

**GEORG ECKERT
INSTITUT**

Leibniz-Institut für internationale
Schulbuchforschung



INSTITUTI I TRASHËGIMISË SHPIRITËRORE E KULTURORE TË SHQIPTARËVE – SHKUP
ИНСТИТУТ ЗА ДУХОВНО И КУЛТУРНО НАСЛЕДСТВО НА АЛБАНЦИТЕ – СКОПЈЕ
INSTITUTE OF SPIRITUAL AND CULTURAL HERITAGE OF THE ALBANIANS – SKOPJE

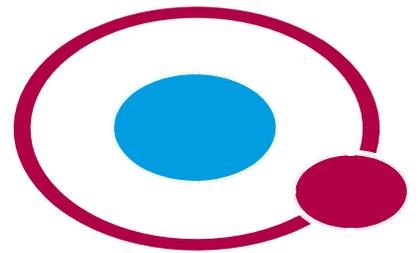
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Auswärtiges Amt



Conference Historiography and History Education in the South Slavic- and Albanian- Speaking Regions



3-4 June 2015, Skopje

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Program

3-4 June 2015, Skopje

Tuesday, 2 June. Hotel Solun

- 17:00-18:30 Guided tour with Besnik Emini on Albanian-Macedonian relations in Skopje
19:00 Getting to know each other over dinner in Hotel Solun

Wednesday, 3 June. National and University Library "Sveti Kliment Ohridski", 6, Булевар Гоце Делчев (Boulevard Goce Delchev)

- 9:00 - 10:00 **Welcome addresses from Skender Asani, Dragi Gjorgiev and Eckhardt Fuchs (directors of the ITSHKSH, INI and GEI)**
- 10:00 - 11:30 **I. Current issues in Macedonian history textbooks (introductory panel)**
Chair and commentator: Dragi Gjorgiev, Skopje
- History textbooks between reality and ideology**
Skender Asani & Albert Hani, Skopje
- Ethnocentric history textbooks in a multi-ethnic society: The case of the Republic of Macedonia**
Violeta Petroska-Beshka & Nikolina Kenig, Skopje
- The threatening "Other": image(s) of Macedonia's neighbours in history textbooks**
Irena Stefoska, Skopje
- 11:45 - 12:45 **II. Cross-cultural history (first half of the 20th century)**
Chair and commentator: Petar Todorov, Skopje/Istanbul
- Social similarities and traces of economic entanglement between Albanians and Macedonians in rural Western Macedonia between the 1930s and the 1960s**
Robert Pichler, Berlin
- The cultural activities of Albanian emigrants in Bulgaria at the end of the nineteenth and the beginning of the twentieth century**
Besnik Emini, Skopje
- 12:45 - 14:00 Lunch break
- 14:00 - 16:00 **III. The "Other" in history textbooks from 1945 to the present**
Chair and commentator: Eckhardt Fuchs, Braunschweig
- The image of Slavic neighbours in the history of Albanian textbooks**
Etleva Nita, Elbasan
- Perennial enemies: the presentation of Slavs in national history textbooks of Albania**
Enis Sulstarova, Tirana
- The Other: representations of ethnic Albanians in Macedonian history textbooks**
Petar Todorov, Skopje

- Representing war and revolution in school history textbooks from neighbouring states: a comparison between Macedonia and Albania**
Kosta Giakoumis et al., Tirana
- 16:30 **Welcome speech of the German ambassador Dr. Christine D. Althausen**
- 17:00 - 18:30 Keynote lecture, Prof. Dr. Nathalie Clayer, EHESS Paris
Albanians, Slavs and others: elements of a shared history
Introduction and comments by Irena Stefoska, Skopje
- 19:00 Continuing discussion over dinner at Stara Kuќa, бул. Филип Втори Македонски бр.14

Thursday, 4 June. Hotel Solun
10, Никола Вапцаров (Nikola Vapcarov, near Ploshtad Makedonija)

- 9:00 – 10:30 **IV: Ethnographic views on “otherness”**
Chair and commentator: Besnik Emini, Skopje
- “In our community we spoke Turkish”: (hi)stories of a shared past in pre-war Pristina**
Denis Ermolin, St. Petersburg
- Images of the Self and images of the Other among school students in Mirdita, Albania**
Andreas Hemming, Halle
- Forging the enemy: the transformation of common Serbian-Albanian traits into enmity and political hostility**
Aleksandar Pavlović, Belgrade
- 10:45- 11:45 **V: Albanian-(south) Slavic relations after WWII**
Chair and commentator: Nathalie Clayer, Paris
- Albanian-Yugoslav relations (1945-1948) and their presentation in school history textbooks**
Esilda Luku, Durrës
- Slovenes and Albanians in the twentieth century: Changing perceptions – from orientalism to sharing state cohabitation**
Jurij Hadalin, Ljubljana
- 12:00 –13:00 **Final comments from all panel chairs and discussion of the findings of the three-year project on Albanian textbooks conducted at the GEI: *What still needs to be investigated by future research and in which direction do we want to go? What will be the projects and research questions that emerge from them?***
Facilitator: Claudia Lichnofsky, Braunschweig
- 13:00 Networking over lunch at the hotel

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About us

The Georg Eckert Institute for international textbook research. Member of the Leibniz Association (GEI)

The Georg Eckert Institute conducts application-oriented, multidisciplinary research into textbooks and educational media, informed primarily by history and cultural studies. It also provides advisory services to national and international education policymakers, practitioners and organisations, and acts as a coordinator and mediator in international issues and projects around textbooks. Research, knowledge transfer and research infrastructure services are all closely interconnected at the GEI; as a non-university institution both carrying out and facilitating research into textbooks and educational media, the institute is on its way to becoming an internationally recognised centre of excellence in the field.

One of the principal attractions of the GEI to researchers from around the world is its research library, whose collection of history, social studies, religious studies and geography textbooks is unparalleled worldwide. The GEI's information and communication gateway *Edumeres.net* provides virtual access to the world of textbook and educational media research; among its principal features are the user-led textbook reviews it publishes. The institute's extensive programme of fellowships and scholarships is dedicated to raising awareness of textbooks and research into them and advancing academic work in the field, as is its research award for outstanding work in the area and its support scheme for visiting academics. The year 2012 saw the inception of the "Textbook of the Year" award, with which the GEI honours excellence in educational media annually at the Leipzig Book Fair.

TEXTBOOKS: A HOT TOPIC

The condensed and canonical character of the information selected for and presented in textbooks gives them central significance in academic, political and educational respects. Textbooks, as carriers of the knowledge and information that one generation wishes to pass on to the next, frequently find themselves at the centre of political controversy. They may promote prejudice and animosity, yet can also contribute to reconciliation and peace-building.

TEXTBOOK RESEARCH AT THE GEI

In comparison with established academic disciplines such as history and sociology, research into textbooks is a relatively new field and is not yet represented as a subject at universities. This situation makes it all the more crucial for those working in the field, and approaching it from a range of academic disciplines and regional contexts, to have recourse to a space for scholarly discussion and mutual support and a resource for the provision of data, sources and information. The GEI is that space; its internationally renowned research library, its publications, its fellowship programme, its wide range of events, and not least the many

researchers working there make for a stimulating, inspiring and supportive atmosphere for academics engaged in research into educational media.

OUR VISION

The Georg Eckert Institute for International Textbook Research, member of the Leibniz Association, contributes to improving education in schools around the world. Education is the cornerstone of our future in the societies we live in. As an academic institute, we are dedicated to ensuring that future generations are brought up with open minds, able to reflect on their attitudes and beliefs and embrace responsibility and democracy. In this way we hope to promote peace and international understanding.

OUR MISSION

At the GEI we work to develop a better understanding of the past, the present and the future through our research activities. We are able to analyse textbooks and other teaching materials from diverse geographical regions and time periods from the perspective of a range of academic disciplines. We make recommendations to policymakers and educational practitioners on how textbooks might be used to transcend difficulties in communication and understanding within or between societies. Our research infrastructure enables research into textbooks and allows us to support international partners working towards similar aims.

OUR PRINCIPLES AND VALUES

We approach others with open minds. We cultivate an atmosphere of respectful cooperation both within the institute and with our external partners. This means respecting other cultures and traditions, acknowledging people's achievements and commitment, accepting responsibility, displaying sensitivity in our interactions with one another, being open and interested. We do what we do because we believe in it and we are dedicated to continuing the work begun by Georg Eckert. Our research embodies excellence as well as inter- and transdisciplinarity. We critically assess our field in collaboration with our many national and international partners. We take pride in our library and its unique and extensive collection of international textbooks. Our library is open to researchers and the interested public from around the world.

HISTORY

After the hyper-nationalism of the First World War, the League of Nations promoted international textbook revision. The detrimental role played by textbooks in shaping the concept of the enemy had become abundantly clear.

UNESCO continued this work after the Second World War. The Braunschweig historian Georg Eckert, who later became the chairman of the German UNESCO commission, was one of the catalysts behind this renewed textbook revision. He campaigned for international communication and understanding through cooperation on textbooks and history teaching. Until his death in 1974 he organised bi- and multilateral textbook conferences and meetings,

primarily with Germany's neighbours and previous enemies. The Georg Eckert Institute was founded in its current form in 1975 as the result of a new law passed by the state parliament of Lower Saxony.

Important steps on the long path to international understanding include the 1951 'Franco-German Agreement on Controversial Issues in European History' (Franco-German Textbook Commission) and the 1975 'Recommendations for History and Geography Textbooks in the Federal Republic of Germany and the People's Republic of Poland.' (German-Polish Textbook Commission). The latter generated a long and sometimes embittered controversy. In 1985, German and Israeli scholars agreed on the 'German-Israeli Textbook Recommendations' (Israeli-Palestinian Textbook Project). In 1985, the Georg Eckert Institute was awarded the *UNESCO Prize for Peace Education*.

Georg Eckert – a short biography

Georg Eckert was born in Berlin on the 14th of August 1912 to social democratic parents. As a child he was a member of the Socialist Workers' Youth Party (SAJ) and later of the SPD as well as of the Reichsbanner Schwarz Rot Gold (Black, Red, Gold, Banner of the Reich). In 1931, he matriculated at Berlin University in the subjects history, geography, German, ethnology and folklore. His teachers included historians such as Lassalle's biographer, Hermann Oncken and the left-wing Arthur Rosenberg. The political climate of the Weimar republic inevitably drew the young Georg Eckert, who had been chair of the socialist student body since 1932, into open opposition of the National Socialist groups campaigning at the university. In 1933 he secretly left Berlin for Bonn University where he changed his specialist area to ethnology, hoping that this would enable him to avoid National Socialist historical ideologies as much as possible. Geography and history remained his minor subjects. In 1935 under Hermann Trimborn, an expert in American studies and ethnology from Bonn, he completed his doctorate with a thesis on Micronesia. Eckert passed his first state examination in 1936 and qualified as a teacher in 1938. It was during this period that Eckert, following the advice of his comrades, joined the NSDAP as cover for his socialist beliefs. He was never an active member. As a young academic, he carried out his military service from February 1940 to February 1941 during the French campaign. On his return, Eckert was briefly trained as a meteorologist and, following the German occupation of Greece, was sent to Thessaloniki in July 1941 where he was put in charge of the weather station. Eckert's duties included the building of meteorological stations and the evaluation of weather data. He combined these duties with ethnological field work and used his evenings to read various ethnological articles on Greece and to write his Habilitation thesis on 'The Cult of the Dead and Belief in Life in the Cauca Valley' (Totenkult und Lebensglaube im Caucatal). During a period of leave in 1943, the 31-year-old Georg Eckert qualified as a lecturer in ethnology at Bonn University.

The field work he had undertaken had also allowed him to make contact with Greek partisans. After the failed assassination attempt on Hitler on the 20th July 1944, Eckert and some of his comrades deserted the German army to join the 'Greek People's Liberation Army' (ELAS), the military branch of the National Liberation Front (EAM). On the eve of the Greek civil war in February 1945, most of the group, including Eckert, gave themselves up to British troops. The British intended to take Eckert to London but on the way there, in Rome, he contracted a life-threatening lung abscess and, the war now being over, was transported directly to a military hospital in Goslar where he arrived in August 1945.

While still confined to his sick-bed, Eckert contacted former party comrades and through them first met Alfred Kubel, an acquaintance which was to become significant. During his last days as Governor of Brunswick in autumn 1946, Kubel requested that Eckert leave Goslar and come to Brunswick, to the 'Kant University for Teacher Training', which would later become the teacher-training college. As lecturer of 'History and Methods of History Teaching' (he was only made professor in 1952), Georg Eckert, together with political scientist Heinrich Rodenstein, worked towards establishing a more university-oriented teacher training course. This was done in close cooperation with the British military government and in accordance with the occupation statutes. The government also gave Eckert the task of developing new curricula for history lessons. The early manuscripts show that his approach already leaned towards social history and the history of economics which was unusual for German historians of the period. By doing this, Eckert consciously opposed the apolitical history lessons that were exclusively based on cultural history. This can be seen especially in his series 'Material for History Lessons' (Beiträge für den Geschichtsunterricht), which appeared in print for the first time in 1947. Printed on waste paper discarded by newspaper publishers, the source collections for teachers concentrated on topics such as 'The Peasants' Revolt', 'The Revolution of 1848/49' or 'The Pre-March Era' (Der Vormärz). These topics had not been included in German history lessons until that point and there was a distinct lack of support resources. The series aimed to present the material in a way that enabled teachers to form their own historical and political opinions. Importantly the booklets also provided materials that were otherwise hard to find due to the lack of textbooks and the destruction of both public and private libraries. About a decade later, in the late 1950s, Eckert used this material to support the foundation of the 'Archive for Social History' (Archiv für Sozialgeschichte), which was in great demand for its contribution to history teaching, as was 'Material for History Lessons' of which 300,000 copies were sold by 1950 alone.

According to Eckert's belief, education should not and could not only include the history of the elites, but must be the history of the people and must include their cultural, economic, political and social development. It was part of his credo to enable young people to form their own independent opinions on historical matters. This was also his main reason for founding the International Institute for the Improvement of Textbooks in 1951 and for organising and initiating international textbook conferences. By the end of the 1970s, 150 conferences had taken place with the aim of detecting enemy stereotypes and prejudices in geography and

history textbooks and of contributing to international understanding by revising those teaching materials. It is understandable that in the early years, the focus was on Germany's former enemies. The Franco-German agreement (1951) and the German-Polish recommendations (1975) are still considered milestones in international reconciliation.

In the mid 1950s Eckert started to publish his first historiographical works. Before that, he had written exclusively on ethnology. At first, he concentrated on Wilhelm Bracke and the Brunswick social democrats, later turning to the German workers' movement of the 19th century. This was to become Eckert's primary research area, making him one of the first West German historians to concentrate on this field after 1945.

But despite his demonstrably hard work in the area of social history, Eckert did not become a leading figure in the scientific community. The reason for this was that he had worked within various fields of research at the same time. As well as his own publications, there were also teaching commitments, and the editing not only of the Archive but also of the 'Journal of Ethnology' (*Zeitschrift für Ethnologie*), which he re-launched in 1949/50 in Brunswick and edited until 1965. The main reason, however, was the time and energy he had been investing in the International Textbook Institute since 1949/51, and which he directed in an honorary capacity. Eckert also took over the presidency of the German UNESCO commission in 1964. The textbook work and UNESCO required him to travel constantly despite being in extremely poor health and frequently ill. This restlessness did not stem from any obsessive personal ambition, however. Rather, his motivation arose from the firm conviction that international understanding could not be reached without a trustworthy foreign cultural policy and that stable democratic relations could not exist without political education. Georg Eckert died on the 7th of January 1974, aged 61 – during a lecture on the history of the labour movement.

Considerably abridged version of Heike Christina Mätzing: „*Georg Eckert und die Anfänge des Archivs für Sozialgeschichte*“, in: 50 Jahre Archiv für Sozialgeschichte, ed. by Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung, Gesprächskreis Geschichte. Bonn 2011. The information is available free of charge at doris.fassbender@fes.de or can be downloaded from <http://library.fes.de/pdf-files/historiker/08916.pdf>. Heike Christina Mätzing is currently working on a biography of Georg Eckert.

The Research Library

The Georg Eckert Institute Library is a unique national and international research library in the field of comparative textbook research. The library has the most comprehensive collection of international textbooks on the subjects of history, geography, politics/social studies, religion/philosophy/ethics (under construction) and German.

The extensive inventory of scholarly literature provides an ideal environment for academics from various disciplines to conduct comparative research on textbooks as media. Among our visitors are academics, textbook authors, teachers, students, journalists, film-makers and private individuals.

With its collection of textbooks, the library has been incorporated as a Specialty Collection Library of the Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft (DFG, German Research Foundation). As a part of this, the library is one of 46 German special subject collections/ specialised libraries, which together administrate the tasks of a divided national library.

In addition to this, the Georg Eckert Institute Library serves as the textbook center of the Council of Europe. The electronic catalogue is on our homepage: <https://opac.lbs-braunschweig.gbv.de/DB=6/SET=1/TTL=1/LNG=EN/>

Fellowships

The purpose of the fellowships and research stipends offered by the Georg Eckert Institute is to provide young and established academics alike, as well as authors of textbooks, with the opportunity to have extensive access to the textbook collections in the Institute's library, take a comparative approach to their work and enter into close academic communication with colleagues in Germany and abroad. The Institute enables its fellowship and stipend holders to suspend other commitments for the duration of their funding and thus dedicate themselves wholly to the pursuit of their research interests. The GEI's staff provide organisational and academic support to research fellows and stipend holders, rounding off their experience of the Institute as a forum of lively academic discussion and international, interdisciplinary communication.

The Institute's research fellowships and stipends are funded by the German Federal Foreign Office and by the Friends and Supporters of the Georg Eckert Institute. The Georg Eckert Institute awards short-term research fellowships of between four and six weeks' duration. Applications should be submitted by post or, preferably, by email before 15 September of a given year for fellowships in the following year. Further details on the application procedure are on our homepage: <http://www.gei.de/en/fellowships/fellowship-programme.html>

The Institute also awards the Otto Bennemann Grant for the promotion of methodologically innovative work in international textbook research and, once every four years, the Robert-Hermann Tenbrock Grant for research on Europe. A new addition to our range of research support schemes is the Georg Arnhold Professorship Program.

The Institute of Spiritual and Cultural Heritage of the Albanians

The ITSHKSH was established in 2007 by the Government of the Republic of Macedonia. It has five departments:

- Department of Albanian Language;
- Department of Albanian Literature;
- Department of History of the Albanians in Macedonia and demographic movements;
- Department of Ethnology, History of Art and People's Architecture;
- Department of Cultural, Historical and Linguistic Relations between Albanians/Macedonians and other nations in the region.

As well as conducting research in the above-mentioned sectors, the Institute publishes books, monographs and collections of sources. Further, it organises conferences, whose proceedings are usually subsequently published in collections. It issues two periodicals: "Studime Albanologjike" [Albanological Studies] and "Scupi" [Skopje].

The Institute for National History

The INI is a public institution that explores the history of Macedonia and the Balkans. In addition, the Institute offers postgraduate and doctoral studies in cooperation with the Institute of History in the Philosophical Faculty of the University St. Cyril and Method (UKIM).

The Institute's two principal purposes are research into historical processes that have taken place in the territory of the Republic of Macedonia and the Balkans from ancient times to the present, and training new historians through postgraduate and doctoral studies. Further, the Institute's researchers take part in open social debates, numerous interviews, lectures, panel discussions, etc. Through these and other activities, the Institute contributes to the domestic and global academic community and the cultural development of the Republic of Macedonia.

The Institute was founded by the government of the Republic of Macedonia in 1948. In the first ten years of its work, which took place under modest conditions, it focused on establishing its academic research capacities. In 1957, it commenced publishing its own academic review, which currently represents the principal forum in which its academic staff publish their current research and findings. A special law on this institute was passed in 1965. The institute has received numerous social and academic awards (11 October, AVNOJ, Goce Delcev, 13 November).

Abstracts

History textbooks between reality and ideology

Skender Asani & Albert Hani

The paper will revolve around the burning issue of school history textbooks in Macedonia and their tendency to produce images of ‘enemies’ when referring to communities with different ethnic and religious backgrounds. It will provide suggestions for updating the books with a proposed list of events from the past.

The paper will begin by giving a theoretical outline of the ongoing public debate on current activities and processes among state and non-state institutions in relation to the revision of history textbooks. We will report the findings of desktop research on available documents (state policies, strategies, reports etc.), history books and researches, which will constitute a thorough analysis of the content of, and omissions from, textbooks as well as their discussion of events in which different communities cooperated in order to achieve social or cultural change. The list of activities that are not represented in textbooks but which we consider worth being presented as joint initiatives by all communities in Macedonia will be drawn from analysis of research materials from the archives of Macedonia and of specific cases. The paper will also argue the opposing needs of interculturalism from one side as reality, and the new identity building process of Macedonian ethnic community group, as new ideology.

The paper will conclude by outlining the different discourses that have appeared in the educational and political sphere in relation to the revision of history books: from analysis of the moratorium on this issue, to fear of tackling it and the simultaneous necessity of working on it in order to aid the process of inter-community reconciliation in Macedonia.

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Dr. Skender Asani is a historian specialising in Albanian history; he became director of the Institute of the Spiritual and Cultural Heritage of the Albanians in Skopje in 2014, and is also head of the Society of Albanian Historians in Macedonia.

Albert Hani, M.Sc., is deputy country director at forumZDF (Forum Ziviler Friedensdienst e.V./Forum Civil Peace Service) Macedonia and works for the State University of Tetova and the Training Center for the Management of Conflicts in Skopje. He holds a degree from the St. Cyril and Methodius University Skopje, Institute for Social, Political and Juridical Research.

Ethnocentric history textbooks in a multi-ethnic society: The case of the Republic of Macedonia

Violeta Petroska-Beshka & Nikolina Kenig

The study to be presented here is based on the assumption that the teaching of history in multi-ethnic countries should provide students with educational experiences that enable them not only to commit to their own ethnic group but also to acquire the knowledge and values needed to function in a multicultural society.

Qualitative thematic analysis of the contents of eight history textbooks that are in use in years 6-9 of schools in Macedonia was undertaken in order to explore whether history teaching in Macedonia is utilised to facilitate students' acceptance of the multi-ethnic and multicultural nature of the country.

The analysis has shown that despite the educational objectives defined in the curriculum, textbooks are misused to reinforce Macedonian and Albanian ethnocentrism. We identified a number of implicit strategies to this end in the contents and structure of the textbooks analysed. The principal strategy can be described as the presentation of historical events in the Balkans as separate occurrences for the various ethnic communities living in the country and the provision of parallel narratives of the ethnic Albanian and ethnic Macedonian struggles for their own nation states, narratives which extend back to times when notions of ethnic/national identity were not yet established. Another way we have identified in textbooks of promoting ethnocentric sentiment is the production of 'grand' national narratives for the two largest ethnic communities in the country which leave other ethnic communities largely out of the picture. Finally, we observed that historical narratives are presented as highly emotionally charged versions of 'our history', thus providing reference points for complementary or contradictory forms of memory and identity which highlight tensions between groups.

We conclude that the potential of history as a school subject to develop students' competencies for living in a multi-ethnic society, and to equip them with basic critical thinking skills for the recognition of contemporary threats to peace and stability such as nationalistic or religious extremism, has yet to be fully utilised. We recommend thorough reform of history textbooks to the end of promoting the significance of interethnic interaction as a major factor in the development of social cohesion in multicultural/multi-ethnic Macedonia.

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Dr. Violeta Petroska-Beshka is a professor of psychology at the Ss. Cyril and Methodius University in Skopje, Republic of Macedonia. She is a co-founder and co-director of the Center for Human Rights and Conflict Resolution, which works closely with UNICEF- and

USAID-funded organisations as a leading player in efforts to reform the education system throughout the country. Petroška-Beška has written curriculum development guides for working with students in ethnically integrated classes and trained teachers in areas such as life skills, conflict resolution, peace and multicultural education, and school-based assessment. Her research includes topics on interethnic interactions, stereotypes, and the identity of the ethnic communities in Macedonia. She has directed several projects focused on teaching history that involve training history teachers, analysis of history textbooks, writing multi-perspective history lessons, and developing curricula and a model lesson for teaching contemporary history of the Republic of Macedonia. She served as a senior fellow at the US Institute of Peace, Washington, DC (2000-2001), working on issues on intercultural education. A former Fulbright fellow, she holds an M.A. from Columbia University's Teachers College (1983) and a Ph.D. in psychology from the University of Belgrade (1989). She received additional training at the TC's International Center for Cooperation and Conflict Resolution. For her accomplishments in the area of improvement of inter-ethnic relations she received the Teachers College, Columbia University, Distinguished Alumni Award for 2011.

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Dr. Nikolina Kenig is Associate Professor of psychology and Head of Doctoral Studies at the Institute of Psychology at Ss. Cyril and Methodius University in Skopje. Her research focuses on gender and ethnic identity, violence prevention and multiculturalism in education. She has been actively involved in several research projects on ethnic and gender identity, as well as in various field activities related to promoting gender sensitivity and sex education in primary schools. Reflecting her interests in these issues, she has written or co-written numerous articles published in national or international journals and papers presented at international conferences. She holds an M.A. in International Peace Studies from the University of Notre Dame, Indiana (1994), as well as an M.A. in Social Psychology (2000) and a Ph. D. from Ss. Cyril and Methodius University in Skopje (2006).

The threatening “Other”: image(s) of Macedonia’s neighbours in history textbooks

Irena Stefoska

The purpose of this paper is to improve our understanding of a major current problem in the education system of the Republic of Macedonia by means of examining several aspects of the images of Macedonia’s neighbours presented in the country’s most recent history textbooks.

Recent years have seen several scandals and debates arise around history textbooks in Macedonia; these, however, have rarely concerned the depiction in them of the country’s neighbouring peoples and cultures (Greeks, Albanians, Serbs, Bulgarians, and Turks). In attempting, therefore, to gain a deeper understanding of this neglected question, we will outline the reasons for its persistence, the particular forms the issue takes, and the dynamics of changes in these depictions over the last two decades. The object of our study is a set of eight history textbooks for primary schools which are currently in use. We will approach the issue by applying historiographical and discourse analysis, along with key concepts from cultural and political studies, to the question. Finally, in line with our conviction that stereotypes transmitted through the educational system contribute to the creation of a tense socio-political atmosphere in the national and international context, we will propose recommendations for changes in educational policy.

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Dr. Irena Stefoska works as an Associate Professor of Research at the Institute of National History, University “Ss. Cyril and Methodius” in Skopje. Her main areas of research include the theory and methodology of history and the modern phenomena of nation and nationalism in their relationship to Macedonian historiography. In the last decade, Dr Stefoska has participated in various national and international projects related to the teaching of history. She holds an M.A. in Medieval Studies from the Central European University (Budapest), an M.A. in Byzantine Studies from Belgrade University, and a Ph.D. from the University “Ss. Cyril and Methodius” (Skopje). She has also been the recipient of a Fulbright fellowship, with which she was a visiting research scholar at Brown University.

Social similarities and traces of economic entanglement between Albanians and Macedonians in rural Western Macedonia between the 1930s and the 1960s

Robert Pichler

Historiography in the Republic of Macedonia is almost exclusively concerned with political history. Social and economic history is often sidelined and not regarded as particularly relevant. At the same time, historiography is strongly ethnically biased. The epistemological basis on which historians conduct their work rests on the assumption that specific ethnic communities exist as forms of collective subjects which have undergone their own particular history from antiquity to the present day. In this way, ethnically exclusive historical master narratives are generated that leave little room for acknowledging the existence of an entangled history.

In this paper I will focus on aspects of social and economic relations in rural areas of Western Macedonia. Taking a comparative perspective, I will look at family/household structures and rituals that reveal the existence of striking similarities between the ethnic communities present in this area. Additionally, I will seek to shed light on faith-based divisions of labour between Muslims and Christians practising *kurbet/pecalbar* in Albania and former Yugoslavia.

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The cultural activities of Albanian emigrants in Bulgaria at the end of the nineteenth and the beginning of the twentieth century

Besnik Emini

During the period of the Ottoman Empire, many Albanian emigrants went to Bulgaria to work. Some of them organised cultural activities by establishing cultural associations in some cities; most of these associations were concentrated in Sofia, where several newspapers appeared and, later, a printing house was established for the publication of books and newspapers. These publications were distributed illegally among the Albanian readers living in the Ottoman Empire.

Bulgaria was important as a country of transit on the road to Istanbul and also to Romania, Albanian textbooks and newspapers were also published. This paper argues that more information on these activities should be included in Albanian-language textbooks.

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The image of Slavic neighbours in the history of Albanian textbooks

Etleva Nita

This paper proceeds from the view that the most important investment needed in the Balkan region, for the promotion of better relationships and interaction between neighbouring nations and peoples, is investment in the region's education systems, including schools, teacher training and textbooks. Education reform does not mean leaving the past behind; history written with regard for objective truth and in the spirit of promoting respect for others has the potential to better educate a new tolerant generation.

The paper will aim at providing an overview of the way in which the Slavic nation is treated in the Albanian textbooks from the 1990s onward by comparing it with its treatment before this period. We will focus on the following points:

- How much space and significance do textbooks devote to issues of 'neighbourhood' between peoples and nations in the region? We will in this context investigate the interest of Albanians in their Slavic neighbours and its impact on textbooks.
- Is the history which appears in textbooks based on realistic facts and on the most important periods of history between the Slavic and Albanian nations, and how are the most difficult points of their relations reflected in textbooks?
- On the history of the relationship between the Albanian and Slavic nations: Does the history appearing in textbooks discuss war and conflict only, or does it make reference to periods of time characterised by a peaceful and good relationship between the two nations?
- What should be done in the future in relation to this question, how should this part of history be discussed and reflected on in textbooks, and what might be a way forward for improving textbooks' treatment of these issues?

The research for the paper is primarily based on the textbooks used most frequently for teaching the history of Albania at secondary school level. Along with the, we will be looking at the selected to illustrate the content.

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Perennial Enemies: The Presentation of Slavs in National History Textbooks of Albania

Enis Sulstarova

*Un shqiptar e ti je shkje
Ne na ndan nji bes e i'fe
Ne na ndan nji qiell e i'dhe
N'mni t'shoshqit kemi le
(I am Albanian and you are Slav
Faith and religion stand between us
Sky and earth stand between us
We are born hating each other)*

Gjergj Fishta, Albanian poet (1871-1940)

This paper will investigate the representation of Slavic peoples and states in the national textbooks that have been in use in Albania from the communist era to the present day. Our argument is that the principal idea conveyed to students and pupils through textbooks is that the Slavs (mainly the Serbs) are perennial enemies of the Albanian people and have been thus since the time when they first came to settle in the Balkans. Although Albanians and Slavs have been living side by side for centuries and share many cultural traits, Slavs appear in the history textbooks of Albania only as invaders of Albanian lands and oppressors of the Albanian people.

This image of Slavs became more pronounced in the books published after the fall of communism. This appears to have been due to a number of reasons: (1) post-communist textbooks covered the twentieth-century history of Albanians in Yugoslavia as part of the history of the Albanian nation; (2) the treatment given to these issues in these textbooks reflected the wars taking place in Yugoslavia and the oppression of Albanians in Kosovo by the Milošević regime; (3) whereas communist history textbooks had to comply with the precept of international fraternity of peoples in the framework of communist ideology, post-communist textbooks emphasise ethnicity; (4) textbooks of the mid-1990s reflected the anti-communist discourse of the political elite which accused the Albanian communist regime of siding with the Slavs and betraying the interests of the nation. The paper will carry out a content analysis of national history textbooks for secondary school, with publication dates spanning the period from the late 1980s until recently.

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Dr. Enis Sulstarova is a lecturer in the Department of Sociology of the University of Tirana, where he teaches on nationalism and globalisation, the sociology of citizenship and inclusion, and the sociology of work. He also is a Marie Curie post-doctoral research fellow in the *Textbooks and Society* research area of the Georg Eckert Institute in Braunschweig. Enis Sulstarova holds an M.Sc. in political science and public administration from the Middle East Technical University in Ankara (2002) and the degree of Doctor of Science in Sociology from Tirana University (2011). His professional experience includes lectureships at the University of Durrës and at the European University and the Institute for Democracy and Mediation in Tirana. He has published books on Albanian orientalism, Europeanism and nationalism.

The Other: representations of ethnic Albanians in Macedonian history textbooks

Petar Todorov

In recent years, many scholars have focused on analysing the content of the history textbooks in Republic of Macedonia published in 2005/6 and the education policies in which they have their contexts well as the policies of history education. Behind the motives were the curriculum reform of 2004 and the publication of the first post-conflict history textbooks. The principal idea of the 2004 reform was to produce new textbooks that would not promote negative images of the 'Other' and to include the history of the diverse ethnic communities living in the country. However, almost all scholars agree that the current textbooks are little different from the pre- 2001 textbooks in this regard and that they have a negative impact on to the development of the democratic values and the promotions of social inclusivity and respect for difference in a multi-ethnic and a multi-religious society as is the Macedonian. Furthermore, all scholars agree that the 2004 curriculum reform and the new history textbooks only succeeded in creating a bipolar ethno-national narrative that serves to support the creation of distinct national identities and to support the dominant national and political ideology.

Within this context, my paper will explore the Macedonian ethno-national narrative and the image of the ethnic Albanians, i.e. the representation of ethnic Albanians in the history textbooks, alongside the. Moreover, I will examine the changes in the representations of ethnic Albanians which have taken place in the textbooks published from 1972 to the present day. In exploring the image of the 'Other', I will investigate and attempt to answer the following two questions: How does the teaching of history influence on the promotion of democratic values and respect for difference in today's Macedonian society? To what extent does the history education contribute to the elimination and/or to the strengthening of various stereotypes as potential sources of conflicts? In my endeavour to answer these questions, I will attempt to examine the issue both in terms of different aspects: First, I focus on the quantitative approach, i.e. the amount of how much space devoted to the Albanian narrative in textbooks, and the characteristics of this narrative, and in terms of the mechanisms which have been created. Second, and more importantly, is how an image of 'us' (ethnic Macedonians) in history, from ancient times to the present, and of the 'Other' (ethnic Albanians) is created. We will identify the heroes, the antiheroes, historical events and, cultural heritage present in these narratives, along with other important elements of the image of the 'Other' in Macedonian history. .

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Dr. Petar Todorov of the Institute of National History in Skopje focuses his research on the social and urban history of the Ottoman Empire and the Balkans in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries and on, as well as the history education and contemporary perceptions of the past. He was part of a team of scholars which conducted an integral analysis of middle-school history textbook content in the Republic of Macedonia, aiming to oppose the ideologisation of the books and the ethnocentric approach of the authors. Further, he has contributed to the production of alternative curriculum and text materials for the history of the Socialist Republic of Macedonia and to training courses for teachers on the use of multi-perspective approaches. His most recent interest regarding textbooks and history education is related to the image of ethnic Albanians, i.e. the image of the ‘other’, in the Macedonian history textbooks and to as well as their representation of the conflicts between ethnic Albanians and ethnic Macedonians in the textbooks.

Representing war and revolution in school history textbooks from neighbouring states: a comparison between Macedonia and Albania

Kosta Giakoumis, Ilir Kalemaj, Darko Stojanov, Petar Todorov

The aim of this paper is to explore the function(s) of the narratives of wars and revolutions in history education in Macedonia and Albania in the communist and post-communist period. Proceeding from the premise that history education teaches not only knowledge, but also values as well, we shall search for explicit and implicit messages communicated to the students through a set of Macedonian- and Albanian-language history textbooks for primary and secondary schools in Macedonian and Albanian language, produced in the period between the 1970's and today. We intend to offer not only a comparison between two states (Macedonia and Albania), but between two political systems as well (communism and 'transitional' democracy). The research shall be done on a sample of four history textbooks from each country, and shall focus on three particular historical events to which both countries can relate to and on which they usually produce different (and often opposing narratives): 1. The most important revolutions in each national historiography, i.e. the Ilinden uprising in Macedonia (1903) and the Albanian Revolt (1911) respectively; 2. the First World War (1914-1918); and 3. the Second World War (1939-1945).

Focusing on the respective national context, the paper poses the following research questions: 1. What are the main aspects through which war and revolution are narrated in history textbooks?, 2. What are the principal explicit and implicit moral and political messages conveyed to the students through these narratives?, 3. Which strategies are most frequently used in the communication of these messages?

We shall then use the preliminary findings of both case studies to pose additional questions: 1. What are the similarities and/or the differences in the approach to and the function of the national narratives of war and revolution in the two case studies?, 2. How have these narratives/messages changed over time in each country?, 3. How is the relevant 'Other' (Macedonians/Albanians, in this case) represented in the narrative?

We employ, in order to answer our questions and reach our goal, both quantitative and qualitative methods in the analysis of the content of these textbooks where it relates to narratives of dealing with narrating wars and revolutions in national contexts. We will determine the amount of space allocated to the narratives of war and revolution in the overall textbook material in its capacity as representing, i.e. and reflecting in the official national(ized) historical memory. Frequency analysis will then establish the number of times some relevant terms (war, revolution, uprising, nation, people, destiny, hero, enemy, injustice,

national territory) are used in the sample, in order to detect the aspects in which the topic is being narrated. Furthermore, detailed hermeneutic and linguistic analysis will determine the principal messages transmitted through the narratives of war and revolution, as well as the implied meanings that they bear and the strategies with which they are presented.

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His research interests lie in the intersection of foreign policy analyses, nationalism and ethnic politics. Ilir recently published a monograph: "Contested Borders: Territorialization, National Identity and "Imagined Geographies" in Albania," Peter Lang Ltd. Oxford. 2014. He has also published two other monographs, one of them by a publishing house in Germany. Dr. Kalemaj has also published several peer review scholarly articles, as well as regularly writes columns on political affairs and analysis of international affairs in Albania's and regional press.

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“In our community we spoke Turkish”: (hi)stories of a shared past in pre-war Pristina

Denis Ermolin

As a result of ethnic tensions between Albanians and Serbs in Kosovo and the subsequent war in 1998-1999, the overwhelming majority of the non-Albanian Orthodox population were forced to leave Kosovo for Serbia proper (Niš, Belgrade, etc.) and abroad. Having abandoned their homes, they took with them the precious memories of their previous experience and of the happy life they had led side by side with their Albanian neighbours and colleagues. The Albanians likewise retained these memories;– they may denounce comrades Milošević, and Čubrilović and others, but they will never word against the baker Uncle Marko or the watchmaker Uncle Ivan who used to work in their neighbourhood or in the city bazaar area (Albanian: *carshia*, Serbian: *čaršija*).

My paper aims to explore the existing memories, images and stereotypes shared by the current and former citizens of Pristina (Kosovo) – both Albanians and Serbs – relating to one another and to their city. The theoretical framework for this explanation is located with the basic methodology and tools of cultural memory studies; I will apply them to the analysis of existing local narratives in the present-day Albanian and Serbian communities that before the last war functioned as one entity – the city of Pristina. In speaking of the citizens of Pristina, I refer, first of all, to the people who consider Pristina as their native city (Albanian: *prishtinali*; Serbian: *prištevc*) and share a specific type of social supra-ethnic identity and norms of behaviour as opposed to those of newcomers from rural areas (Albanian: *fshatar*, *malok*; Serbian: *seljak*, *divljak*) notwithstanding their ethnic background. Vernacular polylingualism has been one of the key characteristics of this urban identity, and for older generation of citizens (those born in the 1920-40s and earlier) this personal linguoscape has certainly included Balkan Turkish, which was the urban code of communication with the highest prestige even during the Yugoslav period. Going further, all Serbs from Kosovo share their own identity, which, however, has been stigmatised by Serbs from Serbia: some of them continue to call their compatriots from Kosovo, with whom they have been living side by side for almost 20 years *šiptari* (pejorative for Albanians in Serbian).

The basic social unit on which my analysis is based is the neighbourhood (Albanian: *komshillëk*, Serbian: *komšiluk*). In the Albanian-Serbian relations on the ground, the neighbourhood has been the primary setting and source of the interaction, inter-acquaintance and cooperation that has helped to establish and foster a sense of cultural, ethnic, religious tolerance and even partnership between the two groups. In my paper I will negotiate the parameters of social class affiliation along with, first of all, the opposing urban/ – rural models of mindset and their importance in understanding some of the background factors to ethnic conflict in Kosovo. The paper is based on the fieldwork notes, interviews and observations

made in Pristina (Kosovo) and Niš (Serbia) in May-June and August-September 2014 by the author.

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Dr. Denis Ermolin graduated in 2008 from the St. Petersburg University (M.A. in linguistic anthropology), defended his doctoral thesis on *Death rites among the Albanians of Ukraine* in 2011 and holds a Cand.Sc. degree in history (Ph.D. equivalent). He has conducted research on death rites and cemeteries as phenomena of cultural memory in rural communities in Ukraine, Albania, Kosovo, and Montenegro. His work since 2013 has focused on the cultural landscape of cities in Kosovo, and in particular on the gradual transformation in the urban outlook and on inter-relationships between social components and spatiality. He works as a junior researcher for the Peter the Great Museum of Anthropology and Ethnography, Russian Academy of Sciences, St -Petersburg. In 2014 he was invited as a teaching professional to the Aleksanteri Institute at the University of Helsinki to hold a course on the Albanian question in the Western Balkans.

Images of the Self and images of the Other among school students in Mirdita, Albania

Andreas Hemming

It has become commonplace to speak of othering, that is, the means by which an individual or group is classified as “not one of us”. But the definition of ‘the other’ is necessarily intertwined with the definition of the self. One of the markers of the Albanian region of Mirdita is the local population’s very prominent and very positive - almost overly positive - self-image. In the course of an ethnographic study of the nature of local identity conducted in 2008/09, data was collected by means of a survey among upper level secondary school students in the *shkolla e mesme* in the town of Rreshen, which at the time was the administrative centre of the region, accompanied by several days of participant observation in history and geography classes in the school.

The survey revealed, showed among other things, an interesting divide in opinion on the teaching of history and the quality of school textbooks. Asked whom they trusted more, their teachers and their books or the narratives of their elders, the students were extremely divided. Half trusted the former and had no faith in the truth-value of their elders’ narratives, while the other half trusted the word of their elders over that of their teachers and of their textbooks.

Another finding that will be elucidated in the paper is that a large number of students did not identify with the narrative presented in the history that they were being taught at school. Most often, this was voiced in a feeling that local history did not play as significant a role as they would have liked. The curriculum at the time devoted only very few hours of teaching time to local history.

Taking this suspicion of grand narratives as a point of departure, the paper will suggest that a history curriculum intelligently tying local, micro-regional histories to greater inter-regional and international histories will have the potential to simultaneously (1) meet the inherent needs of young people for a strong self-image, (2) avoid the reduction of history to the conflictual interaction between nations and nation-state units and (3) provide a bridge to a view of history as a trans-cultural phenomenon.

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Forging the enemy: the transformation of common Serbian-Albanian traits into enmity and political hostility

Aleksandar Pavlović

In this paper, I will argue that the proper origin of Serbian-Albanian hostility in the political sense of the word should be traced in to the last quarter of the nineteenth century. In referring to proper political hostility, I take Carl Schmitt's notion of politics as the distinction between friend and enemy that counts with the real possibility of war between two opposed collectivities. In order to counter the popular view of the Serbian-Albanian hostility, my enquiry will focus on the various portrayals of the relationship of these two peoples in the oral tradition, early Balkan ethnography, and diplomacy, and follow the change in their perceptions of each other from the later part of the nineteenth century onwards.

In the first part of the paper, I will examine the common traits in Serbian and -Albanian eighteenth and nineteenth century oral and epic tradition by referring to the various Balkan versions of the song about Marko Kraljević and Musa Kesedžija. I argue that the appreciation for particular Albanian heroes found in mid-nineteenth century Serbian/Montenegrin folk oral folk songs and narratives passed down orally stems from a similar social background and shared patriarchal values among the two ethnic groups. Consequently, contemporary authors often emphasise the shared values of heroism, hospitality and manliness among Serbs, Montenegrins and Albanians (e.g. Marko Miljanov's *Heroic Examples*), while scholars point to similarities in their social institutions and ways of life which feature among these groups (e.g. Valtazar Bogisic's *Legal Customs in Herzegovina, Montenegro and Albania*). However, while the present-day Serbian textbooks include these heroic songs about Marko and Musa, they fail to recognise these shared traits in the two traditions and emphasise hostility between them and their respective ethnic communities.

In the second part, I will focus on the turn in Serbian and -Albanian perceptions of each other in the post-1878 period. During this time, a number of factors, such as the international recognition of Serbian independence, the formation of the Albanian national movement, the collapse of the Ottoman rule and territorial disputes over the present-day Kosovo and Northern Albania, gradually led to the establishment of South Slav-Albanian enmity. I identify the role of intellectuals and political elites in this process by examining the enmity towards Turks and Albanians in the late nineteenth- and early twentieth -century works of the Serbian and Croatian anthropologists Jovan Cvijić and Vladimir Dvorniković. As I argue, drawing on by examining the perceptions of this period in contemporary history textbooks, these founding works on Dynaric and Yugoslav mentalities rely on an opposition to the Turks and, by extension, to Islamicised Albanians and Slavs; it is this opposition which continues to

form as well and still mark the backbone of the Serbian educational system. These works thus mark the entrance of the enemy from a literary/symbolic into a scientific and educational sphere and point to the constitutive role of this concept in the project of South Slav unification and the exclusions of Albanians following from it. In conclusion, I advocate for a renewed awareness of shared Serbian-Albanian traits and their inclusion in the educational systems in the region.

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Dr. Aleksandar Pavlović holds a Ph.D. in Southeast European Studies from the University of Nottingham (2012) and an M.A. in Literary Theory from the University of Belgrade (2007). Currently he works as a university lecturer, project coordinator and researcher in Belgrade. He was a teaching associate at the University of Nottingham and also worked as a secondary-school teacher of Serbian literature and language. His publications include studies on South Slavic oral tradition and folklore, the construction of political enemies, and the formation and politics of the Serbian epic.

Albanian-Yugoslav relations (1945-1948) and their presentation in school history textbooks

Esilda Luku

This paper aims to analyse the economic and political relations between Albania and Yugoslavia after the Second World War and their presentation in primary and secondary school history textbooks, a depiction on the basis of historical materialism during the socialist regime and of the empirical-analytical perspective in the democratic system in Albania. Our purpose is to make a comparative approach to the ways in which Albanian-Yugoslav relations are treated in history textbooks by different schools of historiography.

Their bilateral relationship was a result of the political intentions of Beograd to turn Albania into the seventh republic of Yugoslavia. It tried to exploit the weakness of the Albanian state and the risk of domination by a foreign power, claiming to represent it diplomatically. The inclusion of Albania in the Yugoslav Federation helped to solve the difficult problem of ethnic Albanians in the Yugoslavian state. Tito argued about the impossibility to recognize the rights of Kosovo to self-determination because of the strengthening of Serb reaction. Due to the Yugoslavian pressure, the Albanian leadership under the direction of Enver Hoxha was declared against the unification of Kosovo and Albania.

In order to annex Albania, the Yugoslavian government operated through several plans. At first, the deepening division within the Albanian Communist Party aimed at putting under control its leadership based on the pro-Yugoslav position of Koçi Xoxe and the pragmatism of E. Hoxha. The rivalry for power within the party and the pressure of Yugoslavia weakened the Albanian government. Secondly, Beograd intended the political isolation of Albania not only from the Western countries, but also from the Eastern Bloc. On July 9, 1946 was signed the Treaty of Friendship, Cooperation and Mutual Assistance between the Albanian Prime Minister, Enver Hoxha and the Foreign Minister of Yugoslavia, Stanoje Simic. According to it, the two countries would take the necessary measures to ensure their independence and territorial integrity in case of aggression. They engaged to collaborate for the protection of international peace and security in conformity with the principles of the United Nations and confirmed their friendship by furthering the economic and cultural cooperation.

The Yugoslavian economic interests in Albania led to the signing of six bilateral agreements in the field of construction and railway use; the extraction and processing of oil; the exploitation and use of metals; the electrification; the shipping and foreign trade. But the implementation of these agreements faced with the lack of regular supplies of materials and the financial aid from the Yugoslav side. However another Economic Agreement was signed on November 27, 1946 between Albania and Yugoslavia which envisaged the coordination of

economic plans, the customs union and the unification of currencies. It exacerbated the economic situation in the country due to the inflation and the rising of prices in the general non-state market. So Beograd tried to steer the Albanian economy in favor of the Yugoslavian market.

The bilateral relations deteriorated when the Albanian delegation headed by Enver Hoxha and the Soviet government ended a credit agreement in Moscow for the development of agriculture and industry. This policy led to the accusation of the Central Committee of the Albanian Communist Party about the anti-Yugoslav position, putting under pressure the government of Tirana. Only the information about the Soviet Union Central Committee's letters, criticizing the Yugoslav leadership for its domestic and foreign policy in deviation from the Marxist principles helped the Albanian government deal with the pressure of Yugoslav revisionists. It adopted unanimously the resolution of the Information Bureau of the Communist Parties, which broke off the Yugoslav-Albanian diplomatic relations in 1948 and shifted to the pro-Soviet orientation of the Albanian government.

Key words: *history textbooks, Albanian-Yugoslav relations, economic and political agreements, historiography in socialist regime and democracy*

The relationship between Albania and Yugoslavia in the view of the history schoolbooks of the communist regime

When the Albanian Communist Party took power at the end of World War Second, it began to adopt a harsh and brutal dictatorship. The communist rule insisted on society's total obedience and established state control over every aspects of political, economic and social life in Albania.¹ Besides many restrictive policies, the communist leadership used even history for ideological purposes and political justifications.

According to history scholars, there is an important connection and interdependence amongst the study of history and politics. It can be seen in two ways, clearly distinguished from each other; the one relates to the content of the historical narrative and the other emphasizes the perspective used to write history. Based on the first viewpoint, history is presented essentially as political history and the political events themselves as central nucleus justifying the reunification of other events. In the second approach, history seems that privileges the politics to bring direct lessons to the transformation of practical activity. It refers to rewriting history in accordance with the ruling ideology and oriented to future human actions. Both perspectives create specific problems, but in reality, they constitute different ways of reference to historical narrative.²

1 Minton F. Goldman. *Revolution and change in Central and Eastern Europe: political, economic and social changes*. New York: M. E. Sharpe, 1997, p. 53

2 Romeo Gurakuqi, "The bias and political prejudice in the study of history: The Case of

If we analyze the manipulation of history for political purposes, which can be found almost anywhere in the world, it serves as a powerful tool and the politicians are often unwilling to waive potential benefits of the oriented historical revisionism. The benefits are numerous and include just the regular process of creating loyalty among citizens at a young age, mainly through control over the textbooks. The benefits from the manipulation of history aim to legitimize a particular regime and to justify the decisions of the past, and also to legitimize specific policies pursued by that regime. This practice is known in all the states, including Albania.³

The use of history as a propaganda tool carries itself the risk of abuse for political power.⁴ Thus the manipulation of history brings not only subjective and superficial results, but even worse it distorts the historical truths. Hannah Arendt wrote: “When the power attacks the rational truth, it transcends the area, and when the battle is fought in its terrain, it begins to forge and lie about the facts. The possibilities for the factual truth to survive against the government’s attacks are very scarce; this reality threatens to be abandoned from this world, not just temporarily, but potentially forever”.⁵

The distortion of history in the interest of the dictatorial system intentions characterized the official Albanian historiography.⁶ It was dominated by the Marxist methodology and the directives given by Enver Hoxha. The principles of Marxism-Leninism described the historical studies. In the role of the only accepted methodology, Marx’s theory served for the communist leadership to put under pressure the historians, in order to “pay attention” to its main theses. Consequently, it was quite natural that the new historiography reflected significantly the ideology, the interests and the goals of the communist state.⁷

The Marxist-Leninist doctrine determined the analysis of the historical events and phenomena, including the cooperation between Albania and Yugoslavia after the WWII. Their economic and political relations were treated in the history schoolbooks from a part of the lesson to a whole one. In concrete terms, the text “History of Albania for secondary education”, published by the Institute of Studies and School Publications, in Tirana, in 1965, analyzed the Yugoslavian policy towards the Albanian government in the framework of the First Congress of the Albanian Communist Party, in November 1948, on the theme 2 of Chapter XX entitled:

Albanian historiography under dictatorship”, *Politics and History*, Tirana: UET, 2012, p. 175

3 Bernd Fischer, “The politicization of history: the case of Albania in World War II”, *Politics and History*, Tirana: UET, 2012, p. 185

4 Dritan Egro, “The Balkan historians as nation-building factors”, *Politics and History*, Tirana: UET, 2012, p. 226

5 R. Gurakuqi, *op.cit.*, p. 177

6 Dr. Ndriçim Mehmeti, “Myths and legends in support of the political manipulation of history”, *Myths in south-eastern European textbooks*, , p. 29

7 Dritan Egro. *History and ideology. A critical approach of the Ottoman studies in modern Albanian historiography (from the second half of the XIX century until today)*. Tirana: Institute of History, 2007, pp. 96-97

“Albania in the way of building socialism”.⁸ While the textbook of the authors Kristo Frashëri and Stefanaq Pollo “History of Albania for secondary schools”, with a total of 80 lessons, the Yugoslav-Albanian relations was presented in the theme no. 62, titled “Protection of Albania’s independence from the foreign intervention”.⁹ The schoolbook, published in 1982, was written from the perspective of the diplomatic relations’ interruption between the two neighboring countries.

In conformity with Marxism-Leninism, we noticed in the history textbooks the glorification of the communist leader Enver Hoxha, “who developed a principled struggle against the intervention of the Yugoslav revisionists”.¹⁰ “He became a serious impediment to the realization of J. B. Tito’s plans in Albania. In exceptionally difficult circumstances and ignoring the Yugoslav requests, E. Hoxha and his government delegation went to Moscow and concluded an economic agreement with the Soviet Union, in July 1947. It consisted of a loan for the development of agriculture and industry given to Albania by the Soviet government under the leadership of J. Stalin”.¹¹ There were also quotations of the communist leader in the texts, as follows: “This grant was a shock against the Yugoslav leadership goals that wanted to turn our country into its colony”.¹²

Besides the contribution of the sole communist leader, the textbooks writers took care of presenting the governmental plans to put control over the economic and social life of the country. They were forced to interpret the historical material under the effect of holistic or utopian social engineering. Referring to Karl Popper, “it intends to remodel “the whole society” based on a defined plan or project. It aims to “capture the key positions” and to extend the “power of the state ... until its identification with the society”. So, its purpose is to examine the historical forces that model the future of the society. Furthermore, the holist treatment tries to involve the transformation of the human beings. The political problem is to organize the human wills, in order to direct their energy to the appropriate strategic points and to lead the process towards the desired development. Thus, it intends to build a new society. Such a holistic approach is incompatible with the true scientific attitude.”¹³

The communist rule aimed at controlling totally the people’s lives and took measures to plan the development of economy and culture. “The plans for the years 1947-1948 looked for the strengthening of the socialist economy, focusing primarily on mining and the light industry branches. In the field of agriculture, it envisaged the extension of arable land, the increased cereals production, the rise of grains for bread making and the spread of new industrial cultures. Also it predicted the improvement in education, the eradication of illiteracy and the

8 *History of Albania for secondary schools*. Tirana: Institute of Studies and School Publications, Tirana, 1965, pp.291-297

9 Kristo Frashëri, Stefanaq Pollo. *History of Albania: for secondary schools*. Tirana: School Book Publishing House, 1982, pp. 207-210

10 *History of Albania for secondary schools*, 1965, p. 292

11 K. Frashëri & S. Pollo, *op.cit.*, pp. 208-209

12 *Ibid.*, p. 209

13 Karl Popper. *The poverty of historicism*. Tirana: Onufri, 2003, pp. 77-79

preparation of specialists”.¹⁴ Moreover, the objective of unification among state and society was seen to some extent in the decision of the First Congress to change the name from the Communist Party to the Labor Party of Albania. It related mainly to the social composition of the party.¹⁵

Due to these ineffective policies, the Albanian government found the internal and external enemy to accuse for the general situation of the country. “In the economic aspect, the Albanian-Yugoslav agreement signed in 1946 opened the road to the economic subjugation of the state. Regardless of the different levels of the economic development of both countries and to the detriment of the national economy, the Albanian lek was equated with the dinar, their goods prices were unified etc. Under these circumstances, the Yugoslav hooligans looted systematically the Albanian market. The country’s economic situation worsened as a result of the currency inflation and the general price increase in the non-state market”.¹⁶

In addition to the economic difficulties, the government faced with political instability allegedly caused by the Anglo-American imperialists and the Yugoslav revisionists’ interference.

This approach is mentioned in the following citations: “Victories achieved by our people in the first years of liberation would have been even greater, if there was no Yugoslav revisionists’ interference in the internal affairs of the party and of our country, as well as the continuous war developed by the imperialists and their tools”.¹⁷ “Focusing on the activity of the Yugoslav revisionists, the Congress considered them as anti-Marxist and anti-Albanian. The Congress also condemned the activities of the traitors, like Koçi Xoxe and his companions against the party and the people. Based on the internal and external conditions of our country, the First Congress of the Communist Party elaborated the program for the construction of socialism”.¹⁸

The application of Marxism-Leninism principles legitimized every action of the communist leadership to strengthen the political power. The ideological rhetoric was used by the Communist Party to eliminate its political opponents labeled as enemies and traitors to the people, because they were put in the service of the revisionist leadership of the Yugoslav Communist Party. In the textbooks, it was argued that “Koçi Xoxe tried to prevent our party from acting in a Marxist-Leninist way; to destroy the friendship with the Soviet Union; to separate the party and turned it into a Leninist one. He sought to overthrow the Marxist-Leninist leadership of our party and replace it with a revisionist one of Tito’s type, which would serve the imperialist goals to oust the People Power and to restore capitalism in

14 *History of Albania for secondary schools*. Tirana: School Book Publishing House, 1970, p. 261

15 *History of Albania for secondary schools*, 1965, p. 293

16 K. Frashëri & S. Pollo, *op.cit.*, p. 208

17 *History of Albania for secondary schools*, 1970, p. 261

18 Dh. Grillo. *History of Albania: for eighth grade*. Tirana: School Book Publishing House, 1968, p. 175

Albania. Koçi Xoxe seriously violated the socialist legality and made numerous and ugly crimes against the party and the people. For that reason, he received the deserved punishment”.¹⁹

Even the orientation of the communist leadership in the foreign policy corresponded to the Marxist-Leninist doctrine. “The Albanian government called the signing of the Treaty of Friendship, Cooperation and Mutual Assistance between the People’s Republic of Albania and the People’s Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, in July 1946, in accordance with the principles of proletarian internationalism. But, from the Yugoslav side, it was used to put Albania under its influence and isolate it from the other socialist countries and especially the Soviet Union”.²⁰

The concept of internationalism and nationalism replaced each other conforming to the needs of the communist government. “As long as Albania had good relations with Yugoslavia, the people of Kosovo should feel happy under the new regime of Tito. When our relations broke up, Tito was the biggest dictator that was suppressing our brothers in Kosovo and Yugoslavia”.²¹

The nationalist rhetoric dominated the political discourse of the communist leadership under the circumstances of the country’s political sovereignty threat. “The Yugoslav political elite made systematic efforts to turn Albania into a dependent country of Yugoslavia and in the best case into a federated republic of it”.²² The textbook authors attributed the opposition firmly of the plan for the unification of Albania with Yugoslavia to the leader Enver Hoxha, who managed to defend the country’s independence from the Yugoslav intentions.

As mentioned above, the history schoolbooks for primary and secondary education during the communist regime were written in respect to the ideological-methodological approach. The authors neglected the historicist criteria towards the political principles of Marxism-Leninism that became almost a “universal theory”. Consequently, the unilateral perspective of the historical facts and events brought not only the absence of criticism, but also the incorrect scientific conclusions.²³

An analysis of the presentation of Albanian-Yugoslavian relations in history textbooks during the democratic system

The establishment of democracy in Albania dictated the necessity of rewriting the textbooks for primary and secondary education in accordance with the historical method, to

19 *History of Albania for secondary schools*, 1965, p. 292

20 K. Frashëri & S. Pollo, *op.cit.*, p. 208

21 Dr. N. Mehmeti, *op.cit.*, p. 29

22 K. Frashëri & S. Pollo, *op.cit.*, p. 207

23 Prof. as. dr. Ajet Shahu, “The independence in view of the Albanian historiography (1945-1990)”, *Independence of Albania and the challenges of the Albanian state during the Twentieth Century*. Tirana: University of Tirana, Institute of History, 2008, p. 401

avoid politicization, ideologization and unilateral perspectives of the historical events and phenomena.²⁴ The elimination of questionable thesis and dubious scientific interpretations shows that history is a process of continuous renewal.²⁵ The reconstruction of history is incomplete because it is impossible to analyze the multidimensional relations and to clarify all the meanings.²⁶

The history textbooks for eighth grade and high school students used after the fall of the socialist regime in Albania were unified at the national level and written by the same group of authors. They treated the Albanian-Yugoslav relations after WWII in a part of the lesson “The position of Albania in the international arena”.²⁷ These texts were in use until 2005, when the implementation of the altered text reform began. The unified texts, as well as the altered texts presented the economic, social and political cooperation between the two countries in conformity with the scientific criteria of determining the right ratio between the historical periods.²⁸ Concretely, in the text “History of the Albanian people: for ninth grade of the middle school”, published by Filara, in 2012, the analysis of the Albanian-Yugoslav relations is focused on the first part of the theme entitled: “The foreign policy of Albania, in the years 1948-1960” of Chapter 12.²⁹ While the history book for high school students written by Myzafer Korkuti, Petrika Thëngjilli, Gazmend Shpuza, Fatmira Rama, Xhelal Gjeçovi, Ana Lalaj reflected this issue on part three of lesson no. 17 “Albania’s relations with the Soviet Union and the Eastern European countries”.³⁰

The presentation of Albanian-Yugoslav relations in history textbooks after the change of the political system in Albania aimed at achieving the historical knowledge, which means the critical organization of all research results during a given period.³¹ It does not always increase the objective knowledge in a narrow sense, but often it develops our critical thinking. The text authors have made efforts to interpret the historical material on the basis of evidence,

24 Vilson Kuri, Roland Gjini. *The theoretical basis and practices of learning history*. Tirana: SHBLU, 2008, p. 94

25 Walter Höflechner, Gëzim Hoxha, Romeo Gurakuqi. *Introduction to the study of history*. Shkodra: Phoenix Shkodra, 2004, p. 43

26 Raymond Aron. *The opium of the intellectuals*. Tirana: Dituria, 2005, p. 168

27 Myzafer Korkuti, Petrika Thëngjilli, Gazmend Shpuza, Fatmira Rama, Xhelal Gjeçovi, Ajet Shahu, Ana Lalaj. *History of Albanian people 8*. Tirana: SHBLSH, 2002, pp. 200-201 Myzafer Korkuti, Petrika Thëngjilli, Gazmend Shpuza, Fatmira Rama, Xhelal Gjeçovi, Dilaver Sadikaj, Ana Lalaj. *History of the Albanian people: for the fourth grade of the secondary school*. Tirana: SHBLSH, 1999, p. 294

28 Qazim Xhelili. *Didactics of history*. Tirana: SHBLU, 2001, p. 30

29 Bernard Zotaj, Marenglen Kasmi. *History of the Albanian people: for the ninth grade of the middle school*. Tirana: Filara, 2012, p. 126

30 Muzafer Korkuti, Petrika Thëngjilli, Gazmend Shpuza, Fatmira Rama, Xhelal Gjeçovi, Ana Lalaj. *History 4: social profile. For the twelfth grade of the profiled secondary school*. Tirana: Pegi, 2010, p. 256

31 Ilira Çausi. *The methodology of history*. Tirana: SHBLU, 2003, p. 13

in pursuit of objectivity in history.³² But, although the historian is impartial, he faces many complex events that his ignorance may be greater than his knowledge, and therefore his judgments rely on insufficient data. Moreover, it is nearly impossible to liberate the historian completely from the moralizing tendencies.³³

These features are noticed in the texts during the analysis of the anti-Western orientation of Albania in the foreign policy. “After the war, Albania run by communists aligned with the Soviet Eastern Bloc”.³⁴ “In terms of establishing the dictatorship, the real options of Albania to find a foreign support was limited. The official ideology of the regime combined with the onset of the Cold War, the artificial aggravation of Albania’s relations with West and the incorrect determination of the Great Powers stance to Greek claims against southern Albania ruled out any alliance with the West. But the main factor was the existence in the Albanian Communist Party’s leadership of a vast majority of fanatics, extremists and pro-Yugoslavian, who restricted the valid political alternatives only to an alliance with Yugoslavia”.³⁵ “This privileged position of the Yugoslavian state was adopted by the communist leader Stalin. The Soviet leadership treated the Albanian Communist Party as a supplement to the Yugoslav Communist Party”.³⁶

The Yugoslavian interests towards Albania are explained through casual relationship, as a mean of historical recognition that requires the acquisition of critical consciousness.³⁷ “The Yugoslavian policy was motivated by several factors. After eliminating the influence of Italy in the Albanian affairs was created a vacuum. The weakness of Albania contained the risk that an enemy force against Yugoslavia could easily prevailed Albania and use it as a base against Belgrade. The domination or the annexation of Albania from Yugoslavia had a great political significance. Belgrade aimed to solve the difficult problem of Albanians in Yugoslavia, which was a major dilemma for the new Yugoslav regime. The ethnic Albanians were the only people who were making an armed resistance against the Yugoslav communist regime”.³⁸

The establishment of the diplomatic relations and the strengthening of bilateral cooperation in consonance with the common ideological line were followed by the signing of the Treaty of Friendship and Mutual Assistance between Albania and Yugoslavia, on July 9, 1946. According to it, the contracting parties would take the appropriate measures to ensure the independence and integrity of the two countries and to cooperate in all international actions for the promotion of peace and security among nations. If one of them was attacked by

32 Gjergj Sinani. *Introduction to the philosophy of history*. Tirana: SHBLU, 1999, p. 181

33 Isaiah Berlin. *Four essays on liberty*. Tirana: Onufri, 2003, p. 173, 177

34 Petrika Thëngjilli, Fatmira Rama, Valentina Duka. *History 9: for the ninth grade of the middle school*. Tirana: Ideart, 2009, p. 126

35 Beqir Meta, Muharrem Dezhgiu, Xhevair Lleshi. *History of Albanian people 12*. Tirana: Uegen, 2009, p. 299

36 P. Thëngjilli et al., *History 9 ...*, p. 127

37 Marc Bloch. *The historian’s craft*. Tirana: Shtëpia e Librit dhe e Komunikimit, 2003, p. 197

38 B. Meta et al., *History of Albanian people 12 ...*, p. 300

any power, the other state would give immediately the military assistance. Also they were forced not to enter an alliance or coalition directed against the contracting party. Albania and Yugoslavia would solve their common problems on the basis of sincere friendship and enhance the economic and cultural ties with special arrangements.³⁹

The language used for the description of the Albanian-Yugoslav relations coincides with Marxist-Leninist terminology, which shows that the author knows the period and “inadvertently” expresses a certain position in the ideological sphere.⁴⁰ For example, the mention of class struggle against the former owners in the village and city, the intellectuals and all those who opposed the communist regime.⁴¹ In addition, the ideological discourse is reflected on the management of economic relations with the construction of the socialist economy. “After completion of Agrarian Reform, the communist state began the collectivization of agriculture reasoning that the small property should be liquidated in order to avoid the emergence of the large capitalist property. The beginning of collectivization was associated with the establishment of the first agricultural cooperative in 1946. The collectivization pursued the Yugoslav model, where remuneration was based more on the collective property than the labor”.⁴² The Yugoslav influence grew in the Albanian economy with the signing of the Convention of 27 November 1946, which envisaged the coordination of economic plans, the customs union, the currency equalization and the creation of joint ventures.⁴³ “Gradually, the Albanian economy began turning into a typical colonial economy. The Economic Convention directed it in the function of the Yugoslav market”.⁴⁴

The authors of the history textbooks tried to respect the relationship between the historical content, which means the presentation of dates, names, historical events and the development of skills to select and process the information, thus preparing students to interpret the historical events.⁴⁵ This analysis is found in the rivalry for political power within the leadership of the Communist Party of Albania between Koci Xoxe and Enver Hoxha, who were ready to accept the anti-national policies in exchange for the support of Yugoslavia. “Belgrade assured unlimited discretion to suppress the Albanian people in Yugoslavia, even, in some cases, in interaction with the senior leadership of the Albanian Communist Party. Tivari massacre recorded nearly 5,000 Albanians killed with the knowledge and complete

39 *The Albanian-Yugoslav relations from 1945 to 1948*. Tirana: General Directorate of Archives, 1996, pp. 45-46

40 D. Egro, *History and ideology ...*, p. 147

41 Menduh Dërguti, Ferit Duka, Ledia Dushku, Sonila Boçi. *History of the Albanians 12: the twelfth grade of high school*. Tirana: Albas, 2014, p. 121

42 Petrika Thëngjilli, Fatmira Rama, Ajet Shahu, Lorenc Bejko, Liliana Guga. *History of the Albanians XII: for twelfth grade of the general secondary school*. Tirana: Pegi, 2011, p. 147

43 Myzafer Korkuti, Xhelal Gjeçovi, Agron Gani. *History 9: for the ninth grade of the middle school*. Tirana: Morava, 2008, p. 158

44 Petrika Thëngjilli, Fatmira Rama, Ajet Shahu, Etleva Nita. *History 9: for the ninth of the middle school*. Tirana: Pegi, 2012, p. 113

45 Helidon A. Shehu. “History in the optic of pseudoscientists”. *Shekulli*, Tuesday, October 6, 2009, p. 15

indifference of the Albanian government and the execution of 1000 other Kosovars, who came to Albania to escape the persecution of the Serbian police”.⁴⁶ Therefore, “the Albanian leadership did not support the right of Kosovo people to self-determination. They agreed with the explanations of Tito about the strengthening of Serb reaction. What’s more, in 1946, when the Yugoslav pressure was at its peak, Enver Hoxha openly declared against the union of Kosovo with Albania”.⁴⁷

The subjection of the Albanian communist party to the Yugoslav leadership and the risk of infringing the sovereignty of Albania are described by the historical narrative, which almost dominates the presentation of the Albanian-Yugoslav relations. But, the narrative historian faces the challenge of discovering new ways to reconstruct not only the social and economic experience, but also the mentality and the sentiments of the social group.⁴⁸ “Feeling the Yugoslav threat, Enver Hoxha tried to associate directly with the Soviet Union and to provide support and economic assistance, but also to strengthen its position. In 1947, the Albanian-Soviet relations were expanded in all fields, especially after the meeting of the two communist leaders. This was not warmly welcomed by the Yugoslav government. It hastened to implement the project of the Balkan Federation, where Albania would be the first country to join it”.⁴⁹

The cooperation between the two countries after World War II, including the demolition of their diplomatic relations and the orientation of Albania to the Soviet Union are treated in accordance with the chronological criteria. It means taking into account the principle of historicism, which views the development of human society chronologically and in concrete. Without the dimension of time and chronology, the discipline of history would lose its contacts. It is not enough to respect the chronology, i.e., simply treat the process by the course of its history, but is also necessary to reveal links between them. While the notion of time is a condition of the complexity of the historical facts and events, it is the plasma where the phenomena are established and the place they are settled.⁵⁰

This chronological order of the historical phenomena aims to use the previously acquired knowledge as the basis for assimilating the new knowledge, which is interpreted closely related to each other.⁵¹ “In such dangerous circumstances for the country’s independence, the Albanian Communist Party was helped by the decisions of the Information Bureau Meeting of the Communist Parties, in June 1948, which condemned the Yugoslav leadership as traitors to socialism. The Albanian Communist Party adopted these decisions, disapproved the Yugoslav policy pursued towards Albania and abrogated all the agreements

46 B. Meta et al., *History of Albanian people 12 ...*, pp. 300-301

47 Prof. dr. Beqir Meta, Prof. dr. Muharrem Dezhgiu, Ma. Bedri Kola, Xhevair Lleshi. *History of the Albanian people: for the ninth grade of the middle school*. Tirana: Uegen, 2008, p. 105

48 D. Egro, *History and ideology ...*, p. 127

49 B. Zotaj & M. Kasmi, *op.cit.*, p. 126

50 Q. Xhelili, *op.cit.*, p. 29

51 V. Kuri & R. Gjini, *op.cit.*, p. 89

signed with Yugoslavia”.⁵² “The diplomatic relations was interrupted at the end of 1948. In this way, Hoxha managed to save his position at the head of the Communist Party and the Albanian state. At the same time was guaranteed the independence of Albania threatened by Yugoslavia. Thereafter, Albania became a Soviet satellite”.⁵³

The presentation of the Albanian-Yugoslav relations in the history textbooks for primary and secondary education is based on the psychological characteristics of the school age and their level of formation. The historical concepts reflect the gradual increase of difficulties from one cycle to another. The language used is concise and in conformity with the relevant historical terminology. The teaching material adheres to the main didactic demand of the pedagogical apparatus. It is completed with the inclusion of visual sources, which are scarce for the description of the bilateral relations and serve to illustrate the knowledge in the text rather than as additional information. Thus, the historical analysis of the Albanian-Yugoslav relations helps students to develop their intellectual skills in order to analyze and critically interpret the historical phenomena.

Conclusions

The analysis of the Albanian-Yugoslav relations (1945-1948) presented in the history textbooks for primary and secondary education during the communist regime and the democratic system shows the differences in methodology and the pedagogical apparatus.

At first, in the history schoolbooks of communism, the relationship between the two countries is described in accordance with the principles of Marxism-Leninism. The ideological rhetoric served to the political interests of the leadership in power. Therefore, the politicization of history distorted the historical truth. While the economic, social and political cooperation between Albania and Yugoslavia in the texts, after the 90s, is written in compliance with the historical method based on the selection, analysis and critical interpretation of sources, aimed at achieving an objective approach to the bilateral relations.

Secondly, the pedagogical apparatus in the textbooks of history in communism was limited to the rubric “Questions and tasks”, with the intention of just memorizing the historical facts and events, not their analysis and interpretation. On the contrary, in the unique and altered texts used in the middle and high schools in Albania after the change of political systems, the methodical apparatus consists of different sections in the form of questions, schemes, tables, etc., to develop the interpersonal skills and the critical and creative thinking of students.

Thirdly, the visual sources used in the history schoolbooks of the communist era were a tool of the communist propaganda to manipulate the historical truth. While, in the unique and altered texts of history in post-communism, the few photos and pictures on the theme of the Albanian-Yugoslav relations are more illustrative than an additional source of information.

52 M. Korkuti et al., *History of the Albanian people ...*, 1999, p. 294

53 Menduh Dërguti, Sonila Boçi, Ledia Dushku. *History 9: for the ninth grade of the middle school*. Tirana: Albas, 2009, p. 120

The attempts to provide a comparative analysis of the relationship between Albania and Yugoslavia written in conformity with different methodological schools and opposing concepts of the importance of the teaching apparatus show the necessity of constant rewriting of history textbooks.

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Slovenes and Albanians in the twentieth century: Changing perceptions – from orientalism to sharing state cohabitation

Jurij Hadalin

If we take a look at descriptions of Albanians in the Slovene literature and some scarce notes on them in pre-First World War newspapers, we can clearly perceive an orientalist approach which looks on Albanians as on a tribe living deep in the Turkish Empire. However, just a few years later, substantial parts of both nations were living side by side in the same state. The northern part of Yugoslavia was not particularly interested in the Albanian problem, and we can state that there were only rare occasions on which Slovenes felt affected by the Albanian affairs. One of these occasions was the coincidence of the Carinthian plebiscite and the expulsion of the Italian troops from Albania in 1920. Austrian propaganda used the argument of possible recruitment of Carinthian Slovenes as Yugoslav soldiers in the expected Albanian offensive against the Yugoslav army in the Northern Albania to prevent Slovenes voting for accession joining to the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes.

The situation changed after the Second World War, when the Yugoslav communist regime sought to safeguard Albania as its first foothold for future expansion, thus eliminating or at least easing the Albanian factor in the unsolved Yugoslav national question. Slovenian political and diplomatic representatives were overrepresented in contacts with the Albanian regime, both in times of close partnership and later, in a period of constant conflict. Nevertheless, everyday contact of Albanians and Slovenians was established later, in the last two decades of socialist Yugoslavia. Slovenes could meet Albanians in the army before, but everyday contacts became usual when Albanians started to move to Slovenia as internal immigrants, needed by the booming Slovene economy. There was some dissatisfaction over the size of big Slovene contributions for the less developed parts of Yugoslavia, of which was at the time always present, knowing that a large part of it went to Kosovo. We also have evidence that the Slovenian part of the secret service always took a close interest in the flourishing greengrocery, confectionery and goldsmith businesses which were, typical Albanian entrepreneur services in Slovenia and, accumulated a lot of capital.

However, a true connection between Slovenia and, we could also say, a solidarity with the Albanian minority in Yugoslavia arose, was something that occurred at the end of the 1980's. The severe measures that followed the 1981 demonstrations in Kosovo and the growing pressure applied to the Albanian minority by the nationalist Serbian government after 1987 made this Albanian minority appear as a victim by the Slovene public and politicians. Slovenia had at this by the time already embarked upon the path to democratisation and sought to achieve a greater degree of independence. This was the source of comments made

by the then president of the Slovenian League of Communists, Milan Kučan, at a notorious rally held in support of striking miners from Stari trg mine in Cankarjev dom in 1989: “We Slovenes are not a populous nation. Therefore we feel solidarity towards threatened minorities.” Unfortunately, this solidarity vanished quickly when Slovenia finally left the Yugoslav community two years later.

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