

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

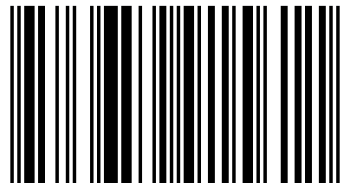


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Albanian Issue and Regional Security Complex



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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. Waever¹⁵, 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 Waever: *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 Waever *Regions and Powers; the Structure of International Security*.p.51