actors within the region complex. But in regional security complex, it is important also the interaction with the neighboring regions⁵²¹. If this interaction is more evident and the neighboring region affects the interaction between regional actors, more than those between them, there is then the possibility that the regional security complex becomes a regional security sub-complex, depending on the neighboring regional complexes. In fact, this liaison and dilemma exists between the European Union as a regional security complex and the Balkan security complex, turning the latter probably in future into a regional security sub-complex, following the full integration of Balkan countries into the European Union.

As we mentioned at the beginning, the Balkans constitutes a region not just geographically. It is a distinct sub-system with the limits clearly set out in the eastern part of South Europe. People of this region, in addition to the geographical vicinity, have common concerns in the field of security. They are a group of actors that are created "higher than the national level, but lower than that of the global",⁵²² with influence onto each other. Actors in this regional security complex, due to the social construction with a pronounced hostile model historically felt the fear of other regional actors. Therefore regional state actors generally have securityzite each other. Historically, the Balkans, especially the South, has played a major role in European development. It has been the site of claims and clashes of the greatest empires of all time, starting very early with the Greeks, Romans, Byzantines, and subsequently with the Ottoman and Austro-Hungarian empires. It has been the area where the three major religious faiths: Catholicism, Orthodoxy and Islam, meet. Balkan is the crossroad link to Europe, Asia and Africa. There pass the most important routes

⁵²⁰ Barry Buzan and Ole Wæver: *"Regions and Powers, The Structure of International Security"*. P.50.

⁵²¹ Barry Buzan and Ole Wæver, *Ibid.*

⁵²² Sugio Takahashi: *Redefinition of Cooperative Security and "Regional" Security... Po aty.*

linking Western and Central Europe with Turkey and Asian countries of the Near and Middle East. Situated on the dividing line between East and West, the Balkan has often been a theater of war throughout history, exposed to different invaders. Sultans of the Ottoman Empire in their geostrategy intended to use the Balkans as a bridge passage for the invasion of Europe.⁵²³ Balkan Peninsula in which the geographical factor influenced the course of political and historical processes, also significantly impacted on the security issues of specific countries across the region, but also on the neighboring regions.

On the one hand, the Balkan has had an important geo-strategic position in relation to the neighboring regions on the other hand the Albano-sphere possesses an important geostrategic position within regional sphere. Thus, the Presevo Valley-Eastern Kosovo is an area of great importance and is only a corridor passing north-south that lies between the mountains of the Balkan Peninsula, thereby posing a strategic importance for a relatively isolated area⁵²⁴. Establishing control over the former Albanian Vilayet of Kosovo and Monastir, the Serbs were regarded as an issue of national security. According to the academic Vasa Cubrilovic "From the fact that he who has this strategic position determines largely the fate of the central Balkans, especially the fate of the main Balkan line from Morava to the Vardar... Therefore, it is an imperative task of all of us not to allow these positions with such great strategic importance to be in hostile hands or foreign element".⁵²⁵ Also the rest of the Albano-sphere "is characterized by huge valleys across, which constitute the best roads in the entire Balkan Peninsula, to pass from the Adriatic to the Aegean".⁵²⁶

Balkan interaction with the neighboring regions, in terms of security dates back to the very early times. This interaction began with the position of the Balkans as a complex

⁵²³ Xhavit Shala- "Albanians in the crossroads", p 99-Albanian Center for Studies on National Security

⁵²⁴ ICG Europe Report N ° 153, 25 February 2004. Page 24.

⁵²⁵ For more details see: "The Denial of Human and National Rights of Albanians in Kosovo". Edited by Alush A. Gashi, M D, Ph D. Illyria Publishing Co. New York, USA.

⁵²⁶ Jacques Boucart: Albania and the Albanians. "Cited source. page 23.

that threatens the security of the neighboring regions. It belongs to the flourishing period of the Ottoman Empire until its second failure to take Vienna in 1683.

After the conquest by the Ottoman Empire, one of the great powers of the time the Balkan at that time, was a central regional complex, uni-polar, with a great power in the center. This complex was a threat for Europe, which at this time was a regional complex neighboring, being formed and still dominated by an unfriendly model of relations between states. The Ottoman danger united the western state which successfully broke the Ottomans in their second attempt to take Vienna. After this failure, the Ottoman Empire began its decline and was no longer a threat for Europe. Since 1700⁵²⁷, Europe consolidated itself not only as a regional security complex starting to expand towards the other neighboring complex, the Balkan, but gradually become the center of world politics. Afterwards, until the dissolution of the Ottoman Empire in 1913, the Balkan complex was covered by the security aspects of the European complex powers and also by Russia⁵²⁸. European powers played a key role in maintaining the status quo of the Ottoman Empire in the Balkan Complex, because they were afraid of the Slavic penetration, as the Russians aimed⁵²⁹ for its slavization. At this time, with the pretext of establishing peace between the powers⁵³⁰ which securitized the Balkan and their allies of the Balkan complex, they sacrificed the Albanian issue in the region.

After the Balkan Wars, there were glimpses of the outbreak of I-st World War in the Balkans. The Balkans became the theater for the development of military operations, which war included the major powers of the European security complex. In the

⁵²⁷ Barry Buzan and Ole Wæver, *ibid*, page 346.

⁵²⁸ For more see: "The agreement reached between Austria-Hungary and Russia in the Balkans", translated in Albanian by Prof. Arbem Puto "Albanian Question in International acts imperialism Period". Volume I.Faqe 322; Rakonixhit Agreement, signed on October 24, 1909, Victor Emmanuel III, King of Italy and Nikolaj II, King of Russia.

⁵²⁹ Prof.Dr.Arben Puto: "The Albanian issue in international acts of the period of imperialism" Volume I. page 12.

⁵³⁰ "Deklaratë e Eduart Grey mbi caktimin e kufijve të Shqipërisë. Botuar e përkthyer në "Çështja Shqiptare në Aktet Ndërkombëtare" V.II. Dokumenti Nr. 44. Faqe 292-293

period between the two world wars, the Balkan complex became the clash of interests between the two rival powers of the European security complex, Italy and Germany. During World War II both of these powers militarily conquered the Balkans.

After World War II the Balkan complex, from a security standpoint was securitized and covered by two superpowers of the time U.S. and USSR as well, and their defense alliances, NATO and the Warsaw Treaty. Two states in this complex, Yugoslavia and Albania (after leaving the Warsaw Pact), created a buffer zone in the Balkan, between the two main defensive and also opponents alliances.

After the fall of communism and the beginning of the violent dissolution of Yugoslavia, Balkans as a regional complex is securitized by complex and other powerful state and non-state actors such as European Union, USA⁵³¹ and NATO⁵³², but also Russia. These actors aim at resolving the conflict⁵³³ that exploded in the region, thus being incapable of solving it by the Balkan regional complex actors themselves. The Dayton Agreement was the finalization of this process⁵³⁴. But this did not lead to the process of being de- securitized between each other from the regional actors within the Balkan security complex and de-securitized from the Balkan leading international actors.

This is because the powerful international actors, state and non-state actors avoided resolving the Albanian issue in the region. But, like the Balkans for Europe the Albano-sphere was very important for Balkan security complex and non-resolution of the Albanian issue jeopardize not only the Balkan, but also neighboring complex, the European Union and the interests of other powerful international actors state or non-state actors, such as the U.S. and NATO. The Albanian issue also could not be solved by the Balkan actors, as four of them, namely Serbia, Montenegro, Macedonia and Greece had received part of Albano-sphere.

⁵³¹ Kate Transchel, "The Breakup of Yugoslavia: Conflict in the Balkans", p.12.

⁵³² Leslie Benson, p. 169.Ibid.

⁵³³ Leslie Benson, p. 164.

⁵³⁴ Ian Oliver: War & Peace in The Balkans, p.113.Cited source.

U.S. President Bill Clinton, arguing the NATO attack to liberate Kosovo evidences the fact that "Kosovo is a very small country, but it lies exactly on the dividing line in Europe, Asia and the Middle East; is the sign of division between Islam and Christianity, near our Greek and Turkish allies in the South, our new allies Hungary, Poland and the Czech Republic to the north, surrounded by small democratic countries, which can be covered easily from the wave of refugees that Milosevic is creating..."⁵³⁵. Therefore, the Albanian issue was securitized by EU, U.S. and NATO. In addition to war and the efforts of the Albanians, NATO intervention was crucial⁵³⁶, because it was U.S. and EU which made Kosovo today to be an independent state. It was also their interference and pressure that made the Albanians to sign the Ohrid Agreement⁵³⁷ and that of Koncul⁵³⁸.

Balkan geo-strategic position is very important for the European Union. European Union itself, as regional security complex on its own will not be completely secure until the neighboring Balkan complex, will continue to generate insecurities. Therefore, the European Union has securitized it, interacted and intervened, exploring also the solution roads. That may be done through the promotion of regional cooperation, providing perspective for integration in the entire region by making it in the future, security sub-complexes.

European Union between the Balkan instability and its European perspective chose to make the troubled region its part because" or the Balkans will be Europeanized, or we will face the Balkanization of Europe"⁵³⁹. " Too often in the 90s, Brussels is brushed while Balkans was burning. We should not risk this to happen again, "wrote Olli Rehn, European Union Commissioner for Enlargement, in April 2006⁵⁴⁰. The region's

⁵³⁵ Bill Clinton: *Statement on Kosovo intervention, March 24, 1999.*

⁵³⁶ James Ker-Lindsay: "Kosovo, The Path to Contested Statehood in the Balkans", p1. Cited Source

⁵³⁷ Andrew Rossos: "Macedonia and macedonians: A history", p.277-278. Cited source

⁵³⁸ ICG Europe Report N ° 153, 25 February, 2004. Faqe 25. Cited source.

⁵³⁹ From the interview Denis MakShejn, former British Minister for Europe, given to the a reporter Diana Kola and broadcast by the BBC on 22 March 2006.

⁵⁴⁰ Editorial in the newspaper "Financial Times" 2 Apr 2006.

instability" costs more for Europe, that the European perspective of some conscious and reformative countries" would declare German Chancellor Schroeder.⁵⁴¹ According to the International Commission on the Balkans⁵⁴², integration of this region into the Euro-Atlantic community is a guarantee for political and economic stability and progress of the Balkans.⁵⁴³

Southeast European Cooperation Process (SEECP) was launched in 1996.⁵⁴⁴ Later in 1999 the Stability Pact for the Balkans⁵⁴⁵ was signed, which was the first serious attempt by the international community to replace the previous policy intervention only in times of crisis in Southeast Europe, with a long-term comprehensive strategy of conflict prevention.⁵⁴⁶ After Slovenia, Bulgaria and Romania, now involved in European security complex, all the Western Balkan countries as regional security sub-complexes enjoyed the prospect and the membership in the European Union. This target is set at the European Council summit in Zagreb⁵⁴⁷ in June 2000, reaffirmed by the European Council in Thessaloniki in June 2003⁵⁴⁸ and by the High Level Meeting on the Western Balkans of June 2010 in Sarajevo⁵⁴⁹.

Already in the Balkan complex, security has grown steadily as a result of its interaction with the European Union. The role of the latter is greater than the interaction between regional actors itself. This interaction between the European Union and Balkan security complex is gradually turning the latter into a regional security sub-complex.

⁵⁴¹ Gerhard Schroeder, the statement on June 8, 2005. Macedonian Government Web site, A1 TV - 08/06/05; Telma TV, Veçer – 09.06.05).

⁵⁴² Independent group, consisting of experts and politicians from Europe and the United States.

⁵⁴³ Report of the International Commission on the Balkans, entitled "The European future of the Balkans" presented simultaneously in Brussels and Washington in April 2005. VOA/13-04-2005.

⁵⁴⁴ SEECP main document is the Charter on good neighborly relations, stability, security and cooperation in SEE, adopted in Bucharest in 2000.

⁵⁴⁵ On June 10, 1999, at the initiative of the EU, adopted in Cologne, Germany Stability Pact for SEE. Founding document, more than 40 partner countries and organizations undertook to strengthen the countries of the SEE".

⁵⁴⁶ <http://www.stabilitypact.org>

⁵⁴⁷ Glossary of European Integration, Institutions and Policies European.Faqe Union 125. Tirana, April 2010.

⁵⁴⁸ Manual of the process of European Integration, page 21. Botim of the European Movement in Albania. Tirana 2009.

⁵⁴⁹ TRT Albania, Jun 2 2010.

In conclusion, after having studied and analyzed the Balkan cooperation with neighboring regions as one of four levels of analysis for the Balkan regional security complex, their connection with the Albanian issue in the region and the mutual influence in Balkan security complex, we conclude that the Albanian issue has occupied an important place in the Balkan complex interaction with other security complex. The not fully reached solution of the Albanian Issue has endangered not only the Balkan complex, but also the neighboring complex, European Union and the interests of other powerful state and non-state international actors, such as U.S. and NATO. Besides the Albanians war and efforts was the decisive intervention of the actors outside the region such as NATO, but also other regional security complexes, such as the EU and U.S., which made it possible for Kosovo today to be an independent state. This degree of the resolution of the Albanian Issue in the region positively affected the constellation of the Balkans security and beyond.

V.4. The role of world powers in the region, the Albanian issue and the regional security complex.

Let's look at the ongoing role of world powers in the region as one of four levels (constitutive elements) of Balkan regional security complex analysis, their relationship with the Albanian issue in the region, and mutual influence in the Balkan security complex.

World powers, as the main geo-political actors of the time, known at first as the Great Powers having direct interests in the region due to its geo-strategic importance, have continuously securitized the Balkan region. With their policies, these powerful international state actors, have intervened and influenced the region, but also in the case of the Albanian issue, it has affected the continuity in the Balkan security complex. Among the powers that have intervened and influenced the Balkan security

complex, as time as shown, have been: Austria-Hungary, Russia, Italy, England, France, Germany and, a little later, the U.S.

These powers have intervened or influenced the Balkan security complex and the Albanian issue through certain interests by coordinating actions together, but also separately. They have intervened together in the case of international congresses or conferences. They have interfered or influenced together in the Balkans through various international organizations to which they belong, international security organizations or also various protective alliances. They have intervened or affected the regional security complex and in the Albanian issue, through the initiation and approval in these organisms, of international juridical acts with a binding force or not for the whole region and also for the Albanian issue. World powers have intervened on its own too, in cases where there have been disagreements with each-other or when they felt it would better protect their or the interests of their allies in the region. Some cases, organizations and international juridical acts through which world powers have together intervened or influenced more typically the Balkan security complex and also the Albanian issue in the region, are: London Protocols of the 1829 and 1830 for the borders and the recognition of the sovereignty of Greece; Congress of Berlin of 1878 and the Treaty⁵⁵⁰ signed at the end of it; London Conference of Ambassadors of the Great Powers of the 1912-1913 and its protocols and decisions⁵⁵¹; Treaty of Bucharest for the II-nd Balkan War; Versailles Peace Conference⁵⁵² of 1919

⁵⁵⁰ For more details see *Treaty of Berlin between Germany, Austria-Hungary, France, Great Britain, Italy, Russia and Turkey, signed in Berlin on 13 July 1878*. Published translated into "Albanian issue in international acts ..." VI, Page 185-217. Document no. 16.

⁵⁵¹ See the report of Ambassador Pol Kambon, France's representative in the conference, dated 17.12.1912. *Dokuments Diplomatiques Francais, 3-eme series, t. V.D. n° 78, pp. 94-96*. Translated in English in "Albanian question in international acts ..." V.II, Pages 187-190. Cited source; *Illyrisch-Englisch Forschungen, Ludwig von Thalloozy, II band, Munchen und Leipzig 1916, p.173*. Translated in English in "Albanian issue in the international instruments ...". V.II, Pages 187-190. Document No. 38; Like following the London Conference record its final decision of 29 July 1913. Translated in English in "Albanian issue in international acts ..." V.II, Pages 280-281.

⁵⁵² Point 6 of the Memorandum Anglo-Franco-American on the question of the Adriatic. *Adriaticus, "La Question Adriatique Receuil de documents officiels". Paris, 1920, f.57-58 0.65 to 67*. Translated in Albanian in "War of the Albanian people for national liberation" Volume I.F.490-492. Tirana 1975.

and its decisions⁵⁵³; Atlantic Charter of August 1941 for the non recognition of the change of borders⁵⁵⁴; The Paris Peace Conference of 1946; North Atlantic Treaty of 1949⁵⁵⁵; the Treaty of Friendship Cooperation and Mutual Assistance, otherwise known as the Warsaw Pact, in the 1955⁵⁵⁶; Peace Conference for Yugoslavia in September 1991⁵⁵⁷; International Conference for Yugoslavia in September 1992 - December 1995 organized by the EU in cooperation with the UN;⁵⁵⁸ NATO's decision for operation "Deliberate Force", in August and September 1995 for the bombing of Serbian forces to Bosnia; The Dayton Peace Conference in November 1995 and the Agreement of the same name on 14 December 1995⁵⁵⁹; Security Council Resolution No. 1101 of 28 March 1997, for the delivery of a multinational force in Albania⁵⁶⁰; Rambouillet Agreement of 6 February 1999⁵⁶¹; NATO's decision for launching the operation Allied Force, March 24, 1999, to stop the humanitarian catastrophe that was threatening Kosovo⁵⁶²; Kumanovo Treaty 1999, agreement that determine the intentions and conditions for the establishment of the international military presence in Kosovo⁵⁶³; Resolution 1244 of the UN⁵⁶⁴, Koncul Agreement 2001⁵⁶⁵; Ohrid Framework Agreement of 13 August 2001⁵⁶⁶; The decision of the

⁵⁵³ *Adriaticus. La Question Adriatique Recueil de documents officiels. Paris, 1920, f.109-110. Translated from French in Albanian in "War of the Albanian people for national liberation" Volume II.f.34-35. Publication cited.*

⁵⁵⁴ *Histoire diplomatique de 1919 à nos jours (Diplomatic history until today), Paris, 1981, p.306.*

⁵⁵⁵ *The North Atlantic Treaty Organization's.*

⁵⁵⁶ *Warsaw Treaty of Friendship, Cooperation and Mutual Assistance*

⁵⁵⁷ *It directed by Lord James Carrington long ago had been secretary of the Foreign Office and the Secretary General of NATO*

⁵⁵⁸ *It directed by the two co: Lord David Owen and Cyrus Vance, Special Envoy of the Secretary-General of the UN, which later was replaced by Carl Bildt*

⁵⁵⁹ *Jan Oliver: War & Peace in The Balkans, p.113. cited source; setimes.com-12.12.2005.*

⁵⁶⁰ *UN Security Council, Resolution 1101 (1997) Adopted by the Security Council at its 3758th meeting, on 28 March 1997, 28 March 1997, S/RES/1101 (1997).*

⁵⁶¹ *Rambouillet Accords Interim Agreement for Peace and Self-Government in Kosovo, S/1999/648, 7 June 1999.*

⁵⁶² *Albrecht Schnabel and Ramesh Thakur: "Kosovo and the Challenge of Humanitarian Intervention", p.29*

⁵⁶³ *Known also as Military Technical Agreement, Kumanov, 9 Qershor 1999.*

⁵⁶⁴ *Resolution 1244 (1999) adopted by the Security Council in the meeting of 4011 held on 10.6.1999.*

⁵⁶⁵ *ICG Europe Report N ° 153, 25 February 2004, page 25.*

⁵⁶⁶ *For more details see: Prof Dr. Mahmut Hysa Tetovo University: "The Ohrid Agreement a consensus omnium", held in the conference "Implementation of the Ohrid Framework Agreement"*

NATO Summit in Istanbul in June 2004, for the accession of Bulgaria and Romania in this organization; The decision of the NATO Summit in Strasbourg, April 2009, for the accession of Albania and Croatia in NATO, Ahtisaari Plan March 26, 2007;⁵⁶⁷ International Court decision on the legality of Kosovo's independence, on 22 July 2010;⁵⁶⁸ The decision of the International Steering Group for the completion of the supervision of the independence of Kosovo, dated 10.9.2012;⁵⁶⁹

All of these meetings, congresses, conferences and international summits, where world powers of the time discussed and made important decisions about war and peace in the region, for the Balkans regional security complex, but also for the Albanian issue as an important part of the Balkan security complex, shows that the world powers, these powerful international actors of the time, have always been involved in security issues of the Balkan and have securitized it in their policies. But, some of these decisions of world powers, especially those of the pre-World War II, have been the worst investment for peace and security in the region. They not only did not bring peace, but prepared the region and the world for the next war. Some of these decisions we can mention are the Congress of Berlin in 1878, Conference of Ambassadors in London 1912-1913 and Paris Peace Conference in 1919.

Just when the world powers mainly the West changed the concept for the region and its security, they began to treat it as a security regional complex and the process of security and peace as a process of relations between nations in the region. Only when the uncertainty in the Balkans threatened their interests, only then their interventions began to have a positive impact in the Balkan security complex. And this has happened especially after the fall of Communism. Here we can mention the intervention for the crisis in Yugoslavia that ended with the Dayton Peace

⁵⁶⁷ Letter dated 26 March 2007 from the Secretary-General addressed to the President of the Security Council/S/2007/168

⁵⁶⁸ Advisory Opinion, *International Court of Justice, Accordance with International Law of the Unilateral Declaration of Independence in Respect of Kosovo*, 2010, 22 July. General List No. 141.

⁵⁶⁹ Balkanweb 10.9.2012; Radio Free Europe 10.9.2012.

Conference⁵⁷⁰. Such are interventions related to the resolution of the Kosovo crisis in 1999, the Presevo Valley in 2000 and Macedonian crisis in 2001. Now the archaic term "Great Powers" is replaced with the alliances of organism to whose was believed the intervention or resolution of the crisis as the International Factor, Contact Group⁵⁷¹, Troika, the Security Council, the coordinator or mediator X, etc. But besides together, in the framework of the European Concert⁵⁷² or organizations and various international organisms, world powers of the time signed an agreement between them or with any of the countries in the region, in order to protect their interests where they have intervened and influenced, but also the Albanian issue on its own or in cooperation with its allies, in accordance with other agreements, treaties or conventions.

Typical cases are: Rajasthan Agreement, signed on 8 July 1876, between Russia and Austria Hungary, for the protection and respect of mutual interests in the Balkans,⁵⁷³ The Treaty of San Stefano, signed at San Stefano on 3 March 1878 between Russia and the Ottoman Empire⁵⁷⁴; Treaty of Alliance between Austria-Hungary and Serbia, signed in Belgrade on 28 June 1881;⁵⁷⁵ Secret treaty between Austria-Hungary and Italy, signed in Berlin on February 20, 1887, to preserve the status quo in the Balkans areas or in the Ottoman coast in the Adriatic Sea;⁵⁷⁶ Third Tripartite Alliance Treaty between Austria-Hungary, Germany and Italy, signed in Berlin on 6 May 1891, for

⁵⁷⁰ Kate Transchel, "The Breakup of Yugoslavia: Conflict in the Balkans", p.12. Chelsea House. Infobase Publishing, 132 West 31st Street, New York NY 10001.

⁵⁷¹ For example "Contact Group" for the Balkans, created during the crisis in Bosnia. In part Italy, USA, Russia, UK, France and Germany.

⁵⁷² Prof.Dr. Arben Puto: For example "Contact Group" for the Balkans, created during the crisis European Concert, a historical overview. Political Albania 1912-1939. Page 56-57. Cited source.

⁵⁷³ B.H.Sumner, *Rusia and dhe Balkans, 1870-1880*. Oxford at dhe Clarendon Press, 1937, pp. 584-585

⁵⁷⁴ See "Preliminary Treaty of Peace between Turkey and Russia." St. Stefan (Istanbul), 3 March 1878. Nënshkruar in behalf of Russia by Count N.Ignatiev Nelidov and Turkish side by Safet Sadullah.

⁵⁷⁵ Treaty of Alliance between Austria-Hungary and Serbisë. Beograd, June 28 1881. AF Pribram, *Les traites politiques secrets de l'Austriche-Hongries*, t, I, Paris 1923, pp.25-28. Translated in Albanian in the "Albanian issue in international acts ..." Volume I, pages 282-285. document No.28.

⁵⁷⁶ For more details see: A.F. Pribram, *Les traites politiques secrets de l'Austriche-Hongries*, t, I, Paris 1923, pp.60-62. Translated in Albanian in the "Albanian issue in international acts ..." Volume I, pages 307-308. document No.33.

"reciprocal compensation for any territorial or other benefit that each of them will secure further of the status quo of today and would satisfy the right interests and claims of both parties"⁵⁷⁷; Agreement between Austria-Hungary and Russia in relation with the Balkans, on May 17, 1897⁵⁷⁸; Fifth Tripartite Alliance Treaty between Austria-Hungary, Germany and Italy, signed in Vienna on December 5, 1912; Secret agreement between Austria-Hungary and Italy, for the division of the Albanian territory, signed in Rome on May 8, 1913⁵⁷⁹; Austro-Hungarian ultimatum addressed to Serbia in October 1913, for the withdrawal of Serbian troops from Albania in the border line established by the London Agreement⁵⁸⁰; Secret Treaty of London, signed on April 26, 1915, between England, France, Russia and Italy, for the enlargement of the alliance and compensation of the new allies with the Albanian territories;⁵⁸¹ Pacts between Italy and the Serb-Croat-Slovene Kingdom of 1920s⁵⁸² and 1924,⁵⁸³ Treaties of 1926⁵⁸⁴ and 1927⁵⁸⁵, between Albania and Italy; Italian-Yugoslav Pact of the not attacking and neutrality, in March 1937;⁵⁸⁶ etc.

In general, when the Great Powers intervened alone or in the context of bilateral, or tripartite alliances with specific states in the Balkans as well, the aim was to protect the interests or to benefit one party over another. These interventions did not help peace, but they served as investments for the war in the region and beyond, thus threatening the security in the Balkans and beyond.

⁵⁷⁷ See Section 7, *Third Tripartite Alliance Treaty between Austria-Hungary, Germany and Italy*.Ibid. document 35.

⁵⁷⁸ For more details see: A.F. Pribram, *Les traites politiques secrets de l'Autriche-Hongrie, t. I, Paris 1923, pp.107-113. Translated in Albanian in the "Albanian issue in international acts ..."* Volume I, pages 322 - 325. Document No.37.

⁵⁷⁹ Article 3 of the *Secret Agreements between Austria-Hungary and Italy, Rome May 8, 1913*. "Albanian issue in international acts...." Volume II, Page 255-258. Translated Document Nr. 27

⁵⁸⁰ *Documents Diplomatiques Francais, 3 eme serie, t. VIII, D.Nr.341, pp.429-431.*

⁵⁸¹ "Yll' i Mëngjezit" Volume 3.Nr.12, page 324.Boston September 1920.

⁵⁸² *Treaty of Rapallo*

⁵⁸³ *The Treaty of Rome of January 27, 1924.*

⁵⁸⁴ *Pact of Friendship and Security Between Albania and Italy, Signed at Tirana, November 27, 1926. League of Nations, Treaty Series, 1927, vol.60, p.19-21.*

⁵⁸⁵ *Treaty of Defensive Alliance Between Albania and Italy, Signed at Tirana, November 22, 1927. League of Nations, Treaty Series, 1927, vol.69, p.349-353*

⁵⁸⁶ *Italo-Yugoslav Non-Aggression and Neutrality Pact. Pact of Belgrade, March 25, 1937.*

Let us take as a study case the Austro-Italian cooperation, rivalry and hostility during their interventions for the benefit of the territories in the Balkans, especially the Albano-sphere parts and the impact of this intervention in Balkan security complex, in the Albanian issue as a part of it, but also for peace and security on the Balkan level.

As it was treated in section IV.2.2, "The Albanian issue and the geopolitics of the Adriatic", Austro-Hungary and Italy, two of the great powers of the time, intended each for their own purposes to have a dominant role in the Adriatic Sea. Neither of these two powers could achieve the control over the Adriatic Sea, without at first the control of the Balkan coast of the Adriatic, especially the Albanian part. Therefore both of these powers were involved in the Albanian issue in the region and had securityzite it. To achieve their goals towards the Albano-sphere earlier, both of these powers coordinated their diplomatic activities with each other, but also with other actors interested in the issue.

Thus, in the third agreement of May 1891 Triple Alliance, it was stipulated that for any change in the status-quo in the Balkan in favor of Austria-Hungary, compensation must necessarily be given to Italy in the Balkans⁵⁸⁷, implying Albania. The status quo of the Ottoman Empire had been the axis of Vienna foreign policy in the Balkans for many years, because it had securitized also the risk of Slavic penetration in the region. Vienna could not allow itself to be unprepared in case of the expected dissolution of the Ottoman Empire. That's why Austria-Hungary had to manage both Serb targets to have acces on the Adriatic and Italians to take control of the Albanian coast. That was the reason why the Albanian issue received a special importance for the Viennese diplomacy.

⁵⁸⁷ Article 7.Traktati Third Tripartite Alliance between Austria-Hungary. Germany and Italy. Berlin 6 May 1891

To exclude Italy in the post-Ottoman Balkans, Viennese diplomacy made a deal with the Russian Empire on May 17, 1897⁵⁸⁸, for the division of areas of interest in the Balkans. So, Vienna made an agreement with Russia, which was opposing the Triple Alliance against Italy which was in the same alliance with it. To calm Italy down, Austria-Hungary in November 1897, signed the Monza Agreement where there was a verbal agreement reached for re-designing the report of the Albanian issue. The principle of compensation, anticipated in the 1891 agreement, was decided to be replaced with the principle of policy "noli me tangere"⁵⁸⁹, on not to interfere. It was also decided that, in case of the change of the status quo in the Balkans, the two powers will express the autonomy or independence of Albania, by not allowing Albania to fall into the hands of a third power⁵⁹⁰

Great Powers, seeing the emerging hostility between Austria-Hungary and Italy, two forces of opposing alliance, began the diversion towards Triple Alliance. England made a deal with Italy, through the exchange of notes on 12 February 1887. In this agreement the parties, except the fact that have agreed to maintain the status quo in the Mediterranean and Adriatic⁵⁹¹, promised to support each other towards every disagreement with any third power.

To neutralize the English diversion, of the opposing alliance, but to calm Italy down a few days later on February 20, 1887, Germany signed a special treaty with Italy. In this treaty Germany knew the Italian interests in the Balkans and Albania. "Italy should be related as strongly as possible to the Central Powers with gifts that can be

⁵⁸⁸ For more details see Prof.Dr. Arbem Puto: "The agreement reached between Austria-Hungary and Russia in the Balkans" *Albanian issue in international acts of the period of imperialism. Volume I. page 322.*

⁵⁸⁹ *Noli me tangere, in Latin means "do not touch me".*

⁵⁹⁰ *Verbal agreement of Monza, November 6, 1897. Concrete grades exchange between Rome and Vienna, respectively in December 1900 and February 1991.*

⁵⁹¹ *Point 1 of the telegram that count Korti leads Lord Salisbëri. Italian note to the British government about the Mediterranean agreement on February 12, 1887.*

in the form of Nice, Corsica, Albania..." and will declare on that occasion Bismarck.⁵⁹²

Years later, in October 1909⁵⁹³ Russia signed with Italy the Raconigi Agreement, excluding any foreign power⁵⁹⁴ who pledged to respect mutual interests in the Balkans. Agreement basically was directed against Austria-Hungary, which was in the same alliance with Italy.

Once the I-st Balkan War which started on 15 October 1912, the Serbian army began attacking the Albanian territories. When troops arrived in Prizren, Austro-Hungary protested strongly against the Triple Alliance and demanded that the Serbian army should not pass deeper in the Albano-sphere. Meanwhile the Serb army had received orders from Pašic, and on November 29 they arrived on the coast of Dures. The emergence of Serbian forces in the Albanian coast had violated the interests of Austria-Hungary and Italy, part of the Triple Alliance. For this Austria-Hungary requested the Powers of the Triple Agreement to immediately withdraw Serbia from the Albanian coast. Thus, the collision for the Albanian issue was put latter in the center of diplomatic war of the Great Powers. Concerned about the possibility of the outbreak of a war with larger dimensions, the Great Powers diplomacy was moving intensely. They were determined now not separate but stay together, following the European concert tradition, not to leave the matters in the hands of the Balkan actors, winners of the Balkan war with Turkey. Therefore they organized in London the Conference of Ambassadors.⁵⁹⁵

Under these conditions, these force held secret talks for the Albanian issues and reached a compromise. But what compromise was the reached? Russia, which earlier opposed the creation of an Albanian state openly, pulled out its plan and was forced

⁵⁹² L.Salvatoreli, *La Triplice Alleanza.Storia diplomatika 1877-1912, Istituto per gli studi di politica internazionale, 1939, Milano 1939,p.133.*

⁵⁹³ *On October 24, 1909, Victor Emmanuel III, King of Italy and Nikolaj II, King of Russia signed in the Raconigi agreement which is known in history as Raconigi Agreement.*

⁵⁹⁴ *Points 1 and 2 of the Raconigi Agreement.*

⁵⁹⁵ *Sreten Draskic, Page 204. Work cited*

to comply with the Austro-Italian proposal for the creation of an Albanian state. On 19 December 1912, through its Foreign Minister Sergei Sazonov, it forced Serbia to withdraw its troops from Albania. Also the opponent of Russia, Austria-Hungary withdrew from the project for the creation of an independent Albanian state and joined Russia and France, who demand the formation of an autonomous Albanian state dependent on Turkey. In determining the borders of Albania to be taken into account it was agreed on the "territorial compensation right" of the Balkan allies, winning countries in the war.⁵⁹⁶

Thus, the two great powers of the time, that of Austro-Hungary and Italy, despite the controversies between them for supremacy in the Albanian issue, made an alliance with each other to remove Serbia from the Adriatic coast and supported the Albanian issue by proposing the creation of an Albanian state in the Balkans. Their proposal on 17 December 1912 returned in a decision by the Conference of Ambassadors of the Great Powers in London⁵⁹⁷. But this conference, by giving more than half of the Albano-sphere to the Balkan neighbors, supposedly in the name of establishing peace and balance in the Balkan⁵⁹⁸, seriously violated the Albanian national interests and made the worst international investment for peace in the Balkans security complex.

About two years later, after Austria-Hungary attacked Serbia, Italy requested under Article 7⁵⁹⁹ compensation and also to Austria-Hungary to suspend their interests in Albania. After Austria-Hungary rejected the request of Italy concerning Albania, the Italian government refused further participation in the Triple Alliance (Central Powers). Italy along with Austria-Hungary talks about the Albanian issue, held other

⁵⁹⁶ *History of Albania. Volume III. Page 19. Toena 2002*

⁵⁹⁷ *Sections from the report of Ambassador of France Pol Kambon, date 17.12.1912. Dokuments Diplomatiques Francais, 3 eme serie, te,t. V. D. n°. 78, pp .94-96. Translated in Albanian in "Albanian issue in international acts " V.II, pages 187-190.*

⁵⁹⁸ *Statement by Edward Grey on the delimitation of Albania. Published translated into "Albanian issue in international acts" V.II. Document no. 44. Faqe 292-293*

⁵⁹⁹ *See Article 7, Third treaty Tripartite Alliance between Austria-Hungary, Germany and Italy. A.F. Pribram, Les traites politiques secrets de l Autriche-Hongries, t, I, Paris 1923, pp.60-62. Translated in Albanian in the "Albanian issue in international acts ..." Volume I, pages 307-308. document No.35.*

talks with the powers of the Triple Agreement (Antanta), about the transition from Triple Alliance to the Triple Agreement. These talks resulted in very favorable agreement for Italy, that of London of 13 April 1915, where the claims for Albania were accepted⁶⁰⁰. So, the Italian insistence on having control over the territory and the Albanian coast is one of the main causes of Italy's departure from the coalition with Austria-Hungary and Germany.

But the passage from Italy to Antanta broke the balance of forces in Europe between the two alliances, namely the Triple Alliance (Central Powers) and Triple Agreement (Antanta). Thus, there was a regrouping of forces in Europe. Triple agreement already became quadruple and the balance inclined in favor of the Great Powers, changing the course of World War I. In continuation of World War I, Austria-Hungary and Italy, pursuant to their early ambitions, occupied part of Albanian territory declared independence of Albania under their protectorate. Thus Austria-Hungary invaded North Albania and on January 23, 1917, proclaimed the autonomy of Albania under the protection of Austria-Hungary. And Italy occupied Vlora with all its hinterland and on June 3, 1917, it declared the independence of Albania under the Italian protectorate.⁶⁰¹

From this case study, we conclude that the treatment of the Albanian issue with such intensity in the diplomacy of the great powers of the time, revealed not only the interference of these powers in Balkan security complex and the Albanian issue as an important part of it, but indicated that the contradictions and rivalry between these two major alliances during their intervention in the Balkans and in the Albanian issue jeopardize the clash between them. That in turn allowed the emergence of armed conflict outside the Balkan security complex, the neighbor's regional security complex and that of Europe.

⁶⁰⁰ See the Secret Treaty between the Entente Powers and Italisë.Londër 26 April 1915. Published translated into Albanian by Prof.Dr.Arben Puto "Albanian issue in international acts ..." Volume II, pages 634-622. document No. 161.

⁶⁰¹ Link 1.5. Albanian territories occupied by countries during the World War I 226 April.

The clash of interests of the two great powers of the time, Austria-Hungary and Italy, the power of the same alliance for the control of the Albano-sphere, led to the passage of Italy in the opposing coalition and resulted in changing of the balance of power in favor of the Entente and the changing of the World War I courses.

From the above case study we may also conclude that a solution of the Albanian issue in respect of the will of the Albanian people, created an independent Albanian state which included the entire Albano-sphere. Still, that would not only avoid the clashes between the two largest alliances of time, but would also remove the opportunity of the world powers to intervene in the future regional security complex, at least for the Albanian issue in the region.

In conclusion, from the study and analysis for a period of more than a hundred years of mutual connection between the degree of resolution of the Albanian issue and the role of world powers in the region and their impact on regional security complex, based on sample documentation, we notice that: The Albanian issue in the Balkans was created by the Great Powers of the time. Obstructing that the world powers of the time made their full resolution of the Albanian issue in the region was the worst investment that these powers did for the Balkan security complex and beyond. But the creation of the independent state of Kosovo and Albanian issue resolution at the current levels cannot even be imagined without the intervention in the region and in the Albanian issue of the major world powers.

Above in paragraphs V.1; V.2; V.3 and V.4, through research, case studies, analysis, synthesis, based on sample documentation source, after we treated a period of more than a hundred years, mutual relationship between the degree of resolution of the Albanian issue had four levels (constitutive elements) in the regional security complex in the Balkan, respectively: in order, stability and security at the level of countries in the region; relations between the countries of the Balkan region, the Balkan region cooperation with neighboring regions and the role of world powers in the region. We may conclude *that the Albanian issue in the region and its resolution*

degree has continuously affected and continues to affect the four constitutive elements of the Balkan security complex, thus affecting the regional security and beyond. The creation of the independent state of Kosovo and the Albanian issue resolution of the current levels has had a positive impact on Balkan security complex

V.5. The Albanian issue and the Balkan security complex transformations.

Above we studied and analyzed the mutual relationship between the degree of resolution of the Albanian issue with the four levels (four constitutive elements) of the regional security complex in the Balkans which linked together, constitute the constellation of security (the model formed by the interaction of the four levels: internal, regional, interregional and global) in the Balkans. From the analysis we conclude that the Albanian issue in the region and its resolution degree has continuously contributed to the regional security and beyond.

On the other hand the four constitutive elements (the four levels) of the regional security complex, determine the essential structure of that compound. The essential structure consists of four variables, which are: complex boundaries, anarchic structure, polarity and social construction.⁶⁰² Interaction between the four levels (constitutive elements) of the security complex, define the changes in the essential structure of the complex. And the changes in the essential structure of the regional complex create three development opportunities. These are, first of all: preservation of the status quo, which means that it did not have significant changes in its essential structure; secondly, there are the internal transformations which means changes in the anarchic structure, polarity (due to the dissolution, merger, occupation, different levels of development), or due to changes in the dominant model of

⁶⁰² Barry Buzan and Ole Wæver: *“Regions and Powers, The Structure of International Security”*. P.53. Burim i cituar; Michaela Cruden, *Regional Security Complex Theory: Southeast Asia and the South Pacific*, The University of Waikato, p.15, 2011

friendship/enmity, (due to ideological changes, leadership changes) and thirdly, the external transformations that occur when the borders of the regional security complex change⁶⁰³ by contraction or expansion.

As we proved above, the Albanian issue has affected and continues to affect the four levels (constitutive elements) of the regional security complex therefore, in the constellation (model) of the Balkan complex and in the essential structure of this Complex simultaneously enabling and making indispensable the internal transformations of the Balkan security complex. This means that the Albanian issue in the region has affected and will continue to affect the changes in the anarchic structure of polarity and that of dominant social model of friendliness/enmity until its optimal solution, acceptable for Albanians.

Let's see now how the Balkan security complex is transformed in these last hundred years, based on the configuration that has received the essential structure of the Balkan complex as a result of the interaction of the four levels, its constitutive elements and mutual connection with the Albanian issue and its resolution degree in the region.

During the period from the signing of the Treaty of San Stefano on March 3, 1878, between Russia and Turkey, period from which we began our analysis, until the eve of World War I, the Balkan complex is associated with internal transformation as a result of changes in the essential structure. The Balkan regional complex itself "was born in war and clearly as a conflict formation".⁶⁰⁴ During the process of disintegration of the Ottoman Empire there were created several new states, the last of which was the Albanian state, thus changing the anarchic structure of the complex. Changed the polarity and distribution of power among states in the region by turning the Balkan from a regional central complex, uni-polar, with a great power in the center (the Ottoman Empire) in a more polar complex with a unfair distribution of

⁶⁰³ Barry Buzan and Ole Wæver, *Ibid*, page 381.

⁶⁰⁴ Barry Buzan and Ole Wæver, *Ibid*.

power, with an interconnection power between regional actors with other powers outside the region, as well as a with a negative, hostile relations character between nations.

The fact of leaving outside the Albanian state more than half of the Albano-sphere along with three of the four Albanian vilayets centers, negatively affected the polarity of the Balkan security complex, in the unfair distribution of power to the disadvantage of Albanians, as well as in the relations between countries in the region and in the regional security. All of that turned the region into an ongoing factor that will dictate the internal transformations in the regional security complex, until finding an optimal solution of the Albanian issue in the region.

During World War I there is a combination between the European dynamics and that of Balkan conflict. The collision of the interests of Austria-Hungary and Italy, powers of the same alliance for the control of the Albano-sphere, resulted in the passage of Italy in the opposing coalition, and resulted in the changes of balance of power in favor of the Entente and changing of the World War I courses, thus affecting later a lot the internal transformations in the region.

From World War I until the end of World War II, the Balkan complex again was associated with internal transformation, as a result of the changes in the essential structure. It formed the modern Balkan by the dissolution of the two empires, that of Ottoman and Austro-Hungarian one. Thus it was created the Serbo-Croatian-Slovenian Kingdom - Yugoslavia⁶⁰⁵, changing in this way the anarchic structure of the region. There is a redistribution of power in the Balkan complex after the creation of a great Slavic state, which includes nearly half of the Albanian geographical space. Meanwhile it was preserved the negative character and hostile relations between nations.

⁶⁰⁵ *Leslie Benson, p. 23-24*

Then, with the fascist occupation of the Balkans there happened some internal transformations as a result of the change of the essential structure of the Balkan complex. Therefore, there were changes in the anarchic structure after the dissolution of Yugoslavia and an independent Croatian state was established⁶⁰⁶. A part of the territories that the Yugoslav Kingdom had benefited joined the mother states. As a result, the main part of the Albano-sphere previously benefited from Yugoslavia, rejoined the Albanian state.⁶⁰⁷ The population of this part has continuously seen "Albania as its own homeland"⁶⁰⁸. Albania itself became part of the Kingdom of Italy⁶⁰⁹. The rest of the Balkan complex is covered by the German Third Reich. From multi-polar, the region became bipolar by a split of power between Germany and Italy. In fact, the fascist occupation turned the region into a regional sub-complex. The negative character and hostile relations between nations in the region was overshadowed by the hostility of nations in the region against the fascist occupying powers.

After World War II, again the Balkan complex is associated with internal transformation as a result of changes in its essential structure. So again the anarchic structure is changed, as the boundaries between the states were restored as they were before the war and as it was decided in the Atlantic Charter of August 1941⁶¹⁰. So Yugoslavia was recreated, retaking Kosovo and the Albano-sphere that were ripped off during the war. The regime forms were changed in most of the regional actors from Monarchy to Republic. Initially the European influence in the region was lost as a neighboring regional complex. From a security standpoint, the Balkans complex is securitized and covered by the two superpowers of the time USA and the USSR, as well as their defense alliances, NATO and the Warsaw Treaty. There is a polarization

⁶⁰⁶ Barry Buzan and Ole Wæver, *ibid.*, page 382.

⁶⁰⁷ Central State Archives, Fund 267, 1941, dos.46, fl.34.

⁶⁰⁸ Leslie Benson, p. 89.

⁶⁰⁹ Prof.Dr. Xhelal Gjecovi, "Albania under Italian and German occupation" *History of Albanian People, Part IV.* page 25

⁶¹⁰ *Histoire diplomatique de 1919 à nos jours (Diplomatic history until today)*, Paris, 1981, p. 306.

of power in the region, this time on ideological basis. Bipolarity in the international scale is dominated by ideological pressure, which was reflected in the relations between countries in the region. Conflicts at the regional level were frozen and moved into second place, after the conflict at a global level with ideological coverage between capitalism and socialism. However the Albanians in Yugoslavians during this period did not stop the efforts to gain the national rights. The Albanian issue in Kosovo but also in other Albanians regions in Yugoslavia was already moving towards "qualitative jump, self transformation of quantity into quality"⁶¹¹ and this quality was created after 1981, warning expected developments in the Balkan Complex.

After the end of the Cold War and the cessation of conflict at a global level the Balkan complex is accompanied by rapid internal transformations, but also external consequence of its changed core structure. Thus there began the process of dissolution of Yugoslavia. Originally, there were created five new countries (Slovenia, Croatia, Macedonia, Bosnia-Herzegovina and the remaining part of Yugoslavia, which was then turned into Serb-Montenegro Union), thus changing the anarchic structure of the region. There is a redistribution of power between the new units' components, but again excluding Albanians. The dissolution of Yugoslavia made the hidden hostility model of relations between nations to be transformed into an armed conflict between the new units that broke away and the Serbs accompanied it through unprecedented violence since World War II. The impossibility of regional actors to resolve the conflict and the risk that this conflict constituted for the peace and security not only within the region, but also in the neighboring complex, the European Union and beyond, forced other actors to be involved in the resolution of the conflict⁶¹². These powerful state and non-state actors are the European Union, the

⁶¹¹ Mr. Ukshin HOTI "The political philosophy of the Albanian issue" page 60

⁶¹² Leslie Benson, p. 164.

U.S.,⁶¹³ NATO ⁶¹⁴, and also Russia. Their influence in the region security issues was greater than that of the regional actors. Judging by the extent of their involvement in the security issues, the Balkans takes the form of a regional security sub-complex. But the Dayton Peace Conference⁶¹⁵ organized by them, did not bring the long-awaited peace in the region. This is because the powerful international actors, state and non-state ones, who avoid solving the Albanian issue. The sub-complex has always been clearly anarchic, non-central with a clear polarity and a model of friendship/enmity difficult to determine⁶¹⁶.

The non-resolution of the Albanian issue jeopardize not only the Balkans, but also the neighboring complex, the European Union and the interests of other powerful international state actors and non-state actors, such as the U.S. and NATO. That's why the Albanian issue was securitized by them. In addition to the war and the efforts of the Albanians, there was a strong interference of these actors that made possible the creation of the independent state of Kosovo. It was also their intervention and pressure the main factor that made the Albanians signed the Ohrid and Koncul Agreement.

This degree of resolution of the Albanian issue in the region has had a positive impact on the constellation of security in the Balkans and beyond and changed again the structure of the Balkan security sub-complex, thus dictating internal transformations in it. So in the anarchic structure of the sub-complex is added a new state, Kosovo. There are developments in the direction of polarization of power in the region. The creation of the independent state of Kosovo led to the beginning of the adjustment process and the redistribution of power in the region in favor of Albanians and for a restoration of equilibrium of power in the Western Balkans regional security sub-complex, among Slavs, Albanians and Greeks. Greeks, Slavs and Albanians are not

⁶¹³ Kate Transchel, *"The Breakup of Yugoslavia: Conflict in the Balkans"*, p.12.

⁶¹⁴ Leslie Benson, p. 169.Ibid.

⁶¹⁵ Ian Oliver: *War & Peace in The Balkans*, p.113.Cited source.

⁶¹⁶ Barry Buzan and Ole Wæver, *ibid*, page 382.

only three people together in their areas, "but there are three civilizations, with three cultures, with three languages. The Balkans cannot be imagined, even without one of these components."⁶¹⁷ Belgrade-Tirana-Athens axis, should be key in the setting of policies in the Balkans, U.S. President Bush declared in Tirana on June 10, 2007.⁶¹⁸ Despite the Serbian state has not made credible steps towards the process of Kosovo being de-securitized, it seems there are signs of the possibility of reducing the dose of hostility between the two nations.

But the Balkan security sub-complex is associated with external transformations as a result of changes in its essential structure, concretely the narrowing of its external borders. Some units of this sub-complex like Bulgaria, Romania, Slovenia and ultimately Croatia, joined another regional complex, the European Union. In this way, Balkans sub-complex can be called the Western Balkan sub-complex. While other units in this sub-complex like Serbia, Macedonia, Montenegro, Bosnia-Herzegovina and two Albanian states, Albania and Kosovo aimed at integration into the EU. But one of the conditions for the success of this process is the good neighborhood, for Serbia means the normalization of relations with the state of Kosovo.

However, the Albanian issue in the region is not completely resolved. Still it continues ignoring the legitimate demands of ethnic Albanians who live in the Albanian geo-political space, within the borders of neighboring states, or have their property in these countries. Thus, the trend of the Serb for the division of its north has created a new situation in the Presevo Valley. Albanians have stated that, in the case of separation of Kosovo, the Presevo Valley (eastern Kosovo) will seek to join the state of Kosovo⁶¹⁹. On the other hand, "the Serbian army is turning more and more to military and paramilitary methods to control the territory, with the construction of a

⁶¹⁷ Ismail Kadare, *Belgrade's NIN magazine interview. Reprinted in the "Shqip"*, 25 April 2012.

⁶¹⁸ *Redefining the boundaries to the state agreement. Telegraf.com*, 4.9.2010.

⁶¹⁹ *ICG Europe Report N ° 153, 25 February 2004. page 26.*

very large new base regional military command⁶²⁰. So peace and security in this area will depend greatly on the solution that will take the issue of North Mitrovica. Meanwhile in Macedonia there is a waiver from the implementation of the Ohrid Agreement, the lack of desire of nationalist circles⁶²¹ for a co-existence with Albanians and their support for a project of the Academy of Sciences of Skopje for the division of Macedonia⁶²², but aiming to make Albanians guilty for this division. Recently is taking place the opinion that "Albanians and Macedonians are obstructing each other for a better future".⁶²³ While the "implementation of the Ohrid Agreement by the Skopje government is being reduced".⁶²⁴ Greece in its turn rejects the opening of negotiations on the restoration of proper rights for Chams⁶²⁵. Also, even if they did not require the separation of Montenegro⁶²⁶, Albanians never ceased their efforts reaching their national rights. Continued failure and ignoring the legitimate demands of ethnic Albanians living in the Albanian geo-political space, within the borders of these states, or having their wealth in these countries may lead to the radicalization of demands and their actions, thus creating problems not only for the security of these countries, but also beyond, for the sub-complex of the Western Balkan security and in its internal transformation.

In conclusion, *the Albanian issue in the region and its solution degree has affected and will continue to affect the inner transformation of the regional security complex until its final solution. But what would be considered as its final resolution?*

⁶²⁰ Xhejms Petifer: *Southern Balkans 2009– Stability and Stasis*. p.8. Published By: Defence Academy of the UK. ISBN 978-1-905962-71-6.

⁶²¹ Look: Marija Lazarova, *Southeast European Times*. Skopje on 15.9.2004.

⁶²² Xhavit Shala: *Macedonia: Ivanov, the Albanians and the game with fire*. "Shqip" dated 3.6.2009.

⁶²³ Ismet Ramadani: "The Map of Ethnic Albania as a motive". "Bota sot", 9.12.2011

⁶²⁴ Xhejms Petifer: *Southern Balkans 2009– Stability and Stasis*.p.9.

⁶²⁵ ICG Europe Report N ° 153, 25 February 2004. Page 4.

⁶²⁶ Keneth Morrison: " Montenegro, A Modern History", P.126. Cited source

Chapter VI.

Albanian issue between the peaceful political process of National Unification and Euro-Atlantic integration. Possible scenarios.

VI.1. Albanian issue between the peaceful political process of National Unification and Euro-Atlantic integration .

At the beginning of this study we treated the Albanian issue not like a single act, but as an peaceful political process which has at the core the unification of a large part of Albano-sphere in a single state, this determined as a major strategic objective and dictated by: the necessity to withstand to the existential threat against the nation and the Albano-sphere; the need to restore full overall development capacity of the nation; the need for progress and equalization of Albanians with other nations; the necessity for the redistribution of power and the establishment of equilibrium, crucial for peace and security in the region and beyond, process that should not run counter to the trend of Euro-Atlantic integration of the Albanians and the region itself.

So, the final solution of the Albanian issue is achieved through the peaceful political process for the unification of the majority of Albano-sphere into a single state. But, how has this process developed in time? Does the peaceful political process of national unity, contradict the Euro-Atlantic integration process which is another strategic objective of the Albanians in the region, and what are the possible scenarios in these new conditions for the Albanians and the Balkan region?

In the absence of a central Albanian government, except the liberation from Ottoman invaders, Albanian National Renaissance as an important part of its political program was concerned about "the union of all Albanian lands into a single and independent

state...⁶²⁷ Starting from the existential⁶²⁸ threat⁶²⁹ which threatened the nation and Albano-sphere from the Balkan neighbors, Albanian political elites have consistently classified Albanian unification into a single state in the category of the Albanian national security issues and have securitized it. Continuously these elites have been calling for urgent and exceptional measures to deal with such threat⁶³⁰, which in turn threatened the Albanian nation and the Albano-sphere. They have consistently defined the Albanian unification into a single state as a major strategic objective that should be achieved to withstand the existential threat that threatened the nation and the Albano-sphere from the Balkans neighbors. To achieve this strategic objective they used all the tactics starting from those peaceful like popular conversation, memorandums sent to the Turkish authorities⁶³¹ and those ones sent to the major powers⁶³², and debates in the Turkish parliament⁶³³, up to the continuous armed uprisings. With the declaration of independence of Albania in 1912 and its international recognition, the Albanian curtailed state in its political borders was only "28 thousand square kilometers and about 750 thousand inhabitants".⁶³⁴ More than half of the Albano-sphere, respectively "29 thousand square kilometers with 1.2

⁶²⁷ Prof.Dr. Stefanaq Pollo, Prof.Dr. Kristaq Priti: *National Revival and its distinctive features.*"History of Albanian People" Chapter II, Part II, page 17. Tirana 2002. Cited source.

⁶²⁸ Dr. Ralf Emmers, *Securitisation, "Contemporary Security Studies"*. Tirana 2009

⁶²⁹ The term "threat" can be defined as a specific risk, scalable and clearly defined objectives. Deemed national security threat when one or several of the most important national interests and values of a state or nation disparagement extremes of external actions, internal or combined

⁶³⁰ Prof.Buzan and Prof. Waever, 2003, p. 491.

⁶³¹ See Memorandum Gërces, 23 June 1911, the Young Turk government run the request for the establishment of an autonomous Albanian province. *Aqsh, F.143; D. 939*. Published and in the Albanian National Renaissance Acts 1878-1912, pp. 223-226, etc..

⁶³² See Memorandum to the Lord Bikonstild, England's representative at the Congress of Berlin. Published by Prof.Arben Puto "Albanian issue in international acts of the period of imperialism" Volume I, page 141. Document No.6 etc..

⁶³³ See: Hasan Prishtina, *Documents. Printed Re. Tirana 1983* and Prof. Zekeria Cana, "Kosovo Albanian National Movement 1908-1912

⁶³⁴ Memorandum for the Albanian issue of the Kosovo Albanians Intellectuals Forum directed to the Foreign Ministers of the United States, England, France, Germany and Russia, 26 October 1995

million Albanians⁶³⁵ remained in most of the Serbian side and the remainder under the side of Greeks and Montenegrins⁶³⁶.

Under these conditions, even after the creation of an independent Albanian state in 1912 and the end of the Albanian National Renaissance, the existential threat which threatened the nation and the Albano-sphere from the Balkan neighbors did not ceased. Rather, this threat was already materialized in more than half of Albano-sphere and jeopardized the ethnic cleansing of the Albanian population there. Therefore this threat will continue to be classified in the category of the Albanian national security issues and being securitized. The unification with the Albanian state of the Albano-sphere parts remained outside the political borders of Albania. Henceforth the major strategic objective to be achieved is to withstand this existential threat.

In order to achieve this major strategic objective the Albanian official policy was engaged from the beginning. Thus, the first Prime Minister Ismail Qemali, urged the major powers that to Albania is "to be assigned its natural borders"⁶³⁷ and that "with the reduction of natural borders, Europe would jeopardize the Albanian state,"⁶³⁸ and jeopardizing the state would generate among Albanians the dilemma of uncertainty and survival. Restitution for the independent Albanian State for the lands given to Montenegro by the Congress of Berlin as well as lands that Montenegro, Serbia and Greece based from the decisions of the Conference of Ambassadors in London in 1913⁶³⁹, Prime Minister Turhan Pasha asked about them at the Peace Conference in Paris on behalf of the Albanians. The aim related to the liberation of Albanians in

⁶³⁵ *Ibid.*

⁶³⁶ For more details see: Zekeria Cana "Genocide of Montenegrin to the Albanian people 1912-1913, documents". Pristine 1997 Edition

⁶³⁷ Memorandum of the Government of Vlora presented ser Edward Grey on 2 January 1913. Published translated into "Ismail Qemali-collection of documents." Document no.265. Page 282-286.

⁶³⁸ *Ibid.*

⁶³⁹ Memorandum of Durres Interim Government Delegation, presented at the Conference of Paqes.Paris 12 February 1919. Translated from the French and published in the "War of the Albanian people for national liberation" Volume I. Publication of the Institute of History of the Academy of Sciences. Tirana 1975.

Yugoslavia was also testified by the title of King Zog as "King of all Albanians".⁶⁴⁰ The Union of Kosovo and Dukagjini region with Albania came as a result of what the Albanians sought through the Resolution of the Anti-Fascist Council of National Liberation of Kosovo and that of Dukagjini at the Boyana Conference 31 December 1943 2 January 1944.⁶⁴¹ The unification of Albanian territories and the creation of Ethnic Albania were also asked from the Albanian nationalists in the Assembly of the Second League of Prizren⁶⁴², held in Prizren from 16-23 September 1943.

After World War II, Yalta Conference recognized the borders of Yugoslavia prior to the war, as well as the inclusion of the Albanian territories in it. The official policy was not raised as an issue at international conferences or at the chancelleries of the Great Powers⁶⁴³ even by the Yugoslavs. Determined by ideological pressure from the effects of deformed national interests the official Tirana during the Cold War period seemed that de-securitized the issue of national unity.

The end of the Cold War, the liberation of national issues in the Balkans by ideological pressure and the beginning of the process of dissolution of Yugoslavia, which involved more than half of Albano-sphere in the region, gave a new dimension to the Albanian issue in the Balkans. The National Unification issue was raised for the first time by opposition leader, Sali Berisha, in his political formation meeting. Berisha told to his supporters that "DP will not cease fighting until its big dream for the unification of the nation will become reality."⁶⁴⁴ But the official Tirana afterward did not urged publicly anymore the national unification and did no longer securitized this issue at least in public. On the other side, the concept of National Unification did not exist at all for Nano government's agenda (1997). After his meeting with Serbian leader Slobodan Milosevic in Crete, the Albanian PM, saw the Kosovo issue "as

⁶⁴⁰ *History of Albanian People, Volume III, page 286-287. Tirana Toena 2007.*

⁶⁴¹ *Memorandum for the Albanian issue of Kosovo Albanian Intellectuals Forum directed to the Foreign Ministers of the United States, England, France, Germany and Russia, on 26 October 1995. Cited source.*

⁶⁴² *For more details see: Statute of the Organization "Second League of Prizren", 21 Kallnuer 1944.*

⁶⁴³ *History of Albanian People, Volume IIV, Pages 244-245. Tirana, Toena 2008.*

⁶⁴⁴ *BBC, Suumary of the Wold Broadcasts, EE/1336, B/3, 23 March 1992.*

internal issues".⁶⁴⁵ Instead of the National Unification, for Nano it was enough to concentrate "on the promotion of free movement between the people of Albania, Macedonia and Kosovo, an action which would help eliminate the ideas related with a United Albania. This has to do with the creation of new ways for cohabitation firstly between the Albanians, so it can be seen as emancipated, democratic and as a factor of stability in the Balkans"⁶⁴⁶.

So the official Tirana "did not have a clear position and a principle in favor of self-determination, even less to coordinate the national peaceful efforts of Albanians".⁶⁴⁷ And Albania "would hardly lead the movement for unification"⁶⁴⁸. But the World powers did not deal in solving such issues "without initiating to solve such an issue by the Albanian political factor itself".⁶⁴⁹

Despite the silence of the official policy, the National Unification issue was securitized by other actors of the Albanian society. On the eve of the Dayton Peace Conference, Kosovo Albanians Intellectuals Forum, openly urged the foreign ministers of the key international actors, the U.S., France, Britain, Germany and Russia that "the fair and permanent solution of the Albanian issue is related with the displacement of the borders between Albania and neighboring states, which is divided by the terrestrial belt with an absolute majority of Albanians."⁶⁵⁰

⁶⁴⁵ Nano urges dialogue in Kosovo- Radio Free Europe: R FE/RL Newslite, vol. 2, no. 26, pt. II, 9 February 1998.

⁶⁴⁶ Reuters interview with Fatos Nano, December 6, 1999. Quoted in ICG Europe Report N ° 153, 25 February 2004, page 13.

⁶⁴⁷ Sulstarova. Enis, (2011) "Hegemony and the reopening of national issue" material presented discussion forum Young Scholars Network (RAR): "Academic 15 x 15 Ideas ", Foundation for Economic Freedom, Tirana, May 2011.

⁶⁴⁸ ICG Europe Report N ° 153, 25 February 2004, page 12

⁶⁴⁹ Mr. Ukshin Hoti "The political philosophy of the Albanian issue." Page 60. Publishing house "Rozafa". Tirana 1995

⁶⁵⁰ Memorandum for the Albanian Kosovo Albanian Intellectuals Forum Foreign Ministers run the United States, England, France, Germany and Russia, on 26 October 1995. Cited source.

Meanwhile the Academy of Sciences of the Republic of Albania launched in 1998 a platform for resolving the Albanian issue. It stated in it that "the right aspiration of all Albanians is to unite all ethnic territories and Albanian lands into a single state"⁶⁵¹.

It is interesting to analyze the evolution of the National Unification issue, as part of the Albanian insurgent structures programs, namely the Kosovo Liberation Army, the National Liberation Army in Macedonia and the Liberation Army of Presevo-Medvedja-Bujanovac that, after the failure of a peaceful road to solve the national issue in Kosovo, Macedonia and Eastern-Valley of Kosovo. Thus, in July 1998, the Kosovo Liberation Army spokesman, Jakup Krasniqi publicly stated that the goal of the KLA is to unite all territories inhabited by Albanians.⁶⁵² But then, the two political parties which emerged from KLA, respectively DPK and AAK, did not publicly supported the national unification, and were confident that any active support for this idea "would cost them in relations with the international community"⁶⁵³. Also LDK, one of the main political forces in Kosovo has not publicly supported the idea of National Unification. According to Rugova "Anything other than independence is unacceptable for us".⁶⁵⁴ This excludes also the national unification.

Also the political platform of the KLA in Macedonia, as a result of the increasing international pressure, began to reduce in the form of the "union with the mother state, Albania"⁶⁵⁵ at the beginning of the movement, into a "national liberation war"⁶⁵⁶ and then into a "fight to preserve the territorial integrity of FYROM (Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia) and the war for ethnic equality"⁶⁵⁷. Also PMBLA initially aimed at integrating Presevo Valley in Kosovo (the national unification). But

⁶⁵¹ *Academy of Sciences of the Republic of Albania: The Albanian National Question Settlement Platform, Tirana, 1998*

⁶⁵² *Der Spiegel, No 28/1998, pp122-123*

⁶⁵³ *ICG Europe Report N ° 153, 25 February 2004, page 17*

⁶⁵⁴ *Interview in Der Spiegel, April 17, 2000.*

⁶⁵⁵ *Bedri Islam: The True Ali Ahmeti, page 120. Publisher: Tringa Design, Tetovo. 2011*

⁶⁵⁶ *According to the communiqué no. 4. KLA*

⁶⁵⁷ *Xhavit Shala: Balkans, geopolitics and security. Volume I, page 430*

under the pressure of intense diplomacy of NATO and U.S.⁶⁵⁸, it was signed the Agreement of Koncul and accepted the implementation of the Covic Plan.⁶⁵⁹

As we see, in all three cases it was the "imposing diplomacy" of the international community that forced the Albanians not to lose the international support, to change the tactic and not declare themselves publicly for the national unification. How important it was for the Albanian issue for the pursuit of non-confrontational tactics with the international community, it is shown by the fate of another paramilitary formation called Albanian National Army. According to it, the Ohrid and Koncul Agreements had not shown results so they will continue to fight "for the reunification of all ethnic territories inhabited by the Albanians in one Albanian state in the Balkans, which is waiting for a very long time".⁶⁶⁰ The international community went against AKSH seriously in the late 2002. It was declared a terrorist organization in Kosovo⁶⁶¹ and also it was included in the U.S. sanctions. This was followed by the arrest of its leaders and activists in Albania, Kosovo and Macedonia. The lesson extracted from this was that the international community would not tolerate "the idea for the use of force for the re-unification of all Albanians in one state".⁶⁶²

Actually the pursuit of non-confrontational tactics with the international community regarding the peaceful political process of National Unification and temporary withdrawal from public declaration for this strategic objective resulted in successful tactic for the moment. So was obtained: the maximum support for the independent state of Kosovo, international recognition and the beginning of its journey towards Euro-Atlantic integration; the signing of the Ohrid Agreement and a scale of decentralization of the power in Macedonia; the signing of Koncul Agreement for

⁶⁵⁸ ICG Europe Report N ° 153, 25 February 2004, page 25

⁶⁵⁹ Nebojsa Covic, leader of the Serbian Coordination Centre Plan and Crisis Resolution Program in the municipalities of Presevo, Bujanovac and Medvedja.

⁶⁶⁰ Interview Gafur Adili KosovaLive, December 27, 2002;

⁶⁶¹ Its Announced in Kosovo became a terrorist organization by Michael Steiner, the United Nations Special Representative in Kosovo.

⁶⁶² ICG Europe Report N ° 153, 25 February 2004, page 11

more national rights in Eastern Kosovo; and improvement of national rights in Montenegro.

These developments and improvements for the Albanian issue in the region have had a positive impact on the security of the Balkan sub-complex. These developments are in line with the Memorandum of Albanian Intellectuals Forum 1995, which states for Kosovo that "it would be much more normal that the territory would also be independent (with the opportunity to join Albania, if the two countries would like it)"⁶⁶³.

But have the Albanians renounced the strategic objective, the peaceful national unification? In fact, despite the forced public statements of some political actors, state or non-state actors, the issue of peaceful national unification, despite zigzags, is not removed from the agenda of the Albanians in their Albano-sphere. Thus, in 1998, all Albanians re-securitized once again the peaceful national unification with the adoption of the constitution in the 1998 referendum. The preamble of the Constitution of Republic of Albania mentions that "... We, the people of Albania, are proud and aware of our history, with responsibility for the future... with centuries-old aspiration of the Albanian people for national identity and unity..."⁶⁶⁴ The implementation of the Constitution was drafted in the National Security Strategy of the Republic of Albania,⁶⁶⁵ which is also the main document reflected as the national security policies⁶⁶⁶ of the country. Our national security policy is connected and has a direct impact on our national issue and the Albanian issue in the region. Its purpose is to advance the national interest by consolidating the leading instruments of the security of the countries. The final solution of the Albanian national issue, which constitutes a major program of the National Renaissance, is included in the national security policies of

⁶⁶³ *Forum of Albanian Intellectuals, Memorandum on the Albanian Question, 26 October 1995.*

⁶⁶⁴ *The Constitution of the Republic of Albania, approved by referendum by 22.11.1998. Promulgated by Decree Nr.2260, dated 28.11.1998, the President of the Republic of Albania.*

⁶⁶⁵ *Approved by law Nr.9322, dated 25.11.2004*

⁶⁶⁶ *National security policy is a framework document that describes how a country provides security for the state and its citizens. This document may be called a plan, strategy, concept or doctrine.*

the Republic of Albania. The Albanian national issue is defined in this policy as one of the primary objectives of security, to be realized in the short to medium terms⁶⁶⁷. Albania, in its national security strategy, openly and unequivocally supported the independence of Kosovo and preceded it. In that strategy it is stated: "It would have a fundamental importance the quick, ultimate and democratic solution of the Kosovo status, and its inclusion as a separate entity in the integration process towards Euro-Atlantic structures"⁶⁶⁸. It is clearly determined that without the final solution of this status, there cannot be stability and regional integration.

The support toward the peaceful political process of the national unification is indicated also by the creation in the Albano-sphere, of new political forces, which have openly declared a self-determination and peaceful political process in their programs. Thus, for a short period of time the movement of "self-determination" (Vetvendosja) in Kosovo became the third parliamentary force. Its commitment in the government program for "a foreign policy unique with Albania and to act together for the common goals of the nation, influencing and complementing each other"⁶⁶⁹, is a step in the peaceful political process of the national unification. Justice, Integration and Unity Party JIUP were established in Albania, and they have undertaken to request, represent and protect the rights of the Cham community. It supports the self-determination⁶⁷⁰ in its program. The other party, "Red and Black Alliance" in its program "supports the century-old aspiration for the Albanian National Unification" and "will not cease the efforts... for reunification of ethnic territories and the creation of an autonomous Albanians state"⁶⁷¹.

⁶⁶⁷ *National Security Strategy of the Republic of Albania. Security Objectives II, Item 16/6- The Albanian national issue*

⁶⁶⁸ *Part III, Elements of National Power, section 43 of the National Security Strategy of the Republic of Albania. Document cited*

⁶⁶⁹ *See: Principles and program priorities of the Movement "Self-Determination". Item 40, page 20, "Self-Determination Movement, development and state-formation."*

⁶⁷⁰ *See JIUP program. Title V. point 3.*

⁶⁷¹ *See: Red and Black Alliance's political program, "Albania can become" preamble and section 2. Tirana, March 2012.*

Also the efforts of a third political blocked the formation among Albanians in Macedonia and the call for the organization of "a new international conference, which should put an end to the suffering and racial discrimination of Albanians in Macedonia"⁶⁷², indicates that there are required other peaceful ways to unblock the stalled Albanian issue in Macedonia, treating it as a matter of dynamics.

Albanians, despite zigzags, never have given up from the strategic objective, the national unification. The growing support towards the peaceful political process of national unification from the younger generation in all Albano-sphere is a guarantee of its success.

But now can the peaceful process of national unity interfere with the process of Euro-Atlantic integration, another strategic objective of the Albanians in the region also with Euro Atlantic trend in the region?

In this study through research, case studies, analysis, synthesis, based on ample documentation source, we concluded that the Albanian issue in region and the degree of resolution, being associated with existential threat which threatened the Albanian nation and the Albano-sphere, has affected and, to a final resolution of it, will continue to affect the regional security. Kosovo's independence as part of the process of solving the Albanian issue in the region and an important step towards its final solution, has reduced to a considerable extent, but not conclusively, the degree of existential threat that threatened the nation and Albano-sphere in the region. Through the change of anarchic structure, of polarity and the dominant social model friendship / enmity of the Balkan security complex it has a positive impact on peace, stability and the regional security. And peace, security and stability in the region are conditions for Euro Atlantic integration of the Balkans. Following this logic, the peaceful political process of the unification of the majority of the Albano-sphere in a single state as a final solution of the Albanian issue in the region will further

⁶⁷²*New Lawsuit International Conference of Albanians in the Macedonian-Albanian Democratic Union Bardhyl Mahmuti - Chairman, March 21, 2011*

positively affect not only the regional security, but also in the process of Euro Atlantic-Atlantic integration of the Western Balkans. Also the German unification was achieved "in support of the integration processes ... for the sake and in the context of the unification of Europe."⁶⁷³

The peaceful political process of the national unification and Euro Atlantic integration as two strategic objectives of the Albanians, not only do not contradict, but complement each other. By advancing in the process of European integration, Albanians have advanced in terms of National Unification and vice versa, advancement towards peaceful national unification contributes to Euro-Atlantic integration processes of Albanians and of the region. The peaceful unification of Albanians and the European Union have the same philosophy, that of the union and not division. For this reason, the right philosophy of the Albanian people for a peaceful union not only does not contradicts the European Union, but strengthens it and makes it safe ⁶⁷⁴.

The peaceful political process of the national unification will turn the Albanian state remained since 1912 as a "torzo" without head and limbs,⁶⁷⁵ the removed parts of the body. This will help to restore the full ability of overall national development, progress and unification of Albanians with other nations. The return of this ability will positively influence the Albanians and the region in the Euro-Atlantic integration.

The Albanians see their peaceful national union "as an integral part of the European Union."⁶⁷⁶ Even the Albanian state security policy is also determined that "The Albanian national issue will be achieved through the European and Euro-Atlantic integration of the region".⁶⁷⁷ When the states of the region will be attached to the

⁶⁷³ MA Ukshin Hoti: *The Albanian Issue political philosophy*. "Page 86. Rozafa, Tirana 1995.

⁶⁷⁴ Dr.Alban Daci: *Paper held in the Conference: National issue and the role of Albanians in the region*. 4.6.2012.

⁶⁷⁵ *Forum of Albanian Intellectuals, Memorandum on the Albanian Question*, 26 October 1995.

⁶⁷⁶ Ismet Ramadani: "Ethnic Albania map" as consequence."The World Today", 9.12.2011. Cited source.

⁶⁷⁷ *Ibid*, paragraph 16.3.

European Union, "Albanians will be part of the same policy for the first time since 1912".⁶⁷⁸ This will be an important other step in the peaceful political process of the national unification. And the integration of the region in the European Union "can turn into a complementary process of unification"⁶⁷⁹ because the benefits of the integration process as free movement, etc., facilitate the "infrastructure" of peaceful national unification.

Mergers and divisions will continue to be also within the Euro-Atlantic structures. Important is that to be peaceful. Balkan integration within a political structure such as the EU and NATO are opportunity for the development of the peaceful national unification process, because "the region's integration in Euro-Atlantic community is a guarantee for political and economic stability and progress".⁶⁸⁰

As a conclusion, the process of peaceful National Unification does not interfere with the process of Euro-Atlantic integration, another strategic objective of the Albanians in the region and the region Euro-Atlantic trend.

But, in today's conditions is very difficult to claim final solution of the Albanian national issue and the Albanian issue in the region, as had anticipated our Renaissance, so uniting all ethnic Albanian lands in a single state. This is because the current situation of the Albanian national issue, but also the Albanian issue in the region is much more complex than in the Renaissance period.

At that time, all the Albano-sphere, organized administratively into four vilayets, was under the rule of a single state, the Ottoman Empire. But today, in the ethnic Albanian lands, respectively the Albanian geopolitical space "operates" six actors of the Balkan security sub-complex. Two of these actors are independent Albanian states. Albania, as the mother country and political "nucleus" of the Albano-sphere is a state internationally affirmed, member of NATO, the most powerful alliance of

⁶⁷⁸ *ICG Europe Report N ° 153, 25 February 2004, page 7*

⁶⁷⁹ *Sulstarova.Enis, (2011) "Hegemony and the reopening of national issues", paper presented at the Young Scholars Network Forum (RAR): "Academic 15 x 15 Ideas", Foundation for Economic Freedom, Tirana, May 2011. page 20.*

⁶⁸⁰ *Report of the International Commission on the Balkans, entitled "The European future of the Balkans" presented simultaneously in Brussels and Washington in April 2005. VOA/13-04-2005*

collective defense and contender for the European Union. While other state, Kosovo is in the process of deepening its international recognition and with clear objectives to enter in the Euro-Atlantic structures. The existence of two Albanian actors in the Balkan-sphere facilitates significantly the final resolution of the Albanian issue in the region.

Four other actors who have within their political boundaries parts of the Albano-sphere, Macedonia, Serbia, Montenegro and Greece are internationally affirmed states, members or in the process of membership in Euro-Atlantic structures. To fully realize major program of our Renaissance, will need to change the boundaries also of these Balkan states. In fact the Albanians demanded the international community in the wake of the Dayton Peace Conference to solve this problem. According to them "the boundaries are not so sacred as cannot be moved,"⁶⁸¹ and that "more fair is the peaceful restoration of the ethnic boundaries, rather than the bloody preservation of the existing boundaries, always with dangerous consequences for peace and stability in the Balkans and in Europe."⁶⁸² But the international community at the conference totally bypassed the Albanian issue. Thus they complicated the resolution of the Albanian issue in the region, now bearing upon them the obligation to influence and sustain its optimal solution, accepted by the Albanians. The evolution of the opinion that peace in the Balkans can be achieved by fragmenting the ethnic Albanian lands⁶⁸³, to the belief that without solving the Albanian issue cannot be peace and security in the region, is an important development in the solution of the Albanian issue in the Balkan region.

Kosovo's declaration of independence and its international recognition, signing of the Ohrid Agreement and the insistence for its unequivocal implementation, are

⁶⁸¹ *Memorandum for the Albanian issue Kosovo Albanian Intellectuals Forum addressed to the Foreign Ministers of the United States, England, France, Germany and Russia, on 26 October 1995. Cited source.*

⁶⁸² *Ibid*

⁶⁸³ *See the declaration of Edward Grey on the delimitation of Albania. Published translated into "Albanian issue in the international acts" V.II. Document no.44. pages 292-293*

important steps in the process of resolving the Albanian issue in the Balkans, but also for regional peace and security. Now, this process has entered a new phase toward its final.

In the Albanian state security policy, is also determined that the solution of the Albanian National Issue is aimed to be achieved through "solutions that will provide long-term guarantees and acceptable for the international community."⁶⁸⁴ And the international community would not tolerate anymore "the idea for the use of force for the re-unification of all Albanians in one state."⁶⁸⁵

Therefore, the process of national unification as the closing phase of the process of final solution of the Albanian issue in the region, in parallel with the process of integration of all Albano-sphere into Euro Atlantic structures, will be a process completely political, democratic and non-violent.

Efforts to unite the majority of the Albano-sphere in a single state as the final solution of the Albanian issue, does not mean effort for Greater Albania. This term is a not and anti Albanian one. Parallelism is often done through the efforts of Serbs for a Greater Serbia or that of Greeks for Greater Greece, which was also anti-Albanian. This is because at the core of Albanian efforts for national unification is the modern concept of national ethnic state, while at the core of Greek and Serbian project is the medieval imperial concept.

In conclusion, the peaceful political process of national unification does not contradict the process of Euro-Atlantic integration, is another strategic objective of the Albanians in the region, as well as the trend of the Euro-Atlantic region. This process, as the final stage of the process for the final solution of the Albanian issue in the region, in parallel to the process of the integration of all Albanian geo-space in Euro Atlantic structures, will be an entirely political peaceful process, democratic and non-violent.

⁶⁸⁴ National Security Strategy of the Republic of Albania, paragraph 16.3.

⁶⁸⁵ ICG Europe Report N ° 153, 25 February 2004, page 11

VI.2. Possible scenarios of this issue in terms of Euro-Atlantic integration of the country and the region

After we studied and analyzed the mutual relationship between the degrees of resolution of the Albanian issue with the four levels (the four constitutive elements) of the regional security complex in the Balkans in this study, we concluded that the Albanian issue in the region and its solution degree has continuously contributed for the regional security and beyond.

During this study we also proved that the Albanian issue through the impact in the four constitutive elements of the Balkan security complex has affected and continues to affect the essential structure of this complex, enabling and simultaneously making indispensable the internal transformations of the Balkan security complex. This means that the Albanian issue in the region has affected and will continue to affect the changes of the anarchic structure, polarity and the dominant social model friendship/hostility, until its final resolution. And the final resolution of the Albanian issue is the peaceful unification of a large part of the Albano-sphere into a single state. But which may be the dynamics of this issue in the future?

In this study we are giving several possible scenarios of the dynamics of the final solution process of the Albanian issue in the region. As outlined in the abstract of this study, the term "scenario" used in this case, refers to the author's predictions, based on his analysis on the possible geopolitical developments in the Balkan security complex, which are related to the peaceful political processes on the final settlement of the Albanian Issue in the region. In analyzing them, we could individualize the following possible scenarios:

The international scenario for the Albanian issue.

Kosovo is now an independent state. It can be a member of UN, the EU and NATO. Ohrid Agreement is fully implemented and without any equivocation. Albanians in Macedonia fully enjoy their rights as a nation state-forming and feel themselves equal to the Macedonians. Also the Albanians in Montenegro and East Kosovo-Presevo

Valley fully enjoy their national rights. Serbia seriously implemented Thaci-Dacic agreement of 19 April 2013, signed with the mediation of Baroness Catherine Ashton for the north of Kosovo and on the verge of joining the EU recognizes Kosovo as an independent state. Meanwhile, as a result of the internationalization of the Cham issue, and the increased pressure from the EU and the U.S., Greek state has accepted the Cham issue and has begun the process of restitution of property and citizenship for the Cham community. Albanians in Tirana and Pristina and in all their geopolitical space joined the European Union. Altogether, for the first time since 1912, they are part of the same political structure⁶⁸⁶.

This scenario is articulated also by the official policies in Pristina and Tirana. This case will preserve the status quo in the structure of the Balkan security complex.

2. Inter-Albanian scenario. After that, there exist all the possibilities that Albania and Kosovo, in an appropriate time, as two independent and sovereign states, with the will of the people expressed in popular referendums, may unite into a single state⁶⁸⁷. This can be done in phases, initially as a confederation or federation model. But to realize this, there should not be any objections from leading international and regional factors. It is assumed that, after the fall down of the tensions in the Balkans, the international community will not oppose it, because for them it would be more acceptable a single state than two Albanian states in NATO, EU, UN and other international organizations. This unified state should respect international standards especially for Serbian and Greek minorities in its territory.

⁶⁸⁶ ICG Europe Report N ° 153, 25 February 2004, page 7

⁶⁸⁷ See: Xhavit Shala, "Albanian issue and regional security." commentary held in Prishtina, 28 December 2010, in circles round table with the topic "Albanians as a factor of stability in the region", organized by the cultural association "Zeri Yne". Published in Pristina in the magazine "Paaja", No. 50, page 12. Published in Tirana in "Koha Jone" 5.1.5011.

2.1. Scenario 1 alone, or followed by scenario 2, as they do not affect the borders of other states in the Balkans, would constitute an acceptable solution for the internationals and mandatory for Albanians, simultaneously it would be an optimal final solution of the Albanian issue in the Balkans. These conditions make an existential threat towards the Albanian issue in the region and cause the minimum levels heading towards extinction. The Albanian issue became de-securitized and its ongoing treatment fell within the standard policy of the Albanian state and the states that have their political boundaries, parts of the Albano-sphere.

3. Albanian issue scenario in relation with Macedonia.

Under the conditions of the failure of the 1-st scenario in relation with Macedonia and the fact of not implementing Ohrid Agreement, the Albanian issue in relation with Macedonia, may take two directions:

3.1. The scenario of federalization of Macedonia.

Macedonian nationalist circles do not want co-existence with the Albanians. To rush the reaction of Albanians and to make them guilty for ethnic problems there, the political elite and the government of Skopje have reduced the Ohrid Agreement.⁶⁸⁸ The opinion that "Albanians and Macedonians are obstructing each other for a better future"⁶⁸⁹ has become a conviction. Albanians feel themselves seriously threatened and radicalize their actions. Macedonia plunges into crisis threatening to destabilize the Western Balkan regional sub-complex. The International factor intervenes strongly and, through a "new international conference in Macedonia"⁶⁹⁰ obliges the parties renegotiate the Ohrid Agreement and accept the federalization of Macedonia as a last chance for the not division of the state.

⁶⁸⁸ Xhejms Petijfer: *Southern Balkans 2009– Stability and Stasis*.p.9. Defence Academy of the UK

⁶⁸⁹ Ismet Ramadani: "Ethnic Albania map" as consequence."The World Today", 9.12.2011

⁶⁹⁰New International Conference, Albanians lawsuits in Macedonian-Albanian Democratic Union, March 21, 2011.

If the Macedonian political elite are convinced that they have the state of Macedonia together with the Albanians and without Albanians cannot be Macedonia in today borders, federalization option may be accepted by all parties: Albanians⁶⁹¹, Macedonians and the international community. Thereby is reduced the level of mutual threat and confrontation in the Western Balkan security sub-complex and Albanians and Macedonians de-securitized each other.

3.2. Macedonian division scenario. In the absence of Macedonian nationalist circles desire for coexistence with Albanians, of their fear of the "demographic bomb" Albania and "existent possibility that may become a minority in their own country,"⁶⁹² the implementation of the Macedonian Academy of Sciences project⁶⁹³, in terms of not acceptance of federalization of Macedonia, the Macedonian political elite manages to convince the international community and Albanians for a peaceful division of Macedonia. In these circumstances, Western Macedonia can be attached to the state of Kosovo, of Albania or in the first phase as a separate unit in the expected confederation or federation Albania. In this case there will be border changes in the structure of Western Balkan sub-complex of security. "The division of Macedonia would bring permanent solution to the Albanian and Macedonian issue"⁶⁹⁴there.

4. Albanian issue scenario in relation with Greece.

In conditions of the failure of the 1st scenario in relation with Greece, and with the rejection by the Greek State on the property issue of Cham community, Albanian issue regarding Greece recognizes these developments:

⁶⁹¹ *Federalization - real prospects for Macedonia, the new International Conference, lawsuits of the Albanians in the Macedonian-Albanian Democratic Union, March 21, 2011*

⁶⁹² *ICG Europe Report N ° 153, 25 February 2004. Page 30*

⁶⁹³ *Xhavit Shala: Macedonia: Ivanov, Albanians and the game with fire. "Shqip" dated 3.6.2009.*

⁶⁹⁴ *Prof.Dr. Rexhep Qosja: Albanians in the 100th anniversary of its Independence. Albtime.com, 14.6.2012..*

Under the influence of Northern Epirus, fascist and communist party circuits⁶⁹⁵ and under pressure from the Ministry of Defense, which does not agree to discuss the Cham issue⁶⁹⁶, the Hellenic diplomacy refuses "to open negotiations on the restoration of proper rights for Chams."⁶⁹⁷ Greek government refuses to treat this issue neither as a legal and technical issues related to properties which must be resolved on this basis⁶⁹⁸, nor as it was agreed in the "treaty of friendship, cooperation, good neighborliness and security between the Republic of Albania and the Republic of Greece".⁶⁹⁹

After consistently disregarding Cham heritage culture on behalf of the Greek authorities,⁷⁰⁰ and increasing pressure from the Cham community in Albania, but also their support from across the Albanian political spectrum",⁷⁰¹ Northern Epirus and fascists militant groups, may take violent action not only against the Cham cultural property there, but also against private property objects left over from the time of the violent expulsion of ethnic Albanians from the province. On the other hand, after exhausting without any success⁷⁰² all the legal ways⁷⁰³ for getting their properties⁷⁰⁴, Cham community members, especially the young one, will not obey the calls of neither the party that represents their interests, nor of the Albanian state calls to keep calm and patient. One part of them may radicalize the actions by protecting and managing their properties in Chameria. The Greek state will immediately start 'broom actions' against them, whereas in the rear of their "hunt" the established paramilitary groups from the Northern Epirus and armed militant "Golden Dawn" of

⁶⁹⁵ *Greek communists and neo-fascist: Prepare the Cham issue. Gazeta Standart 25/02/2008.*

⁶⁹⁶ *Miranda Vickers: The Cham Issue – Where to Now? p.9. Cited source*

⁶⁹⁷ *ICG Europe Report N ° 153, 25 February 2004, Page 4.*

⁶⁹⁸ *Interview of Prime Minister Sali Berisha. Kathimerini, 9.3.2008; Koha Jonë, 10.3.2008.*

⁶⁹⁹ *Ratified by Law no. 8127, dated 2.8.1996.*

⁷⁰⁰ *James Pettifer and Miranda Vickers: The challenge to preserve the cham heritage/2005, p.237.*

⁷⁰¹ *International Crisis Group: "Albania, State of the Nation". Europe Report no. 871. Tirana/London/Brussels, 1 March 2000.*

⁷⁰² *Decision 5/2006 of the Greek Supreme Court, legitimizes the Hellenic State "to sell the so-called real enemy of the Greeks living in Albania or Albanian origin." Korrieri, 10.2.2006; 28/06/2006 Shekulli.*

⁷⁰³ *SOS, Albanians risk losing properties in Greece. "Shqip", 22 December 2008*

⁷⁰⁴ *Mentor Nazarko: The Cham that denounced Greece in Strasbourg. ABC, Nr.25, 24.02.2006*

the fascist party⁷⁰⁵ will be engaged. This will force the Chams to organize and arm themselves. Thus, the armed conflict will start in the province. But a conflict related to Chameria can be very serious, dangerous and difficult to control. This is so, because Cham area is very wild area and easy enough for small groups of people to operate it, and very difficult for police and military operations to control it.⁷⁰⁶ The strongest clash, "which will take eight to twelve months, is expected in the northwest of Greece"⁷⁰⁷. Thousands of Albanian immigrants and 'arvanitas', will come with the Chams from all over Greece in solidarity. Meanwhile the efforts of the Greek authorities to blame Albania for the field developments will fail, because official Tirana has insisted for many years to solve it as "legal and technical issues related to ownership".

These developments will encourage the Macedonian community, as the Chams begin to get their properties in the North of Greece. Because of the conflict, the Greek political and economic crisis will deepen further. This will negatively affect the Balkan security Complex. Until an optimal solution of the conflict will be securitized immediately from the EU and NATO, that will mediate its political solution. But now Chams' legitimate complaints will turn into deeper national issues⁷⁰⁸ and they would not only ask for their properties.

5. Albanian issue scenario in relation with Serbia.

On the conditions of the failure of the 1st scenario in relation with Serbia, in terms of non-withdrawal of violence, secret discrimination and the dealing with high levels of intolerance by the majority of the Serb,⁷⁰⁹ in terms of systematic violations by

⁷⁰⁵ "Golden Dawn", has vowed to wipe out from Greece illegal immigrants. Human Rights Watch: xenophobic attacks in Greece have increased significantly. Balkanweb, 10.7.2012.

⁷⁰⁶ Interview James Petifer, given to the journalist Mentor Nazarko and published in the newspaper "ABC", nr. 20, datë 23.01.2006.

⁷⁰⁷ Milovan Dreçun: "The Union of Albanian state until ...", published by the Serbian newspaper "Glas javnosti", dated 01.03.2006. Cited source.

⁷⁰⁸ Ibid.

⁷⁰⁹ Minority Rights Group International. <http://www.minorityrights.org/4034/serbia/albanians.html>. 21.7.2012

Serbian of the Albanian rights and the silent ethnic cleansing there, it creates a new situation in the Albanian issue relations with Serbia. This is the case even with the withdrawal from the Covic Plan⁷¹⁰ in order to create a multiethnic force and the re-integration of the Albanian community in public institutions including the judiciary, and especially in terms of the waiver from Serbia of the agreement of Thaci-Dacic of 19 April 2013 signed with the mediation of Baroness Catherine Ashton in terms of Serbia's efforts to separate the north of Kosovo. In such case, possible scenarios in this case can be:

5.1. Land swap between Serbia and Kosovo

Kosovo and Serbia exchange territories. Based on the Helsinki Final Act, the governments of Serbia and Kosovo⁷¹¹, after consultation with the international community and their parliaments, settled and began the process of exchanging their respective territories and populations living in these territories. Under the advice of international experts bilateral teams are working normally to manage the process. On this occasion they gave the opportunity to the other interested Serbs inside Kosovo to move northward. At the end of this process, as it was agreed, Serbia recognizes Kosovo as an independent state.

In fact the International Crisis Group sees a potential that the southern Serbia's Presevo Valley dominated by Albanians, could be exchanged with the territory north of the Ibar River dominated by Serbs⁷¹². According to them, the peaceful exchange of the borders is permissible in principle, and expressly approved by the Helsinki Final Act⁷¹³. Also Erhard Busek initially supported this idea.⁷¹⁴ The exchange of territories

⁷¹⁰ I called the former Vice, Serbian Prime Minister Nebojsa Covic.

⁷¹¹ Shkëlzen Maliqi: "Can Kosova borders change?". Express, July 03 2012

⁷¹² ICG Balkans Report N°143, 28 Maj 2003.p.3

⁷¹³ "The Helsinki Final Act of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe", *Questions related to the issue of security in Europe (Declaration of Principles)*: "...frontiers can be changed, in accordance with international law, by peaceful means and by agreement."

proposal is articulated also from the Albanian personalities such as academic Rexhep Qosja⁷¹⁵, etc.

This scenario, if realized, will eventually solve the problems between Kosovo and Serbia and the Albanian issue in relation with Serbia. That in turn, would help Serbia and Kosovo to de-securitize each other, thus affecting positively the Western Balkan security sub-complex. But opportunities to realize it are few. This is because the international community will not currently support it. As it contradicts the principle of not changing the boundaries established by the Contact Group and also the Ahtisaari Plan on the basis of which is contoured the multi-ethnic Kosovo independence. International factor also fear the precedent to create ethnically pure states in the Balkans. This could pave the way for a change of borders in Macedonia and Bosnia. Serbia itself will also not agree to release the Presevo Valley, the strategic knot that controls the tenth corridor⁷¹⁶, because it has built an important military base there.⁷¹⁷

5.2. Serbia seeks the unification of northern Kosovo with Serbia.

Municipalities in the north of the Ibar River, under the support of Serbia⁷¹⁸ and "spiritual brother"⁷¹⁹ of Russia⁷²⁰, declared their independence from the state of Kosovo, and then, seeking union with Serbia. KFOR did not react, whereas the international organizations called the government of Kosovo for maturity. Serbia, for

⁷¹⁴ Erhard Busek, former coordinator of the Stability Pact for south eastern Europe. *Kohantet*, 4.2.2012; *Zëri* 04-02-2012; *Bota Sot*, 05.02.2012; *Balkanweb* 05.02. 2012.

⁷¹⁵ Rexhep Qosja: Presevo Valley with Kosovo, north of Serbia. *Lajmetshqip.com*, 13 February 2012.

⁷¹⁶ Milovan Dreçun, *Glas Javnosti*, 01.03.2006.

⁷¹⁷ Start building the Serbian military base in Serbia Cepotin a few miles from Bujanovac was made in 2005 and completed in 2009. Has an extension of 20 hectares and a capacity 1,000 soldiers. *Albanian Serbian militarization and demilitarization*, 26.11.2009. Press the Self-Determination movement.

⁷¹⁸ Prof. Daniel Serwer: *Nikolic is showing signs for partition*. *Tema*, June 4, 2012.

⁷¹⁹ Serbs are our spiritual brothers. Vladimir Putin's statement during his meeting with Serbian President Nikolic. *Balkanweb*, 27 May 2012.

⁷²⁰ Eugjeni Primakov: "Балканы и современный мир", "Независимая газета", 24.10.2011.

its part, declared that it will never join NATO⁷²¹ and did not insist to enter the EU. So the EU is unable to condition the behaviors of Serbia for Kosovo.

Meanwhile, they had earlier warned the Albanians of the Valley to declare independence from Serbia and unite with the Republic of Kosovo.⁷²² Serbia set the state of emergency in the valley and began to suppress with violence the Albanian political efforts there. After that Albanians radicalized their actions. Serb violence in the Eastern Kosovo brings strong reactions from Albania, a NATO member and Kosovo, whose security has been taken over by NATO. Albanians in Macedonia and Montenegro seek international intervention immediately on the northern part of Kosovo and begin preparations for secession from the state where they are. If the issue for the borders in the Balkans is opened, the Albanians would best live united in a single state.⁷²³ The division of Kosovo "will light a fire all over the Balkans up to Cyprus."⁷²⁴

Putin's election as president in Russia and Nikolic in Serbia actualized this scenario, which proved to be successful in Ossetia and Abhazi. Now "Kosovo and the Balkans have entered a dangerous period of divisions"⁷²⁵. Implementation of this scenario would restore the violence in the Balkan security sub-complex and threaten the European Union as a regional security complex and NATO interests in the region. Not to make this happen, the international community must take it seriously the necessity of expansion of Pristina's authority also over the Ibar River.

5.3. Serbia seeks autonomy for northern Kosovo

Serbian ruling elite intends as an intermediary stage, to seek territorial autonomy over the Ibar River, masked by the term "Ahtisaari Plus", sensing that the implementation

⁷²¹ Aleksander Vucic: Serbia won't join NATO. B92, 31, 8.2012.

⁷²² ICG Europe Report N ° 153, 25 February 2004, page 26

⁷²³ Thaçi: Changing borders in the Balkans unites the Albanians in one state. Sot News. 15.3.2012

⁷²⁴ Prof. Daniel Serwer: Nikolic is showing signs for partition of Kosovo. Kosovo and the Balkans have entered a dangerous period of divisions. Tema, June 4, 2012.

⁷²⁵ Ibid.

of the above scenario would isolate Serbia the same as during the time of Milosevic's. So a review of the Ahtisaari Plan only for the North, it is also articulated by some important European personality.⁷²⁶ For this, the municipalities in the north of the Ibar River, with the assistance of Serbia and the Russian Federation, hold elections for the regional parliament, which at its first meeting after the constitution proclaims the autonomy of the territories north of the Ibar River. The European Union formally qualifies as a unilateral action, while supporting the project for the north "Ahtisaari Plus". While KFOR did not act towards the new established barricades, seeking political solution⁷²⁷ for them and did not take over the transport Kosovo customs officers at border points with Serbia. Eventually, the border between Kosovo and Serbia are taken under the administration of Serbian parallel structures. The Russian Federation responded positively to the requirement of 20 thousand Serbs from northern Kosovo⁷²⁸ with a specific law and gave them the Russian citizenship⁷²⁹, insisting directly to be included on the Kosovo issue. The Albanians in the Presevo Valley-Eastern Kosovo also declared autonomy from Belgrade⁷³⁰. But for a long time the "Serbian army is turning more and more to military and paramilitary methods to control the region,"⁷³¹ increasing tensions and anti-reaction of Albanians in Eastern Kosovo. Even the Albanians in Macedonia, leave the central government and insist for its federalism. The municipalities with Albanians in majority "merged into larger geographic units and announce regional autonomy"⁷³². Meanwhile Albanian political forces in Montenegro sent to the Montenegrins parliament, a "Memorandum for the

⁷²⁶ Maeshane backs "Ahtisaari Plus" for North Kosovo. *BalkanInsight*, 31.12.2011.

⁷²⁷ KFOR Commander General Erhard Drews said dated 09/08/2012: "barricades over the Ibar River is a strong political symbol is not reasonable that the withdrawal is strongly ... political symbols removal tools/military did not bring good results." Muhammad Brajshori, *Southeast European Times*, Pristina 28.08.2012.

⁷²⁸ 20 thousand Kosovo Serbs want to become Russian citizens. *Radio Russia*, 14.11.2011.

⁷²⁹ Kosovo Serbs want to become Russian: Call for help or publicity? *Dojce Welle*, 21.12.2011

⁷³⁰ Shaban Murati: *Autonomy in the Presevo Valley, request time.* "Balkanweb, September 26, 2011.

⁷³¹ Xhejms Petifer: *Southern Balkans 2009– Stability and Stasis.* p.8. Published By: Defence Academy of the UK. ISBN 978-1-905962-71-6.

⁷³² "Unitarism vs. federalism: eternal dilemma of multiethnic societies. the case of the Republic of Macedonia". *Forum – Center for Strategic Research and Documentation, Skopje.* February 2009 – January 2011. p.2

special status of Albanians in Montenegro" and declared strongly that, if rejected like in 1994⁷³³, they will organize a popular referendum. Consequently, that raised ethnic tensions and the risk of destabilization in the small Republic of Montenegro. The state of Kosovo itself lost functionality after Ahtisaari Plan stumble, the basis on which it declared independence. Thus, out of the multiethnic began the outlining of two of its ethnic. In the meantime outside the Albano-sphere, the Republika Srpska declared union with Serbia, thus destabilizing Bosnia and Herzegovina.

Although this scenario did not change the borders of Kosovo in the short term acceptable by the international community, the withdrawal of the Ahtisaari Plan and providing a "Ahtisaari Plus", actually meant the autonomy for the Albano-sphere over Ibar River, associated with the developments that will destabilize the Western Balkan security sub-complex. Also they "raised the voices for the redefinition of borders in the Balkans together with the growth of nationalist sentiment in all the countries of the region; Europe cannot manage these events incapable to move beyond the current membership race platform; U.S. role fades, but attempts to lead from the rear."⁷³⁴

Developments under this scenario, driven in the Albano-sphere as a result of granting autonomy for the North of Kosovo, will affect the four constitutive levels of the Western Balkan security sub-complex, respectively state-level security states related with the Albano-sphere; at the regional level respectively relations of these countries with Kosovo and Albania; in the inter regional level, respectively the relations of the Western Balkan sub-complex with the Balkan complex itself and Western European security; as well as at the global level, prompting the intervention of powerful global actors, state or non-state actors. Interaction of these four constitutive elements will affect the changes in the structure of Western Balkan security sub-complex and changes in the structure of the sub-complex dictate its internal transformations. So

⁷³³ *Keneth Morrison, Page.125*

⁷³⁴ *Kipred, Kosovar Institute for Policy Research and Development: autonomy for northern Kosovo: Disclosure of scenarios and the consequences for the region. "Page 24-25. Pristina July 2012.*

under this scenario the developments will make the Albanian issue in the region to influence and dictate the anarchic structure changes of polarity and the dominant social model friendship/enmity in the Western Balkan security complex. So will change the anarchic structure of the sub-complex, because of the changes of the borders or the risk of the dissolution of particular states like Bosnia, Macedonia and Kosovo; change of the polarity, i.e. respectively there will be another redistribution of power in this part of the Balkan-sphere which has an increasing level of hostility among nations. These internal transformations will make indispensable the redefinition of borders in the Balkans.

6. Scenario of redefinition of borders in the Balkan.

The implementation of Serbian scenarios to separate Kosovo or even territorial autonomy over the Ibar River, disguised as a "Ahtisaari Plus", as we explained above, will provoke chain transformations in the Western Balkan security sub-complex, transformations which will lead to a redefinition of boundaries of the Western Balkans. In order to do so, it would be necessary to hold an International Conference for the redefinition of borders in the Balkans.

In fact, the proposal for an international conference for the Balkans to redefine the boundaries on an ethnic basis was laid years ago by popular political figures like Lord Owen,⁷³⁵ U.S. Congressman Dana Rohabacher⁷³⁶, etc. At the core of this scenario is the idea that multi-ethnic societies will always be vulnerable in terms of security. In this scenario the redefinition of borders in the Balkans would be on ethnic basis, so creating more homogeneous communities."A new congress of Berlin will stabilize the region in the long term. The major world powers, but also the players in the Balkan terrain, have an interest in such a conference for the long-term solution to

⁷³⁵ *Dr. David Owen, the former British Foreign Secretary and negotiator for the peace plan in Yugoslavia.*

⁷³⁶ *Fehmi Ramadani: redefinition of borders with the state agreement. Telegrafi.com, 4.9.2010*

the problems inherited in the Balkans.⁷³⁷ "The second Congress of Berlin should be held after serious diplomatic preparations... the ground should be prepared through talks in the backstage, these talks should be kept away from the eyes and ears of the public"⁷³⁸.

This is a radical and painful scenario. However, positively influenced the four constitutive elements in the regional security sub-complex, respectively the growth of security parameters in the states of the region itself, reducing the level of hostility and normalization of relations between these countries, the region's relations with the European Union and security at the global level, will achieve eventually to establish a lasting peace in the Western Balkan security sub-complex. This would enable the inclusion of all Albano-sphere in a single state, giving a final solution of the Albanian national issue and Albanian issue in the Balkans.

An option is pretty difficult to be realized. The redefinition of borders presupposes strong action, determining and coordinating the international leading factors, mainly the U.S. and the EU.⁷³⁹ This would happen if the key international actors will have vital strategic interests in the region. Even though U.S. has not yet completed the mission in the Balkans⁷⁴⁰, the attention has focused on its vital interests in the Asia-Pacific⁷⁴¹. The EU is interested in the Balkans, because its instability constitutes a threat to its security complex. But the EU is not for such radical solutions, because this contradicts with its philosophy of inclusion, cooperation and multiculturalism. Also, all the U.S. and EU diplomatic action may resolve the crisis in the Balkans. After 1990, the mission has been to support the multi-ethnic organization of the constituent units of the Balkan security complex. Even Germany as the "first violin"

⁷³⁷ *Ivor Roberts, president of Trinita College of Oksfordit and former British ambassador in Belgrade. Bota Sot, 11.07.2012; Ballkamweb, 11 July 2012.*

⁷³⁸ *Ibid.*

⁷³⁹ *Prof. Ognyan Minchev: Settlement of the post-conflict Balkan status quo: several options.p.1. Iris 2005.*

⁷⁴⁰ *Has been completed the U.S. mission in the Balkans? VOA, 15.4.2009.*

⁷⁴¹ *President Barack Obama announced that the Asia and Pacific region is a top priority of U.S. defense policy. Panetta: 60 percent of the U.S. fleet in the Pacific, Shqip, 2 June 2012*

in the EU clearly stated that: "There is no border change in the Balkans. Any attempt by any party to change the borders in the Balkans, whether that is an Albanian dream that sometimes comes to light or the Serbian initiative of any kind, we refuse categorically"⁷⁴².

Official Tirana⁷⁴³ and Pristina⁷⁴⁴ also have distanced themselves from the idea of the redefinition of borders in the Balkans. But the revision of borders in the Balkans is in fact already a public platform of the two current Serbian leaders, Nikolic and Dacic⁷⁴⁵. Therefore, through their current actions in the north of the Ibar River, the Serbs are trying to put on the agenda the full or partial redefinition of borders in the Balkans. This should not find unprepared the political elite in the Albano-sphere.

⁷⁴²Statement in the German parliament spokesman for Foreign policy issues in the German liberal faction (FDP) Rainer Stinner. The same decision also was supported by the Democristian politician (CDU) Peter Beyer and Greens MP, Omid Nouripour. *World Today* | 25.05.2012.

⁷⁴³Prof. Dr. Sali Berisha: No change of borders in the Balkans. During the meeting with Congressman Engel, PM Berisha confirmed the position of the Albanian government for the preservation of existing borders in the Balkans, the best policy in the service of peace and stability in the region. *LajmeShqip.com*, 20 September 2011.

⁷⁴⁴Dr. Enver Hoxhaj, Foreign Minister of the Republic of Kosovo: *Redrawing Borders in the Balkans Is Closed Chapter*. Exclusive interview of *Novinite.com* (Sofia News Agency), July 1, 2011.

⁷⁴⁵Shkëlzen Maliqi: "Can Kosova borders change?" *Express*, July 03, 2012

Conclusions

In this study after we studied and treated for a period of more than a hundred years of the mutual relationship between the degrees of resolution of the Albanian issue with the regional security, based on research, case studies, analysis and synthesis, we arrive at these conclusions:

The Albanian issue is a peaceful political process which has at its core the unification of a large part of the Albano-sphere into a single state, defined as a major strategic objective and dictated by: the necessity to withstand the existential threat toward the nation and the Albano-sphere; the need to restore full capacity for the overall national development; the need for progress and equalization of Albanians with other nations; the necessity for the redistribution of power and the establishment of balance, crucial for the peace and security in the region and beyond, process that should not run counter to the trend of Euro-Atlantic integration of the Albanians and the region itself.

While the concept of regional security in the Balkans means studying and analyzing the security of each actor in the region, in the complex and closely related to the security of other Balkan actors. The term "region" in security studies, in addition to the geographical aspect, also means the dynamic interaction of actors. The Balkan region in the concept of security means, a space created as a result of the forced interaction and the mutual influence of the Balkan actors in security issues, thus forming the Balkan security complex.

The Balkan security complex analysis gives us the key for the explanation of security issues in the Balkan region and the mutual relations of the Albanian issue with it. This analysis includes four levels (constitutive elements) of the Balkan security complex in the Balkans, respectively order, stability and security of the countries in the region (within the state level); relations between the countries of the Balkan region (regional level), Balkan regional cooperation with neighboring regions (inter

regional level) and the role of world powers in the region (global level) which, interrelated together, make up the constellation of security (the model formed by the interaction of four levels: internal, regional, interregional and global) in the Balkan. Following the analysis of the Balkan security complex is concluded that the:

Albanian unresolved issue has negatively affected the order, stability and security (within the state level) of the Ottoman Empire, Serbia, Montenegro, Macedonia, Greece and consequently the Balkan security complex. The continued failure to fulfill and ignore the legitimate demands of ethnic Albanians that live in the Albanian geopolitical space within the political borders of Serbia, Montenegro, Macedonia and Greece, or that have their properties in these countries, can lead to the radicalization of their demands and actions, thus creating problems not only for the security of these countries, but also further for the regional security.

Albanian issue in the region, the manner and the degree of its solution is influenced and has consistently and significantly in turn influenced the polarity and balance of power in the Balkans (regional level). No timely solution of the Albanian issue and exclusion of Albanians during the regional balance of power configuration after the fall of the Ottoman Empire and in continuity have made this balance in the Balkans fragile and the regional security complex to be threatened. Incomplete solution of the Albanian issue in 1912-1913, leaving more than half of Albano-sphere along the three of the four Albanian vilayets centers outside the borders of the curtailed Albanian state, negatively affected the polarity of the Balkan security complex, unfair distribution of power in the disadvantage of Albanians and systematic violations until today. The national rights of Albanians in the region, the relations between the neighboring countries themselves, and prevention of the development and prosperity of the Albanian nation and state, negatively affected the Balkan security complex. The creation of the Independent State of Kosovo and its commitment for good relations with all its neighbors, including the Republic of Serbia, has contributed positively in the regional security. The creation of the independent state of Kosovo

and the signing of the Ohrid Agreement influenced the correction, although not complete, of the polarity in the Balkan security complex. This led to a redistribution of power in the region in favor of the Albanians. This is impacting positively the Balkan security complex and is contributing to the opportunities for more harmony and peace in the Balkans.

The Albanian issue has occupied an important place in cooperation with the Balkan and the neighboring regions (inter-regional level). Albanian geopolitical space, with an enviable geostrategic position in the shores of the Adriatic, became a place in which there are clashes of not only the interests of regional states, but also of the interests of states from other regions, concretely Italy, Austria-Hungary and Russia. Italy and Austria-Hungary obtained parts of the Albano-sphere and Russia demolished the dam (Albanian issue) to prevent the infiltration of South Slavs towards the Adriatic Sea. In addition to the war and the efforts of the Albanian people for freedom and independence, the collision of these interests would affect the manner and degree of the solution of the Albanian issue in the region and its relations with the regional security.

Later, the necessity to resolve the Albanian issue encouraged the region cooperation with the neighboring regions and other international actors, especially on the eve and after the Kosovo crisis. Albano-sphere is very important for the Balkan security complex. Non-solution of the Albanian issue jeopardized not only the Balkans, but also the neighboring complex, European Union, as well as the interests of the other powerful international state and non-state actors, such as the U.S. and NATO. Therefore, the Albanian issue was securitised by them. In addition to the war and the efforts of the Albanians, was the crucial intervention of NATO, U.S. and EU. These actors from other regions made possible the Kosovo of today to be an independent state. It was also their interference and pressure that forced the Albanians to sign the Ohrid and Koncul Agreement. These actors and the neighboring regional complex, also took upon themselves the obligation to be the guarantor of the implementation of

these agreements. This degree of resolution of the Albanian issue in the region, has had a positive impact on the constellation (model) of the security in the Balkans.

The Albanian issue in the Balkans is influenced significantly by the role of world powers in the region (global level), but it has also influenced the relations between them. The Albanian issue in the Balkans was created by the Great Powers of the time. These key geo-politics actor did not allow at that time the Albanian people to build its own independent state in all their Albanian geo-political space. World powers, as the most important global security actors of the time, have always been involved in the Balkans security issues and have securitized it in their policies. They continuously have intervened or affected the Balkan security complex as well as the Albanian issue, for their own interests, by coordinating actions together but also separately.

The clash of two great powers of the time, Italy and Austria-Hungary, on the eve and during World War I, to acquire part of the Albano-sphere, made Italy to enter into secret negotiations with Antanta, its opponent alliance, negotiations that ended with the London Agreement of 13 April 1915, where Italy took guarantees for the fulfillment of its claims for the Albano-sphere parts and joined the opposing alliance. But with the passage of Italy to Entente, broke the balance of forces in Europe between the two alliances, respectively the Triple Alliance (Central Powers) and Triple Agreement (Entente). So there was a regrouping of forces in Europe. Triple agreement already became quadruple and the balance inclined in favor of the Entente powers, changing the course of World War I.

The obstruction that world powers of the time made for the complete solution of the Albanian issue in the region was the biggest mistake and the worst investment that these powers did in the Balkan security complex and wider. Subsequently, there could not be peace and security in the Balkans, without rectifying the consequences of this tragic error.

But the creation of the independent state of Kosovo and Albanian issue resolution to the current levels cannot even be imagined, without the intervention in the region and

in the Albanian issue of the major world powers. The impact and support that major world powers gave to the Albanian issue solution process in the region has had a positive impact on the constellation (model) of security of the Balkan security complex.

So the analysis of the mutual relations between the degrees of resolution of the Albanian issue with four levels (four constitutive elements) of the Balkan security complex, we conclude that the Albanian issue has affected and continues to affect the four constitutive elements of the Balkan security complex, thus affecting the regional security. The creation of the independent state of Kosovo and Albanian issue resolution to current levels has had a positive impact on the Balkan security complex. However, interactions between the four constitutive elements of the Balkan security complex determine the changes in the essential structure of this complex, respectively in the borders of the Balkan complex, its anarchic structure, the polarity-separation of power between regional actors and in the construction model friendship/enmity between them.

And changes in the essential structure, creates opportunity for the internal transformation of the Balkan complex, which includes changes in the anarchic structure, polarity and dominant model of friendship / enmity. They also create the possibility for external transformations for the changes of the Balkan security complex borders.

During this work we also proved that the Albanian issue through the impact into the four constitutive elements of the Balkan security complex has affected and continues to affect the essential structure of this complex, simultaneously enabling and making indispensable the internal transformations of the Balkan security complex. That means that the Albanian issue in the region has affected and will continue to affect the anarchic structure changes, polarity and the dominant social model friendship/enmity, until its final resolution.

And the final resolution of the Albanian issue is the peaceful political process of the unification of the majority of the Albano-sphere into a single state, process that should not run counter to the trend of Euro-Atlantic integration of the Albanians and the region itself.

Kosovo's independence, as part of the Albanian issue solution process in the region and as an important step towards its final solution, has reduced to a considerable extent but not conclusively, the degree of existential threat against the nation and Albano-sphere in region. Through the change of the anarchic structure, polarity and dominant social model friendship/enmity in the Balkan security complex, it has a positive impact on peace, stability and regional security. Peace, security and stability in the region are the conditions for a Euro-Atlantic integration of the Balkans. Following this logic, the peaceful union of the majority of the Albano-sphere into a single state as the final solution of the Albanian issue in the region, will further positively affect not only the regional security, but also the process of Euro-Atlantic integration of the Western Balkans.

The peaceful political process of the national unification and Euro-Atlantic integration as two strategic objectives of the Albanians, not only do not contradict, but complement each other. By advancing in the process of European integration, the Albanians have advanced in terms of peaceful national unification and vice versa, the advancement towards the peaceful national unification, which contributes to Euro-Atlantic integration processes of the Albanians and the region.

Nowadays it is very difficult to claim a final solution of the Albanian national issue and the Albanian issue in the region for the unification of all ethnic Albanian lands into a single state, as our Renaissance had anticipated. This is so because today, ethnic Albanian lands respectively the Albanian geopolitical space, "operates" six state actors of the Balkan security complex. Two of these actors are independent Albanian states.

However, the availability of two the Albanian state actors in the Balkan-sphere facilitates significantly the solution of the Albanian issue in the region. After that, there exist all the opportunities that Albania and Kosovo, at an appropriate time, unite into a single state as two independent and sovereign states out of the will of the people expressed in popular referendums, in terms of non-opposition to key international actors.

The creation of the independent state of Kosovo and the possible unification of the two future Albanian states in the Balkans, the implementation of the Ohrid Agreement in full and without any equivocation, full respect for national rights of Albanians in Montenegro and East Kosovo-Presevo Valley, and the beginning of the property and citizenship process restitution for the Cham community, providing that it does not violate the borders of other countries in the Balkans, would constitute an internationally acceptable solution and obligatory for Albanians. At the same time it would constitute an optimal final solution of the Albanian issue in the Balkans. Under these conditions, the existential threat towards the Albanian issue in the region would decrease in minimum levels. The Albanian issue will be de-securitized and its ongoing treatment would be made within the standard policy of the Albanian state and states that have parts of the Albano-sphere within their political borders.

The Albanian state in its national security policy has determined that the solution of the Albanian issue in the region will be achieved through solutions that will provide long-term guarantees and acceptable to the international community. Also, the international community will not tolerate the idea of using force to reunify all Albanians in one state. Therefore peaceful political process of the national union, as the closing phase of the process of the final solution for the Albanian issue in the region, will be a process completely political, democratic and non-violent.

Efforts for the peaceful unification of the majority of the Albano-sphere into a single state, as a final solution of the Albanian issue in the region, does not means attempt for a Greater Albania, but the efforts to create the Albanian National State and the

correction of a great injustice. The parallelism that is often done through the efforts of Serbs for Greater Serbia or Greeks for Greater Greece is completely anti-Albanian. That is so, because the modern concept of national ethnic state is at the core of Albanian efforts for national unification, but at the core of Greek and Serbian project is only the medieval imperial concept.

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League:

League I.1

The expansion of Slavs in Balcan



Source: The University of North Carolina at Pembroke
http://www.uncp.edu/home/rwb/lecture_mid_civ.htm

League I.2



Four vilajets of Albania, under the Ottoman rule

The edited by author

League I.3

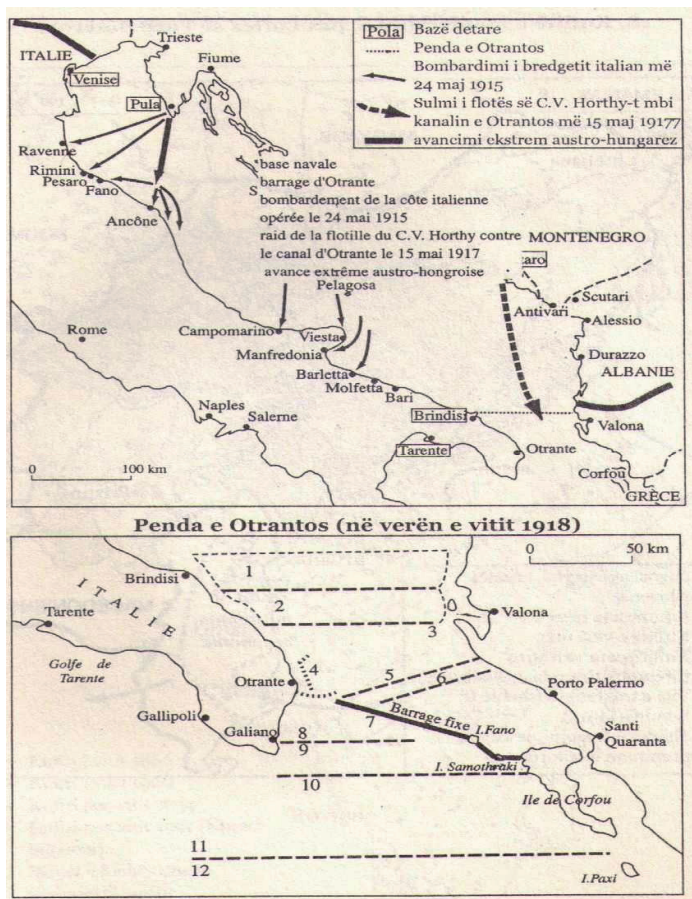
Occupied areas during World War I



Source: "'History of Albanian People", Part III. P. 83

League I.4

The ambush of Otranto Canal



Source: Pierre Cabanes: "History of Adriatic", P. 565

League I.5

Fragmentation of the Albanian State according to the secret Treaty of London



Source: "History of Albanian People", Part III. p. 78

League I.6

Railway projects in albanian territories



Source: S. Drashkiç: "Europa i Allbansko Pitanje" 1830-1921", f.148

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